

## Chapter 6

### Lessons for Europe from the Quebec Trade Summit

#### I. 教学目的

通过本文的学习,使学生对有关全球化、市场经济、自由贸易、贸易保护主义等问题的争论有所认识,从而对世界经济的未来及发展趋势有所了解,同时也可帮助学生加深对我国改革开放伟大历史意义的理解。本文涉及到许多经贸知识,如:贸易壁垒、自由贸易区、进口替代、公司福利、世贸组织中的争端解决机制等,对于这些内容的基本概念学生也应掌握。另外,增强学生对上述内容的英语表达也是教学目的之一。

#### II. 教学计划

拟使用六课时完成本课内容。一课时介绍背景知识,四课时用于课文讲解及难点讨论,最后一课时可就某一相关问题(如:一国实施适度的贸易保护有无积极意义?)展开辩论。

#### III. 教学方法:

以学生为中心,通过师生互动、各抒己见的方式理解和认识课文中涉及到的问题(也包括语言方面的问题)。

#### IV. 背景知识

##### I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

###### 1. About the author - Aaron Lukas

Aaron Lukas is a policy analyst with Cato's Center for Trade Policy Studies. His research interests include trade sanctions, electronic commerce, and the WTO. His publications for the Cato Institute include "Tax Bytes: A Primer On the Taxation of Electronic Commerce," December 1999, and "Revisiting the Revisionists: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Economic Model," July 1998. His writings have appeared in *the Wall Street Journal*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Washington Times*, *USA Today*, *The New York Times*, *Investor's Business Daily*, and elsewhere. He also writes a regular column for the *Taipei Times* and is a frequent commentator on television, radio, and in public speaking engagements. Before joining the trade center, Lukas worked as Cato's manager for information services. Prior to that, he spent several years in Eastern Europe promoting free-market

education. Lukas received his bachelor's degree in political science from Texas A&M University and his master's degree in international economics from the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University.

## 2. Published Works by Aaron Lukas

"Dump The Export-Import Bank," by Aaron Lukas and Ian Vásquez, A Cato Daily Commentary, March 19, 2002.

"Rethinking the Export-Import Bank," by Aaron Lukas and Ian Vásquez, Cato Trade Briefing Paper No. 15, March 12, 2002.

"Promoting Afghanistan," by Gary Dempsey and Aaron Lukas, A Cato Daily Commentary, January 23, 2002.

"Safe Harbor or Stormy Waters? Living with the EU Data Protection Directive," Cato Trade Policy Analysis No. 16, October 30, 2001.

"Closing the Net Tax Debate (Part 1): The Myth of the Level Playing Field," TechKnowledge No. 22, October 5, 2001.

"Tax Bytes: A Primer On the Taxation of Electronic Commerce," Cato Trade Policy Analysis No. 9, December 17, 1999.

"Chile Takes a Bold Step toward Freer Trade," Wall Street Journal, 1999.

"Reconsidering Unilateral Economic Sanctions," International Affairs Review, 1998.

"Little Need for Government in E-Commerce," Ottawa Citizen, 1998.

"Consumers See Red (Tomatoes)," Journal of Commerce, 1998.

"Some Sanctions OK, but Expanding Them Would Be a Mistake," Business Journal, 1998.

"Grant China MFN," Journal of Commerce, 1998.

"Revisiting the 'Revisionists': The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Economic Model," coauthor, Cato Trade Policy Analysis No. 3, July 31, 1998.

## 3. Third Summit of the Americas

In 2000, with the implementation process still underway, the countries of the hemisphere began the preparations for the Third Summit of the Americas, held in Quebec City, Canada, April 20-22, 2001. With a fully institutionalized process in place, the Troika and the SIRG set about negotiating the

draft texts of the Declaration and Plan of Action. These texts were adopted by the Heads of State and Government and represent an agenda for the Americas for the next four years.

