

Duke University
Political Science 213
Theories of International Political Economy
Fall 2005

Wed 2:50-5:20
Trent, Room 039

Prof. Tim Büthe
Dept. of Political Science
309 Perkins Library

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office hours: Wed 1:30 - 2:30pm

Purpose:

PS 213 is a seminar on the theories of international political economy. We will systematically examine theoretical explanations for why countries open their markets to international trade in some products, but not others; why governments sometime use tariffs but at other times non-tariff barriers to protect domestic producers; why many countries have removed restriction on capital in- and outflows in recent years; what the consequences are of economic globalization, especially increased financial openness; and whether democracy helps or hinders economic development. We will also examine more general questions, such as: What is the role of domestic and/or international political institutions in the international political economy? As part of our discussions, we will consider how well the various theoretical arguments are supported empirically by the authors' own empirical research or otherwise—and how the research design might be improved to allow more systematic assessments of competing claims. The main focus of the seminar will be the analysis of the works we read *as theory*: What are the assumptions? Do the hypotheses logically follow from those assumptions? Are they compelling? What is the stipulated causal mechanism? What exactly is the *explanandum*? What alternative explanations might there be for this phenomenon? Etc.

A central concern of international *political* economy is to understand why the world often appears not to work as basic neoclassical economic models suggest it should. Consequently, prior familiarity with the central concepts and basic models of international economics, such as the notion of comparative advantage and the Ricardian and specific factors models of trade, is highly recommended. PS213 also *presumes* basic empirical knowledge at the level of at least PS113 about current political-economic issues and the history of the international political economy, including the major institutions of trade and finance, such as the GATT/WTO, IMF, and the World Bank. Students who would like to brush up on these issues should consult the recommended readings for week 1. PS213 is geared primarily toward PhD students in Political Science, but is open to others, including qualified undergraduates, with permission of the instructor.

Requirements

Active and thoughtful participation in the seminar discussion—including the ability to listen—are an essential part of this course and will count for 20% of the grade. Since we will be a large group, I may in the interest of fairness call on students who seem not to have had an opportunity to participate in the discussion.

Students will write two short papers, each counting for 20% of the grade, during the course of the semester. One of the short papers should be a careful theoretical critique of a single major work based on a close reading, keeping in mind Imre Lakatos dictum that "the first stage of any serious criticism of a scientific theory is to reconstruct, improve its logical deductive articulation."^{*} The other short paper should address a broader issue or debate, drawing on all pertinent required readings (usually primarily from a single week). Each student may choose his or her own topic for these papers, but the chosen

^{*} Lakatos, Imre. "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes." In *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge: Proceedings of the International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science, 1965*, edited by Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974: 91-196, 128.

topics should focus mainly on the issues and required readings for this course. The papers are due at the beginning of class for which the discussed readings are assigned. Each student may choose the order of the two papers, but they must be written for different weeks and one paper must be written at the latest for week 6. These papers should be 6-8 double-spaced pages in length, following standard formatting and referencing guidelines (maximum length is 2,000 words of text incl. footnotes and 10 pages max. incl. references). Each essay should be paginated and stapled, contain an un-numbered title page (which should be the only place where your name appears), repeat the title at the top of the first page of text, and report the word count (incl. notes) at the end of the essay.

In addition, there will be one written exercise at the end of the course (40% of the grade), consisting of two broad questions selected at random from the IPE section of past qualifying exams. Possible questions will be distributed in advance; the two actual questions will be selected at the end of the last class, with responses (4-6 double-spaced pages per question) due the next day. Graduate students who want to fulfill the seminar paper requirement based on this course may write a seminar paper instead of the final written exercise, with permission of the instructor. Those who intend to exercise this option should submit a paper proposal no later than Oct.7. All written work must be done individually, but you may discuss your topic and ideas in advance with your peers, as long as they are individually acknowledged in the paper.

Readings

Many of the required readings are journal articles, which should be available to you online via Duke's electronic journal holdings or bibliographic databases (online); some other readings are on electronic reserves (e-res), and a few unpublished manuscripts are accessible only via the course website (cws) with access restricted to students enrolled in the class. All books from which we read any chapters have been placed on reserve at Perkins library; some of these books have additionally been ordered at Duke's Textbook Store (indicated by an asterisk below). I highly recommend those books, but buy only those you want.

1. Conceptualizing Alternative Approaches and Assessing Theoretical Work in IPE (Aug. 29, 3:30pm)

NOTE: Since Wed, Aug.31 is the first day of the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, we will have an advance make-up meeting for PS213 on Monday, Aug.29. It will only be a brief introductory meeting, from 3:30 until about 4:15pm in Room 136 Social Sciences, during which we will have little time to discuss the selections below; I nonetheless highly recommend that you read them, as they will prove useful throughout the remainder of the semester.

