UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

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TRADE POLICY STAFF COMMITTEE

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U.S.-EU TRADE AGREEMENT HEARING

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FRIDAY

DECEMBER 14, 2018

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The Trade Policy Staff Committee met in the Auditorium of the United States Department of Commerce, 1401 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20230 at 9:30 a.m., Ed Gresser, Chairman, presiding.

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1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S 2 9:35 a.m. Thank you all very 3 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Welcome to this Trade Policy Staff 4 much. 5 Committee hearing on the potential U.S.-European Union trade agreement. Thank you all for coming, 6 7 and thanks to our witnesses. 8 We have a full day of testimony today 9 with six panels of witnesses ahead. That is appropriate given the scale and importance of our 10 11 trade and investment relationships with the European Union, the largest such relationship in 12 the world and one that is extraordinarily 13 14 sophisticated, complex, and ripe with ideas for 15 building and improving upon it. 16 Let me say maybe three things before 17 we start. First, on behalf of TPSC, our sincere 18 thanks to the Department of Commerce for 19 providing us with this august venue. 20 Second, to the witnesses, we are 21 grateful for this opportunity to hear your views 22 and your insights. We'd ask you to please

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respect the five-minute limit on oral testimony 1 2 because we have a very full day ahead and we would like to have full time for each panel to 3 4 hear from all of you, to ask questions, and maybe 5 to get some thoughts in response. Finally, let me ask my fellow 6 7 panelists to introduce themselves one at a time, 8 and then I will turn the mic over to Dan 9 Mullaney, our assistant USTR for Europe. 10 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: I'm Dan Mullaney, 11 Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Europe 12 and the Middle East. 13 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Sharon Bomer 14 Lauritsen, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Agricultural Affairs and Commodity Policy. 15 16 MR. SPITZER: Bob Spitzer. I'm a 17 Senior Trade Policy Advisor for the Foreign 18 Agricultural Service at USDA. 19 MR. MANOGUE: I'm Bob Manogue at the 20 State Department. 21 MR. MEIER: Peter Meier, Department of 22 the Treasury.

| 1 | MS. BONNER: Sarah Bonner, U.S. Small |
|----|---|
| 2 | Business Administration. |
| 3 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: And Dan, let's turn |
| 4 | to you. |
| 5 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Well, thank you, |
| 6 | everybody. Thank you for coming here today. As |
| 7 | Ed said, we do have a hugely significant trade |
| 8 | investment relationship, the most significant |
| 9 | anywhere in the world. We trade over a trillion |
| 10 | dollars in goods and services every year. That's |
| 11 | about three billion dollars a day. We have |
| 12 | almost six trillion dollars in mutually onshored |
| 13 | investment. |
| 14 | But we are convinced that we can do |
| 15 | more to strengthen this trade relationship to the |
| 16 | benefit of U.S. and European citizens. And one |
| 17 | of the opportunities to do that is through the |
| 18 | kind of trade agreement that we're talking about |
| 19 | today. |
| 20 | We notified Congress of our intention |
| 21 | to engage in negotiations with the European Union |
| 22 | on October 16th. Now we are in a very kind of |
| | |

1 unique and special time period in which we are 2 not talking to the European side about this negotiation. And we are not propounding our own 3 4 objectives, our own goals in this negotiation. 5 This is a unique time period in this 6 process in which we are here to listen to the 7 stakeholders on what it is we should be pursuing 8 in this negotiation to improve lives on both 9 sides of the Atlantic. So we're very much looking forward to it, and it's extremely 10 critical for us that we listen to the views of 11 12 businesses, workers, farmers, ranchers, and 13 consumers. The input that you provide today is critical to our work as we consider the launch of 14 15 the free trade agreement negotiations. 16 So thank you very much to our 17 witnesses for the first panel, and also in 18 subsequent panels, for taking time out from your 19 busy day and during this holiday season to 20 present your views. Thank you very much. 21 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you, Dan. 22 Let's now go to our witnesses. I think we should

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| 1 | start row by row, beginning to my right and |
|----|---|
| 2 | proceeding to the left and then going to the |
| 3 | second row. So we'll start with Don Phillips |
| 4 | with the American Sugar Alliance. |
| 5 | MR. PHILLIPS: Okay. Well, thank you. |
| 6 | The American Sugar Alliance, which is a national |
| 7 | coalition of American sugar beet and sugar cane |
| 8 | growers, processors, and refiners, very much |
| 9 | appreciates the opportunity to present our views |
| 10 | and concerns through this august body on stage. |
| 11 | Our industry serves two critically |
| 12 | important roles. First, we supply American |
| 13 | consumers with a safe, reliable, and affordable |
| 14 | source of an essential food ingredient. Second, |
| 15 | the U.S. sugar industry provides for 142,000 jobs |
| 16 | across America and generates nearly \$20 billion |
| 17 | dollars annually to the U.S. economy. |
| 18 | At this hearing, I just want to focus |
| 19 | on a few key points. An effective U.S. sugar |
| 20 | import policy is essential to deal with the |
| 21 | chronically depressed world dump market for |
| 22 | sugar, the market grossly distorted by a wide |

array of subsidies and other unfair trade practice with prices generally well above the average cost of production of nearly all sugar producing countries.

The damage that imports of subsidized 5 and dumped sugar can wreak on our domestic market 6 was demonstrated in 2013 when Mexico unleashed a 7 8 flood of dumped and subsidized sugar into the 9 U.S. market. Before this situation was remedied by this administration's revision of the 10 11 suspension agreements, American growers and 12 refiners lost an estimated \$4.5 billion dollars. And for the first time in over a decade, U.S. 13 14 sugar policy incurred a budgetary cost, \$259 15 million dollars.

The existing market access commitments on sugar in the WTO, NAFTA, USMCA, and other FTAs which results in imports of 2.5 to 3 million metric tons annually already creates a risk of jeopardizing the effective operation of U.S. sugar policy, especially in light of the fact that the suspension agreements cannot be regarded

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1 as permanent. Thus we strongly oppose any 2 additional market access commitments for sugar. We would like to clear up a few 3 4 misconceptions about the EU which poses a 5 particular danger to our industry and U.S. sugar policy. Despite the much touted reform of its 6 7 sugar policy, the EU is by no means an open 8 market; unless imports enter under special 9 preferential arrangements, they are blocked by prohibitive tariffs. 10 Moreover, the EU sugar 11 industry still benefits from substantial 12 subsidies, estimated to be \$665 million dollars in 2019. 13

14 The lifting of the EU production quotas combined with the support provided by 15 16 these subsidies has transformed the EU into a net exporter of refined sugar. 17 In 2017-18, they 18 exported 3.6 million metric tons, this year an 19 estimated 3 million metric tons. The need to 20 unload this large surplus production into the 21 world dump market has driven EU prices down to 22 levels below the production cost of almost all or

all EU sugar producers. Thus access to the U.S.
 market is very enticing.

It should also be pointed out that the 3 4 strict regulations and labeling requirements 5 governing GMO products combined with a strong anti-GMO sentiment in the EU would prevent U.S. 6 beet sugar producers and manufacturers of 7 8 products made with U.S. beet sugar from competing 9 on a level playing field or in fact competing at all in the EU. 10

As long as EU refined sugar prices are driven by the world dump market, and their production is at least partially sustained by domestic subsidies, U.S. producers will be at a marked disadvantage vis-a-vis those of the EU and trade will flow only one way to the U.S. damaging our industry.

We would also ask the committee to bear in mind that the EU exports only refined not raw - sugar. Excessive imports of refined sugar from Mexico were one of the chief causes of the failure of the suspension agreements

negotiated in 2014. The revised agreements 1 2 restored a more appropriate balance between imports of raw and refined sugar. 3 Granting market access to the EU for 4 5 refined sugar would undermine what was accomplished through these revised suspension 6 7 agreements and risk creating a serious trade 8 problem with Mexico. 9 Negotiations with the EU are going to 10 prove very difficult. There are very marked 11 differences in the U.S. and EU approaches to 12 standards and regulations. And there's great 13 uncertainty as to the treatment of agriculture. 14 At the same time, the clear intention of the administration is to achieve the timely results 15 16 that offers real benefits to the U.S. economy. 17 We therefore believe our negotiators 18 should pursue a very targeted approach in 19 agriculture focused on those products where they 20 can expect to achieve fair and equitable trade 21 and tangible benefits to the U.S. 22 Market access negotiations with the EU

| 1 | on sugar do not meet this test. Quite the |
|----|---|
| 2 | contrary, granting the EU access to our market |
| 3 | for these products would result in serious harm |
| 4 | to the U.S. sugar industry and jeopardize U.S. |
| 5 | sugar policy. |
| 6 | Thank you. |
| 7 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very |
| 8 | much. Can we now go to Floyd Gaibler of the U.S. |
| 9 | Grains Council? |
| 10 | MR. GAIBLER: Thank you. Good |
| 11 | morning. And on behalf of the U.S. Grains |
| 12 | Council, I'm pleased to offer our statement of |
| 13 | negotiating objectives in support of a U.SEU |
| 14 | trade agreement. |
| 15 | At the outset, the council believes |
| 16 | that it is fundamental that food and agriculture |
| 17 | issues are a key component of this bilateral |
| 18 | agreement. Council strongly supports the |
| 19 | objectives of an agreement similar to our support |
| 20 | during the negotiations of the TTIP era. In |
| 21 | addition, the recently signed U.SMexico-Canada |
| 22 | Agreement contains provisions we believe that |

should serve as foundational language for 1 2 negotiations in a U.S.-EU trade agreement. The EU limits the entry of lower 3 priced grains from non-EU countries through 4 5 quotas and a reference price system based on U.S. exchange prices and transportation costs. 6 In our 7 view, the U.S. government should demand the EU eliminate the price reference system and continue 8 9 to maintain zero duties on U.S. corn, barley, sorghum, dried distiller grains and co-products. 10 11 The EU main tariffs on ethanol for 12 fuel use depending on the ethanol content level. 13 In addition, the U.S. continues to be subject to 14 an antidumping duty on ethanol that we believe should be removed as well as the tariffs. 15 16 The asynchronous approval process of 17 biotech between the U.S. and the EU severely 18 limits our ability to provide our traditional 19 customers with corn and co-products irrespective 20 of competitive factors such as price and quality. 21 The EU risk assessment process by the European 22 Food Safety Authority now takes nearly four and a

half years, far beyond the 19 to 22 months prescribed by EU law and regulation. Continual complication is the EFSA risk assessment process of stacked events. In addition, the absence of a workable EU standard on low level presence is a further impediment.

7 For this agreement, we would endorse 8 the adoption of the biotechnology provisions that 9 were included in USMCA. In particular, USMCA included recognition of modern biotechnology not 10 11 only for traditional rDNA but also new plant 12 breeding innovations. Given the uncertainty of 13 how the EU will regulate these new breeding 14 techniques, particularly given the recent European Court of Justice opinion, we believe 15 16 these provisions would enable efforts of the 17 parties to work cooperatively on policies for 18 these new products.

We would also request the
administration reconsider a previous request in
other trade agreements for language supporting a
mutual recognition agreement on the safety

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| 1 | determination of biotech crops intended for feed, |
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| 2 | food, and further processing. We believe this |
| 3 | would provide the EU another alternative as they |
| 4 | move to a more synchronous approval process. |
| 5 | Developments in EU policies and |
| 6 | regulations pertaining to crop protection |
| 7 | products have the potential to negatively impact |
| 8 | U.S. grain exports to the EU in the future. The |
| 9 | hazard based approach to renewing the |
| 10 | authorization of existing pesticides in Europe |
| 11 | has resulted in an increasing number of active |
| 12 | ingredients losing their authorization. |
| 13 | This may lead to the reduction or |
| 14 | removal of maximum residue levels and import |
| 15 | tolerances of long use products. And we could |
| 16 | see that this could potentially have devastating |
| 17 | effects on exports of our products. |
| 18 | Again, to help address these issues, |
| 19 | we would strongly advocate the inclusion of the |
| 20 | provisions of the SPS measures that were in |
| 21 | USMCA. I won't go through them. You know them |
| 22 | well. We would also support for the national |

treatment of goods and a list of issues that we 1 2 provided in our formal statement. We would also advocate strong chapters 3 for technical barriers to trade, good regulatory 4 practices, and customs and administration and 5 trade facilitation, again that were the basis of 6 7 the USMCA agreement. In summary, the council strongly 8 9 supported the completion of TTIP in an effort to remove existing tariffs and quotas, the anti-10 competitive price reference system and 11 12 fundamentally address the regulatory challenges, 13 particularly the long-term asynchronous 14 biotechnology approval process and the lingering import for ethanol antidumping duty. 15 16 In addition, the most recent 17 challenge, increasing regulatory obstacles facing 18 pesticides, will have major repercussions on U.S. 19 feed grains and products. The U.S. and the EU 20 need to reconsider a systematic approach to 21 normalize trade. Agriculture has to be included 22 in these negotiations to meet that objective.

| 1 | Thank you very much. |
|----------------------------|---|
| 2 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. Mr. |
| 3 | Nash? |
| 4 | MR. NASH: Good morning. My name is |
| 5 | Robert Nash and I'm the director of government |
| 6 | relations for American Pistachio Growers. On |
| 7 | behalf of APG's members, I want to thank the |
| 8 | Trade Policy Staff Committee for holding this |
| 9 | hearing to gather our insights so we may help the |
| 10 | U.S. negotiate a fair and balanced trade deal |
| 11 | with the European Union. |
| 12 | The European market is very important |
| 13 | to the U.S. pistachio industry and it's the |
| 14 | second largest market for our exports. Since |
| | |
| 15 | 1997, the U.S. has been the top supplier to the |
| 15 16 | 1997, the U.S. has been the top supplier to the region. |
| | |
| 16 | region. |
| 16 17 | region. I've submitted to you APG's 2018 World |
| 16 17 18 | region. I've submitted to you APG's 2018 World Pistachio Trade Report page which provides total |
| 16 17 18 19 | region. I've submitted to you APG's 2018 World Pistachio Trade Report page which provides total U.S. exports to all the European countries. As |
| 16 17 18 19 20 | region. I've submitted to you APG's 2018 World Pistachio Trade Report page which provides total U.S. exports to all the European countries. As you will read, there is great demand by European |

with the EU but recognize a number of areas that
 should be addressed when negotiating this trade
 agreement, namely tariffs, the European
 Commission's pesticide measures, and its
 aflatoxin program.

6 While the European tariffs on raw 7 pistachios is considerably low, the presence of 8 the tariff itself still reflects an impediment to 9 trade. The U.S. is heavily invested in the 10 development of the European market over the last 11 12 years and has increased raw pistachio exports 12 by 57 percent.

13 In 2017, the U.S. exported 59,200 tons 14 of pistachios to Europe valued at \$462 million This represents \$7.4 million dollars in 15 dollars. 16 duties paid. That \$7.4 million dollar cost to 17 EU's importers could be used in a few ways to 18 increase U.S. exports to Europe, including 19 generic advertisements, increased promotion of the product as a healthy, nutritious alternative, 20 21 additional product research, or simply to lower 22 the price of the product for consumers.

Another justification for the 1 2 immediate elimination of tariffs on U.S. pistachios entering Europe is Iran's current 3 comparative advantage in the European market. 4 5 Europe provides Iran with Generalized System of Preference treatment despite current financial 6 transaction restrictions by the U.S., and other 7 nations' applied sanctions. 8 9 As such, Iran does not pay a duty when 10 exporting to Europe and has a transportation 11 advantage due to its close proximity compared to 12 the U.S. Despite the low European duty on raw 13 pistachios, the tariff on U.S. exports to Europe 14 must be removed to even the playing field with our largest pistachio trade competitor. 15 16 Maximum pesticide residue levels are 17 another barrier in Europe. We strongly urge our 18 U.S. negotiators to include this SPS issue as a 19 major trade objective and to persuade the EU 20 towards a more transparent MRL standard setting 21 policy with the U.S. Codex standards were established to 22

protect the public health and minimize disruption of international food trade. And we recommend a negotiating strategy that incorporates the return of Codex MRLs as the gold standard for the global community.

6 Arguably, the greatest obstacle our 7 industry faces when conducting trade with Europe 8 is the European Commission's aflatoxin import 9 program. Our industry has observed the following 10 problems with the European Commission's aflatoxin 11 program.

12 First, we observed that it unjustly 13 penalizes all U.S. exporters by increasing the 14 percentage of required tests when only one or two exporters fail a chemical test and the total of 15 16 failed tests exceed a certain percentage level. 17 Conversely, the FDA will require increased 18 testing for the foreign shipper failing the U.S. 19 test rather than all foreign shippers. 20 Does the EU impose increased testing

on all pistachio producing EU members if one EU
members exceeds the aflatoxin percentage? Is

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this a national treatment violation? 1 In 2016, 2 five percent of U.S. pistachio exports were sent to Italy. Yet Italy was responsible for 42 3 4 percent of the aflatoxin rejections. This 5 imbalance of reported test results should have caused the European Commission to question 6 7 Italy's aflatoxin program. 8 Since it is acceptable for the 9 European Commission to conduct an audit on U.S. sampling and testing procedures, it seems 10 11 rational for either the USDA or the FDA to check 12 the European Commission and its member states' 13 procedures. 14 Finally, EU member states are known to 15 send late test result responses to the European 16 Commission directorate, which impacts the 17 percentage of imported pistachios to be sampled 18 and tested. Each of these issues constitutes a 19 trade barrier creating serious problems for U.S. 20 pistachio exporters to Europe. 21 In closing, the upcoming U.S.-EU trade 22 negotiations have the potential to be as fruitful

as the recently negotiated U.S.-Mexico-Canada 1 2 Agreement. Although negotiations will be difficult, APG is confident the agreement will 3 4 greatly encourage market expansion by domestic 5 and European business while increasing consumer welfare in both markets. 6 7 APG requests that the USTR Trade 8 Policy Staff Committee carefully consider the 9 comments provided, and we appreciate this opportunity to provide the committee with our 10 11 comments. Thank you. 12 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very Ms. Wilkins? 13 much. 14 MS. WILKINS: Good morning. I am 15 Nancy Wilkins, Director of Federal Affairs for 16 the Grocery Manufacturers Association, GMA. I'm 17 pleased to be here today representing GMA to 18 outline our priorities in negotiating the U.S.-EU 19 trade agreement. 20 GMA represents the world's leading 21 food, beverage, and consumer product 22 manufacturers. Our industry is the single

largest employer in U.S. manufacturing. 1 We 2 directly employ 2.1 million Americans in 30,000 communities across the United States, an 3 estimated 16 percent of all U.S. manufacturing 4 5 These are good, high paying jobs, employment. and employment in consumer packaged goods 6 7 manufacturing has grown in recent years when 8 other manufacturing employment declined. In 9 addition, our industry indirectly supports 11 million jobs from farm to fork. 10 11 Our industry is a unique driver of 12 economic growth in the United States. Processed food and beverage sales are valued at one 13 14 trillion dollars per year and contributed \$243 billion dollars to the U.S. GDP in 2015. 15 U.S. 16 processed food and beverage manufacturers provide 17 tens of thousands of safe, affordable, nutritious 18 products that consumers rely on every day. 19 Processed food exports to the European 20 Union totaled approximately \$3.2 billion dollars 21 last year, making it the third largest market for U.S. processed foods behind Canada and Mexico. 22

To make the most of this important trade 1 2 relationship, GMA hopes the U.S. trade agenda will seek to eliminate all tariffs and non-tariff 3 barriers on consumer packaged goods, including 4 ingredients and inputs, and to enhance regulatory 5 cooperation and compatibility. While some 6 7 sectors enjoy relatively low EU tariffs, many processed food and beverage products face high 8 9 tariffs averaging 14.6 percent, more than four times the comparable U.S. rate. 10 11 Many food products like 12 confectionaries and baked goods are subject to 13 the Meursing table, an EU system that charges 14 tariffs based on a product's milk protein, milk fat, starch, and sugar content instead of a 15 16 standardized product classification. This means 17 that products that are for all intents and 18 purposes the same can receive different rates. 19 Calculating Meursing duties is burdensome and 20 expensive, particularly for innovative American 21 companies seeking to ship new products to Europe. 22 In addition to facing high EU tariffs,

U.S. food and beverage companies are 1 2 disadvantaged by extensive non-transparent and unscientific EU regulations. Unjustified EU 3 regulations can add as much as 102 percent to the 4 5 cost of heavily protected products like meat, fruits, and vegetables. GMA welcomed commitments 6 7 achieved in the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, 8 USMCA, and other previous U.S. negotiations that 9 limit unnecessary technical barriers to trade and require sanitary and phytosanitary measures to be 10 11 based on science. 12 The U.S.-EU trade agreement should 13 require all regulations to be implemented in a 14 transparent, predictable, and nondiscriminatory manner. We also urge the administration to 15 16 secure the same commitments made in USMCA to 17 foster transparency on modern agriculture 18 biotechnology measures. In particular, we are concerned that the EU's GMO labeling and 19 20 traceability requirements are unjustifiably trade 21 restrictive and hope the administration will 22 protect science-based GMO policy.

Finally, U.S. tariffs on steel and 1 2 aluminum and EU retaliation on key ingredients have damaged the U.S. processed food and beverage 3 industry. We urge the United States and European 4 5 Union to suspend 232 and retaliatory tariffs during negotiation of the U.S.-EU trade 6 7 agreement. 8 Access to markets in Europe is 9 critical for the U.S. processed food, beverage, 10 and consumer products industry. The U.S.-EU trade agreement is an important step in securing 11 12 that access, including by removing non-tariff barriers to trade and reducing costs that arise 13 14 from unnecessary regulatory burdens. We look forward to working with the 15 16 Trump administration, Congress, and other 17 stakeholders to strengthen U.S. competitiveness 18 so that we can continue to grow our industry, 19 create jobs, and drive the U.S. economy. Thank 20 you for this opportunity to testify, and I look forward to your questions. 21 22 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you.

| 1 | MR. THORN: Thank you very much. My |
|----|---|
| 2 | name is Craig Thorn, and I'm here representing |
| 3 | the National Pork Producers Council. |
| 4 | NPPC is a national association |
| 5 | representing a federation of 42 state producer |
| 6 | groups. It represents the federal and global |
| 7 | interests of 60,000 U.S. pork operations. U.S. |
| 8 | pork industry is a major value added component of |
| 9 | the agricultural economy and a significant |
| 10 | contributor to the overall U.S. economy. U.S. |
| 11 | producers ship 2.5 million tons of pork valued at |
| 12 | \$6.5 billion dollars to over 100 countries in |
| 13 | 2017. |
| 14 | The EU with nearly 500 million mostly |
| 15 | affluent consumers is the second largest pork |
| 16 | consuming market in the world. You would expect |
| 17 | it to be one of our largest export destinations. |
| 18 | However, it is also one of the world's most |
| 19 | protected markets which is why we sell less pork |
| 20 | in the EU than in many smaller countries such as |
| 21 | Honduras and Singapore. |
| 22 | Tariff and regulatory barriers have |
| | |

limited U.S. pork exports to less than 0.05 1 2 percent of EU pork consumption. Among the impediments to U.S. pork exports are the 3 4 following: first, high tariffs. The EU tariff rate quota for pork is 5 only 70,000 metric tons, much lower than three 6 7 percent minimum access TRQ that WTO members were 8 supposed to have established at the end of the 9 Uruguay Round negotiations. Three percent of consumption in the EU would be about three 10 11 The EU also maintains high end million tons. 12 quota tariffs -- the out-of-quota tariffs are of 13 course prohibited -- and the licensing system 14 that makes it difficult to adjust to market 15 conditions. 16 Second, the EU bans the import of pork 17 produced with ractopamine, a feed additive that 18 is widely used by U.S. pork producers. This 19 restriction is not science based. In fact, the 20 international food safety standard setting body,

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the Codex Alimentarius, has declared the

substance to be safe and has established the

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1 residue standard.

| 2 | Third, the EU requires the United |
|----|---|
| 3 | States to conduct trichina risk mitigation such |
| 4 | as testing and freezing as a condition for market |
| 5 | access. According to the Department of |
| 6 | Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection |
| 7 | Service, the risk of trichina in the U.S. |
| 8 | commercial pork herd pig herd is negligible |
| 9 | because of biosecurity protocols and modern |
| 10 | production systems that ensure a high level of |
| 11 | safety. |
| 12 | Fourth, the EU prohibits the use of |
| 13 | antimicrobial or pathogen reduction treatments in |
| 14 | pork, even though scientific studies have |
| 15 | demonstrated the pathogen reduction treatments |
| 16 | produce a safer product and even though the EU |
| 17 | itself has approved certain PRTs for use in beef |
| 18 | production. |
| 19 | Fifth, in contrast to most other U.S. |
| 20 | trading partners, the EU does not recognize the |
| 21 | U.S. meat inspection system as offering a level |
| 22 | of safety equivalent to its own system. There is |

no scientific justification for imposing 1 2 additional inspection requirements. And finally, the EU is in the final 3 stages of adopting legislation that could 4 5 prohibit imports of animal products, including pork, from any country that does not impose the 6 exact same restrictions on the use of antibiotics 7 as those the EU put in place. 8 9 This so called reciprocity provision, if implemented, would mean a complete halt in 10 11 animal product imports from all EU trading partners, including the United States, unless 12 13 those trading partners agree to simply adopt EU 14 regulations on antibiotic use. The legislation provides no opportunity for countries to 15 16 demonstrate that their own use restrictions offer 17 a similar level of protection. 18 We urge U.S. negotiators to make the 19 use of the leverage afforded by these negotiations to eliminate these barriers. 20 Any 21 agreement that doesn't address these problems 22 risks legitimizing WTO inconsistent measures and

| 1 | facilitating their spread to other U.S. export |
|----|---|
| 2 | markets. |
| 3 | Thank you. |
| 4 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Ms. Morris, thank |
| 5 | you. |
| 6 | MS. MORRIS: Thank you. I'm Shawna |
| 7 | Morris. I'm here today representing the National |
| 8 | Milk Producers Federation and the U.S. Dairy |
| 9 | Export Council. I appreciate the opportunity to |
| 10 | testify on behalf of America's dairy farmers, |
| 11 | processors, and exporters on this issue. |
| 12 | Our industry is enduring very |
| 13 | difficult times right now, and trade will be a |
| 14 | key piece in turning around the present economic |
| 15 | conditions in dairy country. We believe the |
| 16 | biggest trade opportunities for dairy exporters |
| 17 | lie in Asia and other markets that have proven to |
| 18 | be reliable net importers of U.S. agricultural |
| 19 | exports. Expanding access in these import |
| 20 | markets is where we believe U.S. negotiating time |
| 21 | and resources can be most effectively deployed to |
| 22 | secure significant and positive results for |

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American agriculture, including for the dairy
 industry.

With that said, should the U.S. move 3 4 forward with an FTA with the European Union, we 5 believe that agriculture must be part of the negotiations and that they must be focused on 6 7 uprooting the various tariff and non-tariff 8 barriers that constrain or threaten U.S. 9 agricultural exports to the EU. An appallingly high agricultural trade 10 11 deficit currently plagues trans-Atlantic trade 12 and it is a direct result of the EU's efforts to 13 block U.S. agricultural goods including dairy 14 from entering the European market. Moreover, 15 U.S. companies must contend with EU efforts to 16 export those same trade restricting policies to other markets around the world as well. 17 18 Europe's high tariffs and non-tariff 19 barriers have put our efficient dairy industry at 20 a disadvantage for far too long. As a result, 21 the U.S. has a \$1.4-billion-dollar trade deficit 22 with the EU last year.

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| 1 | To tackle this, any comprehensive |
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| 2 | trade agreement with the EU must include |
| 3 | agriculture and U.S. negotiators must be resolute |
| 4 | in their insistence that Europe eliminate its |
| 5 | trade barriers and allow U.S. dairy and other |
| 6 | agriculture products to enter freely. |
| 7 | The administration's strenuous |
| 8 | rejection to date of the EU's efforts to exclude |
| 9 | agriculture from the scope of the negotiations |
| 10 | sends a powerful signal and takes an important |
| 11 | step in that direction. Sales of U.S. dairy |
| 12 | products in Europe have been blocked by a complex |
| 13 | web of policies that together strongly discourage |
| 14 | imports. Not the least of which are Europe's |
| 15 | overly cumbersome geographical indication |
| 16 | requirements that have deprived common named |
| 17 | cheese products from the benefits of reciprocal |
| 18 | trade between the U.S. and the EU. |
| 19 | The EU's clear goal has been to |
| 20 | advance its own commercial interests by |
| 21 | pressuring its trading partners into imposing GI |
| 22 | related restrictions on common food names and |

putting bans on its own market on the use of those terms. This is intended to award EU companies with the sole right to use many terms that have already entered into widespread common usage around the world.

6 Examples range from restrictions in 7 the EU market for exports like U.S. made 8 Parmesan, feta, asiago, and Muenster cheeses to a 9 growing roster of restrictions on U.S. exports to 10 third country markets where all too often the EU 11 works to dictate to its FTA partners which 12 specific GIs must be adopted.

13 Beyond GIs, Europe's unscientific 14 certification and compliance requirements are 15 likewise problematic. They use an overly 16 prescriptive and onerous approach in this area, 17 which mandates government level assurances of 18 compliance with EU regulations and onerous 19 certification rules for imports and unduly 20 burdens commerce without a genuine food safety 21 basis.

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Given Europe's tariff and non-tariff

barriers, we believe the best method for handling 1 2 dairy in upcoming negotiations would be a comprehensive system approval approach that both 3 tackles the present problems and guards against 4 5 future unscientific and protectionist import requirements. 6 7 To address these concerns, the dairy 8 industry has five key priorities in the pending 9 trade talks. First, remove EU imposed restrictions 10 11 on common cheese names in Europe and other U.S. 12 export destinations while reforming trade 13 distorting EU GI policies. 14 Second, recognize the safety of America's dairy products and production system 15 16 and reflect this recognition in simplified 17 certification and oversight requirements. 18 Third, establish enforceable 19 commitments for sanitary and phytosanitary standards and technical barriers to trade that 20 21 provide enhanced certainty to U.S. agricultural 22 trade with the EU.

| 1 | Fourth, simplify and streamline border |
|----|--|
| 2 | administration procedures for dairy TRQ |
| 3 | management and licensing measures. |
| 4 | And fifth, eliminate dairy tariffs in |
| 5 | a coordinated manner provided the non-tariff |
| 6 | barriers described above have been addressed. |
| 7 | In closing, I'd like to note that it's |
| 8 | ironic that in recent years Europeans have taken |
| 9 | to lecturing on the importance of trade |
| 10 | commitment compliance while at the same time |
| 11 | continuing to advance new trade impeding |
| 12 | regulations that build a fortress around their |
| 13 | own market ever higher. The EU would do well to |
| 14 | examine its own policies and recognize that its |
| 15 | deepening use of regulatory constraints promote |
| 16 | protectionism rather than the cooperative spirit |
| 17 | that should mark our relationship. |
| 18 | Again, we thank you for your ongoing |
| 19 | efforts to increase trade and seek equitable |
| 20 | treatment for America's dairy producers and |
| 21 | manufacturers. We remain excited about what the |
| 22 | future holds and stand ready to work with the |
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administration moving forward.

2 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. And Mr. 3 Bacus?

4 MR. BACUS: Good morning. My name is 5 Kent Bacus, and I'm here on behalf of the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, the oldest 6 7 and largest national association of America's 8 cattlemen and cattlewomen. I'm honored to 9 provide you with our perspective on the importance of a U.S.-European Union trade 10 11 agreement and the opportunities it will provide 12 the U.S. beef industry.

13 Without question, a trade agreement 14 between the United States and the European Union 15 holds great opportunity for American beef 16 producers and European consumers. However, to 17 fully realize the potential, the EU must make 18 fundamental changes to their trade policy and 19 embrace science based trade. The status quo is 20 untenable, and we cannot sit by while the EU 21 continues to impose some of the most restrictive tariff and non-tariff barriers in the world. 22

The European Union currently maintains 1 2 tariff rate quotas on U.S. beef where in-quota duties are high and out-of-guota duties are 3 prohibitive. U.S. beef is sold under the Hilton 4 5 quota and a separate high quality beef quota. The Hilton quota provides the United 6 7 States and Canada with access to an 11,500 metric 8 ton quota with a 20 percent tariff on U.S. beef 9 That's the in-quota rate. products. The over-10 quota rate is 12.8 percent plus a three euro per 11 Separately, the high quality beef kilo charge. 12 quota was created as a temporary solution to the tariffs associated with the WTO hormone decision. 13 14 After ten years of retaliatory tariffs 15 on EU goods, the United States agreed to 16 temporarily halt over \$100 million dollars of WTO 17 sanctioned tariffs in exchange for duty free 18 access to 45,000 metric tons of beef from non-19 hormone treated cattle. 20 Although the duty free high quality 21 beef quota was written and designed to benefit U.S. beef producers, this tiny quota was made 22

available to other countries who were not part of
the original WTO hormone dispute. The EU
continues to allow these countries to benefit
from this quota, and that results in U.S. beef
producers being undercut or pushed out of the
market by countries who had no business
participating in this quota.

Unfortunately, the EU's non-tariff 8 9 trade barriers are just as damaging as the tariff barriers. For 20 years, the EU has violated the 10 WTO by continuing to ban the importation of beef 11 12 from cattle that had been administered growth 13 promoting hormones. The EU's unscientific 14 hormone ban is a major impediment to U.S. beef. 15 And any U.S.-EU trade agreement should bring 16 these standards into compliance with the WTO by 17 removing the ban on the importation of beef 18 produced with hormones.

Unfortunately, the hormone restriction
is not the only non-science based restriction on
U.S. beef that must be resolved in a bilateral
trade agreement. It is clear that the United

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States and the EU take vastly different
 approaches regarding the use of science and
 technology in food production.

4 Production practices in the United 5 States are based on rigorous scientific review 6 and are continuously improved to employ the 7 latest advancements in scientific research and 8 animal husbandry with the overall goal of 9 improving production efficiency and lowering our 10 environmental impact.

11 Meanwhile, the EU continues to hide 12 behind the precautionary principle, discouraging 13 the development and use of scientific 14 advancements. For our mutual benefit, we must establish a 21st century agreement based on 15 16 internationally recognized scientific standards, 17 free from tariffs, free from quotas, free from 18 subsidies, and free from non-tariff trade 19 barriers. 20

20 With that being said, if the United 21 States and the EU truly want to establish a 22 stronger trade relationship, science based and

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market driven agricultural policies must be the 1 2 foundation of this agreement. Otherwise, our differences in agriculture will put a great risk 3 4 to the growing trade opportunities in a U.S.-EU trade agreement. 5 We recognize the difficult process 6 7 ahead of us. But NCBA strongly supports 8 negotiations that will provide long term and 9 meaningful market access to the European Union and science must be the basis of any future 10 11 relationship. Thank you. 12 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: That's all our 13 witnesses. We can now go to questions. 14 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Well, thank you very much, everybody, for those great 15 16 presentations. And thanks very much for being 17 succinct and staying within the time period. Ι 18 think the testimony we heard today I think is extraordinarily useful. I think various members 19 20 of the panel on this side will have questions for 21 various witnesses. And I'll start off maybe with 22 Don Phillips of American Sugar Alliance.

| 1 | In your statement, you reference that |
|----|---|
| 2 | you anticipated that the EU would be providing |
| 3 | approximately \$665 million dollars in subsidies |
| 4 | in 2019. And I was wondering whether you could |
| 5 | give us insights as to how this number was |
| 6 | calculated or where the number was found and how |
| 7 | these are notified to the WTO, whether they're |
| 8 | green box, amber box, blue box. |
| 9 | And I'm also curious if you have the |
| 10 | information to know how that level of |
| 11 | subsidization compares to that in the United |
| 12 | States and how much subsidization disadvantages |
| 13 | the U.S. industry's ability to sell domestically |
| 14 | and abroad, including in the European Union. |
| 15 | I realize that was sort of a bundle of |
| 16 | questions around the subsidy issue. I'd be |
| 17 | grateful for any clarifications you could offer. |
| 18 | MR. PHILLIPS: Okay. Well, first of |
| 19 | all, to take up the questions regarding the |
| 20 | subsidies, we had a study done a few years ago by |
| 21 | a fellow named Patrick Chatenay. He's a CEO of |
| 22 | something called ProSunergy which specializes now |
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in sugar and ethanol.

| 2 | Any case, he looked at the EU |
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| 3 | programs. He's very familiar with those. And |
| 4 | the \$665 million dollars reflects about 300 |
| 5 | million in decoupled supports. EU now has |
| 6 | decoupled supports basically they pay to all |
| 7 | farmers on a per hectare basis. So what he |
| 8 | calculated was the effect that would have on the |
| 9 | sugar beet, the extent to which sugar beet |
| 10 | farmers benefit from that by virtue of the |
| 11 | acreage they have in sugar beets. |
| 12 | Also, a number of countries, |
| 13 | particularly in Eastern Europe, also pay coupled |
| 14 | subsidies. Now these are direct subsidies to the |
| 15 | benefit of sugar beet growers. I think Poland is |
| 16 | the largest one there. Poland is a fairly |
| 17 | significant producer of sugar. |
| 18 | And then finally, they also provide |
| 19 | direct payments to a number of the sugar cane |
| 20 | producers. These are in the overseas departments |
| 21 | of France. So the coupled supports add up to |
| 22 | about \$200 million dollars and the coupled for |

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sugar cane, about 163. So these, in total, add
 up to \$665 million.

And he estimated in his report --3 4 which I'll be glad to give you a copy of the 5 It's actually a very good, well written report. He estimated this would increase their 6 report. 7 production by 1.5 to 2 million metric tons. And 8 actually, I saw him a couple weeks ago and he 9 thought that they might even be playing more of role in keeping up their production right now. 10 11 As to how it's notified to the EU, I 12 can't guarantee that I know exactly how that is. 13 But I'm assuming that the decoupled supports 14 would be notified as green box and the others would be recognized as AMS production. 15 16 As far as the subsidies in comparison 17 with the U.S., we do not get any direct subsidies 18 in the sugar industry. Obviously, we have fairly 19 high tariffs on countries that do not participate 20 in various preferential programs we have. We 21 have a large TRQ under WTO of over a million

tons. We have essentially free trade with Mexico

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which is, of course, now limited or governed by
 suspension agreements.