The Quebec City Summit was notable both for its demonstration of the successes of the process to date as well as for its new challenges to the countries of the Americas to continue moving forward. The most important issue from the political Declaration was the preparation of an Inter-American Democratic Charter to reinforce the OAS instruments for the active defense of representative democracy. The Charter was adopted on September 11, 2001, in Lima, Peru, in a Special General Assembly of the OAS. On the institutional side, the Troika system was abandoned and replaced with an Executive Council, comprised of Canada, Chile, the United States, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, one representative from Central America, one representative from CARICOM, one representative from the Rio Group, and one representative from the Andean Community. A Steering Committee was also created comprised of the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Chile.

#### **4. Some Background Information About the Summit**

##### **1). The FTAA: A Reality**

The core of the trade agenda had been decided before the Summit. Two weeks earlier in Buenos Aires, trade ministers had decided to modestly accelerate the trade negotiations, try to complete them by December 2004, and gain approval of national legislatures by the close of 2005. But it was in Quebec where President Bush and his chief trade negotiator, Robert Zoellick, impressed delegates that they mean business. Both men pledged to work hard to gain congressional authority to negotiate trade agreements by the end of 2001 and, in a parallel process, to wrap up talks with Chile on a bilateral trade accord by year-end.

Zoellick emphasized his openness to dialogue with environmental groups and labor leaders. However, Bush also made clear that he did not want these social concerns to derail the free trade talks. Many tough issues remain to be negotiated including tariff and non-tariff barriers, agriculture, textiles, and investment and other services. Moreover, the links between trade and labor rights and environmental protection have not yet been joined in a way that would be acceptable to many U.S.

Congressional Democrats or to developing countries that fear such linkages could be used for protectionist purposes.

In his opening remarks, Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso repeated the trade bargaining position stated earlier by his country's Foreign Minister, Celso Lafer, explicitly criticizing U.S. agricultural trade policy and anti-dumping measures. His speech played well in the Brazilian media. However, it was also an implicit recognition that the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is a reality that Brazilian industry and government must confront.

U.S. diplomats report that Cardoso and Lafer assured them that they are fully in favor of a hemispheric accord, even as they must show concern for domestic interest groups. Zoellick said that he takes these assurances at face value, but observed pointedly during his press conference that: "Brazil will have to choose between being a global player and being the largest country in the Southern Cone."

Zoellick displayed particular sensitivity to Caribbean representatives when he responded to their worries that they lack the technical capacity to negotiate a complex trade accord by saying, "Just tell us what you need." In short, after Quebec, it seems clear that there will be an FTAA.

## **2). Fusing Democracy and Trade**

The hemisphere has been debating the trade-labor-environmental nexus for a decade without resolution. Yet, in one weekend, a consensus emerged to link trade to the domestic political institutions of each member state.

Quebec's most daring innovation was its approval of a democracy clause: "any unconstitutional alteration or interruption of the democratic order in a state of the hemisphere constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to the participation of that state's government in the Summit of the Americas process." The "Summit process" is understood to include the free trade accord. This clause puts new teeth into the capacity of the region's democracies to deter and, if necessary, reverse threats to democratic governance. It also gives private sectors an additional incentive to support constitutional rule.

Many details remain to be ironed out regarding democratic governance. How to define democracy? Which institution will decide that a democratic order has been unacceptably altered? What would be the sequence of sanctions? Some Latin American and Caribbean nations remain concerned that the United States could try to misuse this new power and will seek safeguards against undue U.S. influence.

Also unclear is whether the final trade accord will repeat the democracy requirement. The U.S. trade office is hesitant to do so for fear that members of Congress will then ask for a similar linkage in other regions, such as Asia, where a democracy clause would be unworkable. Nevertheless, Quebec's democracy clause is a milestone in the hemisphere's commitment to the collective defense of democracy. The Summit called for the drafting of a "democracy charter" to codify the region's several democracy commitments.

As if to underscore the leader's democratic intentions, in his closing remarks, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien called for stepped up efforts by the Organization of American States (OAS) to try to get Haitian democracy back on track.

### **3). Civil Society Advances**

Another innovation of the Quebec Summit was the invitation by the Canadian hosts to some 60 civil society organizations to enter the Summit conclave and to participate in a roundtable discussion with ministers. Many of the civic leaders voiced the same concerns being heard in the streets — that Latin American economies must do a better job at meeting the needs of the poor majorities.