Alternative Approaches to IPE

- e-res Frieden, Jeffrey A. and Lisa L. Martin. "International Political Economy: Global and Domestic Interactions." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner. New York: W. W. Norton for the American Political Science Association, 2002: 118-146.
- e-res Frieden, Jeffrey A. and David A. Lake. "Introduction." In Frieden and Lake, eds. *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*. 2nd edition. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991: 5-11.
- online Tickner, J. Ann. "Three Models of Man: Gendered Perspectives on Global Economic Security." In *Gender in International Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992: 67-96. [online via CIAO]
- * Gilpin, Robert. "Chapter Two: The Nature of Political Economy." In *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001: 25-45.
- cws Abdelal, Rawi, Mark Blyth and Craig Parsons. "Constructivist Political Economy." In Abdelal, Blyth, and Parsons, eds. *Constructivist Political Economy*. Unpublished Manuscript, August 2005.
- e-res Peterson, V. Spike. "Context and Objectives" In *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Reproductive, Productive, and Virtual Economies*. London: Routledge, 2003: 1-20.
- e-res North, Douglass C. "Chapter 1: The Issues." [and] "Chapter 2: An Introduction to the Structure of Economies." *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1981: 3-19.

Assessing Theoretical Work in IPE

- * King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. In *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: esp. sections 1.1, 1.2.0–1.2.3, 1.3.3, 1.3.4; 2.1.2, 2.2, 2.6, 2.7; 3 (all) ; 4.1, 4.3, and 4.4. [pp. 3-27, 31-33; 42f, 46-49, 55-71; 75-95, 99-114; 118-121, 122f, 128-149].
- * Collier, David, Henry E. Brady and Jason Seawright, eds. "Critiques, Responses, and Trade-Offs" [and] "Sources of Leverage in Causal Inference: Toward an Alternative View of Methodology." In *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by Henry E. Brady and David Collier. Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2004: 195-227; 229-266.
- online Thomson, William. "The Young Person's Guide to Writing Economic Theory." *Journal of Economic Literature* vol.37 no.1 (March 1999): 157-183.

Recommended: Theory

- Grieco, Joseph M. and G. John Ikenberry. *State Power and World Markets: The International Political Economy*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2003, esp. chs. 2 & 3.
- * Przeworski, Adam. *States and Markets: A Primer in Political Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Krugman, Paul R. and Maurice Obstfeld. *International Economics: Theory and Policy*. 6th edition. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 2003.

Recommended: Empirics

- * Spero, Joan Edelman and Jeffrey A. Hart. *The Politics of International Economic Relations*. 6th edition. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2003.
- Hoekman, Bernard M. and Michael M. Kostecki. *The Political Economy of the World Trading System: The WTO and Beyond*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Jackson, John H. *The World Trading System: Law and Policy of International Economic Relations*. 2nd edition. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997.
- Eichengreen, Barry. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Gilpin, Robert. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

I also highly recommend a subscription to the *Financial Times* (at greatly reduced rates for students from <http://news.ft.com/Education/Portal/>) to keep up with current international political and economic affairs.

Tue, 6 Sep 2005, 7:00 - 8:30pm

Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity & Democratic Governance
 Prof. Michael Tomz, Stanford University
 "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach"
 Perkins Library, Breedlove Room

2. Trade I: International and Transnational Explanations (Sep. 7)

- e-res Smith, Adam. "Excerpts from *The Wealth of Nations*." In *International Political Economy*, edited by C. Roe Goddard, Patrick Cronin and Kishore C. Dash. 2nd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003: 33-47.
- e-res Hamilton, Alexander. "Excerpts from *Report on Manufacturers*." In Goddard *et al*, 2003: 85-98.
- e-res Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. "Excerpts from *Capital and Communist Manifesto*." In Goddard *et al*, 2003: 151-165.
- e-res Lenin, V. I. [Excerpts from:] "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism." (First published as a pamphlet in 1916.) In *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*, edited by Jeffrey A. Frieden and David A. Lake. 3rd edition. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995: 110-119.
- e-res Lazer, David. "The Free Trade Epidemic of the 1860s and Other Outbreaks of Economic Discrimination." *World Politics* vol.51 no.4 (July 1999): 447-483.
- online Krasner, Stephen D. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* vol.28 no.3 (April 1976): 317-347.