And then with a variety of FTAs, we 3 have products coming in. Almost all of them come 4 5 in at zero duty in contrast to what we heard about some of the EU programs having high end-6 7 quota tariffs. So these amount to about two and 8 a half, three million tons, about 25 to 30 9 percent of the U.S. market. So we're a pretty 10 open market in that regard. 11 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Great. Well, 12 thank you for that. I think it would be useful 13 to have that report since you're offering. My 14 agriculture colleagues may have it in hand. But just to make sure, I'd be very interested. 15 16 MR. PHILLIPS: We've got a couple 17 copies here for your reading pleasure over the 18 holidays. 19 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Well, we'll very 20 much look forward to looking at that. I'm going 21 to stick with you, Don, if that's okay, for a 22 couple more questions. One is you reference

standards and regulations in the EU as non-tariff barriers. And I was wondering if there were any in the European Union that impacted the sugar industry.

5 MR. PHILLIPS: Well, first of all, 6 we're a net importer. And we don't have much 7 interest in exporting to the EU. We don't expect 8 we're going to export sugar to the EU. But if we 9 did, beet sugar wouldn't be able to enter into it 10 because of the restrictions on GMO.

11 And with respect to sugar containing 12 products, this is also highly discriminatory for 13 anybody producing beet sugar because they have 14 strict labeling requirements. And even though there is really no difference or no evidence of 15 16 GMOs in sugar, sugar doesn't have any protein in 17 it. So you really can't -- it's not really 18 carrying anything from a GMO product. That's not 19 recognized by them.

20 But in addition to that, they require 21 labeling of products having any GMOs in it. And 22 they have a very low threshold as I understand

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For what they call low level preference, 1 it. 2 it's about 0.9 percent. And if you have even that little bit in there, then you've got to 3 4 label it as a GMO product. 5 So that would be a problem. And many of the processed food products I'm sure have 6 7 sugar of one sort in them that go to the EU as 8 was mentioned. So that's kind of the ones that 9 affect us directly. But I think you can tell from the rest of the panel which is more involved 10 11 in exports that there's just a rate. Just about 12 with every product, there is some major problem 13 with respect to regulation from the EU. 14 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Okay. Well, thank you very much. Let me turn the mic over to 15 16 Sharon Bomer Lauritsen. 17 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Thank you, Dan. 18 So my questions will be directed initially to 19 Floyd Gaibler of the U.S. Grains Council. And 20 thank you for your testimony, Floyd, as well as 21 what you submitted in writing. 22 In your testimony, you cited the need

for a USMCA like SPS chapter which is WTO-Plus.
 Do you believe that the EU already abides by the
 current WTO SPS agreement?

MR. GAIBLER: Well, in the case as we 4 5 referenced in our statement, we do believe that with respect to their pesticide regulations and 6 particularly in the reauthorization aspect of it, 7 8 the fact that they're using hazard based criteria 9 as it relates to mutagenic and endocrine 10 disruptor type products that that hazard based 11 process is in conflict with the WTO. That's what 12 we've been advised by consultants and lawyers that have looked at this issue. 13

14 And so we think that this is a key 15 issue that needs to be addressed. And we think 16 that having the SPS-plus-plus that's in USMCA 17 would be important to have down to be part of the 18 agreement. And just the fact that it's the gold standard agreement that's really out there right 19 20 It's obviously applicable to everything now. 21 under the SPS issue. And so we think it needs to 22 be there just in general.

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| 1 | MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Thank you for |
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| 2 | that. And maybe building on that, again, related |
| 3 | to your comments about looking to the USMCA SPS |
| 4 | chapter, what provisions in that do you think |
| 5 | would serve as a good foundation for U.SEU |
| 6 | trade agreement? And I'll say other than the |
| 7 | biotech provisions which are in the agriculture |
| 8 | chapter and separate but keeping it strictly to |
| 9 | the SPS chapter. |
| 10 | MR. GAIBLER: Well, again, as we |
| 11 | mentioned in our statement, there was a whole |
| 12 | series of provisions that were in USMCA that |
| 13 | dealt with issues under the national treatment of |
| 14 | goods, import and export restrictions and |
| 15 | performance requirements, import licensing, ag |
| 16 | export subsidies. While neither country uses |
| 17 | them, it's good language. Domestic supports, |
| 18 | safeguards, food security export restrictions, |
| 19 | stated trading enterprises. |
| 20 | The technical barrier to trade chapter |
| 21 | in USMCA was, again, something that we thought |
| 22 | was a good chapter. The chapter on good |
| | |

regulatory practices again was another one. And
 then customs administration to trade
 facilitation. So there's a lot that we think
 merits that was in the USMCA that should be
 applicable to this bilateral.

MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay. 6 Thank Maybe shifting to your comments on 7 you. 8 agricultural biotechnology, I have a couple of 9 related questions. You commented on difficulty with asynchronous approvals in the EU. 10 Since the 11 European Union already has time lines in its laws 12 and regulations. And certainly EFSA is not 13 abiding by them, and we certainly have 14 experienced that the Commission hasn't abided by 15 them as well.

Do you have any recommendations that would help ensure that EFSA and the Commission adhere to time lines for approvals?

MR. GAIBLER: Well, I guess I would go
back to what we had advocated under TTIP which
was to have provisions put in there that would
actually have the requirements for a timely and

synchronous process and committing the EU to 1 2 actually meet their existing time lines for both the EFSA risk assessment but also the risk 3 4 management process, the two stage process. 5 I will say that the risk management process seems to be working a little better in 6 7 terms of the time line. But they're still coming 8 out with the same no qualified decision for or 9 against. And so that further delays the issue and forces the Commission to be involved. 10 And 11 then forces the European Parliament to come in 12 and weigh against it. And we had also asked at that time 13 14 for, again, trying to deal with a more simplified process on stacked events, a more workable, low 15 16 level presence beyond the so called technical solution and in a formal working group. 17 So I 18 think those are all good foundational things. 19 But USMCA is much better because, 20 number one, it's binding. Number two, it deals 21 with how -- it provides a process for low level 22 presence. And it encourages a working group to

deal with a lot of these issues like low level presence, thresholds. Again, our idea of assessment sharing of risk assessments is a way that the EU could utilize to help get them to a synchronous situation.

6 And then most importantly, the 7 inclusion of not only traditional biotech but 8 rDNA -- I mean, the new breeding technology, 9 given the ECJ opinion on how to regulate that. 10 We feel that having these provisions in there 11 would be much more helpful than what our original 12 process was under the TTIP negotiations.

13 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Thank you. Ι 14 have one more question. I apologize if this gets in the so called weeds. You reference stacked 15 16 events. My understanding is that the EU's 17 regulatory review for stacked events is 18 significantly different and leads a lot of the 19 asynchrony of the approval system in the EU. Do 20 you have information as to how the EU system 21 compares to the U.S. system for stacked events? 22 MR. GAIBLER: How it what?

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| 1 | MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: How it compares |
|----|---|
| 2 | to the U.S. system? |
| 3 | MR. GAIBLER: Well, under the U.S. |
| 4 | system, the process is much more timely. The |
| 5 | process is more like 12 to 15 months. And so |
| 6 | right away, we have a process that works much |
| 7 | more quickly than the EU and it puts us at a |
| 8 | disadvantage obviously with other export markets. |
| 9 | Japan, for example, pretty much follows a similar |
| 10 | process. |
| 11 | And so the EU always is with its |
| 12 | delay, is always going to put us most likely in |
| 13 | an asynchronous point situation at any given |
| 14 | point in time particular point in time. It |
| 15 | puts our potential exports at risk. So again, we |
| 16 | feel if they could get to the point where they |
| 17 | can operate under their own laws and regulations |
| 18 | in terms of time lines and uncomplicate the |
| 19 | process that they have in place for a number of |
| 20 | events and there are other aspects of their |
| 21 | process that we could see a better result. |
| 22 | MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay. Thank |

Neal R. Gross and Co., Inc. Washington DC you. Bob?

| 2 | MR. SPITZER: Okay, thanks. My |
|----|---|
| 3 | questions are going to be for the pistachio |
| 4 | growers. Thanks for coming and presenting your |
| 5 | views to the group here. I wanted to follow up a |
| 6 | little bit more on a couple of issues that you |
| 7 | raised, in particular on aflatoxin. |
| 8 | In your testimony, you mentioned a |
| 9 | number of concerns about the way the EU system |
| 10 | has been operating. And one of our questions is |
| 11 | whether or not you've raised those specific |
| 12 | concerns with the EU and if you've gotten any |
| 13 | kind of response from them about their practices. |
| 14 | MR. NASH: We were always trying to |
| 15 | advocate on their behalf with them. The problem |
| 16 | that we've run into a lot is a lack of |
| 17 | transparency with their aflatoxin program. |
| 18 | That's been the biggest issue. Going back five |
| 19 | years, it's hard to find data on how they're |
| 20 | treating their own member nations. So for us, |
| 21 | that's the biggest issue is having access to that |
| 22 | data and having a more transparent process and |

how they are choosing to deal with the issue. 1 2 MR. SPITZER: Okay. Thank you. Ι noted that in cooperation with USDA, the group 3 4 has established the pistachio export aflatoxin 5 reporting program in the last few months. And 6 some exports have started under that program. Ι 7 just wondered if you could update us on where 8 that is and whether that's having any impact that 9 you're able to tell at this point in time. At this point, I don't have 10 MR. NASH: 11 that data off the top of my head. But I can look 12 into that a little further and get back to you. 13 MR. SPITZER: Okay. Thank you. On 14 pesticides, are there particular pesticides that the pistachio industry is focused on? 15 16 MR. NASH: One example would be buprofezin which the EU has set an MRL at 0.01 17 18 parts per million where the U.S., for example, is 19 at 0.05 parts per million. The issue we're 20 seeing with them is that rather than a risk based 21 approach, they're taking a presumption of a 22 hazard. And if they think that it could

potentially be hazardous, they won't renew or 1 2 they'll set it at an impossible standard to meet. 3 MR. SPITZER: Okay. Yes, we're 4 hearing that guite a bit. One final guestion for 5 Just looking at the trade statistics that vou. you presented to the group. And there's in 1997 6 7 -- sorry -- 2017, a notable jump in exports to 8 Germany in particular. And I wondered if you 9 could provide a little bit more information about what's behind that and whether that's sustainable 10 11 going forward. 12 MR. NASH: I think overall, we're 13 seeing an increase in exports everywhere. Ι 14 would attribute it to our marketing. I know we focus pretty heavily on EU. As an association, 15 16 we have a marketing department that does a lot of 17 promotion there. Other than that, I think people 18 are just seeing the benefits of pistachios and there's more and more availability as our acreage 19 20 We have more crop and we're just finding grows. 21 new markets for it. 22 MR. SPITZER: Okay. Thank you very

I'm going to ask a few additional 1 much. 2 questions now with the Grocery Manufacturers Association. Thank you, Nancy, for coming and 3 4 presenting your views. I wanted to dig a little 5 bit deeper into the written testimony where you talked about food flavoring as an area where the 6 U.S. and EU should seek mutual recognition. 7 Has 8 GMA approached EU regulatory authorities on this 9 matter and is there any receptivity there to working in this area? 10 11 MS. WILKINS: Thank you for that 12 question. We're always in conversation with our 13 trading partners to the extent we can be. Just 14 for additional context, the United States and EU regulated and approved flavorings using almost 15 16 identical protocols. But there's no mutual 17 recognition of determinations under U.S. and EU 18 frameworks. 19 So what we'd like to see is an 20 elimination of the duplication that goes on in 21 terms of flavoring approval processes. There's

no scientific or safety based reason to have two

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different systems.

2 MR. SPITZER: Is there any way you can assign a result or value in terms of U.S. exports 3 that would result from reaching that kind of a 4 5 mutual recognition? Unfortunately, I don't 6 MS. WILKINS: 7 have that data in front of me. But I'm happy to 8 dig a little deeper and see what kind of economic 9 benefits would be. 10 MR. SPITZER: That'd be great. Other 11 than biotech labeling, you didn't mention any 12 other labeling issues. And I wonder if there's 13 any of those that are of concern for the 14 organization, particularly in relation to trade 15 with the EU. 16 MS. WILKINS: I think our primary 17 concern is the GMO labeling. And yes, I'm sure 18 there are other labeling concerns, but that's our 19 primary concern is to that. 20 MR. SPITZER: Okay. One final 21 question. One of the elements that's been important in recent trade negotiations for the 22

United States is the impact on trade for small
 and medium sized enterprises. And I would
 imagine many of your members are of that ilk.
 And if you have any ideas in terms of what
 provisions in the trade agreement might be more
 beneficial to those kinds of exporters.

7 MS. WILKINS: That's a great question. 8 We do have some small and medium sized businesses 9 among our membership. One thing that I can point 10 to is the Meursing table that determines how 11 tariffs on confectionary and baked goods and 12 other miscellaneous food products are calculated.

Those tariff rates are difficult to

14 calculate in advance. Oftentimes, the actual 15 tariff rates are much higher than they first 16 appear. And finally, most important for small 17 and medium sized companies, the unpredictability 18 really makes it difficult in terms of cycling 19 innovation and prevents introduction of new 20 products into the European market.

21 MR. SPITZER: And when you mentioned 22 unpredictability, you're referring specifically

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to the tariff?

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| 2 | MS. WILKINS: Yes, it's a complicated |
|----|--|
| 3 | system that is very unpredictable. And I would |
| 4 | imagine would pose some burdens, particularly on |
| 5 | small and medium sized enterprises. |
| 6 | MR. SPITZER: Okay. Thank you. |
| 7 | MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: So Craig, you |
| 8 | get me. Again, thank you for being here today. |
| 9 | So in your testimony, NPPC identified several |
| 10 | significant SPS barriers to U.S. pork in the EU |
| 11 | and identified the need to eliminate those and I |
| 12 | certainly understand that. Yet what is not in |
| 13 | your testimony as has been in other testimonies |
| 14 | is a suggestion or recommendation to have a SPS |
| 15 | chapter in any trade agreement that we may |
| 16 | negotiate with the EU. |
| 17 | So I'm wondering if the NPPC has a |
| 18 | reason for not mentioning that or if there are |
| 19 | other mechanisms that the council has thought |
| 20 | about other than a chapter that you would find |
| 21 | useful or acceptable. |
| 22 | MR. THORN: No, NPPC would definitely |
| | |

endorse the inclusion of a WTO-plus SPS chapter. 1 2 We think that the SPS chapter in USMCA will be very valuable for the whole sector and would like 3 4 to see something similar included in this. MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay, thank you. 5 You commented on the negligible risk of the U.S. 6 herd for trichina, trichinella, whatever the 7 right scientific term is. Has the EU outlined 8 9 any milestones to this date or time frames for easing or eliminating its trichina related 10 11 restrictions on U.S. pork? 12 MR. THORN: No, we don't have a time table for elimination of that restriction. 13 It's 14 a long outstanding issue that there has been no detection in trichina in the U.S. commercial pork 15 16 herd for well over a decade. And Dr. Gamble, an 17 expert in the field, has estimated that the 18 chance of getting trichinosis through the 19 consumption of commercially produced U.S. pork is about one in 300 million which I think qualifies 20 21 as negligible risk by any standard. 22 And so we see no reason for this

requirement for additional risk mitigation 1 2 procedures. But we've been talking about this for years, even decades. And we have no time 3 4 table for looking at those. 5 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay. And maybe 6 a follow on question to that. I know the Pork 7 Quality Assurance Program is an industry program. 8 And so has NPPC engaged with the Commission at 9 all to explain the program to the Commission, make sure they understand it and the benefits and 10 11 the outcomes, et cetera? 12 MR. THORN: I will have to get that 13 information to you. I was involved just earlier 14 this week in a discussion of that program. And I know NPPC is working hard to make sure that those 15 16 data are collected so that we can present them. 17 I don't know of any recent contact between 18 industry and EU officials. 19 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay. Then my 20 final question for. You comment on pathogen 21 reduction treatments. And I note that NPPC had filed dossiers with the Commission a while back 22

for lactic acid for use in pork which is already 1 2 approved in the EU for beef and also acetic acid. I understand that EFSA at long last 3 4 issued its scientific opinion on those two PRTs 5 this week and I'm wondering if you had a chance to review that information and done an assessment 6 of what their opinion says. 7 8 I have not personally had MR. THORN: 9 a chance to review those studies, those conclusions. And I'll make sure to get back to 10 11 you with NPPC's reaction. 12 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay, thank you. 13 MR. SPITZER: Okay. Shawna, thank you 14 for coming and representing National Milk Producers Federation. And thank you for your 15 16 detailed submission. There's a long list of nontariff barriers in that submission. One of our 17 18 questions is whether or not that could be 19 considered a comprehensive list or if there's 20 other significant barriers that need to be taken 21 into account. 22 MS. MORRIS: Thank you. Our written

comments do include, to our current knowledge, 1 2 the barriers that our exporters have to contend with in terms of access in the market and the 3 4 challenges that they're dealt with. I caveat 5 that, though, however, because one of our concerns with this market in particular has been 6 that it seems as if every few years we're 7 8 encountering a new issue.

9 And so that situation could certainly 10 change as negotiations move forward. We very 11 much do not have a static regulatory environment 12 when dealing with the Europeans nor do the 13 regulatory changes seem to be driven by sudden 14 shifts in the views of the safety of our 15 products.

16 MR. SPITZER: So you mentioned a 17 potential solution to this is a systems based 18 approach. How would you envision that the EU 19 would actually implement that kind of system 20 based recognition? 21 MS. MORRIS: Sure. So the systems 22 based approach in our view is being recommended

to capture the points I mentioned before, both 1 2 the current challenges and the fact that we continually seem to be encountering new issues 3 when the existing problems have been 4 5 painstakingly worked through to a certain extent. There could be different models for dealing with 6 7 this. One that to date seems to have worked 8 well, for instance, has been the recognition in 9 the U.S. Panama Agreement in terms of overarching safety of the U.S. dairy supply system. 10 11 And so coupled with in the case of the 12 European's streamlined certification 13 requirements, the U.S. has quite minimal 14 certification requirements for dairy products coming into the U.S. whereas the EU's 15 16 certification requirements are quite detailed and 17 reference specific EU regulations coupled with 18 border administration measures such as when the 19 certificate needs to be dated. MR. SPITZER: 20 Okay. Thank you. And 21 then following up on border measures, you mentioned that the EU can simplify and streamline 22

TRQ administration and licensing. Could you elaborate on what the current complications are that you're facing with EU's TRQ administration and what recommendations you have to improve that?

The challenge our 6 MS. MORRIS: Sure. 7 exporters have encountered on that front has been 8 that even in cases where some of the TRQs are 9 offered for dairy products, that it's been challenging for their customers on the European 10 11 side to consistently acquire commercially viable 12 quantities given how the TRQs have been 13 administered in the past. So that's something we 14 would certainly want to see addressed moving 15 forward.

MR. SPITZER: The last question is on the first issue you raised which is about geographic indications. And that's always been a contentious issue with the Europeans. Could you elaborate a little bit more on your recommendations about how that could be addressed in a new U.S.-EU agreement?

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| 1 | MS. MORRIS: Sure. A recommendation |
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| 2 | is that this issue needs tackled in specific |
| 3 | discussions focused on removing the impediments |
| 4 | to common food name products in the European |
| 5 | market so that just as the Europeans can export |
| 6 | Parmesan and feta here, for instance. We're able |
| 7 | to do the same to their market. |
| 8 | We also need to see removals of the |
| 9 | restrictions on those types of common named |
| 10 | products that the EU has imposed in foreign |
| 11 | markets directly as a result of its FTA |
| 12 | negotiations and a reform of the geographical |
| 13 | indication policies. |
| 14 | The restrictions on common food names |
| 15 | are the problems and the clear evidence that |
| 16 | companies are impacted by these policies. But |
| 17 | the chief challenge we're dealing with isn't |
| 18 | specific to dairy. It's really the fact that the |
| 19 | geographical indication policies in Europe give |
| 20 | short shrift to generic terms and have an |
| 21 | extremely broad scope of protection that comes |
| 22 | along with the registration of any GI. |

| 1 | MR. SPITZER: Okay. I don't know if |
|----|---|
| 2 | that helped us or not, but thank you for your |
| 3 | views. I appreciate it. |
| 4 | MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Hi, Kent. We'll |
| 5 | now turn to the Cattlemen's Association. You |
| 6 | reference other unscientific restrictions besides |
| 7 | the hormone ban affecting beef exports. I'm |
| 8 | wondering what other restrictions you're |
| 9 | concerned with. |
| 10 | MR. BACUS: Well, where do we start? |
| 11 | I think the biggest ones outside of hormones |
| 12 | which are used primarily at the cow-calf level in |
| 13 | which, by the way, is the technology that has |
| 14 | been approved since the 1950s and widely used in |
| 15 | our industry. |
| 16 | That aside, we also have restrictions |
| 17 | on Beta-Agonists which is something we use at the |
| 18 | feed yard level to really optimize the metabolism |
| 19 | of these animals with this technology which is |
| 20 | also approved and not only used in the United |
| 21 | States but in numerous other countries. With |
| 22 | this technology, we actually can raise these |
| | |

animals much more efficiently with the use of less ingredients. So it actually has a lower environmental impact.

But in addition to that, as Craig, 4 5 mentioned, NPPC also has raised this issue as NCBA of the EU's reciprocal treatment of the AMR 6 restrictions. Quite frankly, this will put in 7 place bans on technology that has gone through 8 9 rigorous approval process here in the United States, commonly used throughout our animal 10 production system. And it would create a barrier 11 12 that could potentially be even greater than the 13 restrictions we currently face under hormones.

14 But we also face the same problems with PRTs and other things as well. 15 So this is 16 all the more reason why we would support a trade 17 agreement is because we need to address these 18 longstanding problems that we have in access. 19 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay, thank you. 20 You reference that EU positions taken in Codex, 21 that NCBA sees as detrimental to the Codex

process. I'm wondering how you would recommend

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this challenge be addressed in the context of a
 bilateral trade negotiation.

MR. BACUS: Well, I think first and 3 foremost we need to be very straightforward about 4 the fact that Codex is and supposed to be an 5 objective scientific body that looks at science, 6 7 looks at evidence, looks at the recommendations of the scientific community, not politicians, not 8 9 regulators, to make these ultimate decisions. And so I think that if the United 10 11 States and the EU are going to really have a 12 meaningful trade agreement, then we should both 13 agree from our own free will to have an agreement 14 that recognize the scientific approval process. And through that, have a joint commitment to keep 15 16 Codex, OIE, and the other scientific bodies as 17 truly scientific but not to try to spread EU 18 protections through these international bodies. 19 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Thank you. We 20 understand a large proportion of the members of 21 NCBA represent small and family farmers and 22 ranchers. What, if any, new or additional

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| 1 | transparency or other mechanisms do you think |
|----|---|
| 2 | would help address existing or put the potential |
| 3 | EU market access and non-tariff barriers faced by |
| 4 | your smaller members? |
| 5 | MR. BACUS: I think all of our |
| 6 | members, no matter the size of their production, |
| 7 | they need predictability. They need consistency |
| 8 | in their market access. When you look at other |
| 9 | markets where we've had a lot of uncertainty, we |
| 10 | had a lot of producers who didn't focus on |
| 11 | exports. They focused on the domestic market. |
| 12 | And we still do for the most part. |
| 13 | I think if we can have rules based, |
| 14 | science based trade, that will create |
| 15 | opportunities, not only for our producers who are |
| 16 | already focused on the EU market but for a |
| 17 | broader set that will now be able to market their |
| 18 | cattle, to feed yards and to packing facilities |
| 19 | who can now market that product to the EU. |
| 20 | So I think you have to look at the |
| 21 | fact that we're just so limited right now that |
| 22 | only a handful of producers can actually put |

their practices or their operations in place for
 the EU market. We won't really know the
 possibilities there until we address the systemic
 issues with the European Union.

5 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: You mentioned 6 the concerns about the EU's hazard based approach 7 and it's also the so called, in quotation, 8 "precautionary principle" that undermines 9 scientific bodies such as Codex for political purposes. What effect do you think that this has 10 11 on innovation in the beef sector -- U.S. beef 12 sector?

I think for us we're very 13 MR. BACUS: 14 concerned. The United States has some of the 15 highest standards in the world. These are 16 standards that are -- they go through rigorous 17 scientific review, peer review analysis, risk 18 assessments. Through this hazard based approach, 19 that threshold is lowered. And so now it becomes 20 easier to restrict different products. That 21 could be detrimental to our people because now we 22 have regulators in Brussels telling large animal

vets in rural Nebraska and Virginia and elsewhere
 what they can and cannot use. And that's not
 based on actual science.

4 At most, it's based on this assumption 5 that with the precautionary principle that if we 6 don't have all the answers, then let's go ahead 7 and restrict this product. That's not what we 8 What we need is we need to continue to use need. 9 science and technology in food production because we're going to have to continue to feed more 10 11 people with fewer resources. We cannot do that 12 without scientific approach and without these 13 technologies.

14 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Okay. So for my 15 last question, I actually am going off script, 16 folks. I want to address it to the back row 17 because you all represent animal production and 18 it ties to comments that both Craig and Kent 19 And this goes to the Parliament's recent made. 20 legislation on the so called reciprocity and 21 essentially banning imported animal products unless we have the same use of antibiotics as in 22

the EU.

| 2 | We understand that it will take |
|----|---|
| 3 | several years for the Commission to develop |
| 4 | implementing regulations. So with that in mind, |
| 5 | what approach do you each recommend that we both |
| 6 | as industry and government should take to address |
| 7 | this legislation? Thank you. |
| 8 | MR. THORN: Well, you're right. The |
| 9 | EU still has a lot of decisions to make about how |
| 10 | to implement the legislation. And so I suppose |
| 11 | our immediate goal should be to try to affect |
| 12 | that implementation. There are a lot of |
| 13 | countries around the world that would be affected |
| 14 | by it. |
| 15 | I know the EU Commission didn't |
| 16 | include a reciprocity provision in its initial |
| 17 | legislative proposal. It was more or less |
| 18 | imposed upon them in the latter stage of the |
| 19 | legislative process. I'm sure that they're aware |
| 20 | that provision is not WTO consistent and maybe |
| 21 | they'll find some wiggle room as they're |
| 22 | developing implementing legislation so that they |

avoid imposing the requirement.

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| 2 | It's hard to see how that will be |
|----|---|
| 3 | possible, though, given the plain language of the |
| 4 | legislation. I think it's up to them to tell us |
| 5 | how they're going to conform to their |
| 6 | obligations. |
| 7 | MS. MORRIS: In the context of the |
| 8 | negotiations, I'd just add that for us this is |
| 9 | exactly one of the evolving regulations that we |
| 10 | had in mind in terms of identifying the need for |
| 11 | an overarching systems based approach and |
| 12 | agreement on streamlined certification language |
| 13 | to help guard against just these type which we're |
| 14 | presuming this would likely be carried out and |
| 15 | imposed on imports through some type of |
| 16 | certification requirement, at least for our |
| 17 | products. |
| 18 | And again, without real scientific |
| 19 | basis being demonstrated to support this, trying |
| 20 | to use the negotiations in addition to the |
| 21 | approach that Craig just mentioned to preempt |
| 22 | both this and similar types of regulations in the |

future that aren't supported by science is 1 2 exactly where we think the opportunity lies. MR. BACUS: I think it's been 3 4 mentioned multiple times already. But we don't view this as being compliant with the WTO 5 If you look at other countries who obligations. 6 would also be affected, this is not only the 7 8 United States. If you look at all the other 9 countries where the European Union has recently signed trade agreements with Canada, Mexico. 10 Τ 11 know they're in the process with Mercosur, Japan. 12 There are producers in those countries who would also be affected. 13 14 So I'm sure their governments would 15 love to work with the United States and all the 16 other major exporters, Brazil, Argentina, others 17 who provide products to the European Union to 18 find a real solution here so that we're all 19 consistent with our WTO obligations. 20 MS. BOMER LAURITSEN: Thank you. 21 MS. BONNER: Mr. Gaibler, thank you so 22 much for your testimony. Given the diverse

membership across the U.S. Grain Council, from 1 2 grain to feed supply and the supply chain, what sort of trade agreement provisions or obligations 3 would you advocate to facilitate the exports to 4 5 the EU among your council members which represent small family farmers and cooperatives? 6 7 MR. GAIBLER: Well, our membership, it 8 does represent the value chain. So we do

through the export and all the intermediate in
between from shippers to tech providers,
pesticide companies, et cetera. And for us, we
look at this as how it does affect both the value
chains of our products but also the value added
products of processed products of my colleagues
behind me here.

represent from the farmer level all the way

And so for us, the biggest impediment with the EU is the biotech policies that we feel are -- again, these are longstanding issues that we have struggled to deal with for some period of time. We'd like to use this negotiating agreement to try and resolve them rather than

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have to resort to going to Geneva and trying a different tact.

The other area of importance to us is 3 4 ethanol. It is a growing market for us. We 5 believe that the EU could be a substantial But they still have this antidumping 6 market. 7 duty in place as well as the existing tariffs 8 that was supposed to be hopefully have been 9 removed by last year after its five years. It's It's undergoing an expire review. 10 still not. It 11 needs to be addressed and tangentially. Once you get -- I know I'm off track 12 13 here. But if you get to a separation of that in 14 terms of an agreement with the United Kingdom, that's an outstanding issue of whether that -- if 15 16 that antidumping duty remains in place, would it 17 be affecting the UK market? And the UK market is 18 one part of that for ethanol that we think could 19 be, again, a growing market. 20 And then finally, again, this is not 21 an immediate threat. But if the Commission

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and fewer pesticides that are registered and that 1 2 a lot of these will have the patents expired. So there'll be orphan products and companies may not 3 4 come up to actually seek renewal of them. And we 5 could end up losing those and having impacts in terms of our exports because the maximum residue 6 7 levels and then consequently the import tolerance 8 levels are going to put our exports of these 9 commodities in jeopardy. 10 So those are our priority issues that we need in what we view could be an important and 11 12 was once an important market for our growers and 13 our complete value chain. 14 Thank you. MS. BONNER: 15 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: We are almost out 16 of time. I guess as a final question, is there 17 anything that any of the panelists feel they 18 would like to raise that hasn't come up as yet or 19 anything in discussion that any of you would like 20 to respond to? 21 MR. PHILLIPS: I was just struck by many of the comments. Obviously, the sugar 22

industry has no aspirations to sell sugar into
 the EU. We would anticipate there might be some
 opportunities from some of the processed foods
 which will have sugar in it. And that's a
 problem there with the biotech -- with the GMO
 provisions.

7 But I want to point out since you were 8 asking about small businesses, the beet sugar 9 industry is entirely cooperative. All of our 10 processors are cooperatives. And for the cane, 11 there is also predominately worker owned or 12 cooperative. So these people would qualify as 13 small businesses.

14 The only thing, I don't know that this was particularly mentioned. 15 But what we 16 understand in the biotech area is that the EU 17 intends to treat this new technology of gene 18 editing the same way they treat GMOs. And we 19 think there's a distinct difference there. And 20 that could be a big problem as the technologies 21 emerge. So I'll just stop with that. Thank you. Okay. 22 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: And let me

| 1 | thank all of our panelists for this very rich and |
|----|---|
| 2 | very interesting discussion. And that brings |
| 3 | that first panel to a close. So please go about |
| 4 | your day and we'll bring up the next panel. |
| 5 | (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter |
| 6 | went off the record at 10:59 a.m. and resumed at |
| 7 | 11:07 a.m.) |
| 8 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very |
| 9 | much. Let's now begin with our second panel. As |
| 10 | with the first panel, we'd like to proceed |
| 11 | beginning from the first row to second row and |
| 12 | beginning from my right to left. So we'll begin |
| 13 | with Mr. Luis Gil Abinader from Knowledge Ecology |
| 14 | International. |
| 15 | MR. GIL ABINADER: Good morning. |
| 16 | Thank you for the opportunity to testify in this |
| 17 | hearing. My name is Luis Gil Abinader and I work |
| 18 | for Knowledge Ecology International. My |
| 19 | testimony today will be mostly about intellectual |
| 20 | property, medical technologies, and access to |
| 21 | knowledge. |
| 22 | But I want to start with a different |
| | |
| | |

point that is that trade agreements we believe should include a quality of life chapter. We think that governments could set minimum standards in terms of, for example, the size of the seats in the planes and the amount of space that you have for your legs during commercial flights.

8 And the broader point that we're 9 making with this which is a serious one is that trade agreements could be used to address 10 11 concerns that consumers actually have, right? In 12 addition to this, I have obviously all the points 13 which I'm going to highlight quickly. And with 14 regards to medical technologies, I'm going to highlight five of the points that we submitted in 15 16 our pre-hearing statement.

Promote innovation including for
drugs, vaccines, gene and cell therapies. Create
more competition for medical technologies.
Increase the supply and overcome the undersupply
of medical research as a public good.
Progressively delink the R&D incentives from the

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price of the products and services in the area of medical technology. Increase transparency for R&D investments. And increase transparency in regards to prices of products and services in the area of medical technologies.

6 With regards to intellectual property, 7 I'm going to highlight five of the proposals that 8 we have. Expand access to orphan copyrighted 9 works. Avoid ever-greening of patent protection 10 on medicines. And protect standards and standard 11 making organization from anti-competitive and 12 predatory licensing demands from patent holders.

And in the area of access to knowledge, I'm going to highlight two of the negotiating objectives that we propose. Enhance the production, transparency, and access to scientific research. And require public access for government funded databases, research reports, and papers.

We also have a list of things that we would not like to see in a trade agreement. And the remainder of my time, I'm going to mention

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five of those. Do not create a trade agreement 1 2 norm with regards to data exclusivity in the years of regulatory exclusivity. Do not create a 3 4 trade agreement requirement that genes and cell 5 therapies including CAR-T technology being included as a product rather than as a procedure. 6 7 Do not create a trade agreement standard for 8 patentable subject matter.

9 Do not restrict space to eliminate 10 injunctions in certain intellectual property This is currently available in U.S. law. 11 cases. 12 And do not require aggressive provisions in terms 13 of damages for infringement in certain patent and 14 other intellectual property cases. U.S. law currently has a core standard that is "damages 15 16 adequate to compensate for the infringement". 17 And we think that a trade agreement should not 18 include a language that is more aggressive than 19 that one. 20 Thank you again for the opportunity to

21 testify.

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CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. I will

now go to Mr. Taylor from the Pharmaceutical 1 2 Research and Manufacturers of America. MR. TAYLOR: Good morning. 3 It's a 4 pleasure to be here on behalf of the 5 Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America or PhRMA. I appreciate the opportunity 6 7 to testify this morning. 8 PhRMA represents the country's leading 9 innovative biopharmaceutical research companies which are devoted to inventing, manufacturing, 10 and distributing valuable medicines that enable 11 12 patients to live longer, healthier, and more 13 productive lives. 14 A key component of America's high tech economy, the research-based biopharmaceutical 15 16 sector supports nearly 4.7 million jobs including 17 more than 800,000 direct jobs and contributes 18 nearly \$1.3 trillion dollars in economic output 19 each year. Our sector is one of the most 20 research intensive in America and a top U.S. 21 exporter among IP intensive industries. In 2017 alone, we exported more than \$55 billion dollars 22

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in pharmaceutics.

| 2 | The EU is an especially important |
|----|---|
| 3 | market for our industry. The U.S. and Europe are |
| 4 | home to many of the most innovative |
| 5 | biopharmaceutical companies in the world. PhRMA |
| 6 | and its members therefore strongly support the |
| 7 | negotiation of a high standard agreement with the |
| 8 | EU. Such an agreement could significantly |
| 9 | enhance the world's largest trading relationship, |
| 10 | spur further innovation to support additional |
| 11 | cures, and cement high market access, |
| 12 | intellectual property, and regulatory standards. |
| 13 | Biopharmaceutical innovators depend on |
| 14 | fair and transparent market access, robust IP |
| 15 | protection and enforcement, and strong regulatory |
| 16 | systems. The recently concluded U.SMexico- |
| 17 | Canada Agreement or USMCA successfully addressed |
| 18 | many of these and therefore provides a very |
| 19 | strong base from which to negotiate a U.SEU |
| 20 | trade agreement. |
| 21 | From the perspective of our industry, |
| 22 | negotiations with the EU should address the |

following. First, negotiations should build common ground to ensure transparency and due process in approving, pricing, and reimbursing pharmaceuticals. 4

In many EU member states, governments 5 are the primary payers for medicines and in 6 7 effect dictate prices. This dominant position often results in member states failing to 8 9 appropriately recognize the value of innovation in their pricing and reimbursement policies and 10 instead engaging in actions that distort markets 11 12 and artificially depress prices.

13 With these concerns in mind, PhRMA welcomes the administration's continued focus on 14 the problem of advanced economies undervaluing 15 16 U.S. innovative medicines. The negotiations thus 17 provide an important opportunity consistent with 18 trade promotion authority to address and 19 eliminate price controls and to ensure the 20 government regulatory reimbursement regimes are 21 transparent, nondiscriminatory, and provide procedural fairness and full market access for 22

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1 U.S. products.

| 2 | PhRMA recommends that the |
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| 3 | pharmaceutical market access commitments in the |
| 4 | existing U.S. and EU trade agreements, most |
| 5 | notably the U.SKorea, and EU-Korea agreements |
| 6 | form the basis for market access commitments |
| 7 | included in any EU-U.S. agreement. |
| 8 | Second, negotiations between the U.S. |
| 9 | and EU, two of the most innovative economies in |
| 10 | the world, should reinforce strong intellectual |
| 11 | property protections and effective enforcement |
| 12 | mechanisms. Both the U.S. and EU offer strong IP |
| 13 | protections within their respective systems. And |
| 14 | the parties should capitalize on these |
| 15 | negotiations to reaffirm their existing |
| 16 | commitments to IP and to secure the highest |
| 17 | international standards. |
| 18 | Consistent with U.S. law and TPA, the |
| 19 | U.S. should seek IP protections that meet the |
| 20 | highest global standards including at least 12 |
| 21 | years of regulatory data protection for biologic |
| 22 | medicines. At the same time, the negotiation |

| 1 | should ensure that the EU's current patent term |
|----|---|
| 2 | restoration mechanism, referred to as |
| 3 | supplementary protection certificates, is not |
| 4 | amended to the detriment of IP protection. |
| 5 | A proposal currently under |
| 6 | consideration in the EU would reduce IP rights |
| 7 | and weaken existing incentives for innovation. |
| 8 | IP is the backbone of the innovative |
| 9 | pharmaceutical industry. By cementing strong IP |
| 10 | standards in a U.SEU agreement, the U.S. could |
| 11 | build on the successes of the USMCA, establish a |
| 12 | significant precedent for other future |
| 13 | agreements, and help pave the way for the next |
| 14 | generation of treatments and cures. |
| 15 | Third, the negotiation should increase |
| 16 | regulatory compatibility. The innovative |
| 17 | biopharmaceutical industry strongly supports |
| 18 | efforts to address incompatible or duplicative |
| 19 | regulatory requirements that can impede |
| 20 | efficiency in global drug development review and |
| 21 | evaluation. An enhanced U.SEU relationship |
| 22 | could be a unique opportunity to see even greater |

compatibility and to create streamlined processes and procedures.