The exchange with ministers was polite and rather pro forma, but it set an important precedent that could further democratize hemispheric diplomacy. Civil society representatives can now demand a voice at the many ministerials and working groups that flow from the Summit process and that seek to implement the Summit mandates. Many clauses in the Summit's Plan of Action also call for inclusion of non-governmental groups in post-Summit activities.

As a response to demands for greater transparency, governments agreed to release the draft text

of the trade accord — a first in international trade negotiations. Privately, negotiators worried that more interest and advocacy groups will now be able to influence and perhaps slow the trade talks. Nevertheless, governments judged this as a cost worth paying to win wider support for the final trade accord.

#### **4). Words Into Deeds?**

The Summit Plan of Action addressed many other social issues, including education; health; the digital divide; HIV/AIDS; and the rights of women, indigenous peoples, children, and migrants (the section on migrant rights was a victory for Mexican diplomacy). Leaders also urged more progress in combating corruption and narcotics.

Where the Quebec Summit fell short was in planning for implementation. The 49-page, single-spaced Plan of Action contains too many pledges (over 260 action items) in proportion to the hemisphere's capacity to implement reforms. Too few initiatives have clear timetables, quantifiable targets, and monitoring mechanisms. Nor is it clear just where the necessary money will come from for many of these initiatives.

Summit leaders did call for ministers of finance and their representatives in the resource-rich Inter-American Development Bank and World Bank to meet with those officials charged with Summit implementation. Efforts were made to streamline the management of summitry. An executive council and a smaller steering committee of past, present, and future Summit hosts were established. It is unclear, however, whether governments will provide the key OAS Office of Summit Follow-up with sufficient staff and financing to effectively monitor and evaluate the implementation of Summit mandates.

So it is still too soon to judge who will be the final winners in Quebec. If the trade talks bear fruit; if the democracy clause deters would-be violators; if a new democratic diplomacy takes hold; and if the many social initiatives find funding — then all the peoples of the Americas will have been winners at the Quebec Summit.

#### **5. People's Summit**

The "Second People's Summit of the Americas" was organised in order to discuss the ramifications of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) in regards to labour, environment and other social issues in the Hemisphere. The Peoples's Summit was held in Quebec City from April 17 to 21, 2001 which coincided with the Third Summit of the Americas. The two organisations responsible for organising the Summit were Réseau québécois sur l'intégration continentale (RQIC) and Common Frontiers, which represent two coalitions of labour unions, international co-operation organisations, environmental groups, research groups and other grassroots organisations. The attendees, for the most part, were members of the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) which is a network of organisations and social movements. The objectives of the People's Summit were stated as follows:

- To inform and educate citizens on issues of market globalisation and, specifically, on the Santiago Action Plan and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).
- To bring the FTAA issue into discussions within the various areas of civil society in order to foster critical analysis of the FTAA itself and its social, economic and political effects on our populations.
- To pursue our analysis of the project to integrate markets and its impact on societies, communities, economic policy, and social and environmental programs.
- To strengthen and consolidate the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) on the organisational and political level, ensuring that it becomes an important advocate capable of making itself heard by our governments and societies.
- To make negotiations more transparent and democratic by promoting full access to all of the information available on the effects of market liberalisation on vulnerable populations and on social environments.
- To pursue exchanges with members of the HSA on the one hand, and the public on the other.
- To pursue the analysis outlined in the Alternatives for the Americas document.
- To improve existing negotiating processes and the mechanics of consultations undertaken to date.
- To make the Second Peoples' Summit of the Americas primary in the process of strengthening the Hemispheric Social Alliance.

## 6. About the Summit Demonstrations

During the April 20-22 Summit of the Americas held in Quebec City, Canadian authorities brought in 6,000 police officers from across Canada and circled the summit venue with a 2.3-mile concrete and chain-link fence to keep the demonstrators away from the regional leaders. More than 6,000 specially trained riot police were also on hand. Protesters also prepared for violence, bringing their own gas masks, helmets and padded clothing for protection. Protesters vehemently opposed a free trade agreement - which was high on the agenda of the summit of 34 Western Hemisphere leaders - because they believed it would benefit only multinational corporations.

