Chapter 5

Conclusion

The focus of this research is to use the IPR cases in China and US measures as documented in the Special 301 Report as a catalyst to examine how the different leadership style of Bush and Obama. It can be seen that measures employed by both the Obama and the Bush administration falls within the subtler policies under the perspective of neo mercantilism. In order to find the answer to the research question, not only measures from both administrations are examined, but also both presidents using Greenstein's qualities that shape presidential performance, James Barber's presidential characteristics, Martha Cottam et al select individual characteristics of a leader, and Thomas Preston's typology. In addition the composition of the congress will also be explained to aid in the analysis.

Five cases were summarized in chapter 2 that involves the US in both the Bush and Obama administration. The cases described in the case study were all documented in the US own Special 301 Report, split into Bush and Obama's administration respectively. Two cases during the Bush administration was described, namely China's inadequate IPR protection, where China did not manage to utilize further judicial measures on many IPR related cases in the country and China's restriction on trading rights of certain audiovisual products which was deemed as the cause of high optical piracy in the country. Three cases during the Obama administration was described namely; China's problematic innovation policies in the form of circular 618 and ICT rules for banks; alleged

theft of trade secrets outlined in Mandiant's report and the deficiency of its Anti-Unfair Competition Law; and widespread online piracy on music and audiovisual products and the rise of media boxes.

The third chapter elaborates the differences between the Bush and Obama administration, firstly by listing the composition of Democrats and Republicans in the congress during each administration. The Congress was favorable to Bush due to Republican Domination persists in two congressional periods even though the Republican lost its dominance in the final congressional period. Obama however, only enjoys democratic dominance in one congressional period, paving way for a total Democratic domination. Two subsequent periods afterwards would be a split in power between the Democrat controlled senate and Republican controlled House of Representatives and the final congressional period was a total republican domination.

Under the active-positive, *Director-Maverick* Bush, the US invokes strong pressure utilizing the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding. While both in regards of China's inadequate IPR protection and trading rights restriction of audiovisual products the US does employ bilateral measures mainly through the JCCT and the Strategic Economic Dialogue. In the end, the administration decides to file a request for consultation under the WTO DSU. This grants a deterrent effect in the form of the DSU own retaliation and compliance clause. This is mainly driven by characteristics of Bush's leadership style, encapsulates in two typologies. His active-positive trait led him to aim for results, and the WTO DSU is a surefire way to do so. Him being a *Director-Maverick* by closing off the

White House with a tight inner circle, while also being decisive and insisting on his policy vision led him to choose a high pressure option.

Under Obama, an active-negative president and an Administrator-Navigator, the US weakened its pressure towards China by only utilizing bilateral measures. In regards of problematic innovation policies, China's alleged theft of trade secrets, and widespread online piracy of audiovisual products, the US utilized bilateral measures in the form of dialogue between two states mainly through the JCCT and one MOU in regards of trade in films. While this line of dialogue led the US to secure further commitments from China, the US did not utilize the WTO DSU. This despite the fact that China's string of innovation policies and theft of trade secrets has a possibility of being a violation of TRIPS, the same as the case of China's inadequate IPR protection which Bush administration brought to the WTO Dispute Settlement Body. The administration also ended the WTO dispute settlement case initiated during the Bush administration by signing an MOU with China in regards of trade on important films. Further examination of the MOU reveals that the MOU diminished the deterrent effect caused by the DSU retaliatory and compliance clause. This Weakened pressure mainly due to Obama's restrained approach in foreign policy, a distortion due to his active negative disposition. A split congress that requires him to compromise while still emphasizing his legalist perspective shows his trait as an Administration; however his legalist perspective also shows his less decisive foreign policy, a trait of a *Navigator*.