For example, significant progress has 3 been made to date to mutually recognized good 4 manufacturing practices. Our industry actively 5 endorses these types of initiatives. 6 A strong 7 regulatory framework not only ensures that 8 patients have fast access to safe, high quality, 9 and effective medicines, but also encourages scientific research in innovative drug 10 11 development. 12 Thank you again for the opportunity to 13 testify today. We believe that with the right 14 policies and incentives in place here and abroad, our member companies can continue to bring 15 valuable new medicines to patients and contribute 16 17 powerfully to the American economy. 18 A U.S.-EU trade agreement offers an

19 important opportunity for the United States and 20 Europe to demonstrate a steadfast commitment to 21 intellectual property and innovation to establish 22 world class minimum standards for the parties to

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| 1 | seek in future agreements and to commit to |
|----|---|
| 2 | cooperation abroad in a multilateral |
| 3 | organizations. |
| 4 | PhRMA's written submission goes |
| 5 | through these issues more thoroughly, but I look |
| 6 | forward to answering any questions from the |
| 7 | panel. Thank you. |
| 8 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very |
| 9 | much. Mr. Francer? |
| 10 | MR. FRANCER: Mr. Chairman and members |
| 11 | of the committee, thank you very much. My name |
| 12 | is Jeff Francer. I'm the senior vice president |
| 13 | and general counsel of the Association for |
| 14 | Accessible Medicines. AAM represents the |
| 15 | manufacturers of generic and biosimilar medicines |
| 16 | in the United States. |
| 17 | In the last decade, generic medicines |
| 18 | have saved U.S. patients, taxpayers, and insurers |
| 19 | \$1.67 trillion dollars compared to prices that |
| 20 | would've been paid for brand name prescription |
| 21 | drugs. In 2017 alone, generic medicines saved |
| 22 | patients and taxpayers \$265 billion dollars. And |
| | |

| 1 | the potential savings from biosimilars is |
|----|---|
| 2 | projected to reach nearly the same level. |
| 3 | In 2016, AAM members manufactured over |
| 4 | 61 billion doses of prescription medicines here |
| 5 | in the United States at 149 facilities in 16 |
| 6 | states. Our members manufacture generic and |
| 7 | biosimilar medicines for use in the United States |
| 8 | as well as for export including the EU. |
| 9 | As an initial matter, AAM strongly |
| 10 | supports the administration's blueprint for |
| 11 | lowering prescription drug prices. Generic drug |
| 12 | and biosimilar competition is a centerpiece of |
| 13 | the President's blueprint because fair |
| 14 | competition is the best way to bring down the |
| 15 | cost of prescription drugs here in our country. |
| 16 | AAM supports provisions in the U.S. |
| 17 | trade agreements that deliver on the mandate and |
| 18 | TPA to ensure that the intellectual property |
| 19 | rights provisions of our trade agreements foster |
| 20 | innovation and also promote access to medicines. |
| 21 | Any trade agreement reached with the EU must |
| 22 | maintain this careful balance which is also |

reflected conceptually in U.S. law.

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2 Absent such balance, AAM would oppose the inclusion of IP provisions that extend the 3 monopoly protection for branded pharmaceuticals 4 5 such as longer data exclusivity periods or mandates to extend the patent term based on 6 delays in granting the patent or obtaining 7 8 marketing approval. AAM would also like to know that the 9 10 U.S. and EU already have strong protection of 11 pharmaceutical intellectual property and strong 12 engines for innovation under existing protections. Thus it's unclear whether there 13 14 even needs to be a pharmaceutical-specific IP 15 chapter within a U.S.-EU free trade agreement. 16 Moreover, AAM does not believe that 17 the current USMCA agreement as currently drafted 18 establishes the appropriate balance between 19 protecting innovation and encouraging access to affordable medicine. Thus it does not serve as 20 21 an appropriate model for the U.S.-EU trade 22 agreement.

| 1 | One area of great concern for AAM is |
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| 2 | the requirement for countries under the USMCA to |
| 3 | provide ten-year exclusivity period for brand |
| 4 | name biologics independent of patent protection. |
| 5 | President Trump's blueprint for lowering |
| 6 | prescription drug prices counts on access to |
| 7 | biosimilars, and the U.S. is far behind other |
| 8 | countries. Trade provisions that block patient |
| 9 | access to biosimilars hurt patients in the United |
| 10 | States and globally. |
| 11 | If there is an IPR chapter in the |
| 12 | U.SEU free trade agreement, AAM recommends that |
| 13 | it contain provisions to facilitate the timely |
| 14 | development of, and patient access to, generic |
| 15 | and biosimilar products in the U.S. and the EU. |
| 16 | These features are outlined in more |
| 17 | detail in our written submission and include a |
| 18 | clear and robust regulatory review or Bolar |
| 19 | period, an incentive for promoting generic and |
| 20 | biosimilar competition, and requirements to |
| 21 | disclose the best mode for carrying out a new |
| 22 | invention. |

| 1 | All of these requirements are |
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| 2 | contained in U.S. law already. And without such |
| 3 | provisions, the required balance between |
| 4 | protecting IP and encouraging access to medicines |
| 5 | will not be met. The net effect of such an |
| 6 | agreement would be a slowdown of biosimilar and |
| 7 | generic drug access for American patients, an |
| 8 | increase in prescription drug prices borne by |
| 9 | patients, employers, and taxpayers here in the |
| 10 | United States. |
| 11 | In conclusion, the U.SEU trade |
| 12 | agreement presents an opportunity to improve on |
| 13 | the USMCA by including provisions that enhance |
| 14 | generic and biosimilar drug development and |
| 15 | access. This approach will benefit U.S. |
| 16 | exporters of these medicines and advance the |
| 17 | President's goal of lowering drug prices in the |
| 18 | United States. |
| 19 | Most importantly, it will ensure that |
| 20 | America's workers, taxpayers, and patients have |
| 21 | greater access to affordable medicine. Thank you |
| 22 | and I look forward to taking your questions. |

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| 1 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very |
| 2 | much. Mr. O'Mara? |
| 3 | MR. O'MARA: Good morning, and thank |
| 4 | you for the opportunity to testify today. I am |
| 5 | Matthew O'Mara, Vice President for International |
| 6 | Affairs representing BIO's one thousand members |
| 7 | developing innovating biotech products and |
| 8 | applications spanning the agricultural, |
| 9 | environmental, health, and industrial sectors. |
| 10 | Our member companies, predominantly |
| 11 | small and medium size enterprises without |
| 12 | commercial products, proudly harness our |
| 13 | biotechnology tools to address a number of global |
| 14 | challenges identified by the UN sustainable |
| 15 | development goals, including no poverty, zero |
| 16 | hunger, good health and well-being, clean water |
| 17 | and sanitation, to name a few. |
| 18 | To successfully bring these products |
| 19 | to market, the proper policy and regulatory |
| 20 | frameworks are necessary. Strong IP, science- |
| 21 | based decision-making free from political |
| 22 | influence, timely and predictable market access |
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1 are all critical elements.

| 2 | The biotechnology sector is becoming |
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| 3 | increasingly global, making trade policy critical |
| 4 | to our membership, particularly the small and |
| 5 | medium sized enterprises that lack the resources |
| 6 | to navigate the global marketplace. |
| 7 | The proposed U.SEU agreement is a |
| 8 | substantial opportunity for our members, |
| 9 | particularly our small and medium sized companies |
| 10 | in the health sector, as the EU and U.S. are |
| 11 | likely the first two markets they will attempt to |
| 12 | enter. |
| 13 | As such, ensuring high standards for |
| 14 | IP in both markets, that IP standards remain |
| 15 | high, are strengthened and sustained, regulatory |
| 16 | relationships and cooperation are further |
| 17 | harmonized, and the value of innovation respected |
| 18 | through market access. |
| 19 | For our companies investing in |
| 20 | agricultural innovation, this agreement is of |
| 21 | critical importance to reverse the European |
| 22 | Union's departure and steady decline in the |

science-based decision-making that affects farmers around the world, and most significantly in developing economies. This is why BIO strongly supports a U.S.-EU agreement that maintains an ambitious agenda and comprehensive scope.

7 As outlined in our comments, BIO 8 believes recent trade agreements, including the 9 USMCA, KORUS FTA, and the EU-Korea FTA forms a 10 strong foundation from which to build a stronger 11 transatlantic trading relationship.

12 With respect to biopharmaceuticals, 13 BIO recommends the U.S. and EU capture provisions 14 from respective agreements with Korea to 15 establish greater transparency and accountability 16 with respect to pricing and reimbursement 17 decisions to ensure European patients can receive 18 timely access to new innovations. 19 Further, BIO feels strongly that any 20 form of price controls which distort market

incentives and stifle innovation are addressed.

With respect to harmonization and

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biopharmaceuticals, a strong basis is already established with the U.S. and EU Export Working Group and recent conclusion of the U.S. MRA and good manufacturing practices. We urge the two economies to harness this agreement to strengthen and sustain these efforts.

7 With regard to IP, both economies 8 maintain high standards, and we strongly support 9 further strengthening. Chief among these objectives would be to achieve 12 years of 10 11 regulatory data protection for biologics, and to 12 address efforts to weaken the rights of SPC holders to allow for the stockpiling and 13 14 manufacturing for export during the SPC period.

15 Finally, on agricultural innovation, 16 BIO remains highly concerned with the departure 17 from science-based decision-making. Various 18 agricultural biotechnologies contributed to a 19 substantial and balanced bilateral trade since 20 1999. Import authorizations for new biotech 21 products took on average seven and a half years 22 in 2017, the risk assessment alone averaging 5.5

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years.

| 2 | Following completion of the risk |
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| 3 | assessment and EFSA's expert recommendation is |
| 4 | advanced, the member state decision-making |
| 5 | process breaks down, science is ignored and the |
| 6 | Commission is left to make the determination. |
| 7 | This cycle continues to undermine science and |
| 8 | delay the process, including additional |
| 9 | requiring additional redundant and unnecessary |
| 10 | steps during the risk assessment process. |
| 11 | This has consequences far beyond |
| 12 | European borders, affecting U.S. farmers' |
| 13 | decisions and the ability of farmers in |
| 14 | developing countries to easily address threats to |
| 15 | their crops such as the fall armyworm in Africa. |
| 16 | Further, with respect to animal |
| 17 | health, the newly revised veterinary and |
| 18 | medicinal products legislation will impose |
| 19 | Europe's hazard-based system on trading partners, |
| 20 | threatening to stop trade in meat and animal |
| 21 | products globally. |
| 22 | This agreement is critical to address |
| | |

existing commercial technologies, but also the 1 2 future of agricultural innovation. BIO seeks a reset with the EU and an outcome that respects 3 science and innovation and empowers the world to 4 5 adopt farm practices that are more productive and less environmentally intensive and promote the 6 7 health and well-being of plants and animals. Thank you, I'm happy to answer your 8 9 questions. 10 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. And our 11 final witness, Maria Fabiana Jorge, MFJ 12 International. 13 MS. FABIANA JORGE: Thank you. Good 14 morning, and thank you for the opportunity to 15 participate in this panel. 16 My name is Maria Fabiana Jorge, and I 17 have been working for over 25 years on issues 18 related to trade, intellectual property, and 19 access to drugs. MFJ International is a small 20 consulting firm with a significant focus on 21 increasing access to affordable medication throughout the world. 22

This testimony is not made on behalf
 of any government.

President Trump's blueprint to lower 3 drug prices has stated that one of his greatest 4 5 priorities is to reduce the price of prescription This is something that touches every 6 drugs. 7 single American. In his blueprint, the President 8 also addressed the need to increase competition 9 and to end the gaming of regulatory processes that make these drug prices artificially inflated 10 11 or hinder generic branded or biosimilar 12 competition.

It is with this frame of reference 13 14 that I would like to address a need to adjust the 15 U.S. trade policy to support and meet the 16 priorities identified by the President. In order 17 to do so, intellectual property provisions 18 related to pharmaceuticals need to be adjusted to 19 meet the President's priorities and the current market realities. 20

I would like to address three issues:
the need to adjust U.S. trade policy, the

importance of the European market for the generic biosimilar industry, and the need to include provisions to ensure the expedited launch of generic and biosimilar products.

The generic industry represents a 5 great success story, growing from 19 percent of 6 generic utilization in 1984 to about 90 percent 7 of generic utilization today. Given that the 8 9 U.S. market is now at a point of saturation, the only way the generic industry could continue to 10 grow is by expanding to foreign markets. 11 As a 12 result, during the last decade, many generic 13 companies have invested heavily, thus becoming 14 global players.

Today, many generic biosimilar 15 16 companies depend significantly on the revenues 17 they obtain from foreign markets. Generic 18 utilization rates in the European Union are very 19 dissimilar. The generic market share in Germany 20 and the UK in 2016 reached 75 percent in volume, 21 but less than 30 percent in Italy, and less than 22 15 percent in Luxembourg. Hence, the European

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Union offers an important opportunity for the
 generic industry to grow.

With regards to the biosimilar market, the European Union is ahead of the U.S. But biosimilar penetration in the EU remains low.

Therefore, it is critical that the 6 7 agreement with the European Union not only not 8 include higher barriers to entry through the 9 adoption of higher intellectual property standards, but also that it adopt provisions to 10 11 increase and speed up the launch of generic and 12 biosimilar drugs, allowing this industry to 13 continue to grow and generate more jobs at home.

14 It is essential that the agreement not 15 open the door to new evergreening practices, but 16 prevent the use of frivolous lawsuits to block or 17 delay competition. Furthermore, the President 18 and the FDA Commissioner have addressed the 19 importance of increasing the use of biosimilars.

It is therefore critical not to make
the mistake of the USMCA granting a very long
exclusivity period for biologics, thus ignoring

the conclusions of the Federal Trade Commission that no exclusivity is necessary for these drugs, given that originator companies will retain most

of the market share and price, even after patent expiration.

While 15 biosimilar drugs have been 6 approved, only six have been launched, as most of 7 8 the rest are tied up in litigation. As 9 Commissioner Gottlieb stated, competition for biosimilars is for the most part anemic, in part 10 11 because litigation has delayed market access for 12 biosimilar products that are or shortly will be available in markets outside the U.S. several 13 14 years before they will be available to patients 15 here.

16 These delays compound this enormous 17 cost for patients and payers. It is too 18 premature to determine the period needed for this 19 exclusivity in this incipient market. 20 Furthermore, trade agreements should not prevent 21 Congress from determining what is the actual 22 period of exclusivity needed for these expensive

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1 drugs, if any.

| 2 | Neither the USMCA nor the U.SJapan |
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| 3 | FTA, or the U.SEU FTA should lock such |
| 4 | provisions, overriding the work of democratically |
| 5 | elected members of Congress. Likewise, the |
| 6 | agreement should not include a definition of what |
| 7 | is a biologic product. This should be deferred |
| 8 | to the FDA so it can be adjusted with the |
| 9 | development of science. |
| 10 | Given the importance of the European |
| 11 | market for the generic and biosimilar industry, |
| 12 | the USTR should ensure the adoption of provisions |
| 13 | that will support the export of generic and |
| 14 | biosimilar drugs so the industry can grow, |
| 15 | continue to provide more affordable drugs in the |
| 16 | US, and generate more drugs at home. |
| 17 | In order to accomplish this, the |
| 18 | agreement should foster the launch of generic and |
| 19 | biosimilar drugs. For example, it should provide |
| 20 | incentives to challenge the validity and |
| 21 | enforceability of patents, include a broad |
| 22 | mandatory boiler provision, require the |

disclosure of best mode, and impose similar 1 2 penalties to those that infringe intellectual property rights, as to those that misuse them 3 simply to prevent competition. 4 These provisions are important to 5 strike a balance between innovation and access, 6 7 and that will also allow us to maximize exports. 8 I thank you again for the opportunity to 9 participate in this hearing. CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Well, I'd like to 10 11 thank very much the witnesses for your testimony this morning. It's, again, extraordinarily 12 useful for us to hear from those with skin in the 13 14 game, what it is we should be pursuing in these negotiations. 15 16 We'll probably from this side go to questions from the panelists pretty much in the

questions from the panelists pretty much in the order in which you originally presented. And I'll start off with a few questions to the representative from Knowledge Ecology International, Mr. Abinader.

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One of the points in your written

testimony was that you suggested enhancing
 transparency in software algorithms, protocols
 for software, as a way to protect against cyber
 threats. And I was wondering if you could
 elaborate a bit on the link between transparency
 and protection against cyber threats.

7 MR. GIL ABINADER: Yes, so we have 8 seen a trend, and it is in the USMCA agreement, a 9 restriction that governments can require 10 companies to disclose the software for whatever 11 reasons, whether that's security reasons, whether 12 that's privacy reasons, or any other reason.

So there's a debate in Congress and in other, you know, countries related to how to regulate some of the algorithms in some of the softwares.

And so if we are at a stage where we are exploring the kind of policy that can be implemented, if trade agreements include a restriction to government so governments cannot ask companies to disclose that software in order to explore and to regulate, then trade agreements

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| 1 | would significantly limit that ability, and it |
| 2 | could be problematic. |
| 3 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Okay, so it has to |
| 4 | do with requests from a government? |
| 5 | MR. GIL ABINADER: Governments, yeah, |
| 6 | so, yeah. |
| 7 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: You also mentioned |
| 8 | as one of your priorities the protection of |
| 9 | privacy, and I was wondering how, whether how |
| 10 | you envisioned that in the U.SEU trade |
| 11 | agreement we could be enhancing privacy |
| 12 | protections, and whether there are samples from |
| 13 | other, examples from other negotiations that you |
| 14 | think might serve as a model for preserving the |
| 15 | protections of privacy? |
| 16 | MR. GIL ABINADER: Yeah, I think it |
| 17 | would be better to follow up with specifics on |
| 18 | that regard, if there's any mechanism to follow |
| 19 | up comments. |
| 20 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Okay, great, thank |
| 21 | you. Your submission also called for expanded |
| 22 | access to orphaned copyrighted works. And I was |
| | |

wondering if you had in mind specific provisions 1 2 or commitments that you would recommend in pursuit of that aim? 3 4 MR. GIL ABINADER: Right, so one 5 specific policy could be, for example, include formalities in copyrighted works when the term, 6 beyond the term of the convergence, which, you 7 8 know, prohibits formalities. 9 So formalities can be introduced in order to understand, to have for example a 10 11 registration in order to have an understanding of 12 where is the work, who is the title holder and other information about the works. 13 That's one 14 way of doing it. CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: All right. 15 Thank 16 you, I'll stop there and we'll see how the time 17 We may come back around, go one more qoes. 18 round. Colleague from the Department of 19 Commerce. 20 MS. BOHON: Yes. Hi, Ellen Bohon, 21 Department of Commerce. Thank you for your 22 testimony. This first question is for both Mr.

| 1 | Taylor and Mr. O'Mara. What commitments would |
|----|---|
| 2 | you like to see in an agreement to address your |
| 3 | concerns regarding pricing and reimbursement |
| 4 | policymaking? And would your proposals limit |
| 5 | what the U.S. Government could do to address |
| 6 | healthcare costs? |
| 7 | MR. TAYLOR: I'll take the first shot |
| 8 | at that. |
| 9 | MS. BOHON: Thanks. |
| 10 | MR. TAYLOR: Thank you for your |
| 11 | question. There's a rich history here of trade |
| 12 | agreements addressing these sorts of issues, |
| 13 | dating back in the United States to Australia and |
| 14 | Korea. And chapters that look at pricing |
| 15 | reimbursement systems and transparency measures |
| 16 | that apply to the systems, as well as the need to |
| 17 | appropriately value the innovative nature of |
| 18 | biopharmaceuticals. |
| 19 | What we're seeking in the EU-U.S. FTA |
| 20 | would be something comparable to that sort of |
| 21 | chapter. There's a history in the EU as well, in |
| 22 | its agreement with Korea. There's language in |
| | |

that agreement that more or less mirrors the U.S.-Korea FTA.

We believe that on the pricing 3 4 reimbursement side, when you're dealing with 5 markets that enforce price controls, the need for transparency and the need to push for competitive 6 7 market-based disciplines in those systems is a 8 critical goal. And it's going to be very 9 important in the EU, where we face a number of price controls as an industry. 10 So on the one hand, you have the 11 12 transparency piece, the deadlines, the due 13 process elements. A lot of these, my 14 understanding is in the EU track, the transparency directive already exists, so it's 15 16 really not asking much more than is already at 17 play. But then you have this notion that these 18 systems need to appropriately value the 19 innovation in medicines.

20 Would they have an effect here in the 21 United States? I think the answer to that is no 22 for a couple reasons. It would have a beneficial

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| 1 | effect, I think, for U.S. industry and for the |
| 2 | creation of more, newer medicines and more |
| 3 | competition in the pharmaceutical market. |
| 4 | We have a competitive, market-based |
| 5 | system here. We're not actually trying to |
| 6 | address in the United States the same sorts of |
| 7 | price controls and government systems that we're |
| 8 | looking at abroad. So that's one element. |
| 9 | Second, we've already committed to |
| 10 | these obligations under several FTAs to date. So |
| 11 | it's already there in U.S. trade policy as an |
| 12 | obligation for the United States. |
| 13 | So those would be the key elements. |
| 14 | They would not have an impact on the United |
| 15 | States, but they are key to opening up market |
| 16 | access in the EU in member states, and I think |
| 17 | more broadly to other markets where the U.S. is |
| 18 | engaged in free trade agreement talks. |
| 19 | MS. BOHON: Thank you. |
| 20 | MR. O'MARA: Well, I fully support Mr. |
| 21 | Taylor's comprehensive response. Hard to add |
| 22 | much, frankly, but yes, I think to just echo the |
| | |

fact that this would not be breaking new ground with respect to a trade agreement. This has been something that's been addressed in a number of them.

And I think Mr. Taylor's point with 5 respect to the fact that there's already a 6 7 transparency directive in Europe with regards to 8 requirements for, you know, once a product has 9 been approved, you know, the process for actually getting reimbursed. I think that's really the 10 11 issue here, is to make sure that there's no --12 the lag does not go on.

There needs to be transparency with respect to why the decision, you know, what the decision was based on. And I think it's important that people understand that products are available, and especially ones to treat lifethreatening illnesses.

19And so I think end goal here is to get20products to the market faster.

MS. BOHON: Thank you. So Mr. Taylor,if the pricing and transparency language from

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KORUS is sufficient to form the basis of 1 2 discussion, what other specific provisions should be included? 3 4 MR. TAYLOR: In terms of that 5 language? 6 MS. BOHON: Yes, I'm sorry, on pricing 7 and transparency. 8 I think that the U.S.-MR. TAYLOR: 9 Korea language is a good start. And again, it has its companion language in the EU-Korea text. 10 11 I think that the USMCA language honestly is a 12 good start as well. Talk about agreement as a 13 template for future trade agreements. 14 I would encourage us to think about what additional disciplines could be set in the 15 16 language as we think about some of the nuances of 17 the European system. 18 But as a baseline and as a start, I think that the Korea text, the timelines, as Mr. 19 20 O'Mara mentioned, the transparency elements. 21 These systems, when our companies are trying to 22 gain market access in a number of European and

other economies are more or less a black box. 1 We 2 need due process and discipline imposed on the 3 systems. 4 And then again, this obligation that 5 these markets and systems be pushed to a place where they're actually recognizing and 6 7 appropriately valuing the innovations inherent in 8 the medicines I think is important. So I think 9 Korea is a good start. 10 MS. BOHON: Thank you. 11 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Why don't we turn 12 next to a colleague from Health and Human Services for Mr. Francer. 13 14 Good morning, Emily MS. BLEIMUND: Bleimund from U.S. Health and Human Services. 15 16 So, Mr. Francer, have AAM members faced issues 17 regarding transparency or procedural fairness 18 with respect to drug pricing in the EU? And if so, what have been the concerns and how would you 19 20 propose that we address them? 21 MR. FRANCER: Yeah, thank you for the 22 question. I'm not aware of problems with

transparency with respect to pricing in the EU. I'd note that we don't have much of a quarrel with some of the transparency provisions that Mr. Taylor was just discussing.

5 And we think, quite frankly, that that 6 is probably the best way to ensure that there's 7 appropriate compensation for the brand-name 8 drugs, as opposed to the IP provisions which 9 create monopolies that block access to generic 10 and biosimilar medicines.

11 MS. BLEIMUND: Thank you. One more 12 question. In your submission, you discuss 13 waiving bridging studies. Can you elaborate on 14 how or if the waiving of bridging studies can be done under the existing FDA and EMA requirements? 15 16 MR. FRANCER: Yes. In general, just

to make sure that everybody on the panel can
understand, we face, and this is the same on the
brand side of the ecosystem as well, different
requirements for approval in different countries.
And so both the innovative side and the generic
and biosimilar side generally support regulatory

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harmonization.

| 2 | One area of particular sensitivity, |
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| 3 | especially on biosimilar medicines, which can be |
| 4 | much more expensive to produce than typical small |
| 5 | molecule generic, is if the U.S. FDA is requiring |
| 6 | the repetition of studies that have already |
| 7 | occurred elsewhere in the world. Because the |
| 8 | U.S. is so far behind in biosimilars, often these |
| 9 | studies will be done in Europe first. |
| 10 | So we believe that it's important to |
| 11 | create a type of regulatory harmonization that |
| 12 | can allow for the acceptance of those types of |
| 13 | studies under U.S. law. We believe it's |
| 14 | consistent with U.S. law. I'm happy to give you |
| 15 | more detail on that in a submission after the |
| 16 | hearing. |
| 17 | MS. BLEIMUND: Thank you. |
| 18 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: All right, we turn |
| 19 | back to a Commerce colleague. |
| 20 | MS. BOHON: Thank you. So this |
| 21 | question is for Mr. O'Mara, BIO. What specific |
| 22 | changes does BIO recommend that the Commission |
| | |

and the European Food and Safety Authority make 1 2 to have a timely and risk-based authorization 3 process? 4 MR. O'MARA: Thank you. Well, there 5 are a number of challenges in the risk assessment process for the approval of genetically 6 engineered crops. 7 First and foremost, one of the 8 biggest challenges we face is the actual 9 legislative timelines in Europe are six months. And as I mentioned earlier and it was 10 11 in my testimony, the average is taking seven and 12 a half years to gain approval. Sticking to that 13 timeline, sticking somewhat close to that 14 timeline would be a vast improvement. 15 I think the one problem that, one 16 reason that there's so much lag is the fact that 17 any time there's a question to an applicant, the 18 clock stops. And it's not an automatic 19 restarting of the clock once the applicant 20 actually resubmits the information. So that's 21 one of the big areas where there's lost time. 22 I think the other key point here is

1 that as there, the concerns of member states have 2 increased over the years with respect to 3 political voting matters. What that has done is 4 force the development of -- it's basically forced 5 the European Food Safety Authority to get rid of 6 scientific discretion.

7 So even if a study is not necessarily 8 based on their own scientific guidelines, they 9 have to do it. And 31 new, I think 31 new 10 guidance documents have been implemented since 11 2006, basically taking the scientific discretion 12 out of EFSA's hands.

13 The other piece here is that when you 14 talk about combination of biotech traits 15 together, what we call stacked events, what many 16 countries do around the world is they look at the 17 single approvals, and when those products are 18 combined, they look at the highest order 19 combination.

20 What Europe does, say there's three to 21 four products that have been stacked together. 22 Europe looks at every iteration, and they do it

only after all the singles have been approved. 1 2 So we add a tremendous amount of time to the 3 overall process. Thank you. MS. BOHON: Thank you, one more 4 5 question. How would the Commission -- how should the Commission address the advent of new 6 7 technologies such as gene editing in light of the 8 recent European Court of Justice opinion? 9 Frankly, I think the MR. O'MARA: 10 agreement is critical because Europe is in 11 desperate need of reforms in the area of 12 regulation of food and animal products. The previous panel listed off a number of those. 13 14 One of the concerning developments has to do with ag innovation, as you mentioned, gene 15 16 editing. The recent European Court of Justice 17 ruled that, this decision ruled that essentially 18 products that can be produced via traditional 19 methods of plant breeding are effectively the 20 same as GMOs and must be subject to the same 21 directive. But that decision was not based on 22

science, it was based purely on court 1 2 proceedings, and there was no risk assessment Many other countries around the world are 3 done. finding a different, less burdensome way of 4 addressing this issue. Which again, is simply a 5 matter of evolution in plant breeding. 6 7 How would I suggest it be addressed? 8 I don't know that it necessarily should be done 9 in the agreement itself, but the fact of the matter is there needs to be reforms, and I think 10 11 this agreement needs to support reforms, and 12 there needs to be a commitment in this agreement to science-based decision-making and a commitment 13 14 to enabling innovation in this area. Specifically to this one issue also, 15 16 I'd just point out that Europe's own science 17 advisors have come out to say that reform is 18 needed because the GMO directive is not 19 appropriate for regulation of gene editing. 20 MS. BOHON: Thank you. 21 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Let's turn back to the colleague from HHS. 22

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| 1 | MS. BLEIMUND: Thank you, this |
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| 2 | question is for Ms. Jorge. You note that very |
| 3 | few biosimilars that have been launched in the |
| 4 | United States you note that very few |
| 5 | biosimilars have been launched in the United |
| 6 | States and their utilization rate remains low in |
| 7 | both the U.S. and the EU, even after launch. |
| 8 | Can you please describe how the |
| 9 | provisions you would like to see included in the |
| 10 | agreement to support the growth of the biosimilar |
| 11 | industry will result in improvements to the |
| 12 | status quo? Would these provisions require |
| 13 | changes to U.S. law? |
| 14 | MS. FABIANA JORGE: Thank you for the |
| 15 | question. Yes, as I say, there are 15 products |
| 16 | that have been approved by FDA and there is a |
| 17 | very conscious effort to bring the products to |
| 18 | the market. And the government is doing, the FDA |
| 19 | is doing everything they can to do that. But |
| 20 | only six products have been launched. |
| 21 | Certainly this is not because the |
| 22 | biosimilar companies don't want to launch them. |
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| 1 | Something is preventing them, and like |
| 2 | Commissioner Gottlieb said, it is litigation. |
| 3 | So one of the things we need to really |
| 4 | look at, and I think we all want the protection |
| 5 | of intellectual property, but we do not want |
| 6 | misuse of it. And it has to be a balance. This |
| 7 | country has both a pharmaceutical industry, |
| 8 | originator industry, but also a generic one. |
| 9 | And the trade policy cannot reflect |
| 10 | only one side of the industry. It has to be |
| 11 | balanced, and that will only help to maximize |
| 12 | exports. So the answer to your question what |
| 13 | needs to be done, in my opinion, it has to be |
| 14 | addressing some of these obstacles that are being |
| 15 | taken to prevent or delay the entry of generic |
| 16 | companies, or biosimilar companies in this case. |
| 17 | And let me just mention, this is from |
| 18 | a case in New York from 2010 between AstraZeneca |
| 19 | and Dr. Lurie. And the judge in the ruling said |
| 20 | basically he had been telling AstraZeneca to |
| 21 | withdraw the case, it was no case. But they |
| 22 | refused to do it. So the judge in the ruling |

said, AstraZeneca insists that its litigation
 conduct here was appropriate because a lot of
 money was on the line.

This is a ridiculous claim to make. Astra was not free to throw up roadblocks or to assert a claim construction in bad faith to abuse the court system just because it was to its economic advantage to keep a competitor out of the marketplace.

So we think litigation is very 10 important, and if it's an infringement that is 11 12 But the problem is if litigation is being wrong. 13 used not just to defend what has to be fairly 14 defended, but just to prevent competition. And that needs to be addressed. And the U.S.-EU FTA, 15 16 Free Trade Agreement, would do really well if it 17 addresses these type of issues. 18 MS. BLEIMUND: Thank you. 19 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Maybe, I think we have a few minutes more. 20

21 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: About ten to 22 fifteen minutes left.

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| 1 | MR. SPITZER: I'm happy to take ten, |
| 2 | fifteen minutes. Going to circle back to |
| 3 | Knowledge Ecology International. You mentioned |
| 4 | that your number one priority in your written |
| 5 | submission was to promote innovation for medical |
| 6 | technologies, including the drug, vaccines, |
| 7 | diagnostic tests, gene therapies, things like |
| 8 | that. In an agreement, how would you see us best |
| 9 | promoting the innovation in those technologies? |
| 10 | MR. GIL ABINADER: I guess the idea is |
| 11 | that we have adopted a tool for promoting |
| 12 | innovations exclusively based on high prices and |
| 13 | monopolies, which is intellectual property. |
| 14 | And there are alternatives to |
| 15 | promoting innovations, some of them that could be |
| 16 | introduced in a trade agreement, for example, |
| 17 | agreements on minimum fundings of R&D and, you |
| 18 | know, and having safeguards in the way that the |
| 19 | result for that R&D, it's adopted. So agreements |
| 20 | on minimum fundings, agreements for R&D, right. |
| 21 | So other setting priorities of |
| 22 | research and for example, in the area of anti- |
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microbial resistance, de-linkage incentive of R&D 1 2 from the prices of the products and several other mechanisms that, does it have to be exclusively 3 4 based on high prices and monopolies. CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: And so, rules on 5 funding of R&D, you're talking about the 6 7 government funding? MR. GIL ABINADER: Government funding 8 9 They are including more, you know, I of R&D. guess specific provisions could be in terms of, 10 11 for example, the licensing of the research that 12 had been funded by the government. The U.S. 13 already had provisions in that regard, Section 14 209 of the Babel Act that has some provisions requiring that that research has to be licensed 15 16 under reasonable terms. 17 And so the U.S. could try to ask other 18 countries to do the same thing, and the U.S. 19 could ask for transparency in terms of how 20 governments license government-funded research. 21 And several other specific proposals, too. CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Thank you. 22 I like

to ask this question at the end of the last 1 2 session, which was is there anything that was left unsaid after all these discussions among the 3 4 panelists, anything they would make, anything 5 they would like to say before you close out the second panel? 6 7 MS. FABIANA JORGE: It is a lot, but 8 we don't have time for it. 9 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Let me thank all of 10 our witnesses very sincerely for these 11 presentations. This has been a very interesting 12 session for us. This brings this panel to a 13 close, and we will open the next one at 12:05. 14 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went off the record at 11:56 a.m. and resumed at 15 16 12:05 p.m.) 17 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you all very 18 much. Can we have the audience please be quiet? 19 Welcome to our third panel this morning. We will be hearing from Celeste Drake of the AFL-CIO, 20 21 Marjorie Chorlins, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Rufus Yerxa with the National Foreign Trade 22

Council, and William Foley of Libbey 1 2 Incorporated. As in our previous panels, we'd like 3 4 to start from my right or your left and go in 5 that direction, and please respect the five minute limit for oral testimony, and let's get 6 7 started. 8 Thank you, Mr. Chairman, MS. DRAKE: members of the committee. Good afternoon. 9 Ι appreciate this opportunity to testify on a 10 11 possible trade deal between the United States and 12 the European Union on behalf of the AFL-CIO and its 55 affiliated unions. 13 14 I've submitted written testimony for the record and I will highlight key issues here. 15 16 At the outset, the AFL-CIO emphasizes 17 that one-off trade agreements are not an 18 efficient way to create good jobs, raise wages, 19 or address inequality. 20 Even generous projections for the 21 previous effort at a U.S.-EU agreement projected 22 growth after 10 years at a mere one half of one

percent of GDP and history has shown that these 1 2 projections vastly overstate benefits and understate costs to working families. 3 A more effective way to grow the U.S. 4 5 economy and increase opportunities for hardworking Americans would be a coordinated mix of 6 7 wage led growth policies and significant 8 infrastructure investment yielding projected 9 growth of more than nine percent after a mere 10 five years. 11 That being said, should the president 12 wish to move ahead with negotiations with the 13 European Union, we urge that he do so in a 14 cooperative, transparent, and inclusive manner. Civil society, including labor unions 15 16 on both sides of the Atlantic, are key partners 17 with critical insight and advice. Keeping the 18 public in the dark, as happened with the TTIP 19 negotiations, is likely to backfire, creating 20 public opposition before the deal is even 21 concluded. 22 We recommend that the negotiations

focus on key issues such as reducing tariffs, 1 2 setting high bars for labor and environmental protections, and creating cooperative mechanisms 3 which include unions and others members of civil 4 society to address trade irritants and alleged 5 non-tariff barriers. 6 7 Where tariffs are reduced, staging must recognize the trade sensitivity of certain 8 9 products and phase out periods for those products 10 must be lengthy. Unlike market fundamentalists who 11 12 brought us the great financial crisis, we 13 recognize the value of public interest 14 protections that keep workers safe on the job, children safe at the breakfast table, and 15 16 families safe on their travels. 17 The approach of past U.S. trade 18 agreements based on corporate wish lists of ways 19 to limit the ways we can regulate banks, food 20 safety, brand name pharmaceuticals, and even

Instead, the deal should create a

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public services should be abandoned entirely.

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cooperative mechanism to address and resolve specific trade challenges. This will better protect the right of citizens on both sides of the Atlantic to democratically decide the levels of protection that we want.

6 Rather than responding to the demands 7 of global corporations, the primary goals of this 8 negotiation must be full employment, decent work, 9 and rising standards of living for all. Of 10 critical importance are the labor and 11 environmental rules the agreement would 12 establish.

13 The deal's labor rules must protect 14 workers' rights to organize and act collectively. 15 They must explicitly require each party to adopt 16 and maintain in law, regulation, and practice 17 fundamental labor rights with specific reference 18 to the ILO core conventions.