- e-res Krasner, Stephen D. *Defending the National Interest: Raw Material Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978: chs. 1-3. [pp. 5-90]
- online Gowa, Joanne. "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and Free Trade." *American Political Science Review* vol.83 no.4 (December 1989): 1245-1256.
- online Lake, David A. "Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?" *International Studies Quarterly* vol.37 no.4 (December 1993): 459-489.
- e-res Gruber, Lloyd. "Power Politics and the Free Trade Bandwagon." *Comparative Political Studies* vol.34 no.7 (2001): 703-741.
- online Gowa, Joanne and Edward D. Mansfield. "Alliances, Imperfect Markets, and Major-Power Trade." *International Organization* vol.58 no.4 (Fall 2004): 775-805.

Recommended:

- Russett, Bruce. "The Mysterious Case of Vanishing Hegemony; or: Is Mark Twain Really Dead?" *International Organization* vol.39 no.2 (Spring 1985): 207-231.
- Grunberg, Isabelle. "Exploring the 'Myth' of Hegemonic Stability." *International Organization* vol.44 no.4 (Autumn 1990): 431-471.
- Keohane, Robert O. "Problematic Lucidity: Stephen Krasner's 'State Power and the Structure of International Trade'." *World Politics* vol.50 no.1 (October 1997): 150-170.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Eric Reinhardt. "Multilateral Determinants of Regionalism: The Effects of GATT/WTO on the Formation of Preferential Trading Arrangements." *International Organization* vol.57 no.4 (Fall 2003): 829-862.

3. Trade II: Transnational and Domestic Explanations (Sep. 14)

- * Milner, Helen V. *Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988: chs. 1, 2, 6-8. [pp. 3-44; 222-289]
- * Hiscox, Michael J. *International Trade and Political Conflict: Commerce, Coalitions, and Mobility*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002: chs. 1-3, 4, 7, 9-10, 13. [pp. 3-41; 45-70; 96-103; 114-130; 161-164]
- online Epstein, David and Sharyn O'Halloran. "The Partisan Paradox and the U.S. Tariff." *International Organization* vol.50 no.2 (Spring 1996): 301-324.
- online Goldstein, Judith. "The Impact of Ideas on Trade Policy: The Origins of U.S. Agricultural and Manufacturing Policies." *International Organization* vol.43 no.1 (Winter 1989): 31-71.
- online Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." *International Organization* vol.56 no.3 (Summer 2002): 477-514.
- e-res Alt, James E., et al. "The Political Economy of International Trade: Enduring Puzzles and an Agenda for Inquiry." *Comparative Political Studies* vol.29 no.6 (December 1996): 689-717.
- e-res Hogenboom, Barbara. "Co-operation and Discord: NGOs and the NAFTA." In *Non-State Actors in International Relations*, edited by Bas Arts, Math Noortmann, and Bob Reinalda. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001: 177-193.

Recommended:

- Rogowski, Ronald. *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics* vol.2 no.1 (March 1990): 1-23.
- McGillivray, Fiona and Alastair Smith. "The Impact of Leadership Turnover on Trading Relations Between States." *International Organization* vol.58 no.3 (Summer 2004): 567-600.
- Milner, Helen V. and Benjamin Judkins. "Partisanship, Trade Policy, and Globalization: Is There a Left-Right Divide on Trade Policy?" *International Studies Quarterly* vol.48 no.1 (March 2004): 95-119.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. and Timothy J. McKeown. "Selection and Influence: Interest Groups and Congressional Voting on Trade Policy." *International Organization* vol.57 no.3 (Summer 2003): 519-549.
- Milner, Helen V. and Keiko Kubota. "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries." *International Organization* vol.59 no.1 (Winter 2005): 107-143.
- Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Free to Trade: Democracies, Autocracies, and International Trade." *American Political Science Review* vol.94 no.2 (June 2000): 305-321.
- Dai, Xinyuan. "Political Regimes and International Trade: The Democratic Difference Revisited." *American Political Science Review* vol.96 no.1 (March 2002): 159-165.

Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Replication, Realism, and Robustness: Analyzing Political Regimes and International Trade." *American Political Science Review* vol.96 no.1 (March 2002): 167-169.

McGillivray, Fiona. *Privileging Industry: The Comparative Politics of Trade and Industrial Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004: esp. chs. 1-2, 6.