Bibliography

- State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television. *Screenplay* (*Syllabus*) Filing, Film Management Regulations. t.thn. http://www.sarft.gov.cn/art/2006/6/22/art 1583 26305.html.
- United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property (BIRPI). "Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property of March 20, 1883, as revised at Brussels on December 14, 1900, at Washington on June 2, 1911, at the Hague on November 6, 1925, at London on June 2, 1934, at Lisbon on October 31, 1958, and at Stockhol." *Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property*. Paris: United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property (BIRPI, 1968.
- United States International Trade Commission (USITC). "Foreign Protection of Intellectual Property Rights and The Effect on U.S. Industry and Trade." Washington, DC, 1998.
- Atallah, Gamal. "The protection of innovations." CIRANO Scientific Series, t.thn.: 1-23.
- Barber, James David. *The Presidential Character Predicting Performance in the White House*. Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017.
- Cheung, Gordon C. K. *Intellectual property rights in China: politics of piracy, trade and protection.* London: Routledge, 2011.
- China National People's Congress Network. *The full text of the Anti-Terrorism Law* (*draft*). t.thn. http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/lfgz/flca/2014-11/03/content_1885027.htm.
- Cottam, Martha, Beth Dietz-Uhler, Elena Mastors, dan Thomas Preston. *Introduction to Political Psychology*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004.
- Creswell, John W. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches* . Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2013.
- —. Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. London: Sage, 2003.
- Degregorio, Christine. "Party Leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives: Making Theoretical Sense of Ambition and Context." *Congress & the Presidency*, 2001: 19-44.
- Derouen, Alex Mintz and Karl. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Dillman, David N. Balaam and Bradford. *Introduction to international political economy*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Gilpin, Robert Gilpin and Jean M. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Graubard, Stephen. THE PRESIDENTS The Transformation of the American Presidency from Theodore Roosevelt to Barack Obama. London: Penguin Books, 2009.
- Greenstein, Fred I. Inventing the Job of President. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- —. *The George W. Presidency: An Early Assessment* . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "The Qualities of Effective Presidents: An Overview from FDR to Bill Clinton." *Presidential Studies Quarterly 30, no. 1*, 2000.
- Horowitz, Irving Louis. "Legalism as an Executive Ideology: Foundations of Barack Obama's Leadership Style." *Perspectives on Political Science*, 2010.
- III, S. James Boumill. "China's Indigenous Innovation Policies under the TRIPS and GPA Agreements and Alternatives for Promoting Economic Growth." *Chicago Journal of International Law*, 2012.
- J. Thomas McCarthy, Schecher, Roger E. and Franklyn, David J, McCarthy's. *Desk Encyclopedia of Intellectual Property*. Washington, DC: BNA Books, 2004.
- Lowenfeld, Andreas F. *International Economic Law* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- M.Liang. "A three-pronged approach: How the united states can use WTO disclosure requirements to curb intellectual property infringement in china." *Chicago Journal of International Law*, 2010: 285-319.
- Mandiant. "APT1 Exposing One of China's Cyber Espionage Units." t.thn. https://www.fireeye.com/content/dam/fireeye-www/services/pdfs/mandiant-apt1-report.pdf.
- Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, and Arnold Kanter. "Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy." Dalam *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, oleh Priscilla Clapp, and Arnold Kanter Morton H. Halperin, 295-306. Washington, D.C.: Brooking Institution Press, 2006.
- Party Divisions / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. http://history.house.gov/Institution/Party-Divisions/Party-Divisions/ (diakses March 8, 2018).

- Preston, Thomas. *The President and His Inner Circle*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Terry Nardin, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit, and Jacqui True. *Theories of international relations*. Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Suk Hi kim, Mario Martin-Hermosillo, and Junhua Jia. "The U.S.-China Trade Friction: Causes and Proposed Solutions." *The Journal of Applied Business and Economics*, 2014: 63-73.
- The US-China Business Council. "INTERNATIONAL INNOVATION BEST PRACTICES: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHINA'S INNOVATION INCENTIVE POLICIES." 2010.
- "Trade, Films for Theatrical Release, Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States of America and China." *Treaties and Other International Acts Series* 12-425. 25 April 2012.
- U.S. Senate. *Party Division*. t.thn. https://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/one_item_and_teasers/partydiv.htm.
- United States Department of Treasury. "Executive Office of the President, United States Department of Treasury." 23rd U.S.-CHINA JOINT COMMISSION ON COMMERCE AND TRADE Fact Sheet. 12 December 2012. https://USTR.gov/about-U.S./policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2012/december/23rd-JCCT.
- United States International Trade Commission. "China: Intellectual Property Infringement, Indigenous Innovation Policies, and Frameworks for Measuring the Effects on the U.S. Economy." 2010.

United States Trade Representative. "2001 Special 301 Report." 2001.

United States Trade Representative. "2002 Special 301 Report ." 2002.

United States Trade Representative. "2003 Special 301 Report." 2003.

United States Trade Representative. "2004 Special 301 Report." 2004.

United States Trade Representative. "2005 Special 301 Report." 2005.

United States Trade Representative. "2006 Special 301 Report." 2006.

United States Trade Representative. "2007 Special 301 Report." 2007.

United States Trade Representative. "2008 Special 301 Report." 2008.

United States Trade Representative. "2009 Special 301 Report." 2009.

United States Trade Representative. "2010 Special 301 Report." 2010.

United States Trade Representative. "2011 Special 301 Report." 2011.

United States Trade Representative. "2012 Special 301 Report." 2012.