19 The labor provisions must apply to all 20 workers regardless of sector or citizenship and 21 include enforceable standards for acceptable 22 conditions of work and the recruitment of migrant

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| 2 | The labor provisions should also stand |
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| 3 | up an independent secretariat to make monitoring |
| 4 | and enforcement less confrontational, and a |
| 5 | working group to oversee the impacts of the deal |
| 6 | on issues such as wages, working conditions, and |
| 7 | local communities. |
| 8 | Without such a working group, the long |
| 9 | term impacts of the deal could only be evaluated |
| 10 | by general measures such as increased trade flows |
| 11 | which don't reflect quality of life for ordinary |
| 12 | Americans. |
| 13 | The deal should also prevent U.S. and |
| 14 | EU companies from using transatlantic investment |
| 15 | as a way to avoid obligations to workers. |
| 16 | The labor enforcement provisions must |
| 17 | ensure prompt actions and trade sanctions when |
| 18 | necessary. Delayed and uncertain enforcement is |
| 19 | tantamount to no enforcement at all. |
| 20 | The United States and the EU are each |
| 21 | other's largest source of foreign direct |
| 22 | investment. In 2017, transatlantic FDI flows |

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| 1 | totaled more than \$5 trillion. Thus, this deal |
| 2 | need not sacrifice our ability to screen or |
| 3 | regulate foreign investment in the name of |
| 4 | attracting it. |
| 5 | Rather, the parties should work |
| 6 | jointly and cooperatively to develop and apply |
| 7 | policies that protect our economies from the |
| 8 | threat of predatory investments by third parties. |
| 9 | We strongly oppose ISDS, which |
| 10 | provides foreign investors with a private justice |
| 11 | system. If U.S. courts are good enough for U.S |
| 12 | based companies and workers, they're good enough |
| 13 | for foreign companies. |
| 14 | In sum, we recommend a new style deal |
| 15 | focused on tariff reductions, sustainable |
| 16 | environmental practices, and rising standards for |
| 17 | workers. I thank the committee and would be |
| 18 | pleased to answer any questions you may have. |
| 19 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Ms. Chorlins? |
| 20 | MS. CHORLINS: Thank you and good |
| 21 | afternoon, Marjorie Chorlins here on behalf of |
| 22 | the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and I appreciate |

| 1 | the opportunity to present the following |
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| 2 | testimony in response to the U.S. Trade |
| 3 | Representative's Federal Register notice. |
| 4 | The U.S. business community is |
| 5 | encouraged that the U.S. and the European Union |
| 6 | have returned to the negotiating table and are |
| 7 | committed to securing tangible improvements in |
| 8 | the transatlantic commercial relationship. |
| 9 | In recent years, the EU has negotiated |
| 10 | major new market opening agreements with a number |
| 11 | of countries. Indeed just this week, the |
| 12 | European Parliament ratified an agreement, a |
| 13 | significant agreement between the EU and Japan, a |
| 14 | deal that's expected to enter into force early |
| 15 | next year. |
| 16 | It's vital that the U.S. pursue a |
| 17 | robust and positive trade agenda and that these |
| 18 | negotiations with the EU represent an opportunity |
| 19 | to do just that. We cannot afford to fall |
| 20 | further behind in securing closer commercial ties |
| 21 | with our allies and major trading partners. |
| 22 | In keeping with the Chamber's mission |
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| 1 | to advocate for free enterprise, competitive |
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| 2 | markets and rules-based trade, one of the |
| 3 | Chamber's primary objectives in these |
| 4 | negotiations will be to pursue measures that |
| 5 | remove and do not increase barriers to trade. |
| 6 | To ensure this, we recommend hewing |
| 7 | closely to the negotiating objectives set forth |
| 8 | in the trade promotion authority law. |
| 9 | There are a range of near term |
| 10 | opportunities for forward momentum in the |
| 11 | transatlantic economic relationship. Taken |
| 12 | collectively, these measures would provide a |
| 13 | significant boost to the U.S. economy and |
| 14 | strengthen our partnership with Europe at a time |
| 15 | when joint leadership is essential. |
| 16 | Among the near term opportunities, the |
| 17 | two sides should strive to first remove |
| 18 | expeditiously the U.S. Section 232 tariffs on |
| 19 | steel and aluminum imports from the EU and the |
| 20 | corresponding EU retaliatory measures. |
| 21 | Avoid imposition of new Section 232 |
| 22 | tariffs on imported autos or auto parts. |
| | |

Eliminate all tariffs on nonindustrial goods as 1 2 agreed at the presidential statement in July. Eliminate or significantly streamline licensing 3 requirements for U.S. LNG exports to non-FTA 4 partner countries such as the EU. 5 Resolve longstanding market access 6 7 issues such as increasing U.S. imports of nonhormone treated beef from the United States. 8 9 Agree to maintain existing market access levels for services and establish a framework for 10 cooperation towards elimination of services' 11 12 trade restrictions in third countries. 13 And finally, launch a dialogue on 14 standards and conformity assessment that includes active stakeholder engagement. 15 Our written submission identifies 16 17 additional opportunities for near term advances 18 in several sectors, including automobiles, 19 energy, medical devices, chemicals, 20 pharmaceuticals, agriculture and biotechnology, 21 and services, including both financial services and express delivery. 22

| 1 | There are also several longstanding |
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| 2 | barriers to transatlantic trade investment whose |
| 3 | elimination would significantly boost the long |
| 4 | term economic outlook on both sides of the |
| 5 | Atlantic. |
| 6 | Greater cooperation in these areas |
| 7 | would also provide a pathway for joint leadership |
| 8 | in response to shared challenges in a rapidly |
| 9 | changing global economy. |
| 10 | As a result of this U.SEU dialogue, |
| 11 | the two sides should cooperate to protect |
| 12 | companies and workers from non-market oriented |
| 13 | policies and practices by third countries. Work |
| 14 | together to strengthen global trade rules and |
| 15 | institutions via, among other things, the U.S., |
| 16 | EU, Japan trilateral talks. |
| 17 | Promote binding commitments to |
| 18 | increase services market access, including for |
| 19 | new services. Address non-science-based |
| 20 | restrictions on agricultural trade in a |
| 21 | transparent and timely fashion. |
| 22 | Establish new rules to protect trade |
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secrets, eliminate forced technology transfers, 1 2 and reduce barriers to foreign direct investment. Ensure the highest standards of 3 intellectual property protection across all 4 industries to enhance leadership in innovative 5 6 sectors. 7 Create new meaningful regulatory 8 cooperation dialogues. Formalize a joint 9 commitment to follow good regulatory practices. Pursue new sectoral agreements that minimize 10 11 duplicative testing and certification 12 requirements. Promote effective regulatory 13 14 cooperation to jointly address emerging 15 technologies and prevent unnecessary regulatory 16 divergences, and finally, to prevent restrictions 17 on the free flow of data. 18 As we begin these new negotiations, 19 the business community has looked to recent 20 agreements, including the U.S., Mexico, Canada 21 agreement, for signals of where USTR will seek to take these negotiations. Our reactions are 22

mixed.

| 2 | On the one hand, USMCA included very |
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| 3 | strong provisions in a number of rules chapters, |
| 4 | some of which surpass the quality in any earlier |
| 5 | U.S. trade agreement. |
| 6 | Among the successes are chapters on |
| 7 | digital trade, intellectual property, financial |
| 8 | services, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, |
| 9 | technical barriers to trade, competition |
| 10 | policies, state-owned enterprises, good |
| 11 | regulatory practices, telecommunications, and |
| 12 | customs and trade facilitation. |
| 13 | Unfortunately, the USMCA fell short in |
| 14 | other areas. USMCA outcomes on investment |
| 15 | protection, government procurement, de minimis |
| 16 | and Canada's cultural exemption are disappointing |
| 17 | and ought not be viewed as precedence for future |
| 18 | trade agreements, including with the European |
| 19 | Union. |
| 20 | Other USMCA elements of concern are |
| 21 | those that appear to be "managed trade" measures |
| 22 | that limit trade and may violate the WTO |

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agreement on safeguards.

| 2 | The Chamber encourages the U.S. and |
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| 3 | the European Union to negotiate in good faith to |
| 4 | expand our relationship. We are each other's |
| 5 | largest trading and investment partners and |
| 6 | approximately 15 million high paying jobs rely on |
| 7 | that trade and investment today. |
| 8 | There are multiple opportunities to |
| 9 | deepen and expand our economic ties and to |
| 10 | collaborate to address common challenges in the |
| 11 | world economy. By contrast, raising new barriers |
| 12 | between the U.S. and Europe would be |
| 13 | counterproductive and undercut growth in both |
| 14 | economies. |
| 15 | We welcome the opportunity to continue |
| 16 | to provide input and to work with you as these |
| 17 | negotiations progress. Thank you. |
| 18 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. Now to |
| 19 | Ambassador Yerxa. |
| 20 | MR. YERXA: Thank you very much and |
| 21 | thank you for inviting me. Of course I want to |
| 22 | begin by saying that my association, the National |
| | |

Foreign Trade Council, which represents many of our nation's largest exporters and foreign investors in the manufacturing services, technology, and food production sectors, has huge 4 concern with these negotiations.

Vital that they create a strengthening 6 7 of our trade ties with the EU and create a high standards agreement, not simply because, as both 8 9 Celeste and Marjorie said, this is the largest, taken as a whole, the largest both bilateral 10 trade and investment relationship in the world, 11 12 but also because historically, the standards that 13 the U.S. and Europe set have a huge implication 14 for the global system, for institutions like the WTO and for our other agreements with other 15 16 countries, so it's very important to get it 17 right.

18 We submitted to you a statement which 19 has a lot of specific negotiating objectives that 20 we would consider important. I won't go through 21 those for you. I assume you've all looked at 22 them, but let me just mention a couple of things.

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First of all, we did state sort of 1 2 guiding principles. They're not dissimilar to some that Marjorie has stated on behalf of the 3 Chamber, that the EU-U.S. agreement must create 4 5 more open markets and better rules, not new restrictions. 6 We think that's vitally important, 7 8 particularly if you look at some of the recent 9 actions taken both by the U.S. and the EU, the national security restrictions that the U.S. has 10 11 taken on steel and aluminum and the retaliation 12 by Europe. We'd say first and foremost, this 13 14 agreement should result in those measures being removed on both sides. The 232 measures are 15 16 causing major harm to U.S. manufacturers, 17 exporters, agriculture, and consumers. They're 18 not justified on national security grounds. 19 They create a dangerous precedent in 20 the international system and they're totally 21 inappropriate to impose on our best allies and

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our NATO partners, particularly if we're entering

into a deepened free trade relationship with each other or a more open trade relationship with each other. So that's the first thing - is creating more open markets and better rules.

5 Secondly, the new agreement should 6 reflect the changing world economy. These are, 7 by the way, the same principles we spoke to you 8 about earlier this week with Japan, and that, of 9 course, means new rules to ensure open markets in 10 digital trade, e-commerce, other new 11 technologies.

12 This is a particular challenge in 13 negotiating with Europe, to be quite frank, 14 because very often they have a more conservative approach to the development of new technologies 15 16 in their system, and it's important for us to use 17 these negotiations to push for agreements which 18 are going to help to expand the digital economy 19 and move both our economies in the direction we 20 need to move.

21 And, you know, I will leave the rest 22 of the specific points for our interchange, but I

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do have a couple of observations as someone who
 negotiated for six years as the Deputy USTR with
 the Europeans, including a major multilateral
 agreement, the Uruguay round, that resulted in
 the WTO and, you know, that was very much driven
 by a bilateral relationship between the U.S. and
 the Europeans.

8 And I know many of you have had long 9 experience in dealing with Europe, so you'll 10 probably endorse what I'm about to say, but there 11 are a couple of takeaways I have from trying to 12 get a new agreement between the U.S. and Europe. 13 First, they are enormously committed

14 to their own regulatory principles and societal 15 values, and this has a huge impact in key areas 16 that you'll be negotiating in, agriculture 17 obviously, but also areas like health and food 18 safety.

You know, their - in many cases overly prescriptive use of something like the
precautionary principle where we would urge more
scientific-based and more objective standards

will be something you'll have to deal with in the 1 2 area of health, food safety, chemicals, and a number of other areas, their treatment of 3 privacy, which certainly has a big impact on the 4 digital economy and where we have had a perilous 5 time in reaching understandings with each other, 6 and the importance they place on something like 7 geographical indications in the IP sector versus 8 9 our greater reliance on trademarks and how we 10 sort that out. 11 My main points to you, just two, that 12 we cannot simply bowl them over in negotiation and force them to abdicate to us in all areas of 13 14 their regulatory standards. We have to find a way to move their system in the right direction 15 16 and to find areas of consensus between us, both

17 with respect to regulatory coherence and the18 trade agreements we reach.

And lastly, you know, they will not move in negotiations, and you all know this, if it is something that creates an unacceptable division among their member states.

| You're entering into these |
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| negotiations at a time when there is a lot going |
| on there, obviously a huge challenge that creates |
| for you in negotiating and how they can |
| successfully strike a bargain with us that can be |
| supported by all 28 of their member states. |
| I'm optimistic that if the U.S. puts |
| the right set of standards out to begin with, |
| that we can achieve that. It will take a lot of |
| work and we hope you'll work with all of us in |
| the private sector in helping to define an |
| acceptable path forward. |
| CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you, and now |
| let's turn to Mr. Foley. |
| MR. FOLEY: Good morning. My name is |
| William Foley and I'm the Chairman of the Board |
| and Chief Executive Officer of Libbey |
| Incorporated. |
| Libbey is a global manufacturer and |
| marketer of glass tableware products, the leading |
| manufacturer of glass tableware in the western |
| hemisphere, and among the largest in the world. |
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| Libbey operates two glass | |
| manufacturing facilities in the United States, | |
| one in Toledo, Ohio and one in Shreveport, | |
| Louisiana. | |
| Libbey sells its glass tableware | |
| products to customers in over 100 countries, | |
| primarily in food service, retail, and business | |
| to business markets. In 2017, Libbey's sales | |
| were \$782 million. | |
| Libbey supports the U.S. pursuing the | |
| following negotiated objectives for the U.S. and | |
| EU trade agreement. | |
| First and foremost, regarding market | |
| access, Libbey believes that the U.S. should seek | |
| negotiating modalities that account for the | |
| import sensitivity of low value glass tableware | |
| by giving products classified under HS7013 the | |
| longest tariff phase out period provided in the | |
| agreement. | |
| Low value glass tableware products | |
| historically have been treated as import | |
| sensitive, and consequently, U.S. tariffs on | |
| | |
| | <pre>manufacturing facilities in the United States, one in Toledo, Ohio and one in Shreveport, Louisiana. Libbey sells its glass tableware products to customers in over 100 countries, primarily in food service, retail, and business to business markets. In 2017, Libbey's sales were \$782 million. Libbey supports the U.S. pursuing the following negotiated objectives for the U.S. and EU trade agreement. First and foremost, regarding market access, Libbey believes that the U.S. should seek negotiating modalities that account for the import sensitivity of low value glass tableware by giving products classified under HS7013 the longest tariff phase out period provided in the agreement. Low value glass tableware products historically have been treated as import</pre> |

these products have generally been higher than
 average U.S. tariffs.

In prior trade agreements, low value glass tableware products have been accorded extended periods for tariff reduction or elimination.

7 Most recently, in the TPP agreement, 8 low value glass tableware products reported a 10-9 year tariff elimination and the U.S. negotiating 10 objectives for the TTIP recognize that there 11 should be transition periods, extensive 12 transition periods for sensitive products.

13 Over the past 20 years, increased 14 imports of glassware products have gained more 15 than 50 percent of the U.S. market despite 16 declining U.S. consumption, and there has been a 17 persistent trade deficit in glassware.

18 The EU is a major source of glassware 19 imports even though subject to U.S. most favored 20 nation duty rates. Over the same period, the 21 domestic industry has experienced a corresponding 22 loss in employment.

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| 1 | It is critical to domestic industry's |
| 2 | ability to continue to invest in plant, |
| 3 | technology, and training that treatment of |
| 4 | glassware as import sensitivity be maintained. |
| 5 | Immediate or too rapid tariff elimination would |
| 6 | hamstring the domestic industry's ability to |
| 7 | adapt to new competitive conditions. |
| 8 | I'll briefly mention several other |
| 9 | negotiating objectives that Libbey supports. |
| 10 | Regarding rules of origin, Libbey urges the U.S. |
| 11 | to seek rules that limit eligibility for |
| 12 | preferential tariff treatment for glass tableware |
| 13 | products under HS7013 to products that are form |
| 14 | finished and packaged in the U.S. or EU. |
| 15 | The same rule should apply to certain |
| 16 | other glass products, namely stoppers, lids, |
| 17 | closures, candle holders, globes, and chimneys. |
| 18 | Regarding trade remedies, the U.S. |
| 19 | should seek to maintain its rights and ability to |
| 20 | use antidumping duty, countervailing duty, and |
| 21 | safeguard laws. This is a U.S. negotiating |
| 22 | objective expressly stated in the TPA bill of |
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| 2 | Regarding services, Libbey supports |
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| 3 | improved liberalization in the following sectors, |
| 4 | restaurant and food service, hotels, tourism, |
| 5 | distribution, franchising, transportation, |
| 6 | express delivery, and telecommunications. The |
| 7 | U.S. should also seek agreement regarding privacy |
| 8 | and digital trade. |
| 9 | Regarding transparency, the U.S. |
| 10 | should seek provisions that guarantee greater |
| 11 | transparency in regulatory practices. This too |
| 12 | is a U.S. negotiating objective expressly stated |
| 13 | in the TPA bill of 2015. |
| 14 | Regarding regulatory compatibility, |
| 15 | the U.S. should seek mutual recognition of U.S. |
| 16 | and EU standards, but not pursue harmonization of |
| 17 | regulatory standards. |
| 18 | Finally, with regard to de minimis |
| 19 | thresholds for low value imports, the U.S. should |
| 20 | seek to raise the EU threshold. Thank you very |
| 21 | much for your time and attention this morning. |
| 22 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. |
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| 1 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Great, well, |
| 2 | thanks very much to the panel for providing such |
| 3 | important and useful insights. |
| 4 | As I mentioned earlier, this is a key |
| 5 | time in this negotiation where we don't talk to |
| 6 | the Commission. We're not expounding on our |
| 7 | objectives. We're hearing from stakeholders to |
| 8 | what our objectives should be, so I very much |
| 9 | appreciate the input. |
| 10 | I think we will go with questioning |
| 11 | and probably go in the same order in which you |
| 12 | did your presentations, and probably switch off |
| 13 | among the different U.S. government colleagues on |
| 14 | this side of the table. |
| 15 | And so I'm going to turn the mic over |
| 16 | to our colleague from the Department of Labor, |
| 17 | but I wanted to ask one initial question if I |
| 18 | might, Celeste, because I hadn't focused on it in |
| 19 | the written submission. |
| 20 | You said something in your oral |
| 21 | statement this morning about predatory investment |
| 22 | by third countries and I wondered if you wouldn't |
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mind elaborating on that a bit? 1 2 MS. DRAKE: Sure, so the AFL-CIO has had a longstanding support for reforms to the 3 CFIUS process and to make sure that our trade 4 agreements don't interfere with our ability to do 5 that. 6 7 And so historically, for instance, in 8 the USMCA or NAFTA renegotiations, we had said 9 there should be a specific exemption so that the U.S. could beef up CFIUS without coming into 10 11 violation of that agreement. 12 And we look for examples, for 13 instance, to what Canada has and to what 14 Australia has, where they can actually screen for economic impacts, and it's not just national 15 16 security, but economic security. 17 And we think that there are examples 18 of threats there specifically with some past 19 investments and attempted investments by state-20 owned enterprises from China that really could 21 have used a more rigorous screening. 22 And if the U.S. and Europe cooperated

| 1 | to say, "We're going to work together to make |
|----|---|
| 2 | sure that we don't have state-owned enterprises |
| 3 | from third parties investing in a predatory |
| 4 | manner" |
| 5 | So for instance, to obtain |
| 6 | intellectual property, to take that intellectual |
| 7 | property back to the home country and do |
| 8 | production there, creating, you know, jobs and |
| 9 | economic growth at home and, you know, depriving |
| 10 | the United States or Europe from that, we think |
| 11 | that would be a good point of cooperation between |
| 12 | the countries. |
| 13 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Yeah, thank you. |
| 14 | Thank you for that. I'll turn to my Department |
| 15 | of Labor colleague, Emma. |
| 16 | MS. LAURY: Thank you for your |
| 17 | testimony today, Celeste. In your submission, |
| 18 | you indicated that the U.S. FTA should contain no |
| 19 | rules regarding technical barriers to trade, |
| 20 | regulatory practices, sanitary and phytosanitary |
| 21 | standards or the like. |
| 22 | You also objected to negative lists or |
| | |

ratchet mechanisms to ISDS and limitations on 1 2 antitrust law or financial services regulations. You stated that the AFL-CIO would 3 object to restrictions on the ability to adopt 4 5 policies to constrain growth in the price of medicines and to limitations or restrictions on 6 7 public services of any kind. Given this position, for what reason 8 9 do you attach the importance of including labor rules in the agreement when the EU's labor laws 10 and practices are typically not thought to be a 11 12 source of real concern? 13 MS. DRAKE: I appreciate that 14 question, and we actually are in alliance with the European Trade Union Confederation on this 15 16 because we have all seen, quite frankly, the use 17 of outsourcing by companies to, you know, a third 18 country as a way to decrease costs, including not 19 just by lower wages, but by the ability to abuse and exploit workers and violate their fundamental 20 21 labor rights, often to abuse and exploit the 22 environment, and to seek to pressure those

political entities to lowering their taxes and providing tax holidays, and that has actually been used by European companies in some cases in their investments in the United States.

So whereas they may operate in Europe 5 with very high standards, respecting freedom of 6 7 association, respecting the right to collective bargaining, and so on and so on, they come to the 8 9 United States and they seek to invest in one of the 50 states that has the lowest ability to 10 organize, lowest wages, lowest environmental 11 12 protections, and thereby are treating U.S. 13 workers quite differently than they treat 14 European workers.

And while some may say, "Oh, well, that might create some jobs in the United States. Don't you appreciate those jobs?" we think that more jobs and better jobs can be created by lifting both parties up to the highest standards, and similarly with the environment, so that's why we say do include those things.

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And in fact, they are representative

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| 1 | of fundamental human rights as recognized by the |
| 2 | International Labor Organization and the United |
| 3 | Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which just |
| 4 | had its anniversary, and that's a quite different |
| 5 | decision than, "Well, what's the appropriate |
| 6 | level of this toxin in this drinking water?" |
| 7 | which is, you know, something that we should |
| 8 | decide democratically and not by rules cemented |
| 9 | in a trade agreement. |
| 10 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: So moving down the |
| 11 | road, we may come around for another round time |
| 12 | permitting. Marjorie, you mentioned the concern |
| 13 | with respect to trade secrets theft and I'd be |
| 14 | interested in your elaboration on what you might |
| 15 | like to see in terms of commitments on the trade |
| 16 | secrets theft to address the concern. |
| 17 | MS. CHORLINS: Dan, with your |
| 18 | indulgence, what I'd like to do is come back to |
| 19 | you in writing with a bit more in-depth |
| 20 | explanation on that and a couple of other |
| 21 | technical issues. I didn't want to delve too |
| 22 | deeply today and I think it's actually better for |

| 1 | us to put that in writing for you. |
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| 2 | CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Okay, okay, fair |
| 3 | enough. We look forward to that. If I might, |
| 4 | I'll turn the mic over to my Treasury colleague |
| 5 | for a question or two. |
| 6 | MS. LYNTON GROTZ: Thank you. |
| 7 | Marjorie, I'd like to ask you two questions, |
| 8 | please. The first is in your written comments, |
| 9 | you state that the currency language in a U.SEU |
| 10 | agreement should not infringe on the ability of |
| 11 | the Federal Reserve to steer U.S. monetary |
| 12 | policy. Can you elaborate on how a U.S. |
| 13 | agreement could best address the issue of |
| 14 | currency? |
| 15 | MS. CHORLINS: Thank you for the |
| 16 | question. I think that, candidly speaking, this |
| 17 | is an issue that need not be addressed in an |
| 18 | agreement between the U.S. and the European |
| 19 | Union. I'm not really sure I need to say more |
| 20 | than that. |
| 21 | MS. LYNTON GROTZ: No, that's pretty |
| 22 | clear. And then on a different note, your |
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| 1 | submission also discusses the cross border supply |
| 2 | of financial services, and I was curious if there |
| 3 | were specific areas of cross border supply that |
| 4 | you would be interested in broadening? |
| 5 | MS. CHORLINS: Here again what I would |
| 6 | like to do I mean, obviously we look at the |
| 7 | dialogue between the U.S. and EU, the U.SEU |
| 8 | financial regulatory dialogue, as an important |
| 9 | platform. |
| 10 | We'd obviously like to see some |
| 11 | improvements there, and I think there is an |
| 12 | opportunity here again for us to come back to you |
| 13 | with a bit more detail. |
| 14 | The main point I think I would stress |
| 15 | here though is the importance of making sure that |
| 16 | that existing regulatory dialogue be |
| 17 | strengthened, be made more transparent, allow for |
| 18 | more robust input from industry and other |
| 19 | stakeholders ahead of the meetings of the |
| 20 | regulators, and that the results of those |
| 21 | meetings actually be made public so that it's |
| 22 | more of an engaged dialogue. |

| MS. LYNTON GROTZ: Thank you. |
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| CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Maybe we can turn |
| to questions for Ambassador Yerxa and continue |
| with my Treasury colleague. |
| MS. LYNTON GROTZ: Sure, Ambassador, |
| your testimony recommends building upon various |
| provisions in the EU trade agreements, for |
| example, with Japan, Canada, and others. Could |
| you give us a little more detail as to which |
| provisions from those provisions should be |
| emulated? |
| MR. YERXA: Yes, certainly. Well, you |
| know, obviously we think there are a lot of |
| improvements certainly in the USMCA, whether you |
| look at the customs chapter. |
| We think the digital economy and e- |
| commerce chapter are very important and there's, |
| I think, particularly in that area one thing I'd |
| like to stress. |
| I didn't get a chance in my direct |
| statement, but we have major concerns about |
| potential discriminatory treatment to digital |
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services and services providers in the EU, in
 particular ideas related to, for example, a
 digital services tax.

Those proposals which are based on the concept of digital presence are troubling. If implemented, they could potentially serve as very significant digital trade barriers.

So they could undermine the long held 8 9 principle of permanent establishment that underlines worldwide taxation and we're concerned 10 that those proposals, if implemented, could 11 12 disproportionately affect U.S. companies because 13 on a de facto basis, they seem to be designed in 14 a way which would impose much higher burdens on U.S. parent companies to our detriment, and we 15 16 think that raises questions of their obligations under the GATT and EU commitments under bilateral 17 18 tax agreements. That's one example.

19 I think there are other areas.
20 Obviously we think strong improvements in USMCA
21 on the provisions related to state-owned
22 enterprises, for example. We think that's a very

important precedent like I said. 1 2 This needs to be a high standards agreement that other major economies in the world 3 4 will have to give weight to in how they develop 5 their systems. I don't think I need to say more than that about it. 6 7 And, you know, the same goes for a lot 8 of the proposals that we think are useful in, for 9 example, the customs and trade facilitation area, which we think should be directly relevant to a 10 11 U.S.-EU agreement. 12 MS. LYNTON GROTZ: Thank you. 13 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Maybe I can turn 14 to our SBA colleague for a question to Mr. Foley. 15 MS. BONNER: Yes, thank you, Mr. 16 Foley, for your testimony. Can you share if 17 Libbey believes glassware is being dumped in the 18 United States? 19 MR. FOLEY: We see a number of 20 indications of significantly lower prices in the 21 United States coming from around the world. There are a number of countries that sponsor and 22

support subsidization of the businesses, and as a
 result, those businesses that are typically very
 troubled tend to dump large quantities of
 inventory in the U.S. market at very depressed
 prices, and we see that happening today. It's
 been going on, but really more aggressively in
 the last several years.

Okay, do you see any 8 MS. BONNER: 9 increase of transshipment of this good via the Have you seen any of those indications? 10 EU? 11 MR. FOLEY: Yes, we have. 12 MS. BONNER: Thank you. When you 13 specified or proposed a phase in, did you have 14 any specific time period recommendation? MR. FOLEY: Well, no, like any 15 16 manufacturer, we prefer the longest time period 17 possible. You know, NAFTA approved 10 years. 18 There has been some consideration of 15. We'd be 19 in favor of the longest time frame possible. 20 MS. BONNER: Okay, and I believe you 21 may have answered this, but it might be helpful to do in a written submission or now. 22 When you

referred to certain products in the rules of 1 2 origin section of your written comments, can you expand on what those certain products you were 3 4 referring to? 5 Yeah, it's really MR. FOLEY: everything listed in HF7013. 6 7 MS. BONNER: Okay. 8 It's a very broad MR. FOLEY: 9 category. We can provide more information for that if you'd like to have it and we'd be happy 10 11 to do that. 12 MS. BONNER: Thank you. 13 MR. SPITZER: Well, let's take 14 advantage of the time we have. We'll circle back again to Ms. Drake, and I'm going to turn it back 15 16 over to our Department of Labor colleague. 17 MS. LAURY: Do you think the USMCA 18 labor chapter including its dispute provisions is 19 a suitable model for the U.S.-EU trade agreement? 20 MS. DRAKE: Thank you for the 21 question. Before I answer, I just want to say 22 the AFL-CIO supports the general thesis of

Libbey's testimony, and in fact, glass was identified by our affiliate, the United Steel Workers, as one of those especially sensitive products, and they have recommended a phase out period as long as 20 to 30 years, so I'll just get that on record.

7 In terms of the renegotiated NAFTA or 8 the USMCA and its enforcement provisions, we have 9 a number of concerns, primary is the ability of 10 one of the three parties to block the formation 11 of a dispute settlement panel by blocking a 12 meeting of the Free Trade Commission.

And in fact, unfortunately, the United And in fact, unfortunately, the United States itself has a history in the original NAFTA of using this exact method to avoid a meeting of the Free Trade Commission to avoid getting to dispute settlement.

And while we do understand that each of the three parties is going to have its own national interests that it wants to protect and therefore would have an incentive to block a panel formation, our experience with labor

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provisions proves that they really need to be
 treated differently in order to have the same
 impact, and I'll explain.

4 In 25 years of labor provisions being 5 associated with trade agreements, including in 6 the side agreements with the first NAFTA, only 7 one case out of more than 50 filed under NAFTA, 8 CAFTA, Columbia, Peru, etcetera, ever got to 9 dispute settlement, and didn't actually come 10 close to winning.

11 And when we ask about why there are 12 cases that are sitting in consultations for five 13 years, six years, seven years in the cases 14 against Bahrain, for example, and the Dominican 15 Republic, you know, often what we're told is that 16 there are other considerations.

And again, understandable that there are other considerations, defense, national security, etcetera, but because vulnerable foreign workers don't have high paid lobbyists to get into the offices to explain why their rights and defense of their rights should rise to the top, we've recommended that not only you take out this ability to block dispute settlement, but you add additional tools, additional carrots and sticks to try and make sure that that monitoring and enforcement does happen.

So for instance, one example might be 6 7 the ability to make sure that if there have been 8 legitimate questions that have been raised about 9 particular worksites and places that are producing goods for export or services for 10 export, that the U.S., for example, or the EU, or 11 12 whoever is the appropriate party can say, "We'd 13 like to do a joint inspection of this workplace 14 and find out what's really going on," and really 15 putting pressure on those employers to say, 16 "These are real rules and we're going to do 17 things that to some extent are going to inflict 18 some potential pain so that you are encouraged to actually do the right thing." 19

20 And we have had a whole host of ideas 21 and what we're put into our recommendations 22 include this independent secretariat which takes

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off some of that political pressure, a wages and
 standards board to make sure that living wages
 are being paid, a whole host of things, including
 where citizens can say, "Wait a minute. A case
 has been delayed for far too long." We want to
 make sure that discretion not to enforce isn't
 being abused.

8 So the USMCA doesn't quite get there. 9 It's certainly an improvement in terms of the 10 obligations over what we've seen in the past, but 11 the singular ability to block a panel formation 12 is actually a step back, for instance, from what 13 we were criticizing in the TPP.

14 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Maybe I can turn 15 to my State Department colleague for another 16 question for Ms. Drake.

MR. MANOGUE: Okay, thank you very much. I just have a quick question for Ms. Drake again. Do you believe the EU is prepared to agree to a prohibition on the importation of goods made in whole or in part by forced labor, including forced child labor, and do you see this

as an opportunity for our customs agencies to be
 cooperating?

MS. DRAKE: I'm -- it's -- the 3 4 acoustics are bad. I just want to make sure I understand your question. Do I believe the EU 5 would agree to such a prohibition? 6 7 MR. MANOGUE: Right, yes. 8 MS. DRAKE: Certainly we don't see any 9 reason why they would not. The EU has many similar provisions in trade laws around their GSP 10 11 system that we have to try and address goods made 12 with forced labor and other violations of labor 13 rights, and certainly the European Trade Union 14 Confederation supports working cooperatively to address goods made with forced labor. 15 16 So we see no reason why the EU could 17 not agree, and as you said, develop cooperative 18 mechanisms through customs to really enforce 19 that, and that would make a significant 20 difference around the world. 21 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Great, so maybe

22 before Ms. Chorlins, we'll turn back to the SPA

colleague for another question.

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| 2 | MS. BONNER: Hi, Ms. Chorlins, thank |
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| 3 | you for your testimony. Would you be able to |
| 4 | identify any specific challenges or restrictions |
| 5 | that disproportionately burden your smaller |
| 6 | members in achieving EU market access? |
| 7 | MS. CHORLINS: Thank you for the |
| 8 | question. I think it's fair to say that |
| 9 | measures, well, both border measures and behind |
| 10 | the border measures invariably have a |
| 11 | disproportionate impact on small and medium-sized |
| 12 | companies because in many instances, they don't |
| 13 | have the resources available at their disposal to |
| 14 | continue to trade even with those barriers in |
| 15 | place. |
| 16 | I would be hard-pressed to tell you |
| 17 | specifically what measures in EU law have a |
| 18 | disproportionate impact, but I think it's fair to |
| 19 | say, generally speaking and this is one of the |
| 20 | reasons why I think the fact that the TTIP |
| 21 | negotiations had a dedicated chapter, if you |
| 22 | will, for the small and medium-sized enterprises, |

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while we thought it wasn't absolutely necessary 1 2 to have, was nonetheless a good platform to allow for some attention to be paid to the unique 3 barriers, or the disproportionate burden, I would 4 say, of barriers on small and medium-sized 5 enterprises, including access to the relevant 6 7 information they need in order to do business with Europe. I'm happy to elaborate on that in 8 9 writing.

10 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Great, thank you, 11 and moving down the line, Ambassador Yerxa, and I 12 might actually address this to you, but Ms. 13 Chorlins also made a comment in this direction, 14 the discussion of EU regulations, EU standards, 15 and barriers that might arise in that context.

I think you mentioned we had to, if I noted correctly, recognize that there's significant investment in those rules and that we needed to find a way to move us closer together, and I think Ms. Chorlins also mentioned the notion that one of your objectives was we should have a discussion or a dialogue on the standards.

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| 1 | And I was wondering whether either of |
| 2 | you would care to elaborate on that, on what is |
| 3 | it, how we should be approaching that issue of, |
| 4 | you know, regulatory barriers and specifically in |
| 5 | the area of standards and conformity assessments? |
| 6 | MR. YERXA: Well, you know, I know |
| 7 | you've had a lot of experience in dealing with |
| 8 | the Europeans on some of these things and, you |
| 9 | know, it is very difficult to address these in a |
| 10 | comprehensive way with the Europeans because |
| 11 | obviously you're not only dealing with an |
| 12 | evolving set of fairly expansive regulations at |
| 13 | the European level, but then you're dealing of |
| 14 | course with 28 member states and regulatory |
| 15 | bodies in all of those member states, maybe 27 by |
| 16 | the time you get this done. We'll have to see. |
| 17 | But certainly one of the challenges is |
| 18 | always the extent to which you can use the |
| 19 | negotiating framework to actually get regulators |
| 20 | to deal with each other in a way that creates |
| 21 | better opportunities for, if not convergence or |
| 22 | harmonization, at least, you know, at least |
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something that reduces the impediments and leads to more regulatory consistency that is less of an impediment on those who are doing both across board investment and trade.

Certainly that's big now in the area 5 of the digital economy and e-commerce. 6 You know, 7 you're dealing with, for example, privacy regulators in the member states. You're dealing 8 9 with tax regulators in the member states. So we think that this whole area of how to expand the 10 11 digital economy --

12 By the way, going back to a question 13 asked by SBA and Marjorie, I think Marjorie 14 commented on, this is extremely important to small business because the platform for expanding 15 16 trade among small businesses is critically the e-17 commerce and digital platform and that is 18 bringing new players into the trading system in a 19 way that almost no other precedent in previous 20 technologies, so it's extremely important that we 21 try to move in the direction of getting some 22 better regulatory coherence.

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| 1 | I mean, you know, a lot of work |
| 2 | obviously was done, as you know, on the privacy |
| 3 | issue, and there is an arrangement in place. |
| 4 | It's still exceedingly burdensome on small |
| 5 | business. We hope that we can use these |
| 6 | discussions to create better opportunities for |
| 7 | small business. |
| 8 | The other area that I think that I |
| 9 | cite that is really important to our people is in |
| 10 | the whole area of financial services and |
| 11 | financial regulations. |
| 12 | We're concerned about what's going to |
| 13 | happen in the wake of a Brexit and how that might |
| 14 | change or adjust the environment in Europe for |
| 15 | cross border financial services. We can |
| 16 | elaborate more on that in writing. |
| 17 | MS. CHORLINS: It's always hard to |
| 18 | follow Rufus because he's covered the ground |
| 19 | pretty well. |
| 20 | I think it's fair to say that, look, |
| 21 | this whole issue of regulatory cooperation and |
| 22 | standards and conformity assessment was so |
| | |

integral to the TTIP negotiations and we recognize that for quite some time, the impression was the negotiations were talking past, regulators, I guess I would say, were 4 talking past one another. It seems to me that that's the downside.