4. The Politics of Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade: Standards & Regulations (Sep. 21)

online Ray, Edward John. "Changing Patterns of Protectionism: The Fall of Tariffs and the Rise in Non-Tariff Barriers." *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business* (Evanston, IL) vol.8 no.2 (Fall 1987): 285-327.

online Mansfield, Edward D. and Marc L. Busch. "The Political Economy of Nontariff Barriers: A Cross-National Analysis." *International Organization* vol.49 no.4 (Autumn 1995): 723-749.

online Glaeser, Edward L. and Andrei Shleifer. "The Rise of the Regulatory State." *Journal of Economic Literature* vol.41 no.2 (June 2003): 401-425.

e-res Farrell, Joseph and Garth Saloner. "Competition, Compatibility and Standards: The Economics of Horses, Penguins and Lemmings." In *Product Standardization and Competitive Strategy*, edited by H. Landis Gabel: Elsevier Science Publishers, 1987.

e-res Egan, Michelle. "International Standardization, Corporate Strategy and Regional Markets." In *Organized Business and the New Global Order*, edited by Justin Greenwood and Henry Jacek. New York: St. Martin's Press for the International Political Science Association, 2000: 204-222.

online Krasner, Stephen D. "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier." *World Politics* vol.43 no.3 (April 1991): 336-366.

online Mattli, Walter and Tim Bütthe. "Setting International Standards: Technological Rationality or Primacy of Power?" *World Politics* vol.56 no.1 (October 2003): 1-42.

e-res Raustiala, Kal. "Domestic Institutions and International Regulatory Cooperation: Comparative Responses to the Convention on Biological Diversity." *World Politics* vol.49 no.4 (July 1997): 482-509.

Recommended:

Obstfeld, Maurice and Kenneth Rogoff. "The Six Major Puzzles in International Macroeconomics: Is There a Common Cause?" *NBER Working Paper* no.7777, July 2000.

Hummels, David. *Time as a Trade Barrier*. Unpublished Manuscript, Purdue University, July 2001. [available from David Hummels' website].

Grieco, Joseph M. *Cooperation Among Nations: Europe, America, and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Bhagwati, Jagdish and Robert E. Hudec, eds. *Fair Trade and Harmonization*. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.

Stigler, George J. "The Theory of Economic Regulation." *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* vol.2 no.1 (Spring 1971): 3-21.

Majone, Giandomenico. "From the Positive to the Regulatory State: Causes and Consequences of Changes in the Mode of Governance." *Journal of Public Policy* vol.17 no.2 (1997): 139-167.

Braithwaite, John and Peter Drahos, eds. *Global Business Regulation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Vogel, David. "The Hare and the Tortoise Revisited: The New Politics of Consumer and Environmental Regulation in Europe." *British Journal of Political Science* vol.33 no.4 (October 2003): 557-580.

Vogel, David and Robert A. Kagan, eds. *Dynamics of Regulatory Change: How Globalization Affects National Regulatory Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Murphy, Dale D. *The Structure of Regulatory Competition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Kindleberger, Charles. "Standards as Public, Collective and Private Goods." *Kyklos* vol.36 no.3 (1983): 377-396.

Casella, Alesandra. "Product Standards and International Trade: Harmonization through Private Coalitions?" *Kyklos* vol.54 no.2-3 (2001): 243-264.

Newman, Abraham L. and David Bach. "Self-Regulatory Trajectories in the Shadow of Public Power: Resolving Digital Dilemmas in Europe and the United States." *Governance* vol.17 no.3 (July 2004): 387-413.

Potoski, Matthew and Aseem Prakash. "Regulatory Convergence in Nongovernmental Regimes? Cross-National Adoption of ISO 14001 Certifications." *Journal of Politics* vol.66 no.3 (August 2004): 885-905.

Loya, Thomas and John Boli. "Standardization in the World Polity: Technical Rationality over Power." In *Constructing World Culture: International Non-Governmental Organizations since 1875*, edited by John Boli and George Thomas. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999: 169-197.

Keleman, Daniel R. and Eric C. Sibbitt. "The Globalization of American Law." *International Organization* vol.58 no.1 (Winter 2004): 103-136.

Tue, 27 Sep 2005, 7:00 - 8:30pm
Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity & Democratic Governance
 Prof. Paul Collier, Oxford University (Economics)
 "Democracy and Resource Rents"
 Rhodes Conference Room, Sanford Institute