On April 20, protesters clashed with police near the Summit of the Americas after the crowd tore down parts of a fence and barricades erected to keep them away from the conference in southeastern Canada. Riot police with helmets, batons and shields stood shoulder-to-shoulder trying to maintain their perimeter while demonstrators lobbed rocks, bottles and parts of the fence at the officers. Police answered with tear gas. Protesters picked up some of the tear gas canisters and tossed them back at police. The air soon grew hazy with the gas.

## V. 课文讲解

### 概念讲解

anti-globalization	反全球化
trade barrier	贸易壁垒
flow of goods and capital	货物及资本流动
mercantilist assumptions	商业主义的观点
dispute settlement process	争端解决进程

### 课文注释

#### 1. Quebec City (p. 117)

The capital of Quebec, Canada, in the southern part of the province on the St. Lawrence River. Champlain established a colony in its Lower Town in 1608. British forces under General Wolfe defeated the French forces led by General Montcalm at the Plains of Abraham here in 1759. The city is today a popular tourist center.

#### 2. St Lawrence river (p. 117)



From the heart of a continent to the coast of an ocean, from sweet water seas to salt water shores, the course of the mighty St. Lawrence River is also the course of Canadian history. Avenue of exploration, corridor of commerce, cradle of New France and Upper Canada, the great inland waterway of the northeast was destined to lead not to the spices and silks of China, but to the even greater bounty of forests, furs and raw materials. Carved between the Laurentians to the north and the Appalachians to the south, and forming a natural pathway to the lakes of Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior, the river seems almost purposefully designed for navigation. Where Mother Nature has stood in the way - stirring in rapids up above, or billowing thick, treacherous fog down below - mankind has cleverly side-stepped Her, damming, diverting, dredging and ultimately designing the St. Lawrence Seaway, one of the greatest river transportation systems in the world. Fed by the Great Lakes, draining a million square kilometers, beginning in the freshwater bays of eastern Ontario's Thousand Islands, and running nearly 1,200 kilometers, to the saltwater shores of Anticosti Island and the tip of the Gaspé Peninsula, the river is known simply as "Le Fleuve" - the Greatest Canadian River.

**3. I saw *heart* in great abundance – in-your-face public displays of compassion were the order of the day – but clear thinking was conspicuously scarce.** (p. 117)

本句中 heart 一词与前面一句中的 head 形成对比，作者在前面说，反对自由贸易的人们都没有“头脑”，在这里作者强调他们有的只是异常丰富的“心”。“心”在此处指的是抗议者们发泄出的、毫无理智的情绪。在 in-your-face public displays of compassion were the order of the day 中，compassion 的意思是 deep awareness of the suffering of another coupled with the wish to relieve it，即汉语中所说的“怜悯之情”，但同时又有“恨人间路不平”的意思；order of the day 在这里的意思是 the characteristic or dominant feature or activity，即“特点、特征或最主要的方面或活动”。

上面整句话的意思是：我所看到的是抗议者们反对自由贸易、反对全球化而发泄出的无边无际的情绪，是在人们面前公开展示出的一种对受到全球化伤害的人们的怜悯和同情以及改变这种“不合理”现象的要求，如果说抗议活动有什么特征的话，这就是该活动的特征。但是，这一切都与真实不符，因此，这里所缺少的是清醒、理智的思考。

【参考译文】我所看到的只是心绪的漫天宣泄，我面前是一腔悲天悯人热情的公然展示。显而易见，这里的稀缺之物是清醒的思考。

**4. But I traveled to Quebec for the real show; the “People’s Summit”, an alternative event**

**organized ostensibly to represent – what else? – the ‘people’s views.’ (I had assumed that the elected leaders at the Summit were there for that purpose, but who am I to question ‘the people’?). (p. 117)**

作者这里的意思是说，参加“人民高峰期”的那些抗议者们本身就是人民，他们按照常理应该代表“人民的意见”，但实际上并非如此。那些被选举出来的领导人（西半球 34 国首脑）参加“美洲高峰期”正是为了人民的利益。因此，作者实际上是在说，那些所谓的“人民”代表不了“人民的意见”。说人民代表不了人民自己似乎有悖于常理，因此，作者说自己怎能向“人民”提出质疑呢？