7 The upside is that having begun those 8 conversations already several years ago, we have 9 the opportunity to build on them now and to identify ways where, even as Rufus says, if we 10 11 cannot bridge gaps on existing regulations, that 12 as we look ahead to potential regulation of new 13 products, that we start from a point of actually 14 talking with one another, having regulators talk with one another to see if they can actually 15 16 begin at a common point rather than going off 17 immediately on divergent paths.

18 So the opportunity from our 19 perspective, while we believe and our member 20 companies believe that there are sector specific 21 opportunities to improve cooperation on existing 22 regulations, the rule opportunity, an equally

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1 significant opportunity, I guess I would say, 2 rests in the regulations that we haven't even thought of yet. 3 4 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: Great, well, thank 5 you all very much. This has been our smallest panel so far, but --6 7 MS. CHORLINS: Small, but mighty. 8 CO-CHAIR MULLANEY: -- it's very, 9 extremely rich if I might say, if I might say so, very, very, very useful, a very detailed 10 conversation, so thank you. Thank you very much. 11 12 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: This is a final 13 question or suggestion. Is there anything that 14 any of you would have liked to raise that you weren't able to do or anything that has come up 15 16 in the discussion that anybody would like to 17 respond to? 18 In that case, we thank you very much for your testimony. We're very grateful to you 19 and this concludes the panel. We will be now 20 21 taking about a half-hour break for lunch and 22 we'll reconvene at 1:30. Thank you all very

| 1 | much. |
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| 2 | (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter |
| 3 | went off the record at 12:55 p.m. and resumed at |
| 4 | 1:35 p.m.) |
| 5 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you all very |
| 6 | much. We're now commencing our fourth panel. |
| 7 | Just as a reminder to our witnesses, we have a |
| 8 | limit of five minutes for each oral testimony. |
| 9 | Please respect that as we want to make sure that |
| 10 | everyone has a chance to offer their views and |
| 11 | insights, and that our government panelists have |
| 12 | a chance to explore issues in more depth. |
| 13 | So as in previous panels, we'll start |
| 14 | on my right or your left and go through the first |
| 15 | row and the same for the second row, and let's |
| 16 | begin with Mr. Mullen from the Express |
| 17 | Association of America. |
| 18 | MR. MULLEN: Thanks very much for the |
| 19 | opportunity to talk with you today. I'm |
| 20 | testifying on behalf of the Express Association |
| 21 | of America which represents DHL, FedEx, and UPS, |
| 22 | the three largest express delivery service |
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1 providers in the world.

| 2 | EAA member companies serve over 200 |
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| 3 | countries, have estimated annual revenues in |
| 4 | excess of \$200 billion, employ more than 1.1 |
| 5 | million people, and deliver more than 30 million |
| 6 | packages each day. |
| 7 | EAA strongly supports the concept of |
| 8 | negotiating a trade agreement with a significant |
| 9 | U.S. trading partner provided that the European |
| 10 | Union agrees to a high standard comprehensive |
| 11 | agreement. |
| 12 | The U.SEuropean trade agreement |
| 13 | presents an excellent opportunity to speed the |
| 14 | flow of trade by improving and harmonizing |
| 15 | regulations, and the EAA believes regulatory |
| 16 | harmonization should be the major focus of this |
| 17 | negotiation. |
| 18 | Regulations should be harmonized in |
| 19 | three areas, first, customs and trade |
| 20 | facilitation measures which are complementary to |
| 21 | the process of maximizing the benefits of tariff |
| 22 | reductions. |

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| 1 | Specific opportunities with regard to |
| 2 | the EU in this area include separating the |
| 3 | physical release of goods from the duty and tax |
| 4 | collection process, providing for the immediate |
| 5 | release of express shipments upon arrival, |
| 6 | creating common data elements for import and |
| 7 | export to simplify the clearance process, and |
| 8 | reduce programming costs for both government and |
| 9 | industry, creating a single window to allow the |
| 10 | trade community to provide the information to |
| 11 | satisfy all government agency requirements with a |
| 12 | single data transmission, harmonizing the |
| 13 | informal entry level between the U.S. and the EU |
| 14 | to provide a simplified clearance process for |
| 15 | lower value goods that still require an entry, |
| 16 | enhancing the mutual recognition of our |
| 17 | respective trusted trader programs by providing a |
| 18 | common application process and a broader set of |
| 19 | common benefits for program membership, raising |
| 20 | the EU's current de minimis limit for duties of |
| 21 | 150 euros, about \$170 U.S. dollars, to a more |
| 22 | commercially meaningful level. |

| 1 | The EU has announced its intention to |
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| 2 | eliminate its current de minimis level for taxes |
| 3 | of 22 euros, about U.S. \$25, over the next two |
| 4 | years and replace it with a simplified system |
| 5 | that moves collection of taxes off the border. |
| 6 | The U.S. should encourage the EU to |
| 7 | ensure the new approach includes a simplified |
| 8 | process for collecting the taxes and a periodic |
| 9 | schedule for paying the taxes such as monthly or |
| 10 | twice yearly rather than the current transaction |
| 11 | by transaction basis. |
| 12 | Unfortunately, the plans the EU has |
| 13 | announced do not include a simple registration |
| 14 | system for foreign sellers and still rely heavily |
| 15 | on burdensome border controls. |
| 16 | Second, services trade, for |
| 17 | harmonizing regulations on services trade, the |
| 18 | U.SEU trade agreement should include binding |
| 19 | market access and national treatment commitments |
| 20 | in transportation and logistics services, a |
| 21 | delivery services annex where the parties commit |
| 22 | to nondiscriminatory treatment of non-postal |
| | |

| 1 | providers, a commitment to continually expand |
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| 2 | aviation freedoms between the two parties to |
| 3 | create more efficient aviation services. Third, |
| 4 | air cargo regulatory harmonization. |
| 5 | Further harmonization of air cargo |
| 6 | regulations would create a more seamless process |
| 7 | and would enhance our mutual ability to avoid |
| 8 | incidents that would disrupt supply chains. |
| 9 | Such harmonization could include |
| 10 | common definitions of high risk cargo and related |
| 11 | protocols, common standards for screening |
| 12 | equipment, common training requirements, improved |
| 13 | intelligence sharing, including with the private |
| 14 | sector, and a common approach to providing |
| 15 | advanced air cargo supply chain information for |
| 16 | risk assessment which would avoid the need to |
| 17 | program systems to meet requirements of several |
| 18 | divergent regimes. |
| 19 | Finally, I spoke on Monday about the |
| 20 | need to ensure that under no circumstances would |
| 21 | the United States suggest it would lower its de |
| 22 | minimis level as negotiating leverage in these or |

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any other trade negotiations.

2 Such a step would retard the ability of U.S. small and medium businesses to engage in 3 4 the ongoing growth of e-commerce and would represent a burdensome new tax on U.S. consumers. 5 Thank you again for the opportunity to 6 7 testify and I look forward to your questions. CO-CHAIR GRESSER: 8 Thank you. Now 9 we'll go to Mr. Peter Tompa representing seven associations of collectors of coins and cultural 10 11 items. 12 MR. TOMPA: Thank you. I'm appearing on behalf of the American Numismatic Association, 13 14 the Ancient Coin Collectors Guild, the Association of Deals and Collectors of Ancient 15 16 and Ethnographic Art, the Committee for Culture 17 Policy, the Global Heritage Alliance, the 18 International Association for Professional 19 Numismatics, and the Professional Numismatics Guild. 20 21 Collectors, the small businesses of 22 the art, antiquities and numismatic trade and

museums face product specific import and export 1 2 barriers justified as a means to combat looting in unstable and war-torn countries, particularly 3 4 in the Middle East, but which make little sense when applied to trade between the U.S. and EU. 5 The cultural goods they collect and 6 trade in fall under HTS USA 9705, collections and 7 8 collectors pieces, and HTS USA 9706, which is 9 antiques. We believe that U.S. negotiators should work to streamline trade in these goods 10 11 between the U.S. and EU. 12 As set forth in our written comments, 13 the major justification given for trade 14 restrictions, ISIS looting of archeological sites for profit in the Middle East, is greatly 15 16 overblown, and in any case, should have no impact 17 whatsoever on trade specifically between the U.S. 18 and EU. 19 As to exports between the U.S. and EU, 20 we suggest that U.S. negotiators work to allow 21 U.S. dealers and collectors to self-certify the 22 goods they seek to export to the EU were lawfully

on the market in the U.S. and were not believed to be the direct products of illicit digs outside or within the United States in order to gain reentry into the EU without the need to secure a formal EU import license.

6 We make this request in the wake of 7 rules that are no longer just proposed, but we 8 understand have been passed on December 11 by the 9 European Parliament relating to the import of 10 cultural goods into the EU, which based upon 11 reports we have received, may very well be 12 unworkable in practice.

U.S. trade negotiators should also
work with U.S. Customs and Border Protection and
EU officials to allow for the legal exports of
historical artifacts from the EU to the U.S.
under EU regulations adopted after the Convention
on Cultural Property Implementation Act became
law.
CPI import restrictions only apply to

20 CPI import restrictions only apply to 21 cultural goods subject to export control of a 22 particular country. However, CBP has failed to

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acknowledge the EU members are part of a common
 market that allows for the export of
 archaeological and ethnological objects with or
 without a license according to the local law of
 the exporting EU member.

Allowing entry of these objects 6 7 legally exported from the EU that are found on 8 designated lists for EU member countries like 9 Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy for which CPI import certificates have been granted would 10 11 greatly facilitate the lawful trade in a 12 situation that could be specifically have been 13 contemplated by the CPIA which predates the EU's 14 export controls.

Thank you in advance for your efforts
to facilitate trade in cultural goods between the
U.S. and EU on behalf of collectors, the small
businesses of the art, antiques and numismatic
trade, and museums.

20 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. Now to 21 Mr. Herman from the American Apparel and Footwear 22 Association.

Thank you. My name is 1 MR. HERMAN: 2 Nate Herman. I'm the senior vice president for supply chain at the American Apparel and Footwear 3 Association, the national association of the 4 apparel and footwear industry. 5 Through the power of global value 6 7 chains, our members directly employ millions of Americans in such diverse areas as design, 8 9 manufacturing, compliance, logistics, and retail. 10 Our products are designed, made, and sold in nearly every country around the world, 11 12 including the United States and European Union. International trade has been good for 13 14 industry, but the persistence of high trade barriers, be they in the form of tariffs, onerous 15 16 customs requirements, or burdensome regulations, 17 continues to inject unnecessary costs into our 18 supply chains. 19 Trade agreements are opportunities to 20 reduce these costs and expand the U.S. jobs our 21 global value chains support. It is through this 22 lens that we view the U.S.-EU trade agreement.

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| 1 | The goal of the negotiations should be |
| 2 | to craft an agreement that expands trade between |
| 3 | the United States and the EU while reducing |
| 4 | regulatory and market access costs currently |
| 5 | associated with those trade links. |
| 6 | The bottom line is that creating more |
| 7 | opportunities through trade agreements will |
| 8 | support far more U.S. jobs and growth than |
| 9 | restrictive rules. |
| 10 | I have six recommendations to achieve |
| 11 | this goal. We support the immediate elimination, |
| 12 | immediate and reciprocal elimination of the high |
| 13 | duties that both countries maintain on textiles, |
| 14 | travel goods, footwear, and apparel. |
| 15 | We also support the immediate |
| 16 | elimination of any retaliatory duties imposed by |
| 17 | the EU, as well as any retaliatory duties imposed |
| 18 | by the U.S. that led to the EU retaliation. The |
| 19 | duties imposed costs and activities, including |
| 20 | manufacturing activities in the U.S., and |
| 21 | undermine markets for U.S. exporters in Europe. |
| 22 | Two, the agreement should contain |
| | |

flexible rules of origin for our products. 1 The 2 bottom line is that yarn forward doesn't work. When you require everything to be made in a trade 3 agreement region, you get 100 percent of nothing. 4 5 The numbers bear this out. Today, free trade agreements account 6 for only 18.9 percent of total U.S. apparel 7 8 That number has dropped dramatically imports. 9 from 2003 where it represented 26.6 percent of 10 total U.S. imports even though over those last 15 years, the United States has entered into a 11 12 significant number of new free trade agreements. The more flexible the rules are in an 13 14 agreement, the more everyone benefits. Fifty percent of a large pie is much better than 100 15 16 percent of a small slice. 17 We need to incorporate sufficient 18 flexibilities into the rules of origin so that 19 different supply chains and the U.S. jobs they 20 support can take advantage of the agreement. 21 Even the recently concluded U.S. 22 Mexico Canada Agreement or the USMCA uses tariff

preference levels or TPLs to promote the export 1 2 of U.S. made apparel to Canada. These TPLs recognize that apparel manufacturing jobs 3 4 sometimes need access to foreign textiles to be 5 competitive. Similarly, we should explore 6 7 accumulation provisions with joint FTA partners 8 like Mexico. Currently, many U.S. yarn and 9 fabric exports are sent to Mexico where they are knit and sewn into garments and imported back 10 11 into the United States. 12 How much more powerful would that 13 supply chain be if the apparel made in Mexico 14 using U.S. yarn and fabric would also have duty 15 free access to the European Union? The EU 16 already has similar provisions in many of its 17 trade agreements. 18 Three, we can promote usage of the 19 agreement by including facilitative customs 20 procedures such as those that were included in 21 the general customs chapter of the USMCA. We believe the USMCA is the gold standard for trade 22

1 facilitation.

| 2 | The agreement should also include, |
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| 3 | among other things, proper enforcement that |
| 4 | treats trusted traders as partners and focuses |
| 5 | enforcement activities on traders who are more |
| 6 | likely to present risks. |
| 7 | We further urge that customs |
| 8 | provisions apply to the whole agreement and not |
| 9 | single out any one industry. |
| 10 | Finally, we support using these trade |
| 11 | agreement negotiations to increase the threshold |
| 12 | that the EU applies to its de minimis shipments. |
| 13 | Four, promote regulatory |
| 14 | harmonization. The EU and the United States both |
| 15 | maintain an extensive array of product safety, |
| 16 | chemical management, and labeling requirements |
| 17 | regarding apparel, footwear, textiles, and travel |
| 18 | goods. |
| 19 | In many cases, these are intended to |
| 20 | achieve the same goal, yet they often contain |
| 21 | different requirements such as testing |
| 22 | recertification that greatly add compliance |

costs.

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| 2 | For example, although the U.S. and the |
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| 3 | EU both regulate phthalates in child care |
| 4 | products, only the U.S. applies this rule to |
| 5 | children's pajamas, we think incorrectly. We |
| 6 | believe the U.SEU trade agreement presents and |
| 7 | important opportunity to achieve harmonization |
| 8 | and alignment for these regulations. |
| 9 | Five, any trade agreement should |
| 10 | reflect the U.S. and EU's shared commitment to |
| 11 | the protection of intellectual property rights. |
| 12 | This is not just about protecting American |
| 13 | businesses from damage to their reputation and |
| 14 | American jobs from being hurt by lost sales. |
| 15 | This is about child safety and knowing |
| 16 | that the pajamas a consumer bought for a newborn |
| 17 | will not result in a rash. This is about worker |
| 18 | safety, knowing that the shoes a consumer bought |
| 19 | were assembled in ethical factories. |
| 20 | This is about the environment and |
| 21 | knowing that the water used to dye the jeans a |
| 22 | consumer is wearing was properly treated. |

| 1 | And finally, number six, any U.SEU |
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| 2 | agreement should protect the Berry Amendment |
| 3 | which requires all clothing, textiles, and |
| 4 | footwear purchased by the Defense Department be |
| 5 | made in the United States to maintain a warm |
| 6 | industrial base for national security. |
| 7 | Thank you again for providing us this |
| 8 | opportunity to testify. I would be happy to take |
| 9 | any questions. |
| 10 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. Ms. |
| 11 | O'Brien, please proceed. |
| 12 | MS. O'BRIEN: Thank you. Good |
| 13 | afternoon. My name is Rosemary O'Brien. I am |
| 14 | vice president of public affairs for CF |
| 15 | Industries, one of the leading manufacturers and |
| 16 | distributors of nitrogen products. |
| 17 | CF appreciates the opportunity to |
| 18 | appear before you today to address negotiating |
| 19 | priorities for the proposed U.SEuropean Union |
| 20 | free trade agreement, and we have provided |
| 21 | detailed written comments to USTR. |
| 22 | I'd like to spend a few minutes |
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| 1 | telling you about our company, its production |
| 2 | economics, and the importance of eliminating the |
| 3 | EU's 6.5 percent tariff on fertilizer imports as |
| 4 | part of the U.SEU trade agreement negotiations. |
| 5 | CF is a global leader in manufacturing |
| 6 | and distribution of nitrogen products, serving |
| 7 | both agricultural and industrial customers. |
| 8 | We operate world-class nitrogen |
| 9 | manufacturing facilities in the U.S. and we |
| 10 | distribute plant nutrients throughout a system of |
| 11 | terminals, warehouses, and associated |
| 12 | transportation equipment located primarily in the |
| 13 | Midwestern U.S. |
| 14 | The company employs about 2,000 people |
| 15 | in the United States and we also produce nitrogen |
| 16 | fertilizers in Canada, the United Kingdom, and |
| 17 | Trinidad as part of a joint venture. |
| 18 | We are the largest producer of a |
| 19 | product called UAN solutions globally, and we are |
| 20 | the largest producer of other nitrogen products, |
| 21 | including ammonia, urea, and ammonium nitrate in |
| 22 | the U.S. |
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| 1 | Our products are produced from natural |
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| 2 | gas feed stock. In other words, natural gas is |
| 3 | our raw material used to produce our products. |
| 4 | In 2017, natural gas accounted for about 47 |
| 5 | percent of our total production costs, so the |
| 6 | cost of natural gas in relation to product prices |
| 7 | is a key driver of the economics of the nitrogen |
| 8 | fertilizer business. |
| 9 | In the past, U.S. natural gas prices |
| 10 | were very high and very volatile and less |
| 11 | favorable than natural gas prices in many other |
| 12 | producing countries making the export of our |
| 13 | domestically produced nitrogen products |
| 14 | uncompetitive. |
| 15 | Today, U.S. produced nitrogen |
| 16 | fertilizer exports are considerably more |
| 17 | competitive. The modernization of U.S. gas |
| 18 | prices to shale gas production along with |
| 19 | relatively strong nitrogen prices have |
| 20 | dramatically changed U.S. nitrogen producer |
| 21 | economics over the past few years. This prompted |
| 22 | CF Industries to invest \$5.2 billion to add new |
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nitrogen capacity in Louisiana and Iowa, all of 1 2 which came on stream in 2016. While much of this capacity does serve 3 4 American farmers, CF does export UAN and urea to 5 its customers in the EU, and we would like to do so on the same basis as EU producers exporting to 6 7 the U.S. 8 With respect to the EU, CF is 9 exporting UAN to address increasing demand for this product due to a growing shortfall in supply 10 11 by local producers. Given our advantageous 12 production economics, CF's products will be competitive in the EU if they are permitted to 13 14 compete on a level playing field. The European Union continues to 15 16 maintain prohibitively high bound tariff rates at 17 6.5 percent on imports of most major fertilizers, 18 including urea and UAN. In contrast, imports of 19 these and other fertilizers from the EU enter the 20 U.S. duty free and have for almost a century 21 since 1922, even in periods of soaring U.S. gas prices. 22

| 1 | U.S. producers have directed a |
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| 2 | substantial volume of their fertilizer exports to |
| 3 | the U.S., but this trade tends to flow one way. |
| 4 | For example, in 2017, U.S. imports of urea from |
| 5 | the EU totaled over 225,000 metric tons and were |
| 6 | valued at \$40 million while U.S. exports of urea |
| 7 | to the EU totaled less than 11,000 metric tons. |
| 8 | CF Industries has been down this road |
| 9 | before making the very same request. |
| 10 | Unfortunately, previous efforts to negotiate EU |
| 11 | fertilizer tariff elimination have been very |
| 12 | challenging. |
| 13 | In the T-TIP negotiations, the EU |
| 14 | would not agree to immediate tariff elimination |
| 15 | for fertilizers, placing them in a special energy |
| 16 | sensitive category even though the EU already |
| 17 | provides duty free treatment to fertilizer |
| 18 | imports from some major producing countries under |
| 19 | other trade agreements. |
| 20 | CF Industries respectfully requests |
| 21 | that the United States remain steadfast in |
| 22 | insisting on full elimination of EU fertilizer |
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tariffs immediately upon ratification of any 1 2 final U.S.-EU trade agreement. CF Industries also requests that the 3 United States ensure that regulatory cooperation 4 with the EU is ongoing to minimize inconsistency 5 and member state implementation of rules 6 7 governing the use and handling of fertilizers. While CF Industries does not seek 8 9 bilateral regulatory harmonization, we recommend that USTR maintain an ongoing dialogue with the 10 11 EU to reduce or eliminate regulatory barriers 12 that may impede bilateral trade in fertilizers. 13 Finally, CF urges the United States to obtain assurances from the EU that it will 14 actively solicit and consider the interests of 15 16 U.S. stakeholders when engaging in rulemaking 17 that impacts bilateral trade. 18 Thank you very much and I'm happy to 19 answer any questions you may have. 20 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. Mr. Sven Oehme from the European-American Business 21 22 Organization?

Yeah, good afternoon, Mr. 1 MR. OEHME: 2 Chairman, and thank you for the opportunity to be here and to testify today, and I also appreciate 3 the colleagues that are here sitting on your side 4 of the room and look forward to any questions 5 they might have. 6 7 The European-American Business 8 Organization is a consulting firm specializing in 9 transatlantic business development. It is a one-10 stop shop and it helps companies that are looking at expanding abroad. The customer base of our 11 12 company is mostly made up of SMEs. The relevance of SMEs in today's 13 14 economy, in Europe, the category of small and medium-sized businesses is made up of businesses 15 16 which employ fewer than 250 persons and have an 17 annual turnover not exceeding 50 million euros 18 and/or an annual balance sheet total not 19 exceeding 45 million euros. 20 In the U.S., the SBA sets small 21 business criteria based on industry, ownership 22 structure, revenue, and number of employees,

which in most circumstances may be as high as 1,500, but the cap typically is at 500 people, employees.

In 2015, in the EU, businesses employing fewer than 250 persons represented 99 percent of all enterprises in the EU. They account for about two-thirds of total employment in Europe. Enterprises with fewer than 250 persons employed contribute about 56 percent of the total turnover in the EU.

11 The total number of SMEs in Europe is 12 estimated at about 23 million. In the U.S., 13 there are about close to 28 million SMEs. Firms 14 with fewer than 500 workers account for 99.7 15 percent of those businesses. American SMEs 16 generate about 50 percent of U.S. GDP.

17 Important is a look at employment. 18 Small businesses created 1.9 million net jobs in 19 2015 and firms employing fewer than 20 employees 20 experienced the largest gains adding 1.1 million 21 net jobs.

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Why is the SME versus large

enterprises discussion relevant? The discussion 1 2 about free trade was dominated for many years by large multinational corporations. 3 Research 4 showed however that SMEs play an important and 5 increasing role in today's trade environment. The gross generating potential of SMEs 6 7 has been the subject of many academic studies. 8 Some recent studies suggest that large 9 enterprises are more procyclical, which means that they are more affected by international 10 11 business cycles than SMEs are. 12 The role of SMEs is now being 13 recognized in trade agreements. The new United 14 States-Mexico-Canada agreement includes a chapter 15 on SMEs. 16 As SMEs are entities that don't have 17 the resources at their disposal that a large 18 multinational firm has, they are disadvantaged. 19 In many cases, the founder, owner, CEO is the 20 decision maker and has to take all of the aspects 21 necessary into account. 22 Many times these companies are

exporters and thus are confronted with all of the 1 2 challenges that all exporters are facing such as barriers at the border, barriers behind the 3 border, financing of exports, etcetera. 4 These are all issues that make it much tougher for an 5 SME to send its products across national borders. 6 There's a lot of paperwork involved in 7 8 the process. While much is digital today, it 9 still means that forms need to be filled in, 10 signed, and presented. 11 There are requirements in Europe 12 presenting challenges to U.S. SMEs like the CE

Mark, REACH, the REACH legislation, regulation,
and also, which we frequently see, understanding
value added tax.

A new free trade agreement between the U.S. and Europe may not resolve all of the issues from the very beginning, but it can certainly start a process that leads to freer and fairer trade. Such an agreement can aim at cooperation of the partner countries to increase the trade and investment opportunities for SMEs. Unfortunately, the process seems to be a bit slow
 in Europe.

The U.S., Mexico, Canada agreement mentions in one of its articles a committee on SME issues and I just want to mention that a predecessor to such a committee already exists for about nine years.

8 It is the EU, U.S. Small and Medium 9 Enterprise SME Best Practices Workshop in the 10 framework of the Transatlantic Economic Council, 11 and we had the last meeting just a month ago in 12 Vienna.

13 One thing that I also want to mention 14 as the last time, SMEs are not just run and owned 15 by males or men. They are also -- and that was 16 an aspect that came up in Vienna. There are also 17 women, and women apparently have a much tougher time in running SMEs, and getting financing, 18 19 etcetera. So I just wanted to mention that. In 20 the U.S., I guess, we would also look at minority 21 owned businesses, which is not an issue in Europe 22 apparently.

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| 1 | I thank you for the chance to speak |
| 2 | here and I look forward to any questions. |
| 3 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you, and our |
| 4 | final witness on this panel, Mr. Brzytwa from the |
| 5 | American Chemistry Council. |
| 6 | MR. BRZYTWA: Thank you very much, |
| 7 | Chairman Gresser, and to the interagency panel. |
| 8 | The American Chemistry Council appreciates the |
| 9 | opportunity to testify today on the U.S. chemical |
| 10 | industries' priorities for a potential trade |
| 11 | agreement between the United States and the |
| 12 | European Union. |
| 13 | Trade in chemicals is already a strong |
| 14 | feature of the U.SEU trading relationship. In |
| 15 | 2017, the U.S. exported more than \$20 billion in |
| 16 | chemicals to the EU. We imported more than \$25 |
| 17 | billion. |
| 18 | A significant portion of the U.SEU |
| 19 | chemicals trade is between related parties. |
| 20 | Fifty eight percent of chemical exports and 80 |
| 21 | percent of chemical imports are between related |
| 22 | parties. |
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| 1 | The significant volume of trade |
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| 2 | between related parties is due to the highly |
| 3 | integrated and efficient nature of the U.S. and |
| 4 | EU chemical manufacturing supply chains. |
| 5 | Removing both tariff and non-tariff |
| 6 | barriers to the free flow of chemicals between |
| 7 | the U.S. and EU would yield significant cost |
| 8 | savings for ACC members and our downstream |
| 9 | customers. |
| 10 | To that end, ACC is pleased to share |
| 11 | with you today an overview of our recommendations |
| 12 | and objectives for a successful trade agreement |
| 13 | with the European Union. |
| 14 | Number one, tariff elimination and |
| 15 | market access: The average tariff rate on |
| 16 | chemicals traded between the U.S. and EU is three |
| 17 | percent. |
| 18 | Immediately eliminating U.S. tariffs |
| 19 | on chemical imports could save U.S. chemical |
| 20 | manufacturers \$758 million annually. Immediately |
| 21 | eliminating EU tariffs on chemical imports would |
| 22 | reduce tariffs paid in the EU by \$614 million |
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annually.

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| 2 | We also urge the U.S. to eliminate its |
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| 3 | Section 232 tariffs on steel and aluminum imports |
| 4 | from the EU and to avoid the imposition of any |
| 5 | quotas of any kind on imports of EU steel and |
| 6 | aluminum. |
| 7 | Number two, regulatory cooperation: |
| 8 | The EU and the U.S. made significant progress on |
| 9 | regulatory cooperation for the chemicals sector |
| 10 | during the T-TIP negotiations. The United States |
| 11 | has since made further progress in the sectoral |
| 12 | annex for chemical substances in the U.S., |
| 13 | Mexico, Canada agreement, USMCA. |
| 14 | Based on this progress, we recommend |
| 15 | that the new U.SEU negotiations create a |
| 16 | distinct track for regulatory cooperation for the |
| 17 | chemicals sector and build on the outcomes of the |
| 18 | USMCA. |
| 19 | Number three, rules of origin for |
| 20 | chemical substances: Chemical manufacturers will |
| 21 | benefit from duty free trade only if the rules of |
| 22 | origin for chemical substances are flexible, |

1 simple, and transparent.

| 2 | We recommend that the United States |
|----|---|
| 3 | build on the rules of origin outcomes of the |
| 4 | USMCA, including creating a menu-based approach |
| 5 | that has the fewest number of exceptions as |
| 6 | possible. |
| 7 | Number four, digital trade: Digital |
| 8 | trade based on the free flow of data across |
| 9 | borders is critical to chemical manufacturers. |
| 10 | State-of-the-art provisions on promoting data |
| 11 | privacy, enabling open cross border data flows, |
| 12 | prohibiting data localization requirements, and |
| 13 | strengthening cyber security while respecting |
| 14 | intellectual property rights will be critical. |
| 15 | The USMCA provides a starting point for strong |
| 16 | provisions on digital trade. |
| 17 | Number five, trade facilitation: ACC |
| 18 | recommends that the United States and EU pursue a |
| 19 | WTO trade facilitation agreement plus approach to |
| 20 | customs and trade facilitation efforts in their |
| 21 | bilateral negotiations. |
| 22 | Number six, dispute settlement: We |
| | |

recommend that the United States and European
 Union agree on binding and enforceable state to
 state dispute settlement.

We also urge both parties to accept investor state dispute settlement provisions for all sectors without limitations on the claims that investors can make on specific investment protections.

9 Number seven, duration of the 10 agreement: The U.S. and EU trade agreement should provide maximum predictability and certainty to 11 12 investors and traders. We support making 13 improvements to the agreement as international 14 trade evolves, but recommend avoiding the inclusion of time frames for an early termination 15 16 or sunset of the agreement.

Number eight, addressing sources of marine litter: There is a global need to support infrastructure development to collect, sort, and process used plastics. Such infrastructure will create opportunities for trade and investment and help keep used plastics out of the environment,

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thereby reducing marine litter. We recommend that the U.S.-EU trade agreement build on the marine litter language in the USMCA environment chapter.

5 I will close with one final and urgent 6 recommendation from U.S. chemical manufacturers. 7 We strongly encourage the U.S. and EU to work 8 together and with other like-minded governments 9 to address trade distorting practices by other 10 countries.

ACC and its members stand ready to assist the administration in the creation of a coalition of allies in the WTO to protect and enforce its trading principles around the globe.

Thank you again for the opportunity to
provide input on behalf of ACC members and the
businesses of chemistry in the United States.

18 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you all very
19 much. Let me now turn to David Weiner, Deputy
20 Assistant USTR for Europe to begin the
21 questioning.

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MR. WEINER: Thank you, Ed, and thank

you to all of the witnesses for the testimony. 1 2 It's been very helpful. I was going to -- we'll sort of move down the dais here and I'll start 3 with a couple of questions for Mr. Mullen. I had 4 actually initially a sort of two-part question on 5 your comments about regulatory harmonization. 6 You said in your submission and your 7 testimony just now that you recommended that it 8 9 would be, that you recommended that we would seek agreement between the United States and the EU to 10 11 harmonize regulations across the entire supply 12 chain, including from product conception to 13 delivery to the consumer, to include design 14 manufacturing, distribution, and consumption. 15 That's a pretty ambitious proposal for 16 regulatory harmonization, so I was wondering 17 whether you could first explain perhaps whether 18 there are priorities in that sort of list of 19 areas across the supply chain in which I think 20 you feel and your companies feel that we do not 21 have sufficient harmonization, and maybe explain whether there's areas of particular, in which the 22

lack of harmonization or lack of sort of
 equivalence in our regulatory approaches is
 particularly burdensome?

And then also maybe explain how harmonization in those areas, some of which don't immediately seem to relate to the delivery, to the express delivery service industry itself, how that would impact the industry and the member companies in your association?

10 MR. MULLEN: Okay, thanks very much. 11 That's really a good question and really what 12 we're trying to get at there is that it's a 13 mistake anymore to look at products that are, as 14 being sort of built in one country and then 15 shipped to another country.

And supply chains truly have become global and we have to look at this process from that point of view, that there are many different players involved in a product coming from, starting in one place with raw materials and ending up in someplace else where it gets sold. And what we're really trying to get at

is the fact that two-thirds of the holds that are put on shipments coming into the United States now are placed by other government agencies, not Customs and Border Protection, which mainly is looking at security issues.

But the other government agencies, and 6 the Food and Drug Administration is a very large 7 one, agriculture requirements are a very large 8 9 one, consumer product safety, they need to look 10 at these products as being part of a system that 11 starts with a set of raw materials and goes 12 through a design process, a manufacturing 13 process, and then the delivery part of it is 14 really sort of the last step of it.

We think it would be enormously helpful for countries to look at it from that point of view and harmonize their regulations across the entire process so that when a medical device is coming in from the EU, the FDA is confident that it's gone through a process that is in harmony with U.S. regulations.

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So we recommend the creation of a

group that would actually look at these kinds of 1 2 issues and try to come up with a set of best practices that would work well for both sides, so 3 4 that's what we're trying to get at with that part 5 of it. And is that, is it an 6 MR. WEINER: area in which you've had dialogue with European 7 8 I would imagine that some of them counterparts? 9 may feel similarly about that or --10 MR. MULLEN: I'm not sure what the question is. 11 12 MR. WEINER: Is there -- you have --13 I think that there are some EU-based express 14 delivery companies, and I wonder whether they 15 have a similar perspective on this issue or on 16 these set of issues, the regulatory 17 harmonization? 18 MR. MULLEN: Well, even --19 MR. WEINER: Or have you had 20 engagement with them? 21 MR. MULLEN: Even my members, of course, have global operations and they go both 22

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| 1 | ways, and, yes, I would say it's equally a |
| 2 | problem for U.S. made devices that are going into |
| 3 | the EU. We think there needs to be better |
| 4 | harmony there. |
| 5 | MR. WEINER: Okay, thank you. So I'm |
| 6 | going to move down the dais here and ask some |
| 7 | questions of you, Mr. Tompa. I'm curious. |
| 8 | You're bringing to us a set of issues which are a |
| 9 | little bit new. |
| 10 | MR. TOMPA: Unusual. |
| 11 | MR. WEINER: Unusual for us, at least |
| 12 | with respect to USTR. |
| 13 | MR. TOMPA: Sure. |
| 14 | MR. WEINER: Our colleague from CBP |
| 15 | was not able to join us at the last minute, so, |
| 16 | but I'm curious to know whether you've you're |
| 17 | asking us and I'm sort of summarizing a little |
| 18 | bit, your testimony, all of which was quite |
| 19 | interesting. |
| 20 | But you're asking us to sort of |
| 21 | address in the context of a trade agreement where |
| 22 | we take on some binding rules between ourselves |
| | |

and another party or parties, issues which, you 1 2 know, traditionally lie outside of sort of the trade policy area, and --3 But of course our trade agreements are 4 5 quite ambitious in scope in recent decades in the United States and EU, in both the United States 6 7 and the EU, so we do address things that are sort of trade related. 8 9 Do you -- are you -- can you point to 10 other agreements in recent years, other trade 11 agreements or principally trade agreements, that 12 address the kinds of issues that you're asking us 13 to address here, that would --14 MR. TOMPA: No, I can't, but that's because they really haven't been a serious issue 15 16 until recently, so it may be one of those situations where there was not a need before, and 17 18 so it was never raised before. 19 And actually, the most, most of the trade in our antiquities, especially -- I did 20 21 this on the behalf of a number of organizations, but I'm outside counsel to the Numismatic Trade 22

Associations, and most of the trade is actually 1 2 between the EU and the U.S., so because of that, it really just has not been an issue before. 3 MR. WEINER: Globally most of the 4 5 trade is between those two? 6 MR. TOMPA: Yes, yeah. 7 MR. WEINER: Okay, are you -- you said 8 in your testimony that there are, you know, you 9 are concerned in particular about new, existing, and I guess some newly proposed EU rules --10 11 MR. TOMPA: Yes. 12 MR. WEINER: -- that the European 13 Parliament approved or has voted on? 14 MR. TOMPA: Yes, they actually just voted on it and I didn't get the details or a 15 16 reporting of the details until, like, 10 minutes 17 before I left, so I wasn't able to actually read 18 them. 19 In our written testimony, we summarize 20 what the rules were proposed as, and there may be 21 some changes from them, but you have to keep in 22 mind that they seem to be made with the idea that

we're talking about large value objects, and a lot of the objects that the people I represent deal in are quite low value, you know, like \$50, etcetera.

5 So the idea that you're going to have 6 this kind of provenance information or you're 7 going to be able to have this document trail, 8 etcetera, back five, 10 years for something that 9 is, you know, worth \$50 is kind of a little bit--

It's impractical and it just won't 10 11 happen, and I think we outlined in our papers, you know, why traditionally there was never any 12 13 requirement of provenance information, and even 14 when previously some countries started requiring export certificates for these kinds of objects, 15 16 the ones that did wouldn't even do it on an 17 individual basis.

And the example I gave was Israel where Israel would issue export permits for 500 ancient coins, but they wouldn't actually identify them, so even if you kept the document, and most people wouldn't keep the document, once

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| 1 | the thing was exported, you would just get rid of |
| 2 | it, you know, because there was no need to keep |
| 3 | it, it wouldn't be of any use today. |
| 4 | So to have a requirement that you have |
| 5 | to prove something back five, 10, 15, 20, 30 |
| 6 | years, it's kind of just a little bit it's |
| 7 | asking for the impossible, especially for low |
| 8 | value items. We're not talking about, you know, |
| 9 | million dollar items here, you know, so that's |
| 10 | one of the issues that we're working with. |
| 11 | And it doesn't seem, from what I can |
| 12 | tell, that the the trade association also |
| 13 | engaged lobbyists in Europe and it doesn't seem |
| 14 | like it sank into the European Parliamentarians. |
| 15 | I will say that their process was |
| 16 | very, very rushed and it was very influenced by |
| 17 | sort of very overblown conceptions of what ISIS |
| 18 | was making based upon looting, and if you look |
| 19 | through our paperwork and look at the documents |
| 20 | that I cite, it goes through the bases for these |
| 21 | claims and debunks all of them. |
| 22 | But basically they were started mainly |
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by the Syrian government and the Russian 1 2 government as part of their effort to sort of paint this as, you know, their war in Syria as, 3 4 you know, something that was noble as opposed to 5 what it really was. MR. WEINER: Just one additional 6 7 question, you emphasize in your statement and 8 your written materials that these are, of course, 9 in large part small businesses, I guess, on both sides --10 11 MR. TOMPA: That's correct. 12 MR. WEINER: -- and individuals, small 13 firms that are doing this. 14 MR. TOMPA: Yeah, I could elaborate on 15 that. 16 MR. WEINER: Yeah. 17 MR. TOMPA: Most of them are solo 18 proprietors, and I would say in the United 19 States, I'd say a third of them are actually part 20 time, so they're collectors and, you know, they 21 just do this as a part time thing because they 22 love the object.