5. Institutions & Cooperation I (Sep. 28)

- * Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984: chs. 4-6.
- online Grieco, Joseph M. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* vol.42 no.3 (Summer 1988): 485-507.
- online Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* vol.19 no.3 (Winter 1994/95): 5-49.
- online Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* vol.20 no.1 (Summer 1995): 39-51.
- online Wendt, Alexander. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* vol.20 no.1 (Summer 1995): 71-81.
- online Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol.42 no.1 (February 1998): 3-32.
- online Lipson, Charles. "Why Are Some International Agreements Informal?" *International Organization* vol.45 no.4 (Autumn 1991): 495-538.
- online Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the Good News About Compliance Good News About Cooperation?" *International Organization* vol.50 no.3 (Autumn 1996): 379-406.
- online Dai, Xinyuan. "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *International Organization* vol.59 no.2 (Spring 2005): 363-398.
- online Rosendorff, B. Peter and Helen V. Milner. "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape." *International Organization* vol.55 no.4 (Autumn 2001): 829-857.
- online Simmons, Beth A. "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." *American Political Science Review* vol.94 no.4 (December 2000): 819-835.
- online Fearon, James D. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation." *International Organization* vol.52 no.2 (Spring 1998): 269-305.
- cws von Stein, Jana. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review*, vol.99 no.4 (forthcoming, November 2005).
- online Ikenberry, G. John. "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Post-war Order." *International Security* vol.23 no.3 (Winter 1998/99): 43-78.
- online Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "The Rational Design of International Institutions" and "Rational Design: Looking Back to Move Forward." *International Organization* vol.55 no.4 (Autumn 2001): 761-799; 1051-1082.

Recommended: International Institutions, General Debate

- Martin, Lisa and Beth Simmons. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* vol.52 no.4 (Autumn 1998): 729-757.
- Baldwin, David A., ed. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger. *Theories of International Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . "Integrating Theories of International Regimes." *Review of International Studies* vol.26 no.1 (January 2000): 3-33.
- Oye, Kenneth A., ed. *Cooperation Under Anarchy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Kahler, Miles. "Evolution, Choice, and International Change." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, edited by David A. Lake and Robert Powell. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999: 165-196.
- Axelrod, Robert. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Harper Collins: Basic Books, 1984.

Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* vol.42 no.3 (Summer 1988): 427-460.

Duffield, John S. "The Limits of 'Rational Design'." *International Organization* vol.57 no.2 (Spring 2003): 411-430.

Koremenos, Barbara and Duncan Snidal. "Moving Forward, One Step at a Time." *International Organization* vol.57 no.2 (Spring 2003): 431-444.

Tue, 4 Oct 2005, 7:00 - 8:30pm
Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity & Democratic Governance
 Prof. Shanker Satyanath, New York University
 "Capital Controls, Political Institutions, and Economic Growth"
 John Hope Franklin Center, Room 240

6. Institutions & Cooperation II (Oct. 5)

- online Maggi, Giovanni. "The Role of Multilateral Institutions in International Trade Cooperation." *American Economic Review* vol.89 no.1 (March 1999): 190-214.
- online Rose, Andrew. "Do We Really Know That the WTO Increases Trade?" *American Economic Review* vol.94 no.1 (March 2004): 98-114.
- cws Tomz, Michael, Judith Goldstein, and Douglas Rivers. "Membership Has Its Privileges: Understanding the Effects of GATT and the WTO on World Trade." (Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, January 2005).
- online Mitchell, Ronald B. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* vol.48 no.3 (Summer 1994): 425-458.
- e-res Downs, George W. and David M. Rocke. "The Impact of Uncertainty." In *Optimal Imperfection? Domestic Uncertainty and Institutions in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995: 3-26.
- online Milner, Helen V. and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Democratic Politics and International Trade Negotiations: Elections and Divided Government as Constraints on Trade Liberalization." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol.41 no.1 (February 1997): 117-146.
- * Martin, Lisa. *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000: pp. 3-5, 13-20 + chs. 2, 5, 8. [pp. 21-52; 112-146; 190-202]
- online Mattli, Walter and Tim Büthe. "Setting International Standards: Technological Rationality or Primacy of Power?" *World Politics* vol.56 no.1 (October 2003): 1-42.
- e-res Pevehouse, Jon C. "Democratization, Credible Commitments, and Joining International Organizations." In *Locating the Proper Authorities: The Interaction of Domestic and International Institutions*, edited by Daniel W. Drezner. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002: 25-48.

Recommended: How Institutions Matter in World Politics

- Cortell, Andrew P. and James W. Davis. "How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.40 no.4 (December 1996): 451-478.
- Milner, Helen V. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Davis, Christina L. "International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization." *American Political Science Review* vol.98 no.1 (February 2004): 153-169.
- Kelley, Judith. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* vol.58 no.3 (Summer 2004): 425-457.
- Tomz, Michael. "Do International Agreements Make Reforms More Credible? The Impact of NAFTA on Mexican Stock Prices." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., 1997.
- Steinberg, Richard H. "In the Shadow of Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* vol.56 no.2 (Spring 2002): 339-374.