**5. Gracious to a fault, the Canadian government (i.e. Canadian taxpayers) funded the event and paid for Latin American activists to attend. (p. 117)**

An innovation of the Quebec Summit was the invitation by the Canadian hosts to some 60 civil society organizations to enter the Summit conclave and to participate in a roundtable discussion with ministers. Many of the civic leaders voiced the same concerns being heard in the streets — that Latin American economies must do a better job at meeting the needs of the poor majorities.

The exchange with ministers was polite and rather pro forma, but it set an important precedent that could further democratize hemispheric diplomacy. Civil society representatives can now demand a voice at the many ministerials and working groups that flow from the Summit process and that seek to implement the Summit mandates. Many clauses in the Summit’s Plan of Action also call for inclusion of non-governmental groups in post-Summit activities.

**6. Consider the following actual exchange I had with a startlingly well-fed young activist (who wore, naturally, imported jeans and sneakers). As she shook her flabby fist at me, a comrade filmed the exchange with a Japanese video camera that easily cost more than a year’s salary for the average Latin American. (p. 118)**

本部分中，作者的一些话具有讽刺意味，如“startlingly well-fed young activist”（保养得极好的年轻激进分子），“wore, naturally, imported jeans and sneakers”（自然穿着进口的牛仔裤和运动鞋），“she shook her flabby fist at me”（她向我挥动着的拳头，肌肉松弛，毫无力量。）以及“with a Japanese video camera”（用一架日本摄象机）等。全球化的发展，国际间的贸易往来，促进了社会繁荣，使人可以穿上进口的牛仔裤和运动鞋，购买价格昂贵的摄象机。即使是那些懒惰的人（如，那个肌肉松弛，毫无力量的人）也可以保养得极好。作者此处意指：那些激进分子在从全球化中得到好处的

同时，却极力反对全球化。

**7. Yet throughout it all, not once did I hear a logical, never mind reasonable, case against free trade. (p. 118)**

本句中 a logical, never mind reasonable 为定语，修饰 case。意思是说，那些反对自由贸易的宣传材料逻辑上都有问题，姑且不谈其是否有道理。

**8. Yet the protesters see none of that, choosing to make themselves the enemies of the downtrodden by denying poor countries the tools of development, arguing that capitalism and free trade cause poverty. Such ignorance is criminal. (p. 119)**

本部分中的 the downtrodden 意思是“受压迫者，劳苦大众”；to make themselves the enemies of the downtrodden 的意思是“使他们自己成为劳苦大众的敌人”；to deny poor countries the tools of development 的意思是“剥夺贫穷国家赖以发展的手段”。

**9. While there is little in the way of substantive criticism coming from the activists, their continual presence at international meetings gives cover to old-style protectionists who would like to see more restrictions on the flow of goods and capital around the globe. (p. 119)**

本部分中的 in the way of 为介词短语，意思是“至于说...，关于...方面”例如：

*Don't expect too much of your boss in the way of pay rises.*

*King doesn't have much in the way of new material.*

*They have nothing helpful to offer in the way of advice.*

substantive 一词的意思是“本质上的，实质性的”，substantive criticism 就是“有实质性内容的批评”。

substantive 还可修饰 issue, problem, change, reason, principle 等。

**10. It is an order of faith among protesters that globalisation is a recent phenomena that has been driven primarily by international institutions. (p. 120)**

本句中的 an order of faith among protesters 在这里是指抗议者们处在一种盲目相信(某种说法)的状态之中。本句话的意思是说，抗议者们都盲目地相信全球化现象主要是国际机构促成的。

**11. Import Substitution (p. 120)**

A strategy which emphasizes the replacement of imports with domestically produced goods, rather than the production of goods for export, to encourage the development of domestic industry.