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| 1 | They love collecting it and it's just |
| 2 | a way to sort of take that to a different level, |
| 3 | so they have other jobs. I could see them |
| 4 | dropping out of doing this if the regulations get |
| 5 | too extensive. |
| 6 | MR. WEINER: Thank you. |
| 7 | MR. TOMPA: Thank you. |
| 8 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: I have a question |
| 9 | for Mr. Herman. I'm quite interested in your |
| 10 | comments on methods of enforcing anti- |
| 11 | counterfeiting policy against third party, busy |
| 12 | third party marketplaces. What commitments would |
| 13 | you like to see in a FTA or in a trade agreement |
| 14 | to address these concerns? |
| 15 | MR. HERMAN: So there's been a |
| 16 | concern, we've raised it in the USTR's notorious |
| 17 | markets report every year, of third party |
| 18 | marketplaces have become platforms for the sale |
| 19 | of counterfeit products because the platforms |
| 20 | have no regulation of the sellers on the |
| 21 | platform, and so they can put anything on there, |
| 22 | portray it as a legitimate product, and sell it. |
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| 1 | And so what we would be asking as part |
| 2 | of a trade agreement is to have the European |
| 3 | Union regulate platforms that are based in the |
| 4 | European Union to ensure that they, that they're |
| 5 | checking the sellers and making sure they're |
| 6 | legitimate, that they have rights to sell the |
| 7 | products that they're selling, and that they're |
| 8 | not counterfeit products, and so that's basically |
| 9 | what we're looking for. |
| 10 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. Perhaps |
| 11 | we could turn to our colleague from the Treasury |
| 12 | Department. |
| 13 | MR. MEIER: Ms. O'Brien, thank you for |
| 14 | your testimony. You note that CF Industries is |
| 15 | also producing fertilizer in Canada, United |
| 16 | States, and in Trinidad, excuse me, Canada, the |
| 17 | United Kingdom, and Trinidad. |
| 18 | If duty free access were achieved, |
| 19 | what percentage of the fertilizer exported by |
| 20 | your company to the EU do you anticipate will be |
| 21 | of U.S. origin? |
| 22 | MS. O'BRIEN: For CF Industries, the |
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majority of our production is U.S. based, so we 1 2 have five world scale plants in the U.S. and two in Canada, but the majority of our export 3 capability is out of our Donaldsonville, 4 5 Louisiana facility where we have four docks where we can export our product. 6 7 And most of our product is going to be 8 for U.S. farmers, as I said in our testimony, but because of the ebb and flow of demand and 9 weather, we do have opportunities to export. 10 11 When we do, we would like to send that product to 12 Europe or other parts of the world, and Europe is 13 a great growing market for us. 14 So I can't give you a particular percentage of U.S. origin, but most of it would 15 16 have to be U.S. origin because of our logistics. 17 MR. MEIER: Okay, thank you. It's 18 interesting that the EU cited nitrogen fertilizer 19 as energy sensitive given that they are a net 20 exporter. Could you explain more about why it 21 has this designation? 22 I'm sorry. MS. O'BRIEN: I didn't

hear the last part of your question. 1 2 MR. MEIER: Could you explain more about why nitrogen has the energy sensitive 3 4 designation given that the EU is a net exporter? 5 I mean, in our view, MS. O'BRIEN: that is purely a protectionist measure on their 6 7 The commodities are completely fungible. part. 8 Our products and their products are produced the 9 same way with the same energy intensity and, you know, we just viewed it as another example of 10 11 trying to find a way through the T-TIP 12 negotiations to preclude us from exporting our 13 products to Europe. 14 Thank you. You reference MR. MEIER: a forthcoming EU fertilizer regulation and the 15 16 need for regulatory cooperation minimizing 17 barriers. Can you provide an example of how the 18 lack of EU harmonization and inconsistencies in 19 member state implementation has adversely 20 impacted bilateral trade? MS. O'BRIEN: Yeah, we are watching 21 22 right now a couple of situations that we're

concerned about. I mean, we've been -- as others 1 2 have spoken here today about the REACH, the EU REACH program, that's extremely complex, and 3 demanding, and continues to be a significant 4 barrier to trade in our view. 5 The EU also has a series of 6 7 regulations that govern the movement of 8 fertilizer, the labeling, the nutrient content, 9 and that can be interpreted by each member state 10 in a unique way, so we are concerned about that. 11 We also know that they recently 12 adopted some new security regulations that cover ammonium nitrate-based fertilizers and 13 14 potentially UAN, and that's going to affect how these products are transferred and sold in the 15 16 EU, so we are very concerned about how that is 17 interpreted by the member states, and we're 18 really looking here for best practices as these 19 regulations are developed. 20 Finally, there's a new regulation on 21 EU fertilizer that just covers a whole host of 22 topics on the environmental side, including

1 groundwater, drinking water, and emissions 2 ceilings, and again, we are concerned about how 3 the different member states are going to 4 interpret these new upcoming regulations and we 5 just want to make sure that our government is 6 involved so that we can see best practices 7 implemented on those.

8 Thanks, just one last MR. MEIER: 9 question for you. Thank you for raising the impact of EU fertilizer tariffs on U.S. exports 10 and suggesting that USTR seek elimination of 11 12 these tariffs. Do you anticipate any resistance 13 from EU competitors and are potential customers 14 in the EU pressing for greater competition among fertilizer producers? 15

MS. O'BRIEN: We certainly expect our counterparts in Europe to be opposed to our position on reducing these tariffs immediately to zero because their position has always been either don't eliminate the tariff or stage it. Under T-TIP, it was they who asked for a staging of seven years, which we found totally

1 unacceptable since they have complete access here
2 now at zero rates.
3 And what's so fascinating about the
4 farming community is there is a demand for our
5 products, especially the UAN product. They just
6 don't make enough to supply European farmers, and

7 so we have customers asking us to please supply8 them with this product.

9 So the farming community basically is 10 asking for more U.S. products, more competition 11 in the fertilizer space.

MR. MEIER: Thank you.
MR. O'BYRNE: This question is for Mr.
Oehme. Thank you for your comments on how small
and medium sized enterprises are often
disproportionately affected by transatlantic
barriers to trade.

Could you elaborate on the benefits a U.S.-EU trade agreement would have for SMEs and what sort of provisions or commitments in particular would help grow their market access? Thank you.

| 1 | MR. OEHME: Well, many of the aspects |
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| 2 | have been mentioned today. Obviously the SMEs |
| 3 | are taking part in producing products at a |
| 4 | smaller scale than larger companies, so the |
| 5 | regulatory issues apply to SMEs just as to the |
| 6 | extent that they apply to large companies, so |
| 7 | that would certainly help very much. |
| 8 | And I think it's also important that |
| 9 | there is the awareness of SMEs and that they can |
| 10 | also play an important role, and many of them in |
| 11 | a certain niche have a large market share, so |
| 12 | that when you really look at the individual |
| 13 | companies, they may be small, but they can have a |
| 14 | large market share. |
| 15 | And one aspect that came up at our |
| 16 | last meeting in Vienna of this group that I |
| 17 | mentioned, that is where and then USTR, |
| 18 | Treasury, Commerce, and SBA are part of, is the |
| 19 | fact that, at least from what we heard in Europe, |
| 20 | women, if they are running SMEs or if they're |
| 21 | starting SMEs, are disadvantaged because the |
| 22 | banks don't give them the funding. |

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| 1 | Some authorities may not take them |
| 2 | seriously, and that's maybe not something that |
| 3 | can be regulated in a free trade agreement, but |
| 4 | it is an issue that should be brought to the |
| 5 | attention, that there is unequal treatment of the |
| 6 | various SMEs. |
| 7 | MR. O'BYRNE: Thank you. |
| 8 | MR. HENRY: I have a question for Mr. |
| 9 | Brzytwa from the American Chemistry Council. You |
| 10 | advocate for greater regulatory compatibility and |
| 11 | cooperation in the chemical sector and point to |
| 12 | the USMCA chemicals annex as a possible basis for |
| 13 | that. |
| 14 | Given the fundamentally different |
| 15 | regulatory approaches taken under EU's REACH |
| 16 | framework and the U.S. Toxic Substances Control |
| 17 | Act, in which areas do you think concrete |
| 18 | compatibility improvements are feasible without |
| 19 | changes to one system or another? |
| 20 | MR. BRZYTWA: Well, thank you for that |
| 21 | question. I think we recognize that the two |
| 22 | systems for chemical management respectively in |
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| the United States and EU are, you're never going |
| to be able to harmonize them. This is why we're |
| promoting regulatory cooperation to create |
| efficiencies for our chemical manufacturers. |
| And as I said, chemical trade is very |
| much between related parties. So we want to |
| identify the right set of topics where we can |
| cooperate, where we can create those |
| efficiencies. |
| If you look at the USMCA, it |
| identifies a core set of issues for further |
| discussion between the three USMCA parties, and |
| number one on that list, if I'm not mistaken, is |
| the GHS, the globally harmonized system for |
| chemicals classification and labeling. |
| We think this is a prime area for |
| additional new discussions between the regulators |
| in the EU and U.S. regulators, the EPA. I think |
| we can have further conversations about |
| information sharing, safety data sheets, how we |
| can actually make the process of regulation less |
| costly for our businesses. |
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| 1 | And if I may say, we've been talking |
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| 2 | about small and medium sized enterprises here. |
| 3 | It's expensive to comply with regulation, as we |
| 4 | know, and I think it's even disproportionately |
| 5 | expensive for SMEs. |
| 6 | If we're going to have robust |
| 7 | regulatory cooperation between the U.S. and the |
| 8 | EU, we should really look to making sure that |
| 9 | SMEs are going to be the beneficiaries of that, |
| 10 | and that's particularly true in the chemicals |
| 11 | area. |
| 12 | MR. HENRY: Thank you. In the |
| 13 | document, you advocate seeking the inclusion of |
| 14 | chemical reaction rules of origin. How do the |
| 15 | chemical reaction rules in the USMCA and the EU |
| 16 | and Canada FTA compare, and does the EU agreement |
| 17 | with Canada include any new rules that the U.S. |
| 18 | should consider? |
| 19 | MR. BRZYTWA: Yeah, I'll admit I have |
| 20 | not done a deep dive on the Canada-EU agreement, |
| 21 | and I think that's probably something that we |
| 22 | will look at in the future. |
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We're engaging in discussions with the 1 2 EU industry to see where we can provide some common perspectives. We did this with our 3 counterpart associations in Mexico and in Canada 4 5 when it came to the USMCA and we were able to provide some really good input to the three 6 7 parties. 8 You know, if you look at the input we 9 gave in that process, I think it would be, you know, broadly is reflected in the USMCA outcomes, 10 11 and this is why we're recommending the USMCA as a 12 starting point. If we're able to get on the same 13 page as the Canadian industry, you know, I think 14 we're confident that we can do that with the EU 15 industry. 16 As a matter of fact, the United 17 States, well, ACC and our counterpart in the EU, 18 Cefic, did submit a joint proposal on rules of 19 origin for T-TIP, and I think we're going to look at that to see if we want to make any changes to 20 that based on progress we've made respectively 21 22 since.

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| 1 | MR. HENRY: Thank you. |
| 2 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Well, we are just |
| 3 | about out of time for this panel. This has been |
| 4 | a very interesting set of presentations and we |
| 5 | appreciate it very much. |
| 6 | Before closing, we would just like to |
| 7 | ask is there anything that any of you would have |
| 8 | liked to raise, but didn't have the chance to do |
| 9 | so, or anything in the proceedings you'd like to |
| 10 | respond to? And if not, thank you very much on |
| 11 | behalf of the TPSC and the panel is closed. |
| 12 | (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter |
| 13 | went off the record at 2:33 p.m. and resumed at |
| 14 | 2:42 p.m.) |
| 15 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you all very |
| 16 | much. We are beginning our fifth panel of the |
| 17 | day. This will look at the automotive sector. |
| 18 | We are fortunate to have with us Charles Uthus |
| 19 | from the American Automotive Policy Council, Paul |
| 20 | Ryan of the Association of Global Automakers, Ann |
| 21 | Wilson with the Motor Equipment Manufacturers |
| 22 | Association, and Jennifer Thomas of the Alliance |

of Automobile Manufacturers.

| 2 | As in previous sessions, we will start |
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| 3 | on my right or your left and go one by one. And |
| 4 | so I'd like to invite Mr. Uthus to kick it off. |
| 5 | MR. UTHUS: Thank you very much. |
| 6 | Good afternoon. I am Charles Uthus, |
| 7 | Vice President Automotive Policy Council. I am |
| 8 | also a chair of ITAC-2, which is Automotive and |
| 9 | Capital Goods ITAC. |
| 10 | AAPC represents the common public |
| 11 | policy interest of America's automakers, FCA, |
| 12 | Ford, and General Motors. We appreciate this |
| 13 | important opportunity to provide our views and |
| 14 | recommendations on the proposed U.SEU trade |
| 15 | agreement before the Trade Policy Staff |
| 16 | Committee. |
| 17 | We understand that currently autos are |
| 18 | not formally among the sectors that are covered |
| 19 | in the talks but we believe that the U.S. auto |
| 20 | industry would benefit from their inclusion. As |
| 21 | the largest manufacturing and exporting sector in |
| 22 | the United States, America's automotive industry |

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| 1 | has a major stake in a potential trade agreement |
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| 2 | with the European Union. |
| 3 | Today the U.S. and the EU together |
| 4 | account for 31 percent of global auto production |
| 5 | and 37 percent of global auto sales. Moreover, |
| 6 | U.SEU auto trade, including vehicles and parts, |
| 7 | accounts for 11 percent of total trade between |
| 8 | the U.S. and EU. |
| 9 | We believe a successful trade |
| 10 | agreement with the EU would benefit the |
| 11 | industries, workers, and consumers on both sides |
| 12 | of the Atlantic. For American automakers, such |
| 13 | an agreement would only expand U.S. auto exports |
| 14 | to Europe but, through regulatory convergence, it |
| 15 | would also boost our auto exports to third |
| 16 | countries that have limited imports to vehicles |
| 17 | certified to European standards, primarily from |
| 18 | exclusions of vehicles certified to the equally |
| 19 | robust U.S. auto safety and environmental |
| 20 | standards. |
| 21 | So to put some numbers on this, last |
| 22 | year the EU exported 1.4 million cars and light |
| | |

trucks to the U.S. worth about \$43 billion. 1 2 Meanwhile, American vehicle exports to the EU were worth about \$8.6 billion. One reason for 3 4 the disparity in auto trade volume is the EU's 5 relatively high import tariff on passenger vehicles, which is 10 percent, compared to 2.5 6 percent in the U.S. But another, perhaps less 7 8 well-known reason for the limited U.S. exports 9 volume to Europe is the need to modify a vehicle to comply with different auto safety standards in 10 11 the European Union.

12 Modifying a U.S.-certified vehicle to 13 meet European standards can cost millions of 14 dollars per vehicle program. Not only does this make it difficult for our vehicles to be sold in 15 16 Europe, but also makes it difficult for many vehicles manufactured in the United States to be 17 18 sold in third country markets that exclusively 19 accept European auto standards.

20 Until recently, the different U.S. and 21 EU auto standards did not pose a significant 22 barrier to automotive trade to third markets,

since these markets typically accepted both U.S. 1 2 and EU certified vehicles. However, for more than a decade, the EU has been successful in 3 persuading other countries to accept vehicles 4 5 certified exclusively to European standards. When this happens, more often than not, third 6 7 countries move to solely accept those just 8 European standards at the exclusion of shutting 9 American cars and trucks out of critically and rapidly growing markets around the world. 10

11 With regard to auto standards and 12 regulations, we believe two goals should be 13 pursued by the negotiators. First, any U.S.-EU 14 agreement must clearly articulate a process that at the earliest stage possible directs 15 16 coordination and cooperation between U.S. and EU 17 regulators and harmonization on all new vehicle 18 standards and regulations deployed. Second is 19 the creation of a comprehensive approach that 20 will pave the way for each party to mutually 21 recognize and accept vehicles built to the other 22 party's existing auto standards and regulations.

| 1 | Developing a framework for regulatory |
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| 2 | convergence and mutual recognition is vital to |
| 3 | the continued success of American auto exports. |
| 4 | If, however, no action is taken the U.S. will |
| 5 | continue to experience a steady erosion of the |
| 6 | ability to cost-effectively export its vehicles |
| 7 | to Europe and beyond. Inaction would also open |
| 8 | the door for the creation of other sets of |
| 9 | standards, which could further supplant the |
| 10 | acceptance of U.Scertified vehicles in other |
| 11 | markets. |
| 12 | With regard to tariffs, we recommend |
| 13 | that, in close consultation with industry |
| 14 | stakeholders, the U.S. secure appropriate phase- |
| 15 | downs of the auto tariffs that U.S. exports face |
| 16 | in the European Union. However, we believe that |
| 17 | any potential trade agreement must be viewed in |
| 18 | its entirety, which requires that only that |
| 19 | the U.S. only agree to tariff phase-outs that are |
| 20 | commensurate with the level of the overall |
| 21 | improved access American automakers would gain. |
| 22 | And finally, whether through the U.S |

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EU trade negotiations or through separate 1 2 channels, we urge the administration to avoid imposing any new tariffs on imported vehicles or 3 4 parts, particularly tariffs that would be imposed 5 as part of the ongoing 232 auto investigation. The 232 auto tariffs would almost certainly end 6 7 the U.S.-EU trade talks and lead to retaliation 8 that would also hurt America's automakers and 9 consumers.

In conclusion, American automakers 10 11 believe the trade agreement negotiations with the 12 EU are a critical opportunity and represent a win-win-win scenario for our sector. 13 If 14 successful, it will allow our automakers to gain 15 improved access to the EU auto market, gain 16 improved access to markets that currently only 17 accept European standards, and will help America 18 maintain its leadership in global auto standards 19 development.

20 Thank you again for the opportunity to 21 share our views and recommendations.

CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very

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1 much. 2 Let's now move to Mr. Ryan. Thank you very much, Mr. 3 MR. RYAN: 4 Chairman. Members of the Trade Policy Staff 5 Committee, good afternoon. My name is Paul Ryan 6 and I am the Vice President of Trade and 7 8 Competitiveness for the Association of Global 9 Automakers. Global Automakers represents the U.S. subsidiaries of 12 international automobile 10 11 manufacturers, as well as suppliers and a handful 12 of automotive trade-related associations. I am also here today on behalf of Here 13 14 for America, which represents all international automakers operating in the United States, as 15 16 well as several suppliers. International automakers have invested 17 18 \$82 billion in the United States and become a 19 part of the American manufacturing landscape. In 20 fact, 14 companies now produce cars and trucks in 21 the United States and a 15th is scheduled to begin production in 2021. Ten of these 14 22

companies originated outside the United States and most have been building vehicles here for decades, including three of the four current U.S. producers that originated in Europe.

International auto companies are 5 deeply enmeshed in the U.S. communities in which 6 7 they operate. Combined, these companies employ 8 133,000 Americans at nearly 500 facilities and 9 they create jobs for some 1.3 million Americans. 10 Importantly, international automakers produced 11 nearly half of all the cars, SUVs, vans, and 12 light trucks made in America last year and 13 accounted for nearly half of all U.S. vehicle 14 exports.

For their part, European-based 15 16 automakers have invested more than \$30 billion in 17 manufacturing, R&D, design, and other facilities 18 here in the United States, accounting for over 19 200,000 direct, indirect, and induced American 20 iobs. These companies collectively produced over 21 800,000 cars in 2017. One of these producers has 22 located its largest worldwide manufacturing

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facility here in the United States and all 1 2 actively promote the dissemination of workforce skills necessary to their advanced production 3 operations. 4 Significantly, many of these producers 5 export as much as 60 percent of all of the 6 7 vehicles they build in America each year to customers around the world. 8 9 Mr. Chair, a trade agreement with the European Union can promote, in our view, economic 10 11 growth, increased jobs, can benefit consumers, 12 and enhance the global competitiveness of U.S. producers. We also believe that these measures 13 14 that I intend to outline will help advance these 15 complementary objectives but there are, however, 16 trade actions currently in place that we believe 17 complicate the negotiating process and which we 18 also believe should be resolved prior to 19 negotiations with the EU. 20 First, the 232 tariffs on steel and 21 aluminum are damaging the U.S. automobile 22 industry and they are contrary to the spirit of

proposed negotiations with the EU. We believe they should be removed immediately.

A second issue involves the threat of 3 4 additional tariffs on autos and auto parts under 5 the current Commerce Department's Section 232 investigation. In our view, there is no credible 6 7 justification for the idea that automotive 8 imports threaten our national security. In fact, 9 the growth of international automobile manufacturers in the United States during the 10 11 past quarter century proves otherwise.

12 Mr. Chair, there are five key issues that I would like to urge the administration to 13 14 consider as it begins the negotiation of a trade agreement with the EU. First, we believe that 15 16 such an agreement should include the auto sector 17 and that it should also embrace global 18 harmonization for future automotive standards and 19 regulations. We also recommend that the United 20 States and the EU should work through global 21 bodies like the U.N.'s Working Party 29 to the 22 greatest extent possible.

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| 1 | Both the U.S. and the EU have strong |
| 2 | regulatory regimes that provide a solid |
| 3 | foundation for mutual recognition, which we |
| 4 | believe will not compromise vehicle safety or |
| 5 | environmental performance but which will promote |
| 6 | trade and economic growth. In fact, the Peterson |
| 7 | Institute for International Economics has |
| 8 | estimated that the removal of regulatory |
| 9 | differences in autos could increase trade by 20 |
| 10 | percent. |
| 11 | Second, we believe that all vehicle |
| 12 | tariffs should be eliminated at the earliest |
| 13 | possible opportunity. While our member companies |
| 14 | have U.Sproduced products that compete in the |
| 15 | U.S. market, immediate duty-free treatment of |
| 16 | autos and auto parts would benefit all U.S. |
| 17 | automotive producers, their workers, and |
| 18 | ultimately their consumers in the United States |
| 19 | and in the European Union. |
| 20 | We recognize that, as with other trade |
| 21 | agreements, there may be an interest in including |
| 22 | an automotive rule of origin as part of any |
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tariff concessions that are included in this 1 2 agreement. Should negotiators pursue such a rule, we believe it should be a balanced, 3 4 flexible, rule and one that is consistent with 5 the tariff benefits that are obtained. Third, in today's world, a constant 6 stream of data flows seamlessly across our 7 8 national borders. It is, therefore, essential to 9 have clear consistent rules in place that allow for the unimpeded flow of data and we, therefore, 10 11 encourage the inclusion of provisions that 12 prohibit the imposition of localization 13 requirements, as well as language to promote e-14 commerce. Fourth, we believe that a U.S.-EU 15 16 trade agreement should include customs and 17 facilitation provisions that mirror those in 18 recent free trade agreements with Mexico, Canada, 19 and South Korea. 20 And finally, we believe that currency 21 is an international economic issue more properly addressed in a multilateral context, such as the 22

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| 1 | G7 or the G20, rather than in a bilateral or |
| 2 | regional trade agreement. If currency provisions |
| 3 | are, however, included in a U.SEU agreement, |
| 4 | those disciplines, in our view, should not |
| 5 | restrict U.S. policy options or preempt |
| 6 | multilateral treatment of the issue. |
| 7 | Mr. Chair and members of the TPSC, I |
| 8 | appreciate the opportunity to bring these views |
| 9 | to your attention and I am happy to answer any |
| 10 | questions that you may have. |
| 11 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. |
| 12 | Ms. Wilson. |
| 13 | MS. WILSON: Thank you. |
| 14 | Good afternoon. My name is Ann Wilson |
| 15 | and I am the Senior Vice President of Government |
| 16 | Affairs for the Motor and Equipment Manufacturers |
| 17 | Association. MEMA is a trade association |
| 18 | representing more than 1,000 suppliers that |
| 19 | manufacturer new original equipment and |
| 20 | aftermarket components and systems for use in |
| 21 | passenger cars and commercial vehicles. Vehicle |
| 22 | suppliers are the largest employer of |

manufacturing jobs in the United States, directly
employing over 871,000 Americans in all 50
states. Supplier manufacturing jobs have
increased over 19 percent since 2012, in large
part because of the investment in new innovative
technologies that are dependent on a global
supply chain.

8 I am pleased to be here today to 9 address our priorities for a free trade agreement The EU is a critical 10 with the European Union. trading partner for the U.S. vehicle parts 11 MEMA supports this opportunity 12 manufacturers. 13 for the U.S. to strengthen our trading 14 relationship with the EU and we urge both parties to arrive at a trade agenda that is mutually 15 16 acceptable. If the U.S. and the EU decide to 17 include vehicles and vehicle parts within that 18 discussion, MEMA urges the parties to address the 19 following issues: agree to terms that exempt the EU from Section 232 tariffs on steel and aluminum 20 21 imports, as well as from any potential tariffs resulting from a Section 232 investigation on 22

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automobile and automotive parts without any caps 1 2 or quotas; allow for regulatory convergence and mutual recognition of existing standards, 3 removing technical barriers to trade without 4 5 further modification, testing, or certification, provided that safety levels and environmental 6 7 protection are not lowered; and finally, address 8 non-tariff barriers to trade.

9 MEMA has consistently opposed the 10 imposition of Section 232 tariffs and believes 11 that the United States and the EU must agree to 12 terms related to the current Section 232 tariffs 13 on steel and aluminum and any potential Section 14 232 tariffs on automobiles and their parts.

Moreover, MEMA would urge the parties 15 16 to agree to a full exemption without any caps or 17 quotas. Addressing these exemptions would 18 signify the importance of our trading 19 relationships and provide the ongoing stability 20 that suppliers need to thrive in the United 21 States. If these matters are not addressed, U.S. 22 suppliers and OEMs will be less competitive and

less profitable.

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| 2 | This afternoon, I wanted to spend the |
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| 3 | larger share of my time discussing an issue of |
| 4 | specific importance between the U.S. and the EU, |
| 5 | regulatory convergence and mutual recognition. |
| 6 | The U.S. vehicle industry is |
| 7 | undergoing one of the most significant |
| 8 | technological transformations to the future of |
| 9 | our mobility. These advances are improving |
| 10 | vehicle safety and efficiency in unprecedented |
| 11 | ways, yet minor regulatory differences between |
| 12 | the U.S. and the EU are costly for the industry |
| 13 | and the end consumer. |
| 14 | Therefore, MEMA urges USTR to revisit |
| 15 | regulatory convergence, since this has the |
| 16 | potential to breakdown unnecessary technical |
| 17 | barriers while maintaining the fundamental |
| 18 | structure of each regulatory system. This can be |
| 19 | done utilizing resources of effectively and |
| 20 | respecting sovereignty without sacrificing |
| 21 | vehicle safety or environmental performance. |
| 22 | This is of particular importance for new forward- |

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looking standards on advanced technologies.

2 At the same time, MEMA believes that aligning or mutually recognizing each other's 3 regulatory schemes would open opportunities for 4 U.S. vehicle suppliers to access the European 5 marketplace. MEMA urges the parties to establish 6 a pathway for mutual recognition of existing 7 8 standards without further modification, testing, 9 or certification, again, providing that levels of 10 safety and environmental protection are not 11 This will not only tackle non-tariff lowered. 12 barriers by allowing U.S. FMVSS-certified 13 vehicles and parts into the EU but will also 14 cultivate opportunities to align in the development of new future standards for new 15 technologies. 16

Our industry is committed to work with the USTR and the Departments of Commerce and Transportation to develop these practical approaches to these challenges. MEMA stands ready to fully participate in the negotiations. I would like to thank you for your

| | Z: |
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| 1 | time this afternoon and would be happy to answer |
| 2 | your questions. |
| 3 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very |
| 4 | much. |
| 5 | Now, Ms. Thomas. |
| 6 | MS. THOMAS: Thank you. |
| 7 | Good afternoon. I am Jennifer Thomas. |
| 8 | I am the Vice President of Federal Government |
| 9 | Affairs at the Alliance of Automobile |
| 10 | Manufacturers. The Alliance is a trade |
| 11 | association representing 12 automakers, both |
| 12 | domestic and international nameplates. Together, |
| 13 | Alliance members represent approximately 70 |
| 14 | percent of new car sales in the U.S. |
| 15 | Thank you for the opportunity to be |
| 16 | here and express our views on the negotiating |
| 17 | objectives for a potential U.SEU free trade |
| 18 | agreement. Bear with me because you are going to |
| 19 | hear a lot of the same themes that you have |
| 20 | already heard from my fellow panelists but I |
| 21 | think that underscores the importance of these |
| 22 | issues. |
| | |

Automakers are encouraged by the work 1 2 conducted thus far by the U.S.-EU Executive Working Group launched in July. While autos were 3 not included in this initial effort, we remain 4 5 hopeful that autos will be part of the formal U.S.-EU bilateral negotiations. 6 7 The case for a strong automotive 8 chapter within a U.S.-EU agreement is clear. The 9 U.S. and EU are the second and third largest passenger vehicle producers and vehicle markets 10 11 in the world. Automotive is the largest 12 exporting sector in both the U.S. and the EU, 13 equaling ten percent of transatlantic trade. An increase in bilateral auto trade would account 14 for more than one-third of all gains in total 15 16 bilateral trade flows, more than any other 17 sector. 18 Formalizing our strong transatlantic 19 relationship in the form of a free trade 20 agreement would strengthen the U.S. and EU roles 21 as global auto standard setters, preventing the 22 emergence of a third set of potentially

conflicting or inconsistent regulations. 1 A U.S.-2 EU free trade agreement represents a unique opportunity to break down regulatory barriers in 3 the auto sector, while maintaining high-level 4 safety and environmental performance. Greater 5 regulatory convergence will lower cost, create 6 jobs, enhance the competitiveness of the 7 transatlantic auto industry, and promote good 8 9 regulatory practices in the global marketplace. 10 We strongly recommend that the two partners prioritize efforts related to regulatory 11 12 convergence of existing automotive safety standards and the harmonization of future 13 14 automotive standards. Much work was conducted in 15 this area as part of the Transatlantic Trade and 16 Investment Partnership negotiations under the 17 previous administration and it would be a missed 18 opportunity to not continue building on the 19 progress made during these discussions. In fact, the Peterson Institute concluded in a 2015 20 21 analysis that as much as \$20 billion could be

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gained annually as a result of U.S.-EU auto

| 1 | regulatory convergence. |
|----|--|
| 2 | We encourage both partners to again |
| 3 | prioritize three pillars as part of the upcoming |
| 4 | negotiations: |
| 5 | 1) Equivalence of existing automotive |
| 6 | safety standards and harmonization of future |
| 7 | regulations; |
| 8 | 2) Improve and strengthen the U.N. |
| 9 | WP.29 Global Technical Regulation process; and |
| 10 | 3) Coordination of research and |
| 11 | regulatory development for future regulations. |
| 12 | While the Alliance certainly commends |
| 13 | the administration for initiating bilateral |
| 14 | negotiations with the EU, I'd be remiss if I |
| 15 | failed to stress that any potential benefits |
| 16 | derived from a U.SEU free trade agreement could |
| 17 | be completely eliminated, should the |
| 18 | administration impose steep tariffs on imported |
| 19 | autos and auto parts as a result of the ongoing |
| 20 | Department of Commerce Section 232 auto |
| 21 | investigation. |
| 22 | If implemented, increased auto tariffs |
| | |

would pose a material threat to the economy and 1 2 may result in the loss of as many as 700,000 jobs across the U.S. With this forthcoming U.S.-EU 3 trade agreement, we strongly encourage the 4 administration to lift the threat of increased 5 auto tariffs by dropping this investigation. 6 Similarly, the Alliance urges the 7 8 administration to eliminate these Section 232 9 tariffs on imported steel and aluminum. The success of our nation's auto sector continues to 10 11 be undermined by these tariffs. Over the past 12 year, automakers have witnessed a more than 30 13 percent increase in domestic steel prices. These 14 steep and unexpected increases in the price of key manufacturing inputs are driving up 15 16 production costs for all U.S. automakers. Removing the Section 232 steel and aluminum 17 18 tariffs and the threat of Section 232 auto 19 tariffs would provide both the industry much-20 needed certainty and strengthen the U.S.-based 21 auto industries standing in the global market. 22 We will applaud the administration for

its efforts to pursue a U.S.-EU bilateral trade 1 2 agreement and strongly encourage the transatlantic partners to again prioritize the 3 convergence of existing automotive safety 4 5 standards and the harmonization of future Resolving these non-tariff barriers 6 standards. 7 will help facilitate the flow of free trade 8 across the Atlantic and cement the partners' 9 standing as leaders in establishing global regulatory standards. After all, pursuing market 10 11 access opportunities and lowering, not erecting, 12 barriers to free trade is the most effective way 13 to achieve our shared goal of growing U.S. 14 manufacturing and jobs. 15 Thank you again for the opportunity to 16 be here today. 17 Thank you all very CO-CHAIR GRESSER: 18 much. 19 David, would you like to start 20 questioning? 21 MR. WEINER: Sure, thank you. 22 Thank you, everyone, for the witness

It is striking how much agreement 1 statements. 2 there is across the panel. Well maybe not totally surprising but it's striking anyway. 3 4 MR. UTHUS: And we did not compare 5 notes. I'm sure. That would 6 MR. WEINER: 7 have been a process value. Of course you didn't 8 do that. 9 I have questions for you, Mr. Uthus, You talk a little bit about -- you talk 10 first. 11 quite a lot about, and all the other panelists 12 have as well, about the importance of an 13 ambitious mutual recognition or regulatory 14 equivalence outcome, if we were to address these 15 issues in a trade agreement. 16 Can you talk a little bit about what 17 U.S. manufacturer models that are not currently 18 exported to Europe or not exported in great 19 volumes might benefit from that kind of harmonization? 20 21 The question is prompted, of course, 22 by our understanding that U.S. manufacturers or

U.S.-based or U.S.-owned manufacturing companies 1 2 are focused on light trucks and SUVs a little bit more in recent years. And we're wondering 3 whether you could address the question that is 4 5 sometimes raised about the receptivity of European consumers and the ability of those kinds 6 7 of vehicles to sort of sell well in the European 8 market.

9 MR. UTHUS: Well I guess really I would focus on the fact that there is a threshold 10 -- and thank you for the question, by the way --11 12 is a threshold by which companies would have to 13 cross before they even consider selling a vehicle 14 in their marketplace. So oftentimes, it's unknown what would be the consumer take an 15 16 interest in particular types of vehicles in 17 different markets around the world because of the 18 cost threshold that has to be taken into account. 19 And the cost associated with having to meet the 20 European standards is a very high one. And it's 21 quite significant, as I noted in my testimony, 22 millions of dollars per vehicle program.