7. International Finance I: Financial Liberalization (Oct. 12)

- online Broz, Lawrence J. and Jeffrey A. Frieden. "The Political Economy of International Monetary Relations." *Annual Review of Political Science* vol.4 (2001): 317-343.

Advanced Industrialized Countries

- online Goodman, John B. and Louis W. Pauly. "The Obsolescence of Capital Controls? Economic Management in an Age of Global Markets." *World Politics* vol.46 no.1 (October 1993): 50-82.
- online Cohen, Benjamin J. "Phoenix Risen: The Resurrection of Global Finance." *World Politics* vol.48 no.2 (January 1996): 268-296.
- online Quinn, Dennis P. and Carla Inclán. "The Origins of Financial Openness: A Study of Current and Capital Account Liberalization." *American Journal of Political Science* vol.41 no.3 (July 1997): 771-813.
- online McNamara, Kathleen. "Consensus and Constraints: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol.37 no.3 (September 1999): 455-476.

Developing Countries

- online Haggard, Stephan and Sylvia Maxfield. "The Political Economy of Financial Internationalization in the Developing World." *International Organization* vol.50 no.1 (Winter 1996): 35-68.
- online Lukauskas, Arvid J. and Susan Minushkin. "Explaining Styles of Financial Market Opening in Chile, Mexico, South Korea, and Turkey." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.44 no.4 (December 2000): 695-723.
- online Simmons, Beth A. and Zachary Elkins. "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy." *American Political Science Review* vol.98 no.1 (February 2004): 171-189.

Recommended:

- Cohen, Benjamin J. "International Finance." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002: 429-447.
- Held, David, et al. "Shifting Patterns of Global Finance." In *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999: 189-235.

Tue, 18 Oct 2005, 7:00 - 8:30pm

Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity & Democratic Governance

Prof. Lawrence Broz, UC San Diego

"Changing IMF Quotas: The Role of the United States Congress"

Perkins Library, Breedlove Room

8. International Finance II: Exchange Rates; Lending & Debt (Oct. 19)

- online Frieden, Jeffrey A. "Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance." *International Organization* vol.45 no.4 (Autumn 1991): 425-451.
- e-res Eichengreen, Barry. "The Endogeneity of Exchange-Rate Regimes." In *Understanding Interdependence: The Macroeconomics of the Open Economy*, edited by Peter B. Kenen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995: 3-33.
- online Bernhard, William and David Leblang. "Democratic Institutions and Exchange Rate Commitments." *International Organization* vol.53 no.1 (Winter 1999): 71-97.
- cws Tomz, Michael. [Selections from:] *Sovereign Debt and International Cooperation: Reputational Reasons for Lending and Repayment* (prelim. title). Unpublished Manuscript, Stanford University, 2005.
- * Finnemore, Martha. "Sovereign Default and Military Intervention." *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003: 24-51.
- online Gould, Erica R. "Money Talks: Supplementary Financiers and International Monetary Fund Conditionality." *International Organization* vol.57 no.3 (Summer 2003): 551-586.
- cws Vreeland, James. "Institutional Determinants of IMF Agreements." (Unpublished manuscript, Yale University, February 2004).

Recommended:

- Lipson, Charles. "Bankers' Dilemmas: Private Cooperation in Rescheduling Sovereign Debts." *World Politics* vol.38 no.1 (October 1985): 200-225.

- Frieden, Jeffrey A. *Debt, Development, and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Rose, Andrew K. "One Reason Countries Pay their Debts: Renegotiation and International Trade." *Journal of Development Economics*, 2005 (forthcoming).
- Broz, J. Lawrence. "Congressional Politics of International Financial Rescues." *American Journal of Political Science* vol.49 no.3 (July 2005): 479-496.
- Leblang, David. "To Devalue or to Defend: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.47 no.4 (December 2003): 533-559.

9. Foreign Direct Investment and Multinational Corporations (Oct. 26)

- online dos Santos, Theotonio. "The Structure of Dependence." *American Economic Review* vol.60 no.2 (May 1970, Papers and Proceedings of the 82nd Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association): 231-236.
- online Grubert, Harry and J. Mutti. "Taxes, Tariffs, and Transfer Pricing in Multinational Corporate Decision Making." *Review of Economics and Statistics* vol.73 no.2 (May 1991): 285-293.
- online Blonigen, Bruce A. "A Review of the Empirical Literature on FDI Determinants." *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Papers Series No. 11299* (May 2005).
- online Jensen, Nathan M. "Democratic Governance and Multinational Corporations: Political Regimes and Inflows of Foreign Direct Investment." *International Organization* vol.57 no.3 (Summer 2003): 587-616.
- online Li, Quan and Adam Resnick. "Reversal of Fortunes: Democratic Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment Inflows to Developing Countries." *International Organization* vol.57 no.1 (Winter 2003): 175-211.
- cws Bütthe, Tim and Helen V. Milner. "The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment into Developing Countries: Increasing FDI through Policy Commitment via Trade Agreements and Investment Treaties?" Unpublished Manuscript, Duke and Princeton Universities, June 2005.
- cws Malesky, Edmund. "Straight Ahead on Red: The Mutually Reinforcing Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Local Autonomy in Vietnam." Unpublished Manuscript, University of California San Diego, July 2005.