## 12. Diversion and Appeasement (p. 120)

For over six decades, free traders in the United States have pursued trade liberalization through a strategy of diversion and appeasement: diverting attention away from opening the U.S. market by focusing on exports and foreign policy goals, and appeasing protectionists at home with “fair trade” policies in the hope of preventing even worse import barriers. That strategy achieved considerable success: it shifted the basic orientation of U.S. trade policy away from protectionism and toward gradual liberalization.

To revitalize their cause, free traders need more than better salesmanship. They need a new strategy which is rooted in the assumption that head-on confrontations with protectionist forces should be avoided at all costs. According to this view, free trade is too weak politically to win a fair fight; it can only hold and gain ground by alternately diverting and appeasing protectionist pressures. Diversion is accomplished through trade negotiations, which enable free traders to downplay reductions in U.S. trade barriers while trumpeting new opportunities for U.S. exporters, as well as playing on the need for America’s international leadership. Appeasement, meanwhile, occurs primarily through the so-called trade remedy laws—namely, the antidumping and countervailing duty laws, and the Section 201 escape clause—which impose protection when certain preestablished criteria are met.

Thus, the traditional free-trade strategy may be summarized as the attempt to achieve freer trade here and abroad without ever making the case for it here. Liberalization of the U.S. market is achieved by changing the subject; a full-scale protectionist reaction is avoided by providing safety valves that enable aggrieved interests to get some relief without wrecking the whole system. Over the course of six decades, this strategy has achieved considerable success. Tariff rates in the United States and other industrialized countries on manufactured goods have plummeted. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has substantially furthered economic integration, and the Uruguay Round and follow-up World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations have extended free-trade principles on a global basis to agriculture, textiles and apparel, intellectual property, telecommunications, and financial services.

**13. By failing to directly challenge mercantilist assumptions and fair trade fallacies – that is, to make an unapologetic case for truly free and open trade – economic liberals are helping to perpetuate popular suspicions that trade’s critics have legitimate complaints. (p. 121)**

本句话的意思是说，主张自由贸易的人没有直接向重商主义以及公平贸易的错误论调提出挑战，也就是说，他们没有讲明自由、公开贸易的意义，因而，那些所谓的自由贸易人士实际上是助长了公众的错误想法，认为有关对自由贸易的批评也有其合理性。另外，本句中的 mercantilist assumptions 意指 mercantilism 所涵盖的内容。

**14. That strategy has begun to work in the United States, where, for example, automobile manufacturers and other steel-using industries have begun to fight efforts by domestic steel manufacturers to further close the already protected US market. (p. 121)**

本句中的 That strategy 指作者此前文中所谈到的那些具有竞争优势的企业所应采取的联合起来、共同反对受政府保护企业的做法。作者在这里是说，如果大家都采取这样的策略，情况就会有所不同。例如，面对美国的钢铁生产厂家试图进一步关闭美国市场、不允许外来竞争的局面，美国的汽车生产厂家与其他以钢铁为原料的生产商就联合起来，共同反对这种贸易保护主义的做法，并产生了效果。

**15. Another way to further free trade is by reforming the dispute settlement process in the WTO. Specifically, there should be more reliance upon ‘compensation’ as the means for enforcing judgments against nations that violate their trade commitments. (p. 122)**

世界贸易组织中的争端解决机构负责解决世贸成员国之间的贸易争端，其法律依据是 1994 年关税与贸易总协定第 23 条和乌拉圭回合通过的关于解决规则和程序的谅解书。解决争端的程序一般包括磋商程序、斡旋、调解与调停程序、专家小组程序、上诉审查程序以及对争端解决机构的正式建议或裁定的监督执行。当一国不遵守裁决时，争端解决机构可授权争端中的另一国对其进行报复。

以报复作为制裁手段显然不是理想的解决问题的办法，对发展中国家来说，这样做是否可行也是个问题。发展中国家受经济贸易实力限制，其采取报复措施的能力有限，对发达国家不一定能构成威胁。世贸组织争端解决机制是否能够真正有效地解决国际经贸争端，目前人们有着不同的看法。作者在这里的意思是说，可以对争端解决程序进行改革，更多地依靠“补偿”（如使应被报复的国家减少贸易壁垒）而不是“报复”。