So as such, you have to take into 1 2 account whether that you think there is going to be the volume necessary on the other end. 3 And oftentimes the threshold really never gets 4 crossed so that you can't even test the 5 receptivity of those types of vehicles. 6 7 So that said, I think that there is 8 definitely, in conversations with my member 9 companies, there are definitely models that are currently only certified to U.S. safety standards 10 11 if they feel like there would be an interest in 12 Europe. And that they would want to, if the threshold was lowered in terms of cost, be 13 14 interested in introducing it to the European 15 market. 16 MS. WILSON: If I might, from a parts 17 perspective, it's also a question of the parts 18 that either accompany that vehicle or in the 19 aftermarket parts, what we have seen is -- and we 20 are stronger supporters of the program within WP.29 to harmonize regulations -- we have seen 21

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more economies around the world accepting

European standards, so European-standard 1 2 products. It makes it much more difficult for our manufacturers to export from the United 3 States for some of those. 4 Sometimes it's a 5 market requirement, certification requirement, things like that. 6 So the ability to harmonize that will 7 8 not only help between the United States and EU 9 but I think, as one of the other panelists mentioned, it also helps in the ability overall 10 11 of global trade. 12 Thank you. I appreciate MR. WEINER: 13 both responses. 14 On tariffs, you recommended that EU passenger vehicle tariffs be reduced on a faster 15 16 time line than U.S. tariffs and I think you also recommended that we tie these tariff reductions 17 18 to increased market access in the EU. 19 So I was curious to know if you could 20 maybe elaborate a little bit on how we might give 21 suggestions, or how we might evaluate that increased market access, and how we might 22

evaluate and measure it. And then also whether 1 2 you've thought a little bit about what kinds of provisions, what kinds of actual provisions you 3 4 would propose we would include in our trade 5 agreements to sort of implement this recommendation, linking tariff reductions and 6 7 market access. 8 Right. This is for me? MR. UTHUS: 9 MR. WEINER: Yes, sorry. Yes, it's okay. 10 MR. UTHUS: 11 So overall, we're seeking a balanced 12 automotive package. And while it's difficult to 13 assess at this stage what that would look like, 14 we assume that tariff reductions would certainly 15 be part of a comprehensive deal. 16 So given the fact that the EU 17 passenger car tariff is four times that of the 18 U.S. tariff, 10 percent compared to 2.5 percent, 19 we would recommend, at a minimum, that the 20 tariffs on passenger vehicles in Europe be 21 lowered to, at a minimum, to the U.S. level as just a starting point. 22

But again, I think overall we'd have 1 2 to sort of take a look, take a step back and take a look at where we were in the negotiations and 3 look at the package in its entirety. 4 Thank you. Did you want 5 MR. WEINER: to address that? 6 7 MR. RYAN: Yes, on your first point, 8 I think it's a great question and I think a hard 9 one to answer, based upon what the current sort of production profile of the different companies 10 11 might be. 12 But on the passenger car side, 13 certainly, that's a much more global product, as 14 opposed to say trucks which are fairly uniquely 15 demanded here in North America and the United 16 States in particular. So those vehicles are made 17 much more broadly throughout the world. 18 And to the extent that there is 19 greater sort of harmony between U.S. standards 20 and vehicles that are made in the United States, 21 it's conceivable at some point, as companies 22 decide how to fill different market demands, that

| 1 | that would tilt in favor of the United States. |
|----|--|
| 2 | MR. UTHUS: And to add to that point, |
| 3 | you know I think it's important to note that |
| 4 | while the U.S. is definitely moving toward more |
| 5 | of a SUV/pickup truck/minivan-centric |
| 6 | marketplace, the rest of the world is moving in |
| 7 | that direction. I mean they are not anywhere |
| 8 | near as far along as we are but they are also |
| 9 | moving in that direction. So I think that goes |
| 10 | to Paul's point that there's a growing |
| 11 | opportunity for more exports of those products |
| 12 | around the world. |
| 13 | MR. WEINER: Thanks. I'm good. |
| 14 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: So we now have |
| 15 | questions for Mr. Ryan. |
| 16 | MR. MEIER: I'll ask the first |
| 17 | question. Thank you for your testimony, Mr. |
| 18 | Ryan. |
| 19 | With regard to your comments on |
| 20 | currency, you know that currency is an |
| 21 | international issue more properly addressed in |
| 22 | multilateral agreements, given that the TPA sets |

out an objective related to currency for our 1 2 bilateral agreements, in your view, how can the administration best these requirements, while 3 addressing the concerns raised in your comments? 4 It's a good question and we 5 MR. RYAN: recognize that it is identified as a key 6 7 negotiating objective in the TPA. I think our 8 point is simply that any effort by the 9 administration to address that and fulfill that objective probably should be approached very 10 cautiously and carefully, you know recognizing 11 that currency values are influenced by a number 12 13 of different factors, not just those within the 14 control of maybe the countries that are parties to an agreement but beyond that to ensure that 15 16 U.S. policy options are not constrained as a 17 result of any agreement in the currency space. 18 MR. MEIER: Thank you. 19 MR. KENNEDY: So I have a second 20 question for Mr. Ryan. 21 So in your testimony, you speak about the importance of investments in the United 22

States by European auto companies, their impacts 1 2 on U.S. jobs and competitiveness. Are there any specific provisions that you would like to see in 3 the U.S.-EU trade agreement that could further 4 promote these types of investments? 5 I think that -- beyond 6 MR. RYAN: 7 those that we've all mentioned and identified? MR. KENNEDY: Or if there is any of 8 9 those that you've talked about that you think would particularly drive investment. 10 11 MR. RYAN: Well I think certainly the 12 regulatory side of things, the reduction of tariffs to a level that would at least be equal 13 14 to what we have in this country but tariffs can be a powerful motivator to help companies sort of 15 16 break into markets and they are constraint on trade and so the reduction of those. And that's 17 18 why we would call for really a much more 19 immediate and rapid reduction in those tariffs. 20 MR. KENNEDY: Thank you. 21 MS. THOMAS: Could I just add one point? 22

| 1 | You know we certainly commend the |
|----|---|
| 2 | administration for their efforts in areas of tax |
| 3 | reform and regulatory reform that certainly |
| 4 | provided a climate that helps attract more |
| 5 | investment here in the U.S. but I would, again, |
| 6 | stress that this looming threat of increased auto |
| 7 | tariffs under the Section 232 auto investigation |
| 8 | and the existing steel and aluminum tariffs is |
| 9 | causing tremendous uncertainty for this industry |
| 10 | in an already fragile time in our cycle. |
| 11 | We have just experienced seven years |
| 12 | of growth and we are very much a cyclical |
| 13 | industry. So we are very much in a time where |
| 14 | we're my companies are witnessing either flat |
| 15 | or decreased sales. So this ongoing threat of |
| 16 | auto tariffs via Section 232 is just injecting |
| 17 | more uncertainty in a very fragile environment. |
| 18 | MR. RYAN: I would associate myself |
| 19 | with Jennifer's remarks. I think the biggest |
| 20 | single thing that could be done, at least right |
| 21 | now, is to remove the threat of tariffs or the |
| 22 | actual reality of the steel and aluminum tariffs |

to enable the companies to compete more
 effectively.

If I might add a point to 3 MR. UTHUS: 4 that, I mean I think we, certainly our 5 organization, applauds the USMCA and the result 6 of that negotiation. We are going to be 7 definitely very supportive of that negotiation 8 and its results and the agreement that came of 9 it. But I think our deep concern is that 10 11 the steel and aluminum tariffs could seriously 12 erode the benefits that that agreement could 13 achieve. So at a minimum, we would want to see 14 steel and aluminum tariffs as soon as possible eliminated with regards to Canada and Mexico. 15 16 MS. WILSON: And just since you've 17 heard the same thing from all four of us, I will 18 say it one more time but let me give you an idea of a story that I heard recently from one of our 19 Board members in Detroit. 20

21 So we represent suppliers. Many of 22 them are Tier 2, Tier 3 suppliers. We have you

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1 know our members are witnessing 50 percent
2 increase in their steel prices. And if you are
3 small, the two biggest inputs you have or the
4 cost inputs are the cost of the raw materials and
5 your people.
6 We have a member who has lost a

6 We have a member who has lost a 7 contract to supply someplace in the EU, I don't 8 know where, but it was because the cost of the 9 steel inputs have gone so high. And they 10 purchase their steel domestically but, overall, 11 the cost of steel has gone that high.

12 So unless we address that, there is no 13 way that we're going to get the benefits that we 14 would want to get from a free trade agreement.

MR. RYAN: I think it is important, as Ann just mentioned, to note the unanimity within the industry here on these issues. This is not an industry that, over the past 25 or 30 years, has been known as one that sort of finds consensus on trade issues.

21 The fact that we do feel so strongly 22 and so uniformly about this I think suggests that

something is happening. And one of the things 1 2 that is happening is the industry itself has become really a global industry and our 3 4 competitiveness is really dependent on our 5 ability to pull together inputs from a variety of 6 places. 7 MR. KENNEDY: Thank you. I did have 8 two questions for MEMA, although I feel one of 9 them you may have already addressed and so that's fine if that's the answer. 10 11 MS. WILSON: I can always expand. 12 MR. KENNEDY: You can always expand 13 it. 14 A similar question to what we asked So just noting the global nature of the 15 before. 16 supply network that all the auto manufacturers 17 uses, are there particular, from your 18 perspective, rules or provisions that would 19 encourage either location or relocation of auto 20 parts supply chain into the United States? 21 MS. WILSON: I don't think I can 22 emphasize enough the importance of regulatory

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convergence and harmonization.

2 I would say prior to this year and the trade challenges faced by our members over the 3 last 15 years when we would survey members, they 4 would always identify the ability to harmonize 5 regulations as their number one priority. 6 It 7 allows them to manufacture something, to ship it either to Europe or to ship it abroad so it 8 9 increases our exports. It decreases the cost so that if they do, indeed, end up manufacturing 10 11 somewhere else and providing it to an OEM 12 someplace else, it decreases the cost for both R and D. And as we look into the future, we look 13 14 at automated technology, lightweight technology, things like that, it's also really important to 15 16 think about the fact that many of these 17 technologies are not going to be able to be 18 developed overall. 19 We have a very good system in this 20 country. We have a lot of testing going on. We 21 have a lot of IP protection, something that we 22 all embrace. Actually as an industry, we are all

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trying to work together on those issues, too. 1 2 It's a real opportunity for this country to lead the world but, at the same time, 3 what our engineers tell me is that we can't do 4 5 this multiple times. We can't have an AV systems of regulation in the United States, one in North 6 7 America, one in Europe, and one in Asia. It's 8 just too costly. You end up with problems with 9 not only IP protection but also privacy protections, cybersecurity protections. 10 11 So if we're going to end up with only 12 one system of regulation, then we have to be part of that and the United States will benefit from 13 14 being part of that. Otherwise, the rest of the countries in the rest of the world will go 15 16 without us and those technologies will be 17 developed elsewhere and that is not something 18 that we want to do. 19 I did have a follow-up MR. KENNEDY: 20 on that line before we move on to the next set of 21 questions. 22 So has MEMA done any analysis or

| 1 | looked at if we had successful convergence or |
|----|---|
| 2 | mutual recognition, what that might do to trade |
| 3 | flows or the current trade imbalance? I know |
| 4 | there have been some studies that looked at that |
| 5 | but I don't know if you have any. |
| 6 | MS. WILSON: I'm not aware of any but |
| 7 | I will definitely take a look for some and see |
| 8 | what we can do and try to provide them to you. |
| 9 | MR. KENNEDY: Okay, thank you. |
| 10 | MR. HENRY: I have a question for Ms. |
| 11 | Thomas from the Alliance of Automobile |
| 12 | Manufacturers. It's related to regulatory |
| 13 | convergence and auto safety standards and how |
| 14 | that would be accomplished within the U.S. legal |
| 15 | framework. |
| 16 | Given that the National Traffic and |
| 17 | Motor Vehicle Safety Act requires all vehicles |
| 18 | sold in the United States to comply with the |
| 19 | Federal Motor Vehicle Safety Standards, do you |
| 20 | believe there would be public safety concerns |
| 21 | associated with such convergence or recognition? |
| 22 | And would there be congressional support for such |

regulatory convergence?

1

2 MS. THOMAS: That's a great question. 3 Thank you.

I think it's safe to say that when you get into a car in Europe, you feel just as safe as you do when you get into a car here in the U.S. and that's because both the U.S. and the EU have very long-standing high levels of automotive safety.

That said, they've taken two different 10 11 approaches to how to go about regulating auto 12 safety. And that is why we are here as a united industry urging the administration to include 13 14 regulatory convergence as part of this effort, because there are tremendous savings that could 15 16 be involved, should we reach agreement with the EU in this effort. 17

And as I noted in my statement, there was tremendous progress made several years ago and cooperation between the two partners certainly improved in that exercise. So I do not think that safety will be compromised.

| | 27 |
|----|--|
| 1 | Are there challenges involved just by |
| 2 | the sole nature of the two different approaches? |
| 3 | Sure. This is not a simple easy exercise but it |
| 4 | is still worthy of trying and we do believe that |
| 5 | if we can establish a precedent for mutual |
| 6 | recognition, it would increase bilateral trade |
| 7 | flow for the U.Sbased auto sector and it would |
| 8 | also help in expanding free trade with other |
| 9 | markets that only accept UNECE standards. |
| 10 | So the benefits are tremendous and |
| 11 | it's not just a cost savings. It's also for |
| 12 | consumers and jobs as well. |
| 13 | MR. HENRY: I have another question |
| 14 | for you related to rules or origin. |
| 15 | Should rules of origin be structured |
| 16 | in a U.SEU agreement so that trade is |
| 17 | facilitated but also that more equivalent and |
| 18 | input is localized within the U.S. or within the |
| 19 | free trade area? |
| 20 | MS. THOMAS: I'm sorry. I had trouble |
| 21 | hearing you. Could you repeat that? |
| 22 | MR. HENRY: Oh, sure. Should rules of |
| | |
| | |

| origin be structured in a U.SEU agreement so |
|---|
| that trade is facilitated and that more equipment |
| and input is localized within the U.S. or within |
| the free trade area? |
| MS. THOMAS: So as the Alliance, we |
| have not established a position yet on how the |
| rules of origin should be handled within the |
| context of U.SEU bilateral. |
| But that said, we understand it's a |
| natural part of the discussion and are happy to |
| follow-up with you with additional information |
| and our views on that issue but, ultimately, it |
| does need to strike the right balance to ensure |
| that investment continues while, at the same |
| time, you reward continued investment by enabling |
| duty-free access if you meet that standard. |
| So it's about striking the right |
| balance, similar to the exercise we just went |
| through in USMCA but happy to follow-up with you |
| to discuss that in more detail. |
| MR. HENRY: Thank you. |
| CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Well we are about |
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| |

out of time but before closing the panel, I would 1 2 just like to ask all four of you is there anything that you would have liked to raise and 3 4 did not have the opportunity to do so or is there 5 anything in the discussion you'd like to respond to? 6 7 MS. THOMAS: If I could just make the 8 point, which I think was made -- Ann, I think you 9 made it -- just this transformation of mobility that the industry is currently going through and 10 11 the opportunity here to partner with the EU in 12 setting global standards for these future 13 technologies is critical for maintaining U.S. 14 leadership. 15 If we don't -- you know the U.S. and 16 the EU are no longer the largest markets but if 17 we partner together, we would be. And if we 18 cooperate on a regulatory basis in setting these 19 future standards, then I think we have an opportunity to remain leaders in establishing 20 21 high-level safety standards, high-level environment standards and, if we don't, then I 22

think there runs the risk of other emerging 1 2 markets filling that void and then we would be set back because there would again be a diverging 3 or inconsistent standard out there that we would 4 5 have to meet, too. To build on that point just 6 MR. RYAN: 7 a little bit, it's easier to develop harmonized 8 standards at the beginning of the whole process, 9 rather than in the middle or later. So the technologies that Jennifer was talking about, 10 automated, connected vehicle technologies are now 11 12 emerging. And how we're going to sort of 13 regulate that is a hugely critical question. 14 And I agree to the extent that we can harmonize that now through a WP.29 process or 15 16 something else that allows us to play a 17 leadership role perhaps with the Europeans in 18 making those standards, we will have more success 19 in creating uniformity as well as enhancing the 20 ability of the industry to move in that direction 21 than the alternative. 22

MR. UTHUS: And so I might add to that

1 particular point.

| 2 | You know I've been to the WP.29 |
|----|---|
| 3 | meetings in Geneva and the primary interlocutor |
| 4 | there is the Department of Transportation or the |
| 5 | EPA, which is appropriate. It makes perfect |
| 6 | sense. |
| 7 | But you know increasingly, as we've |
| 8 | talked about here, automotive standards and |
| 9 | regulations on a global basis or the lack of |
| 10 | global regulations plays a more important role in |
| 11 | terms of the competitiveness of the North |
| 12 | American auto industry. |
| 13 | So you know as TPSC, I think that the |
| 14 | role that you you need to start playing a |
| 15 | stronger role and a greater role in the whole |
| 16 | process that is going on in the global regulatory |
| 17 | harmonization because it has important economic |
| 18 | trade and competitiveness implications. And I |
| 19 | would urge you to become more engaged or involved |
| 20 | in that. Thank you. |
| 21 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. That |
| 22 | point is well taken. Thank you all. |

| | ∠ |
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| 1 | And this bring the panel to a close. |
| 2 | We will start again in about ten |
| 3 | minutes with the sixth and final panel today. |
| 4 | (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter |
| 5 | went off the record at 3:28 p.m. and resumed at |
| 6 | 3:37 p.m.) |
| 7 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you all very |
| 8 | much. Thanks to all our witnesses for coming in |
| 9 | today and for your patience as we prepare for |
| 10 | this final panel today. |
| 11 | Just two things before we start. We |
| 12 | will proceed, as in previous panels, beginning in |
| 13 | my first row, from my right or your left down in |
| 14 | that direction. And we would ask the witnesses |
| 15 | please to respect the five-minute limit on oral |
| 16 | testimony because we very much want to hear all |
| 17 | of your insights and views and save time for our |
| 18 | government panelists to explore them in more |
| 19 | detail. |
| 20 | With that, let's begin and we can |
| 21 | start with Brian Scarpelli from ACT The App |
| 22 | Association. |
| | |

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| MR. SCARPELLI: Thank you for this |
| opportunity for The App Association to share |
| views on proposed negotiating objectives for a |
| future U.SEU trade agreement. |
| My name is Brian Scarpelli. I'm |
| Senior Global Policy Counsel with ACT and The App |
| Association. |
| The App Association represents |
| thousands of small business software application |
| development companies and tech firms that create |
| the software used on mobile devices and in |
| enterprise systems increasingly around the globe. |
| Today, the ecosystem that the app economy |
| represents, which we call the app economy, we |
| value at approximately \$950 billion annual and it |
| is also responsible for 4.7 million American |
| jobs. |
| Alongside the world's rapid embrace of |
| mobile technology, including many technologies |
| impacted by this future FTA, our members have |
| been creating innovative solutions that power the |
| internet of things across modalities and segments |
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of the economy. And the USTR's approach in this
 FTA directly affects all of our members. So,
 we're happy to be here.

While the global digital economy holds 4 5 great promise for our members, they also face a diverse array of challenges when entering new 6 markets, taking the form of laws, regulations, 7 policies, and practices that protect domestic 8 9 goods and services from foreign competition, artificially-stimulated exports of particular 10 domestic goods or services, or fail to provide 11 12 adequate and effective protection of intellectual 13 property rights. These barriers take many forms 14 but have the same net effect, impeding U.S. exports, and investment, and job growth. 15 16 Generally, we advocate for bilateral

17 and multilateral agreements to address, through 18 digital trade and other chapters, barriers to 19 U.S. exports of goods and services in 20 intellectual property rights. We are committed 21 to working with the U.S. Government and other 22 governments to reduce or eliminate trade barriers

| 1 | that will inhibit the growth of the app economy. |
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| 2 | With respect to digital trade, our |
| 3 | members prioritize a number of issues and I will |
| 4 | describe a few of them, in no order of |
| 5 | importance, now. |
| 6 | First, enabling cross-border data |
| 7 | flows. The seamless flow of data between |
| 8 | economies and across borders is essential to the |
| 9 | functioning of the global digital economy and our |
| 10 | members need to take advantage of the internet's |
| 11 | global nature to reach new customers who live |
| 12 | outside of the U.S. The tolling of data across |
| 13 | borders for the purpose of collecting custom |
| 14 | duties directly contributes to the balkanization |
| 15 | of the internet, and jeopardizes the efficiency |
| 16 | of the internet, and effectively blocks |
| 17 | innovative products and services from market |
| 18 | entry. |
| 19 | 2) Data localization policies. Data |
| 20 | localization requirements seriously hinder |
| 21 | imports and exports and reduce an economy's |
| 22 | international competitiveness. Our members |
| | |

simply do not have the resources to build or maintain unique infrastructure in every country in which they do business and data localization requirements can effectively exclude them from commerce there.

Ensuring market entry isn't 6 3) 7 contingent on source code transfer. Some 8 governments have proposed policies that require 9 companies to transfer or provide access to proprietary source code as a requirement for 10 11 legal market entry which, again, is a nonstarter 12 for our member companies.

13 4) Preserving the ability to utilize 14 technical protection mechanisms to ensure end user security and privacy and trust. Global 15 16 digital trade depends on the use of technical protection mechanisms, such as encryption, to 17 18 gain and maintain the trust of end users. So 19 that's also essential to our members; and Securing intellectual property 20 5) 21 protections. IP protections can lead to customer 22 data loss, interruption of service, revenue loss,

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reputational damage. Each one of those can
 potentially represent by itself an end of life
 occurrence for a small app development company.
 So strong protection of IP for copyrights,
 patents, trademarks, and trade secrets is very
 important to us.

7 While The App Association supports the 8 EU's Digital Single Market Strategy goals of 9 opening digital economy opportunities for businesses in Europe and enhancing Europe's 10 position in the digital economy, today there are 11 12 a variety of policies, consultations, and 13 proposals that raise significant concerns for us, 14 some of which have already been recognized by USTR as approaches that would seriously undermine 15 16 transatlantic trade and investment, stifle 17 innovation, and undermine the EU-wide digital 18 economy.

19 Our concerns lie across a number of EU 20 policies addressing, among other areas, data 21 flows, privacy, and taxation and we provide much 22 further detail on these in our written

submission.

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| 2 | I would also specifically like to |
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| 3 | mention our ongoing concern with a proposed |
| 4 | platform-to-business regulation intended to |
| 5 | address allegedly unfair contractual clauses and |
| 6 | trading practices in relationships between |
| 7 | platforms and business, such as app developers. |
| 8 | As proposed, we believe the P2B |
| 9 | regulation, as it's called, would undermine the |
| 10 | relationship developers have with platforms and |
| 11 | the benefit they offer to our members. |
| 12 | Further, we always want to make sure |
| 13 | to mention that the U.SMexico-Canada Agreement |
| 14 | contains numerous provisions that will enable the |
| 15 | app economy to expand and create jobs across |
| 16 | North America and these provisions are aligned |
| 17 | with a number of the priorities I just covered, |
| 18 | including in the areas of data flows, avoiding |
| 19 | data localization, preserving the ability to use |
| 20 | encryption and IP protection. So to the extent |
| 21 | possible, the future U.SEU trade agreement will |
| 22 | ideally leverage such provisions in order to |

advance harmonized policies across U.S. trading partners, which will enable the U.S. app economy to grow and create more jobs.

Finally, there is also a broader impact that we always like to note. In some other key markets, there are policies being proposed and put into place, finalized, that would create significant barriers through the flow of data through applying physical good custom-style approaches to the digital economy.

11 Indonesia, for example, has even put 12 tariff codes into place for digital goods today. 13 So for us, it is more important than ever that the U.S. build on the success of the USMCA with 14 regard to digital trade and provide a model for 15 future bilateral and multilateral FTAs with other 16 17 important trading partners like the EU. We 18 believe doing so will advance the ability of 19 American small business innovators to grow in the 20 new markets and, again, create new jobs. 21 We appreciate the opportunity provide

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our views here today on a future U.S.-EU trade

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agreement and I look forward to your questions. 1 2 Thank you. 3 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very 4 much. 5 We will now go to Mr. Whitlock from 6 BSA. Thank you very much for 7 MR. WHITLOCK: 8 the opportunity to testify at today's hearing. Ι 9 will discuss the importance of including strong digital trade rules as part of a U.S.-EU trade 10 11 agreement, building on the strong rules and 12 outcomes in the United States-Mexico-Canada 13 Agreement. 14 BSA is the leading advocate for the 15 software industry in the United States and around 16 the world and our members are the forefront of 17 artificial intelligence, machine learning, cloud-18 based analytics and internet of things, powering 19 U.S. innovation and economic growth. In 2016, 20 the U.S. software contributed over \$1.14 trillion 21 of U.S. value-added GDP and over 10 million jobs, 22 driving growth across all 50 states.

| 1 | The United States and the European |
|----|---|
| 2 | Union share an impressive \$1 trillion trading |
| 3 | relationship and make up nearly half of global |
| 4 | GDP. In 2016 alone, the United States had a \$55 |
| 5 | billion services trade surplus with the EU, |
| 6 | driven by U.S. and EU investment and investment |
| 7 | across the data economy and robust bilateral |
| 8 | trade. |
| 9 | This negotiation presents an enormous |
| 10 | opportunity for the United States and the |
| 11 | European Union to solidify a strong transatlantic |
| 12 | partnership and more closely align their |
| 13 | economies in relation to digital trade. Robust, |
| 14 | binding bilateral digital trade outcomes will not |
| 15 | only benefit both countries' innovation economies |
| 16 | but prove crucial in addressing current |
| 17 | challenges U.S. providers and exporters face |
| 18 | across the EU. |
| 19 | The United States and the European |
| 20 | Union share common economic interests. Both |
| 21 | enjoy a competitive advantage in the emerging |
| 22 | technology space and interest in combating |

digital protectionist policies abroad and a desire to continue leading and benefiting from the digital economy.

The European Union itself has included 4 a number of digital trade provisions in prior 5 free trade agreements that correspond to the 6 7 digital trade provisions found in U.S. FTAs. 8 These provisions, which would provide common 9 ground, for U.S.-EU digital trade negotiation address the protection of source code from 10 mandatory disclosure requirements, the use of 11 12 electronic signatures in commercial transactions, 13 the prohibition of preferential treatment for 14 state-owned enterprises, the prohibition on customs duties on electronic transmissions, as my 15 16 colleague referred in respect to what Indonesia 17 does now, and consumer choice of digital services 18 and applications.

We also urge USTR to negotiate
provisions that enhance legal certainty for U.S.
businesses in the European Union and address
trade and market access challenges reflected in

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our 2018 NTE submission. These issues include 1 2 the current push in the EU to include data flow language in EU FTAs that contain very broad 3 exceptions. USTR should work to proactively 4 address these challenges by working with the EU 5 to include strong digital trade disciplines that 6 7 obligate the parties to permit the cross-border 8 transfer of data, while protecting personal 9 information, prohibit data localization 10 requirements, promote the use of innovative 11 technology in the public sector, support 12 encryption in commercial products, support 13 intellectual property while including appropriate 14 exceptions and safeguards, and promote 15 interoperability to adherence to internationally-16 recognized standards relating to digital 17 technologies. 18 We thank the TPSC for the opportunity

18 We thank the TPSC for the opportunity
19 to testify and the U.S. Government for its
20 leadership in digital trade and for considering
21 inclusion of a robust digital trade outcome as a
22 part of the U.S.-EU trade negotiations.

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| 1 | Thank you and I look forward to your | |
| 2 | questions. | |
| 3 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very | |
| 4 | much. | |
| 5 | Mr. Schonander. | |
| 6 | MR. SCHONANDER: Thank you to the | |
| 7 | Trade Policy Steering Committee for this | |
| 8 | opportunity to testify. So my name is Carl | |
| 9 | Schonander. I am the Senior Director for | |
| 10 | International Public Policy for the Software and | |
| 11 | Information Industry Association. | |
| 12 | SIIA is the principle trade | |
| 13 | association for the software and digital | |
| 14 | information industries. The more than 800 | |
| 15 | software companies' data and analytics firms' | |
| 16 | information services companies and digital | |
| 17 | publishers that make up our membership serve | |
| 18 | nearly every segment of society, including | |
| 19 | business, education, government, healthcare, and | |
| 20 | consumers. | |
| 21 | So on December 10th, we reiterated | |
| 22 | support for a U.SEU trade agreement and we said | |
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| | | |

a trade agreement between the United States and 1 2 the European Union would expand what is already the world's largest and investment relationship. 3 Such an agreement would also have an important 4 5 positive precedential value for trade around the world, especially in the areas of cross-border 6 This is why SIIA 7 data flows and digital trade. supports a U.S.-EU trade agreement and has 8 9 submitted recommendations for the kinds of provisions that such an agreement should include. 10 And just for the record, we also 11 12 signed on, together with many other trade associations, on November 6th -- 29 other trade 13 14 associations -- we sent a letter to Ambassador 15 Lighthizer, urging the administration to make 16 digital trade a priority in its negotiations with 17 the European Union, also Japan and the United 18 Kingdom and we reiterate that request. 19 In our view, it's crucial to ensure 20 the nondiscriminatory treatment of digital 21 products, including new and innovative products, and to promote global digital trade by both the 22

United States and the EU, reiterating support for 1 2 the World Trade Organization customs duty moratorium on electronic transmissions. 3 And although forced technology transfer is not a 4 problem in the U.S.-EU trade and investment 5 context, it would have a helpful precedential 6 value to include a provision in a U.S.-EU trade 7 agreement banning forced technology transfer. 8 9 The U.S. and the EU could also lead by 10 committing to promote paperless trading, 11 including the use of customs forms in electronic 12 And in this context, SIIA endorses formats. 13 again the digital and intellectual property 14 rights objectives in the 2015 Trade Promotion Act. We also endorse the digital trade and 15 16 intellectual property rights chapters in the 17 U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, USMCA, and the 18 financial services chapter. And we think that 19 USTR and the U.S. Government can draw from those 20 provisions in their negotiations with the 21 European Union.

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So to summarize, there are four or

five different broadly very, very important 1 2 things. One is to obtain an affirmative data flow obligation. And here, teeing off what my 3 colleague from BSA said, it's going to be very 4 5 important to negotiate with the European Union something that is less than what the European 6 7 Union has advocated for in other agreements, 8 which is this blanket exception for privacy. 9 I'll read what the proposed language from the EU says. Nothing in this agreement 10 11 shall affect the protection of personal data and 12 privacy afforded by the parties' respective 13 safeguards. End quote. So in our view, it is essential for 14 the U.S. Government to find a way to limit this 15 16 principle so that enforcement of legitimate 17 privacy rules cannot be used to distort trade or 18 discriminate against foreign competitors. 19 We also have views on interoperability 20 and including financial data in the agreement. 21 With respect to proprietary software, 22 encryption keys and data, there are very many

different business models in the digital trade 1 2 For example, software code development space. through open source or through copyright patent 3 protection are equally legitimate from an SIIA 4 5 The parties should not establish perspective. requirements that force suppliers to share source 6 code, encryption keys, and/or proprietary 7 8 Businesses should be free to choose algorithms. 9 the business model that works for them. That goes as well for companies that 10 invest in curating data, including scientific 11 12 Such companies have an interest in data. 13 protecting proprietary data and should be able to And this should be clarified also with 14 do so. 15 respect to access to government data. 16 For instance, the agreement should 17 clarify that policies relating to government data 18 or publicly funded research should neither 19 diminish protections for proprietary data or 20 content nor the incentive to engage in private 21 sector publishing reporting on that research. 22 Recent open access proposals planned by several

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| 1 | EU member states could risk undermining those |
| 2 | incentives. |
| 3 | So once again, thank you for the |
| 4 | opportunity to comment and I look forward to your |
| 5 | questions. |
| 6 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very |
| 7 | much. |
| 8 | Ms. Stelly, please begin. |
| 9 | MS. STELLY: Hi, good afternoon. My |
| 10 | name is Rachael Stelly and I am policy counsel at |
| 11 | the Computer and Communications Industry |
| 12 | Association. CCIA is a trade association of |
| 13 | internet and technology firms, many of whom |
| 14 | export goods and services to the European Union |
| 15 | and throughout the world. Thank you for this |
| 16 | opportunity to convey our views regarding |
| 17 | negotiating objectives for a U.SEU trade |
| 18 | agreement. |
| 19 | The U.S. approach to transatlantic |
| 20 | trade should reflect the increasing importance of |
| 21 | internet-enabled trade to the global market. To |
| 22 | do so, USTR should build off the success of the |
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recently signed U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement and
 pursue a holistic agreement with the EU with
 strong digital trade and IP chapters.

Digital trade is a significant 4 5 component of the transatlantic relationships, with the U.S. relying on EU markets to deliver 6 digital and internet services. 7 To illustrate, 8 the U.S. has exported \$185 billion in digitally-9 enabled services to the EU in 2016 alone. This relationship is threatened by the rising trade 10 11 barriers in the EU. As part of the Digital 12 Single Market Initiative, the EU is currently negotiating a vast number of regulatory proposals 13 14 that seek to undermine the digital trade, including a digital service tax directly aimed at 15 16 U.S. companies and a copyright directive that 17 will affect U.S. industry.

USTR should use this opportunity of a
trade agreement to reduce the burden caused by
these regulations and discourage further action
that disproportionately closes the market for
U.S. internet exporters. CCIA's written comments

go into further detail but my remarks will focus on four main priorities CCIA encourages USTR to include in its negotiating objectives.

First, an agreement should include 4 5 strong protections for internet services and users in its copyright provisions. 6 The IP 7 chapter should uphold long-standing copyright 8 frameworks that provide protections for online 9 intermediaries for user-uploaded content. Intermediary liability protections for ISPs, such 10 11 as the copyright safe harbors found in Section 12 512 of the DMCA have been critical to growing the 13 U.S. digital economy by providing business 14 certainty to U.S. investors and innovators. They also have been a feature of U.S. trade 15 16 agreements.

17 The IP chapter should also protect 18 copyright limitations and exceptions necessary 19 for Next Generation technologies. A flexible 20 copyright regime is necessary for the continued 21 growth of the digital economy. Principles such 22 as fair use have been a cornerstone of U.S.

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copyright law from the beginning and industries 1 2 that rely on this right are a significant contributor to the U.S. economy and exports. 3 4 Fair use industries account for 16 percent of the 5 U.S. economy and generate \$5.6 trillion in annual Fair use is also critical to activities 6 revenue. 7 central to new areas of innovation in cutting 8 technology, such as artificial intelligence and 9 machine learning. The promotion of a balanced copyright 10 11 regime in a trade agreement is especially critical as EU is poised to change its copyright 12

13 regime in a way that will significantly disrupt 14 U.S. service exporters' ability to conduct business in the EU with a proposed copyright 15 16 directive. The directive threatens to introduce 17 obligations on intermediaries and disrupts the 18 copyright balance with the introduction of a link 19 As the directive goes through the trialtax. 20 like process, the proposal threatens a worst-case 21 scenario, modeled on the Parliament's proposal. 22 The U.S. should insist that the EU

reaffirm its Berne and TRIPS commitment, as the EU looks to finalize this proposal and includes these commitments in a U.S.-EU trade agreement.

Second, an agreement should encourage 4 5 investment by providing regulatory certainty to online intermediaries for third party content. 6 Conflicting liability regimes undermine this 7 8 certainty and represent a considerable barrier to 9 internet commerce. Guaranteeing minimum standards for the protection of internet services 10 from liability for third-party content is 11 critical to promoting U.S. digital trade exports 12 and the U.S. and the EU should work to reduce 13 14 uncertainty and achieve consistency in liability rules among the parties. 15

At a time when the EU is actually seeking to undermine the ability for the U.S. services to operate in the European market, it is critical that the U.S. continues to negotiate for consistent clear liability frameworks for U.S. services. To do so, the U.S. should ensure that trade agreements going forward include strong

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protections on any reliability like those found in the USMCA and that are consistent with U.S. statute.

4 Third, an agreement should enable 5 cross-border data flows and discourage data localization mandates. Cross-border data flows 6 7 are critical to digital trade and forced data 8 localization mandates make it difficult for U.S. 9 exporters to expand it to new markets. The U.S. should work to remove barriers to cross-border 10 11 data flows and discourage localization mandates 12 in a trade agreement with the EU, building off 13 the strong commitments in the digital trade 14 chapter of the USMCA. And we would also echo the 15 concerns of many on the panel with the concerns 16 with respect to the EU's proposed tax on data 17 flows in trade agreements.

Finally, an agreement should encourage measures to secure digital trade and promote strong cybersecurity. The products and services that facilitate digital trade must be technologically secured. The U.S. and the EU

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should continue efforts to promote regulatory 1 2 cooperation and international standards for securing parts and services. A trade agreement 3 should also follow the USMCA in calling for risk-4 5 based cybersecurity measures as the more effective approach than prescriptive regulation. 6 7 A U.S.-EU trade agreement should also 8 contain commitments to strongly promote encrypted 9 devices and connections. In conclusion, the transatlantic trade 10 11 relationship is critical to U.S. economic 12 security and digital trade is an essential component of that relationship. A free trade 13 14 agreement that can safeguard this relationship from political risk should be a high priority. 15 With the rising number of non-tariff 16 and market access barriers in the EU directed at 17 18 U.S. firms, it is critical that any U.S.-EU trade 19 agreement include strong digital trade 20 protections. 21 Thank you and I look forward to your 22 questions.

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| 1 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you. And |
| 2 | we'll turn now to Ms. Swanson. |
| 3 | MS. SWANSON: On behalf of the Telecom |
| 4 | Industry Association, thank you for the |
| 5 | opportunity to comment. TIA is the leading trade |
| 6 | association for the information and |
| 7 | communications technology industry. We represent |
| 8 | suppliers of equipment and services that power |
| 9 | global communications networks. We are also an |
| 10 | ANSI-accredited standards development |
| 11 | organization. |
| 12 | In considering negotiating objectives |
| 13 | for the proposed trade agreement, we believe it |
| 14 | will be beneficial to draw upon a number of |
| 15 | constructive provisions in the recently |
| 16 | negotiated U.SMexico-Canada agreement. In our |
| 17 | view, the USMCA represents a major advance in |
| 18 | trade rules, institutionalizing new norms that |
| 19 | will facilitate expanded U.S. trade. We hope the |
| 20 | administration will leverage key provisions in |
| 21 | forthcoming negotiations with the EU. |
| 22 | We understand from the joint U.SEU |
| | |

statement issued back in July, the two sides have 1 2 agreed to work together to zero non-tariff barriers and many of the concepts we've endorsed 3 in our comments would further that goal, 4 especially in the digital trade and TBT sections. 5 Since the two parties plan a close 6 7 dialogue on standards, we've also made reference to the importance of U.S.-EU alignment on 8 9 standard-setting policies. In addition, I wanted to note that a 10 11 number of new provisions in the USMCA are 12 relevant to another goal set forth in the joint 13 statement, which is protecting American and 14 European companies from unfair global trade practices. I want to just briefly mention four 15 16 types of provisions we think are especially 17 relevant to combating that kind of -- those sorts 18 of market-distorting trade practices. 19 And the first bucket in the digital 20 trade category is banning data localization and 21 source code disclosure and promoting risk-based 22 cybersecurity practices. The second, IPR

provisions that would impose criminal penalties 1 2 for the theft of trade secrets. Third, there are a number of very helpful TBT provisions 3 prohibiting mandatory in-country testing and 4 5 ensuring governments don't show a preference for discriminatory standards that disadvantage 6 7 foreign participants. And fourth, just a stipulation that states you shouldn't undermine 8 9 the normal functioning of the market through excessive subsidies to SOEs. 10 11 Given time constraints, I will just 12 briefly summarize a couple of selected excerpts 13 from TIA's written testimony. 14 The digital trade and data flows, we've discussed further -- we've discussed in our 15 16 written comments the value of promoting cross-17 border data flow so I won't elaborate here. But 18 I did, on the data flows issue, want to highlight 19 a recommendation that the two parties consider 20 making permanent a ban on the imposition of 21 tariffs, duties, or taxes on cross-border data 22 flows and digital products.