United States Trade Representative. "2013 Special 301 Report." 2013.

United States Trade Representative. "2014 Special 301 Report." 2014.

United States Trade Representative. "2015 Special 301 Report." 2015.

United States Trade Representative. "2016 Special 301 Report." 2016.

- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." *The U.S.-China JCCT: Outcomes on Major U.S. Trade Concerns.* 21 April 2004. https://ustr.gov/archive/Document_Library/Fact_Sheets/2004/The_US-China_JCCT_Outcomes_on_Major_US_Trade_Concerns.html.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." The U.S. China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) Outcomes on Major U.S. Trade Concerns. 7 November 2005. https://ustr.gov/archive/Document_Library/Fact_Sheets/2005/The_US_China_Joint_Commission_on_Commerce_Trade_(JCCT)_Outcomes_on_Major_US_Trade_Concerns.html.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." 21st U.S.-CHINA JOINT COMMISSION ON COMMERCE AND TRADE Fact Sheet. 15 December 2010. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2010/21st-us-china-joint-commission-commerce-and-trade.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." 2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade Outcomes. November 2011. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2011/november/2011-us-china-joint-commission-commerce-and-trade-ou.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." U.S. FACT SHEET: 25th U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade. December 2014. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2014/december/us-fact-sheet-25th-us-china-joint.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." U.S. Fact Sheet: 26th U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade. November 2015. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2015/november/us-fact-sheet-26th-us-china-joint.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." U.S. Fact Sheet for the 27th U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade.

- November 2016. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2016/november/us-fact-sheet-27th-us-china-joint.
- —. "Executive Office of the President, United States Trade Representative." 24th U.S. China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade Fact Sheet. December 2013. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2013/December/JCCT-outcomes.
- United States Trade Representative. "Out-of-Cycle Review of Notorious Markets." 2012.
- United States Trade Representative. "Out-of-Cycle Review of Notorious Markets." 2013.
- —. Special 301. t.thn. https://ustr.gov/issue-areas/intellectual-property/Special-301.
- US Department of State (USDS). "Intellectual property: Memorandum of Understanding between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China." 1992.
- US Department of Treasury. "Press Room." *Fact Sheet Creation of the U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue.* 20 September 2006. https://web.archive.org/web/20090616041842/http://USTReas.gov:80/press/releases/hp107.htm.
- —. "Press Room." The First U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue December 14-15, Beijing Fact Sheet. 15 December 2006. https://web.archive.org/web/20090830084416/http://USTReas.gov/press/releases/hp205.htm.
- US House of Representatives. *Congress Profiles | US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives.* t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/107th/.
- —. Congress Profiles | US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn.
- —. Congress Profiles / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/108th/.
- —. Congress Profiles / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/109th/.
- —. Congress Profiles / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/110th/.
- —. Congress Profiles / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/111th/.
- —. Congress Profiles / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/112th/.

- —. Congress Profiles / US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/113th/.
- —. Congress Profiles | US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. t.thn. https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/114th/.
- Ware, Alan. "The Dynamics of Two-party Politics: Party Structures and the Management of Competition." Dalam *The Dynamics of Two-party Politics: Party Structures and the Management of Competition*, oleh Alan Ware, 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- World Trade Organization. *Dispute Settlement the Disputes DS362*. t.thn. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds362_e.htm.
- —. DISPUTE SETTLEMENT: LEGAL TEXT Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes. t.thn.

 https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/dsu_e.htm#21.
- —. *WTO | Dispute Settlement the Disputes DS363*. t.thn. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds363_e.htm.
- —. *WTO | Dispute Settlement the Disputes DS363*. t.thn. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds363_e.htm.
- —. "WTO | Intellectual Property (TRIPS) Agreement Text Standards." *URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT: TRIPS Part I General Provisions and Basic Principles.* t.thn. https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/27-trips_03_e.htm.
- —. "WTO | Intellectual Property (TRIPS) Agreement Text Standards." *URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT: TRIPS Part II Standards concerning the Availability, Scope and Use of Intellectual Property Rights Sections 1 and 2.* t.thn. https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/27-trips_04_e.htm#2.
- —. "WTO | Intellectual Property (TRIPS) Agreement Text Standards." *URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT: TRIPS Part II Standards concerning the Availability, Scope and Use of Intellectual Property Rights Sections 5 and 6.* t.thn. https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/27-trips_04c_e.htm.
- Zelizer, Julian E. *The Presidency of Barack Obama A First Historical Assessment.*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.
- —. The Presidency of George W. Bush A First Historical Assessment . Princeton: Princeton University Press, t.thn.