Recommended:

- Caves, Richard E.. *Multinational Enterprise and Economic Analysis*. 2nd edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Dunning, John H. *Multinational Enterprises and the Global Economy*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1993.
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- Moran, Theodore H., Edward M. Graham, and Magnus Blomstrom. *Does Foreign Investment Promote Development?* Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2005.
- Fieldhouse, David. "A New Imperial System? The Role of the Multinational Corporation Reconsidered." In *Imperialism and After*, edited by Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel. London: Allen & Unwin, 1986: 225-240.
- Tarzi, Shah M. "Third World Governments and Multinational Corporations: Dynamics of Host's Bargaining Power." *International Relations* (London) vol.10 no.3 (May 1991): 237-249.
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- Smith, Jackie, Melissa Bolyard, and Anna Ippolito. "Human Rights and the Global Economy: A Response to Meyer." *Human Rights Quarterly* vol.21 no.1 (February 1999): 207-219.

10. Economic Development & Aid (Nov. 2)

- online Gourevitch, Peter A. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* vol.32 no.4 (Autumn 1978): 881-911.
- cws Weber, Max. "The Evolution of the Capitalist Spirit in the West." In *General Economic History*. First published München & Leipzig, 1922/23: 300-302.
- e-res Weber, Max. [Selections from] *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1976: 98; 102-106; 114-117; 170-178.
- e-res Evans, Peter. "The State as Problem and Solution: Predation, Embedded Autonomy, and Structural Change." In *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive*

Conflicts, and the State, edited by Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992: 139-181.

- online Doner, Richard F., Bryan K. Ritchie, and Dan Slater. "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective." *International Organization* vol.59 no.2 (Spring 2005): 327-361.
- e-res Boserup, Ester. "Economic Change and the Roles of Women." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, edited by Irene Tinker. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990: 14-24.
- online Sen, Amartya K. "Development Approaches: Contrasts and Convergence." In *Sustainable Human Development: Concepts and Priorities*, edited by Sudhir Anand and Amartya K. Sen. New York: United Nations Development Programme, 1994: 5-12. (online at: http://hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/ocational_papers/Oc8b.htm#two)
- online Rodrik, Dani, Arvind Subramanian, and Francesco Trebbi. "Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development." *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Papers Series* no.9305 (October 2002).
- online Goldsmith, Arthur A. "Foreign Aid and Statehood in Africa." *International Organization* vol.55 no.1 (Winter 2001): 123-148.
- online Dunning, Thad. "Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and Democracy in Africa." *International Organization* vol.58 no.2 (Spring 2004): 409-423.

Recommended:

- Durham, J. Benson. "Economic Growth and Institutions: Some Sensitivity Analyses, 1961-2000." *International Organization* vol.58 no.3 (Summer 2004): 485-529.
- Little, I. M. D., et al. "The Political Economy of Stabilization and Adjustment" [and] "Conclusion: The Lessons of Experience." In *Boom, Crisis, and Adjustment: The Macroeconomic Experience of Developing Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1993: 360-393; 394-404.
- Krasner, Stephen D. *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
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- Bates, Robert H. *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Sen, Amartya K. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf, 1999.
- Haggard, Stephan. *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Maxfield, Sylvia and Ben Ross Schneider, eds. *Business and the State in Developing Countries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Woo-Cumings, Meredith, ed. *The Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Burnside, Craig and David Dollar. "Aid, Policies, and Growth." *American Economic Review* vol.90 no.4 (2000): 847-868.
- Easterly, William, Ross Levine, and David Roodman. 2003. "New Data, New Doubts: Revisiting 'Aid, Policies, and Growth'." *World Bank Working Paper* no.26 (June 2003).
- Williams, David. "Aid and Sovereignty: Quasi-States and the International Financial Institutions." *Review of International Studies* vol.26 no.4 (October 2000): 557-573.
- Knack, Stephen. "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly* vol.48 no.1 (March 2004): 251-266.