The promotion of risk-based 1 2 cybersecurity approaches -- the USMCA set out an expectation that both partner countries and firms 3 within their borders should use risk-based 4 approaches based on consensus-based standards to 5 deal with global cyber threats. The new language 6 represents a helpful step, we think, in forging 7 new cyber norms. 8 9 On technical barriers to trade, the TBT chapter of the USMCA is both robust and very 10 11 comprehensive. It introduces a number of 12 noteworthy precedents that we would urge USTR to 13 carry forward into future trade agreements, 14 including the previously mentioned ban on requirements for mandatory in-country testing, 15 16 also better disclosures on protection of IP in 17 conformity assessments by government bodies. And 18 the chapter also has important language on nondiscriminatory standard-setting and the use of 19 international standards. 20 21 And finally, I wanted to mention for

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our industry a requirement to allow -- labeling

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is very important -- the provision in the USMCA 1 2 that requires parties to allow regulatory information to be displayed electronically, 3 rather than by affixing physical labels to 4 5 This represents a considerable savings devices. of both money and time for ICT companies. 6 As the 7 EU has been very slow to embrace e-labeling, we 8 would strongly encourage U.S. negotiators to 9 press for such commitments. 10 So to summarize, newly negotiated provisions in the USMCA set important and really 11 12 commercially-significant precedents that will 13 help make U.S. telecom equipment suppliers more 14 globally competitive. We hope the administration will leverage these advances in its upcoming 15 16 negotiations with the EU. 17 Thank you. 18 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you very 19 much. 20 Mr. Geiger. 21 MR. GEIGER: Hello and thank you very 22 much for having me here today. I'm Harley Geiger

and I'm Director of Public Policy at Rapid7. 1 2 Rapid7 is a cybersecurity and data analytics company. We are based in Boston, Massachusetts 3 and have offices around the world. We have a 4 5 headcount of about 1200 people. I'm also a member of ITAC-8. 6 We recommend that USTR seek the 7 8 following seven commitments and these are largely 9 focused on cybersecurity. Most of the recommendations that I will make are rooted in 10 11 the USMCA. The remainder, the last two, 12 nonetheless reflect industry and administration 13 priorities and do not impose any affirmative 14 regulatory obligation. I say this because we took care to make our recommendations actionable, 15 16 not burdensome, and nonetheless effective for 17 cybersecurity at large and for the cybersecurity 18 industry. 19 And our first recommendation is quite 20 basic. It is just that we urge USTR to include 21 cybersecurity in a digital trade chapter just as 22 a reflection of the importance of cybersecurity

to the economies of the U.S. and the EU. 1 Many 2 business sectors in the U.S. and EU, around the world, such as manufacturing, agriculture, 3 healthcare, all depend on secure computing for 4 daily operations, as well as international trade. 5 The USMCA includes a specific article 6 7 for the first time on cybersecurity, Article 8 19.15 and it explicitly recognizes that 9 cybersecurity threats undermine confidence in 10 digital trade. So we hope to see that principle 11 reflected throughout a U.S.-EU agreement as well. 12 The second is to encourage 13 interoperable cybersecurity risk management This is a commitment that would 14 frameworks. 15 require the parties to develop and promote the 16 implementation of interoperable cybersecurity 17 risk management approaches, usually expressed 18 through a framework that upholds certain 19 principles. 20 Very similar language to this is in 21 USMCA Article 19.15 but here the added emphasis 22 is on interoperability. And the goal there is

that the parties' cybersecurity risk management
 frameworks are generally comparable across
 jurisdictions.

Third, we recommend that USTR look to 4 5 build capabilities on national cybersecurity entities. This would be a commitment requiring 6 the parties to build the capabilities of their 7 8 national entities responsible for cybersecurity 9 incident response, as well as national entities responsible for coordinated vulnerability 10 11 disclosure. USMCA Article 19.15 includes 12 language on building national capabilities of entities responsible for cybersecurity incident 13 14 response. Here, the recommended addition is on building national capabilities -- or sorry --15 16 capabilities for national entities responsible 17 for coordinated vulnerability disclosure. 18 Coordinated vulnerability disclosure, 19 or CVD is increasingly recognized by both the 20 public and private sectors as a core 21 cybersecurity practice. In our opinion, this should include national entities that facilitate 22

CVD between private sector organizations as well as national entities that facilitate CVD, the

coordinated disclosure of previously unknown vulnerabilities from government to the private sector.

Fourth, we urge USTR to strengthen
existing cybersecurity collaboration mechanisms
for sharing cybersecurity threat information.
This language appears in USMCA Article 19.15. We
don't have an addition to that language; just the
language in USMCA is very good.

12 Fifth, we urge USTR to seek a 13 commitment to identify regulatory restrictions to 14 defensive cybersecurity activity. This would be 15 a commitment that the parties endeavor to review 16 and identify regulations and policies that 17 inappropriately restrict legitimate defensive 18 cybersecurity activity. Examples of the type of 19 regulations that might be under review include 20 privacy restrictions and export controls, such as 21 the Bossier arrangement and the eprivacy This commitment need not require the 22 Regulation.

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parties to revise regulations, but instead, just
 focus on a regulatory review to identify
 potential areas of improvement.

4 Sixth, we urge USTR to seek a 5 commitment to encourage transparency on consumer 6 IoT security. This would be a commitment that 7 the parties facilitate voluntary processes that 8 enhance the transparency of critical security 9 features for consumer IoT devices.

10 The goal of this process should be to 11 enable consumers to make informed purchasing 12 decisions regarding data protection features in 13 IoT security so that if you are sitting in a 14 supermarket looking at two IoT devices, you can 15 compare them based on their security features.

16 Currently, a framework like that does 17 not exist. However, in both the U.S. and EU 18 there is a great deal of momentum behind that 19 concept. In the United States, the Departments 20 of Commerce and Homeland Security released their 21 Botnet roadmap, which includes several work 22 streams based around this very concept with the

goal of creating a robust market for trustworthy 1 2 In the EU, my understanding is that the IOT. Cybersecurity Act, which is awaiting final 3 approval in the EU now, includes certifications 4 5 that are also aimed at this for consumer IoT, critical infrastructure, and others that will 6 7 essentially signal to the buyer what the level of 8 cybersecurity in those devices are for just this 9 purpose.

10 Seventh and last, we urge USTR to seek 11 requirements to prohibit -- sorry -- to prohibit 12 requirements to weaken encryption. This is a 13 commitment, of course, that the parties will not 14 require as a condition of market access that manufacturers or suppliers of encrypted products 15 16 weaken cryptography in any way. This is in USMC 17 Article 12; however, we do suggest that USTR 18 attempt, if possible, to narrow some of the broad 19 exceptions that are in that article. 20 Thank you very much and I look forward

21 to your questions.

CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you.

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| 1 | And our final witness on this panel, |
| 2 | Ms. Keller, from the Semiconductor Industry |
| 3 | Association. |
| 4 | MS. BENGFORT KELLER: On behalf of the |
| 5 | SIA, thank you for the opportunity to testify |
| 6 | here today. |
| 7 | SIA is the voice of the U.S. |
| 8 | semiconductor industry. We represent |
| 9 | semiconductor researchers, designers, and |
| 10 | manufacturers. Semiconductors are the nation's |
| 11 | fourth largest export. We form the bedrock of |
| 12 | the modern American economy, powering virtually |
| 13 | everything digital from cars and cell phones, to |
| 14 | super computers and military systems. |
| 15 | International trade is very important |
| 16 | to our industry and, thus, we welcome the |
| 17 | administration's decision to enter into |
| 18 | negotiations for a U.SEU agreement. We |
| 19 | strongly encourage the U.S. Government to |
| 20 | continue to lay the rules of the road for |
| 21 | international trade, to counter rising global |
| 22 | trade barriers and digital nationalism in third |
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| 2 | We are prioritizing five objectives, |
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| 3 | all of which are included in the USMCA. We think |
| 4 | that these objectives are very important for |
| 5 | strengthening digital trade in the digital |
| 6 | economy. |

7 The first is ensuring access to global 8 markets for innovative encryption products. SIA 9 is concerned about encryption-related practices and regulations in some regions that act as non-10 11 tariff barriers, such as regulations that 12 directly or indirectly favor specific 13 technologies, required disclosure of IP, like 14 source code, or require specific standards. 15 We recommend that the U.S.-EU trade 16 agreement prioritize disciplines such as those 17 included in the USMCA that prevent discriminatory 18 restrictions on the importation of commercial 19 products containing encryption and restrict 20 requirements to transfer or provide access to 21 proprietary information, or to partner, or to

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cipher.

| 2 | Second, our second priority is |
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| 3 | ensuring that state-owned enterprises compete |
| 4 | fairly and transparently based on market |
| 5 | considerations and without undue government |
| 6 | advantage. The USMCA includes some very strong |
| 7 | SOE disciplines that are in line with what has |
| 8 | been discussed within the World Semiconductor |
| 9 | Council is also in line with U.S., Japan, and EU |
| 10 | trilateral work on strengthening subsidy |
| 11 | disciplines. |
| 12 | So again, this is another top |
| 13 | priority, not with issues in Europe, per se, but |
| 14 | to tackle global issues and in third party |
| 15 | countries. |
| 16 | The third priority is to strengthen |
| 17 | trade secret protections. We're very pleased |
| 18 | with the strong trade secret protections in USMCA |
| 19 | and call on the administration to maintain a |
| 20 | strong focus on this by including similar |
| 21 | disciplines in a U.SEU agreement. |
| 22 | Since trade secrets are a very |
| | |

valuable IP asset, that they remain extremely vulnerable today.

Fourth, the fourth priority is 3 preventing forced localization of digital 4 infrastructure and technology transfer. We see 5 governments around the world using forced 6 7 localization tactics to advantage domestic 8 companies or force foreign investors to use 9 domestic technology, transfer their own 10 technology, or localize data storage and 11 processing. These rules raise cost; they distort 12 markets, reduce global interoperability, and increase risk of unauthorized disclosure or IP 13 14 theft. SIA applauds strong digital trade 15 16 outcomes on forced localization and digital infrastructure in the USMCA and recommend that 17 18 these be prioritized in the U.S.-EU agreement. 19 Last, as highlighted by one of my

other colleagues, we also recommend that a U.S.EU agreement permanently eliminate duties for
electronic transmission of data, data flows, or

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1 digital downloads. Some governments are 2 challenging the WTO e-commerce moratorium banning customs duties on electronic transmissions. 3 So 4 nothing this and the effort to let this 5 moratorium to expire, we encourage the U.S. and EU Governments to establish a clear unified 6 7 position supporting duty-free treatment for 8 digital goods. 9 So those are the top five. We have more details in our written comments. Thank you 10 11 again for the opportunity and I'm happy to answer 12 questions. 13 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Thank you all very 14 much. Let's now go to questions. I also thank you all for 15 MR. WEINER: 16 the testimony. It was very interesting and I was 17 struck by the fact that I think almost all of you 18 talked about things that you like in the USMCA 19 outcome, which I was aware of coming in but it's 20 pretty impressive how consistently you all feel 21 about that. 22 But I have a question to start with

for Mr. Scarpelli, which perhaps others at this 1 2 time might want to address. And I'm wondering whether you've looked at -- in looking at the 3 4 USMCA and thinking about the particular 5 challenges posed by privacy and other policies in the EU, are there things that you would recommend 6 7 we seek to do in an agreement with the EU that go 8 beyond or that vary from what we've done in the 9 USMCA agreement. 10 MR. SCARPELLI: Thank you for that 11 question. 12 I think that the answer that I would 13 give for The App Association is that generally we are realistic about the outcome of the USMCA 14 across the different digital economy issues that 15 16 it addresses. And so generally, I would not --17 we don't have any pain points to point out saying 18 that it should go much further. We are largely accepting -- you know we're accepting the reality 19 20 of the USMCA and I don't mean that in a negative 21 way at all. I'm supportive of the USMCA. 22 So the priority for us, really is, as

I mentioned in the opening statement, attaining as much harmonization across agreements. And that's why I mentioned using the USMCA as a baseline.

5 We do support voluntary frameworks 6 based on international standards, like many other 7 associations here, and to all ways practicable 8 that we can generally reduce burdens in complying 9 with new sweeping regimes such as the General 10 Data Protection Regulation. That's something 11 that we would support.

12 MR. WEINER: Thanks. Yes, I think 13 your response made me realize we should probably 14 flip the question around because I think we all -- I think all of us recognized, based on our 15 interaction with the EU in business but also as 16 17 trade negotiators, that what we've achieved with 18 Mexico and Canada in the USMCA in the digital 19 trade-related provisions and perhaps even in some 20 areas within IPR may be difficult to achieve with 21 the EU because of their current recent practices 22 and recent trends in policymaking and privacy in

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1 particular.

| 2 | So if the USMCA outcome is not so, |
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| 3 | flipping it around, if the USMCA outcome is not |
| 4 | achievable in terms of the data flow obligations, |
| 5 | for example, localization obligations, what's |
| 6 | and this is sort of a little bit of an open blue |
| 7 | sky kind of question but what would be a decent |
| 8 | outcome? What should we be seeking to do in the |
| 9 | EU? In particular, are there specific things in |
| 10 | relation to privacy that we're going to have to - |
| 11 | - that you think at a minimum we need to address |
| 12 | or seek to try to address? |
| 13 | MR. SCARPELLI: Thank you for the |
| 14 | question. |
| 15 | I think part of my answer probably |
| 16 | does need to include a mention that our |
| 17 | association, as a top priority here domestically |
| 18 | in the U.S., is to attain passage of |
| 19 | comprehensive privacy legislation. And so I just |
| 20 | think at the highest level that well, I would |
| 21 | put it this way: the reach of the GDPR is |
| 22 | something that our members continue to struggle |

It's a reality that they've got to deal 1 with. 2 with and basically where we are right now as an association is trying to educate them as much as 3 4 possible so they know whether it applies to them 5 or not and what they need to do. And so if the agreement can facilitate 6 a -- I'm failing to find the word but a 7 8 relationship between the two privacy regimes that 9 respects one another's regime, that that's I know a lot of the 10 probably the ultimate want. 11 details will inevitably be hammered out in the negotiations and so we're committed to helping in 12 13 any way we can as conversations go forward 14 between negotiating parties, if that helps. 15 MR. WEINER: Mutual recognition kind 16 of. 17 MR. SCARPELLI: Yes, that's the word. 18 MR. WEINER: Just a quick question 19 before I move to Joe. Is your member companies, 20 what's the sort -- is there sort of an average 21 employee size? 22 MR. SCARPELLI: Oh, yes. Yes, the

average employee size is usually -- well, it's 1 2 like high single digits. Single digits? 3 MR. WEINER: 4 MR. SCARPELLI: Yes, so under ten. Α 5 typical member I think it's seven to nine members -- seven to nine employees. 6 7 MR. WEINER: Thank you. CO-CHAIR GRESSER: 8 I think they're 9 signaling interest in also answering your question. 10 11 MR. WEINER: Okay, thank you. 12 MR. SCHONANDER: Just the opportunity 13 to follow-up on your question to Brian, since you 14 said there might be such an opportunity. You know from our point of view, we 15 16 are not seeking substantive equivalence between 17 the U.S. and EU privacy systems. That's -- I 18 just want to set that out there. 19 What we are seeking is something that assures continued cross-border data flows between 20 21 the European Union and the United States. And 22 you know for the record, we have that. We have,

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| 1 | say, the Privacy Shield. We have you know the |
| 2 | possibility of binding corporate rules, standard |
| 3 | contractual clauses, et cetera, et cetera. |
| 4 | The reason several of us have focused |
| 5 | so much on the exceptions language that the |
| 6 | European Union has put out is because of the |
| 7 | precedential value it could have in third |
| 8 | markets. That's the issue. |
| 9 | We're not suggesting that there is a |
| 10 | lack, for now, of cross-border data flow access |
| 11 | between the United States and the European Union. |
| 12 | It's how do we deal with China, with Vietnam, |
| 13 | other jurisdictions if we don't deal with this in |
| 14 | a satisfactory way. |
| 15 | MR. WEINER: Sure. |
| 16 | MR. SCHONANDER: Thanks. |
| 17 | MR. WEINER: Please. |
| 18 | MR. WHITLOCK: Thank you. I just |
| 19 | would like to associate myself with both sets of |
| 20 | comments on this issue, which I think is a core |
| 21 | issue. The U.S. and the EU have many shared |
| 22 | interests in the space of digital trade. On the |
| | |

issue of cross-border data flows and a clear obligation to permit cross-border data flows, we do, as SIIA has mentioned, have an existing framework that many of our companies are able to

6 And so it is against that background 7 that many of us are concerned by the data flows 8 proposal that the EU has publicly released with 9 respect to Indonesia.

10 The EU itself and many of its 11 exporters stand to lose from cross-border data 12 restrictions in India, in China, and in other 13 countries. And I think European officials are 14 well-aware of that.

I do think there is a good opportunity 15 16 here to arrive at a common set of rules. And the 17 USMCA provides an excellent model. If that model 18 is not the exact language that works with the EU, 19 I am sure there is other language that can be 20 achieved but it needs to be a clear, strong 21 obligation to permit cross-border data flows. 22 And with respect to any exceptions to that

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use.

obligation, the exceptions need to be duly
 disciplined.

| 3 | MR. WEINER: Mr. Geiger. |
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| 4 | MR. GEIGER: So your question was |
| 5 | whether or not if privacy the difference in |
| 6 | the privacy regime in the United States versus |
| 7 | the EU made it such that it was difficult to |
| 8 | achieve the same level of the same strength of |
| 9 | language in the USMCA on cross-border data flows |
| 10 | with the EU, whether or not there was something |
| 11 | else that we would like to see. |
| 12 | And to that, I would identify an issue |
| 13 | that I had raised earlier and that is with |
| 14 | relation to a cybersecurity threat in |
| 15 | |
| - | intelligence information. And so processing |
| 16 | intelligence information. And so processing personal information would qualify as just |
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| 16 | personal information would qualify as just |
| 16 17 | personal information would qualify as just personal information for cybersecurity is a |
| 16 17 18 | personal information would qualify as just personal information for cybersecurity is a pretty common occurrence. So for example, if we |
| 16 17 18 19 | personal information would qualify as just personal information for cybersecurity is a pretty common occurrence. So for example, if we are trying to warn our clients of a phishing |

email address of the suspected phisher, the IP address that is associated with it, and so forth. And often in the United States, that information will get shared to others so that they are warned of the same attack.

And GDPR includes recitals that 6 accommodate this very practice by saying that it 7 8 is considered a legitimate use if you are sharing 9 information for cybersecurity or fraud prevention 10 purposes. But that is not incorporated into all 11 regulations from the start, and the eprivacy 12 Regulation is one area that we are concerned 13 about. That concern has been expressed to the EU 14 but we -- last we have seen, to the best of our knowledge, it has not been clearly addressed. 15 16 BSA actually has a great paper about this very 17 issue.

18 So to the extent that you are still 19 able to preserve the data flows for cybersecurity 20 information, that is already something that has 21 been recognized in the context of GDPR. It's 22 recognized in the United States. But because it

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is not universal, we still think it would be 1 2 helpful to have that in the trade agreement. And we tried to incorporate that basic 3 4 suggestion in the regulatory review 5 recommendation that it will take other forms. That's the basic suggestion. 6 7 MR. WEINER: Thank you. 8 Okay, I've got a few MR. MEIER: 9 questions for Mr. Whitlock and BSA. BSA's submission indicates that the agreement should 10 11 require governments to adopt civil and criminal 12 cause of action and penalties for theft of trade In the view of BSA, do the current laws 13 secrets. 14 of the European Union address this matter 15 sufficiently and are there particular concerns 16 about EU member states? 17 MR. WHITLOCK: We will provide a 18 supplemental response in writing to that 19 question. 20 MR. MEIER: Thank you. 21 In addition, now please describe which 22 EU practices or restrictions your member

companies have encountered that restrict their
 ability to move data round the world and,
 specifically, across borders.

MR. WHITLOCK: So I think in the 4 5 existing GDPR framework, Article 46 provides a number of transfer mechanisms that permit cross-6 border data transfer and my colleague referenced 7 8 a number of them. They include standard 9 contractual clauses, Privacy Shield, binding corporate rules, and so forth. 10

11 One of the challenges that I think 12 many of the companies represented by the associations in this room have faced relate to 13 14 the certainty provided under these rules, which have been subjected to court challenges in the 15 16 EU. But I think over time many of the member 17 companies, at least for BSA, have found a path 18 forward to complying with these data transfer 19 mechanisms under GDPR and so there is, including 20 Privacy Shield, there is an existing framework 21 that does work at this time. Predictability and certainty for the future is very important and 22

that's one thing that we think a trade agreement could enhance.

3 MR. MEIER: In your testimony, you 4 list a number of digital trade provisions that 5 the EU has included in previous FTAs, which you say provide a foundation for U.S.-EU digital 6 trade negotiations. Can you explain in greater 7 8 detail why these provisions are important to 9 include in U.S.-EU trade agreements? 10 MR. WHITLOCK: Yes. So the provisions 11 that are found in the EU-Mexico FTA and the EU-12 Japan FTA include provisions relating to source 13 code, protection of source code from mandatory 14 disclosure requirements, use of electronic 15 signatures in commercial transactions, 16 prohibition of preferential treatment for SOEs, 17 prohibition on customs duties in electronic 18 transmissions, and consumer choice of digital 19 services. 20 So briefly to touch on a few of those, 21 on the very first issue, as others in this testimony have mentioned, there are source code 22

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disclosure requirements in other regions around
 the world, which represent a key threat in terms
 of forced technology transfer.

The USMCA goes beyond the language 4 5 found in the EU FTAs in that it also highlights that source code, as well as algorithms contained 6 7 within source code, should be protected from 8 mandatory disclosure requirements. And we 9 believe that would be a useful enhancement and would be hopeful that European negotiators would 10 11 be amendable to making that change.

But this is a core issue. We see in many Asian economies or a number of Asian economies where source code is required to be disclosed and then presents a significant risk of leakage with competitive enterprises.

Use of -- I'll highlight a few of these. Prohibition on customs duties in electronic transmissions is a core issue, a burning issue at this particular point in time. There have been questions raised in the World Trade Organization as to whether or not the 20-

year moratorium on customs duties on electronic 1 2 transmissions should be maintained. Removal of that moratorium would be a significant landscape 3 shift, and it's very important that in U.S. FTAs 4 and in the EU FTAs, there has been a recognition 5 and an agreement to prohibit such customs duties 6 7 on electronic transmissions and on digital So that would be an important --8 products. 9 solidifying that understanding with the EU and 10 continuing to negotiate that understanding around the world is an important achievement. 11 12 Just one other issue. One of my 13 colleagues has already discussed preferential 14 treatment for SOEs. But electronic signatures in the commercial transactions, recognizing or not 15 16 prohibiting the use of electronic signatures or autonomously executed contracts as valid for 17 18 legally-effective contracts is a key element of 19 It's great that the EU 21st century commerce. 20 and the U.S. both have that as part of their

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together and something we should both

It's something we should reflect

legal regime.

respectively continue to negotiate in FTAs with 1 2 other countries. MR. O'BYRNE: And Mr. Whitlock, from 3 4 a small business perspective, does your 5 organization have recommendations or ideas on 6 digital trade commitments or mechanisms that 7 might increase access for U.S. small businesses 8 in your industry? 9 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: I suspect this is 10 a sort of general question, if others have ideas 11 or views on this. 12 MR. WHITLOCK: Yes, I would love to 13 answer. Give me a few minutes to collect my 14 thoughts and perhaps others. 15 MS. SWANSON: I have a comment in 16 response to your question. 17 MR. O'BYRNE: Yes. 18 MS. SWANSON: Earlier on I want to 19 make it clear that I worked for the American Chamber of Commerce in China. We do an annual 20 21 business climate survey. Many of our clients at 22 that time or members were small companies in

China and consistently the annual business climate survey found that regulatory uncertainty, just a lack of clarity in regulations, was one of the top concerns for our member companies at that time.

So I guess I would refer to the TBT 6 7 chapter of USMCA, which had a number of 8 provisions on transparency, providing lengthy 9 periods for comments. As I recall, it even has a provision in which governments can be called on 10 to explain why they couldn't accept comments. 11 12 There are a lot of very detailed and 13 kind of thoughtful provisions, disciplines there

14 that could be used to offer more transparency to 15 smaller companies that I think would be broadly 16 helpful in a number of regions.

MR. SCARPELLI: Thank you. Yes, I
could contribute.

Again, this is much like what was just
raised. This kind of an overall theme but you
know I think that something that would
particularly benefit smaller businesses that just

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simply don't have infinity legal funds to pay outside counsel, et cetera, is furthering the idea that regulations put into place are based on data-demonstrated needs.

There's a few different developments 5 taking place, that have taken place or that are 6 taking place in the EU, which we talk about in 7 more detail in our written filing, where the 8 9 public record and the research, even that of the European Commission, does not demonstrate an 10 actual harm, yet they are still pursuing a 11 12 regulation to address a hypothetical harm.

And you know I can think a couple of examples. There was a consultation initiated by the European Commission, which was basically based on a presumption that accessing a good or service via a mobile app was inherently less safe than in any other -- through some other modality without really providing any basis for that.

20 Another would be -- another example 21 that rises to the top, pretty troubling for us, 22 is the platform-to-business regulation I

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| mentioned earlier, which just simply is not based |
| that we don't believe is based on inadequate |
| evidence basically to even pursue the means |
| the measures that they're trying to take, which |
| would effectively allow for regulators to |
| intervene in dictating in changing contract |
| terms that our members would negotiate with |
| platforms that they partner with in order to |
| build once and sell everywhere. |
| MR. SCHONANDER: Thanks. Well, a |
| couple of different things. Probably higher de |
| minimis requirements would be useful for SMEs |
| not probably they would. |
| Getting back to sort of the strictly |
| digital data flow area, while it is not while |
| we do not recommend and it is not really |
| appropriate for trade negotiators to get into the |
| substance of what each country's or each |
| jurisdiction's privacy regime should look like, |
| there are in general data protection regulations, |
| some rules which make exceptions for what SMEs |
| have to do. |
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So I think generally encouraging an 1 2 SME sort of friendly application of privacy and other rules can be pretty helpful. For example, 3 in GDPR in Article 30, you have to be a certain 4 size in order to produce something that they call 5 a record of processing. And there are other 6 rules like that as well. 7 I would also urge the U.S. Government 8 9 to continue the really great work on the EU-U.S. Privacy Shield. We're not suggesting that that's 10 a model that should be replicated around the 11 12 world. We're, as you know, big fans of the APEC 13 Cross-Border Privacy Rules System. But the truth of the matter is that 14 the Privacy Shield now has 4,000 participating 15 16 members. The vast majority of those members are 17 SMEs, at least a plurality for sure. One of the 18 reasons is it's a self-sort of regulating 19 mechanism. It's administered and enforced in the 20 United States. It's also relatively inexpensive 21 to join. So those are a few suggestions. 22

Thanks.

| 2 | MR. GEIGER: So I want to identify |
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| 3 | three recommendations that we've made that are |
| 4 | potentially helpful for small businesses. |
| 5 | The first on encouraging interoperable |
| 6 | cyber risk management frameworks. So small |
| 7 | businesses are seeking out cybersecurity products |
| 8 | both to secure themselves, for its own sake, but |
| 9 | also to meet their security compliance |
| 10 | obligations. They're trying to figure out how to |
| 11 | get to reasonable administrative, physical, and |
| 12 | technical safeguards to protect personal |
| 13 | information and the risk management framework can |
| 14 | help them do that. |
| 15 | In the United States, we've created |
| 16 | the NIST Cybersecurity Framework and it is |
| 17 | intended to be helpful for organizations to try |
| 18 | to achieve that level of security based on their |
| 19 | the particular data they hold, the particular |
| 20 | systems that they run, and so forth. And so |
| 21 | having a counterpart to that, that is |
| 22 | interoperable in the EU will make it easier for |

1 small businesses to be able to look for products
2 that can fulfill the functions within such a
3 framework, as well as for vendors to be able to
4 talk with those customers with a common lexicon
5 and, ideally, helps get them to a place where
6 they are more secure.

And it's not an easy document to read
but it is helpful as a compliance and security
program resource.

10 Second, I had mentioned the 11 recommendation on transparency for security for 12 IOT. Small businesses are consumers of IoT devices of many sorts, not just like wearables 13 that consumers have but also office IoT devices. 14 And currently, because a small business does not 15 16 have the same sort of resources that a very large 17 business might have, it is more difficult for 18 them to evaluate those devices based on security. 19 They don't have the resources to look into it as 20 deeply as a company that has a large amount of 21 financial resources and technical expertise may 22 be able to.

Having a simplified labeling and 1 2 transparency scheme for IoT, which again is there is support for in both the U.S. and the EU 3 Governments, would help enable them to make those 4 purchasing decisions more quickly and to hold 5 their service providers to account. 6 7 Lastly, the recommendation that several of us have made on prohibiting 8 9 requirements to weaken encryption, if there is a requirement to weaken encryption for 10 11 extraordinary access, government access, that 12 burden will fall most heavily on small businesses 13 because the entry point into the encryption, the 14 point at which encryption is weak, suddenly becomes a magnet for attackers. That is, that is 15 16 the target that the small business must defend 17 against. And the attackers will come not just in 18 the form of people who know our attackers but 19 also requests from government agencies that may 20 or may not exist. They can be very, very clever. And it will be small businesses that 21 22 will have the greatest trouble with the

technology necessary to prevent exploitation of weakened encryption, as well as to vet incoming requests from government agencies for access to data that is then made available as a result of weakened encryption.

There are other ways around -- there are other ways to get access to data that helps law enforcement. We think weakening encryption is not the right approach.

Thanks.

11 MR. WHITLOCK: Thanks very much. 12 So I'd like to tie a few of the points in our written submission to small business 13 And the themes I would like to touch 14 interests. upon are services, market access, cross-border 15 16 data flows, interoperable standards, IP 17 protection, and exceptions, and SOEs. 18 First off on the question of services 19 market access, it is important to ensure broad services market access, including with respect to 20

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value-added telecom services, particularly those

that can be provided on a cross-border basis

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1 through Mode 1 commitments.

| 2 | Small and medium-sized enterprises can |
|----|---|
| 3 | invest in software development where barriers to |
| 4 | entry are lower and can access infrastructure |
| 5 | without making a full investment in |
| 6 | infrastructure through cloud-based services. |
| 7 | Infrastructure is a service, software is a |
| 8 | service, and platform is a service. All of those |
| 9 | services provide the ability for smaller scale |
| 10 | enterprises to participate in the marketplace but |
| 11 | the ability of those smaller enterprises to |
| 12 | participate globally in the marketplace does |
| 13 | depend upon services commitments being undertaken |
| 14 | on a cross-border basis in the relevant sectors. |
| 15 | So that's the first theme to strike. |
| 16 | The second theme relates to |
| 17 | commitments on cross-border access and data |
| 18 | localization. Again, obviously in echoing the |
| 19 | comments of others who have testified, the |
| 20 | ability to transfer data across borders without - |
| 21 | - and provisions built into a trade agreement |
| 22 | that provide a presumption favoring the ability |

to transfer data are very important for smaller and medium-sized enterprises that do not necessarily have a local presence and a team of local attorneys in the foreign market to comply with.

So then the third point that I would 6 7 strike is interoperability of technical 8 regulations. And again, you know we see trends 9 in other regions, mandatory national standards that discriminate in favor of local champions and 10 11 it's very difficult for any U.S. enterprise, let 12 alone a small or medium-sized business to comply 13 with mandatory national standards that are unique 14 to a foreign market.

The fourth theme I would like to 15 16 strike relates to intellectual property rules and 17 exceptions. Trade secrets, for example, are 18 often a crown jewel of a small or medium-sized 19 enterprise. And if those trade secrets are 20 forced to be disclosed to a government or are not 21 subject to adequate protections and are lost, it 22 can be debilitating for such an enterprise.

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At the same time, appropriate 1 2 exceptions are necessary to permit the types of activities in the digital environment that are 3 necessary to develop new innovations, including 4 with respect to artificial intelligence and 5 machine learning. 6 7 And the last theme to strike relates 8 to standard enterprises. Again, ensuring that 9 the playing field is leveled and does not favor large incumbent standard enterprises is an 10 11 important feature of U.S. FTAs. That's important 12 for all enterprises, including small and medium-13 sized enterprises. 14 MR. SCHONANDER: Thanks. I just wanted to add one point to my colleague from 15 16 Rapid7's very interesting testimony on cybersecurity, which is this. On his first point 17 18 on interoperability, I'd like to echo that and 19 maybe it would be good to find some language in there sort of acknowledge in whatever is 20 21 ultimately agreed upon between the United States

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and the European Union acknowledging that there

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is no relationship between where the data is located and cybersecurity. This is a point that we encounter in many jurisdictions around the world, Vietnam, China, Indonesia, I think two other places.

6 So something promoting interoperable 7 cybersecurity frameworks and acknowledging that 8 in order to achieve that cybersecurity that the 9 data does not have to be located in a particular 10 geographical location would be helpful, again, 11 from a precedential standpoint. Thank you.

12 MS. STELLY: I would echo many of my 13 colleagues' concerns with SME's compliance with 14 data localization mandates. However, I wanted to briefly touch upon a couple of items on the 15 16 burden on SMEs and complying with takedowns and 17 the importance of intermediary liability 18 protections in both the context of IP and in 19 their content.

20 Many of the proposals that are 21 floating around in the EU, including the 22 Copyright Directive, there is also a directive

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that is being considered on the operation of 1 2 terrorist content online. Both proposals do not currently have permit exceptions for SMEs. 3 And 4 while many of our larger companies spend 5 extensive resources on products such as content ID that work very closely with the most recent 6 7 technology that is out there to swiftly remove 8 illegal content online, this doesn't -- many of 9 the proposals out there don't limit it just to compliance with the larger companies that many 10 11 U.S. internet services are forced to comply with 12 -- could be forced to comply with one-hour 13 takedowns for content that our larger companies 14 are still struggling to deal with. So respective the burdens on SMEs on 15 16 that. 17 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: I quess we've heard 18 everyone on this topic but Ms. Keller. Anything 19 to add? 20 MS. BENGFORT KELLER: Nothing really 21 to add. You know I will just reiterate what my 22 colleagues have said. You know we've highlighted

the importance of IP. I think that's a very 1 2 important one, especially when we -- especially of concern regarding state actors supporting or 3 4 contributing through industrial policy, that's a 5 particular concern as well. So the trade secrets reiterate and the 6 SOE disciplines are very important. 7 8 So I just wanted to highlight those 9 two. 10 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Okay. This 11 discussion of the SME aspect is very -- it's been 12 very interesting to me individually but I think 13 to the government generally we have something 14 like 285,000 goods exporters and about 280,000 of 15 them are SMEs. We do not know how many SME 16 services exporters there are but I would imagine 17 there's quite a lot. 18 So if anyone has additional thoughts 19 they would like to submit in writing, we would 20 welcome that. Feel free to do so. 21 We probably have time for one or two 22 more questions.

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| 1 | MR. HENRY: I have a question for Ms. |
| 2 | Stelly from the Computer and Communication |
| 3 | Industry Association. |
| 4 | How should we address in the U.SEU |
| 5 | negotiations issues concerning interconnection, |
| 6 | transit, and peering arrangements among network |
| 7 | providers that participate in the global |
| 8 | internet? |
| 9 | MS. STELLY: I'm sorry, could you |
| 10 | repeat the question again? |
| 11 | MR. HENRY: Yes, how should we address |
| 12 | issues concerning interconnection, transit, and |
| 13 | peering arrangements among network providers that |
| 14 | participate in the global internet? |
| 15 | MS. STELLY: Thank you for that |
| 16 | question. I'm happy to provide further comments |
| 17 | in a supplemental response. |
| 18 | MR. HENRY: Thank you. |
| 19 | I have another question. This is for |
| 20 | Ms. Swanson. |
| 21 | TIA submission notes that the USMCA |
| 22 | represent a major advance in trade rules for the |
| | |
| | |

ICT industry in several areas, including digital
 trade and technical barriers to trade. Can TIA
 identify particular challenges that member
 companies face in the European market and give
 some examples that illustrate how those
 particular barriers would be addressed through
 USMCA provisions?

8 MS. SWANSON: I think the best one is 9 e-labeling really because I think most regions 10 around the world, including for that matter, 11 China had adopted e-labeling in some way. And 12 Europe, for reasons that are a bit unclear, has 13 remained a little bit of an outlier.

14 So for our industry, many of the companies we represent make physical devices and 15 16 as those devices get smaller and smaller and they 17 are sold into more and more countries around the 18 world, many of whom have their own requirements 19 for labels of some kind, it gets hard to 20 physically fit them onto the device. 21 So you can see how I think e-labeling

is not controversial in any policy sense.

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Neal R. Gross and Co., Inc. Washington DC We've

just found it hard to get -- so far the EU has not sort of shown a lot of political will in moving forward on this. So that would be a very concrete example of an issue where we could see progress would be helpful through U.S. ICT companies.

7 I mean there are a number of other 8 precedents in the USMCA that we think would be 9 really helpful to carry forward like the TBT 10 language on no mandatory required in-country 11 testing and the provisions on the confidentiality 12 of business information, preserving that, or allowing for more disclosure of that in relation 13 14 to government-related testing. But those are less specific to certainly the problems in Europe 15 16 and more about just raising the bar broadly. 17 MR. HENRY: Thank you. 18 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: I guess one last 19 question for Ms. Keller. 20 What commitments would you like to see 21 in an FTA to address your concerns regarding semiconductor counterfeiting and enforcement 22

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measures, aimed at the combating the trafficking 1 2 of counterfeit semiconductors? MS. BENGFORT KELLER: I do not know of 3 specific measures with the EU. I know that in 4 5 the USMCA we were pleased about the ex-officio authority for Canadian authorities to seize 6 7 counterfeits. You know previously, they did not 8 have that or it wasn't explicitly laid out and so 9 were not seizing suspected counterfeits. I don't believe we have the same issue 10 11 with the EU but I think it's more of working 12 closely with the EU to seize and destroy 13 counterfeit chips, which cause severe risks to 14 health and safety because of the types of 15 products that they go into. 16 So other than that, I have no specific 17 -- more specific recommendations than continuing 18 to prioritize that as an issue. 19 CO-CHAIR GRESSER: Okay, we are very close to out of time but let me raise one final 20 21 thing for any witness. 22 Is there anything in this discussion

| 1 | د ا |
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| 1 | that you would have wanted to raise but didn't |
| 2 | have time to do so, or opportunity to do so? Or |
| 3 | anything that you would like to respond to that |
| 4 | came up? |
| 5 | In that case, on behalf of the U.S. |
| 6 | Trade Policy Committee, let me thank you all for |
| 7 | your very important contributions as we think |
| 8 | through the negotiating objectives for the U.S |
| 9 | EU trade agreement. |
| 10 | David, any final comment? |
| 11 | MR. WEINER: Thank you. Thank you |
| 12 | very much. |
| 13 | CO-CHAIR GRESSER: In that case, thank |
| 14 | you all, and this hearing is now adjourned. |
| 15 | (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter |
| 16 | went off the record at 4:53 p.m.) |
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In the matter of: US-EU Trade Agreement Hearing

Before: USTR

Date: 12-14-18

Place: Washington, DC

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