Tue, 8 Nov 2005, 7:00 - 8:30pm
Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity & Democratic Governance
 Prof. Kal Raustiala, UCLA (Law)
 "The Evolution of Territoriality in an Age of Globalization"
 Perkins Library, Breedlove Room

11. Globalization and Its Consequences in Advanced Industrialized Countries (Nov. 9)

- e-res Bates, Robert H. and Da-Hsiang Donald Lien. "A Note on Taxation, Development, and Representative Government." *Politics and Society* vol.14 no.1 (1985): 53-70.

- * Hirschman, Albert O. *Exit, Voice, And Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970: esp. chs. 1-3, 7, 9. [pp.1-43;76-105;120-126]
- online Ruggie, John Gerard. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." In *International Regimes*, edited by Stephen D. Krasner. (First published in *International Organization* vol.36 no.2 (Spring 1982): 379-415.). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983: 195-231.
- online Hays, Jude C., Sean D. Ehrlich, and Clint Peinhardt. "Government Spending and Public Support for Trade in the OECD: An Empirical Test of the Embedded Liberalism Thesis." *International Organization* vol.59 no.2 (Spring 2005): 473-494.
- online Rodrik, Dani. "Why Do More Open Economies Have Bigger Governments?" *Journal of Political Economy* vol.106 no.5 (October 1998): 997-1032.
- e-res Garrett, Geoffrey and Deborah Mitchell. "Globalization, Government Spending, and Taxation in the OECD." *European Journal of Political Research* vol.39 no.1 (2001): 145-177.
- online Andrews, David M. "Capital Mobility and State Autonomy: Toward a Structural Theory of International Monetary Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.38 no.2 (June 1994): 193-218.
- online Mosley, Layna. "Room to Move: International Financial Markets and National Welfare States." *International Organization* vol.54 no.4 (Autumn 2000): 737-773.
- online Basinger, Scott J. and Mark Hallerberg. "Remodeling the Competition for Capital: How Domestic Politics Erases the Race to the Bottom." *American Political Science Review* vol.98 no.2 (May 2004): 261-276.
- e-res Peterson, V. Spike. "Context and Objectives" [and] "Theory Matters." In *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Reproductive, Productive, and Virtual Economies*. London: Routledge, 2003: 1-20; 21-43.
- e-res Thomson, Janice E. and Stephen D. Krasner. "Global Transactions and the Consolidation of Sovereignty." In *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges*, edited by Ernst-Otto Czempiel and James N. Rosenau. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989: 195-219.

Recommended:

- Cameron, David R. "The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* vol.72 no.4 (December 1978): 1243-1261.
- Rodrik, Dani. *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1997.
- Schnietz, Karen E. "The Reaction of Private Interests to the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act." *International Organization* vol.57 no.1 (Winter 2003): 213-233.
- Pitruzzello, Salvatore. "Trade Globalization, Economic Performance, and Social Protection: Nineteenth Century British Laissez-Faire and Post-World War II U.S.-Embedded Liberalism." *International Organization* vol.58 no.4 (Fall 2004): 705-744.
- Verdier, Daniel. "Domestic Responses to Free Trade and Free Finance in OECD Countries." *Business and Politics* vol.1 no.3 (November 1999).
- Korpi, Walter and Joakim Palme. "New Politics and Class Politics in the Context of Austerity and Globalization: Welfare State Regress in 18 countries, 1975-1995." *American Political Science Review* vol.97 no.3 (August 2003): 425-446.
- Oatley, Thomas. "How Constraining is Mobile Capital? The Partisan Hypothesis in an Open Economy." *American Journal of Political Science* vol.43 no.4 (October 1999): 1003-1027.
- Clark, William Roberts and Mark Hallerberg. "Mobile Capital, Domestic Institutions, and Electorally Induced Monetary and Fiscal Policy." *American Political Science Review* vol.94 no.2 (June 2000): 323-346.
- Feenstra, Robert C., ed. *The Impact of International Trade on Wages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

12. Consequences of Globalization in Developing Countries (Nov. 16)

- online Adserà, Alcía and Charles Boix. "Trade, Democracy, and the Size of the Public Sector: The Political Underpinnings of Openness." *International Organization* vol.56 no.2 (Spring 2002): 229-262.
- cws Mares, Isabela. "Social Protection Around the World: External Insecurity, State Capacity and Domestic Political Cleavages." *Comparative Political Studies* vol.38 no.6 (August 2005): 623-651.
- online Rudra, Nita. "Globalization and the Decline of the Welfare State in Less-Developed Countries." *International Organization* vol.56 no.2 (Spring 2002): 411-445.
- online Wibbels, Erik and Moisés Arce. "Globalization, Taxation, and Burden-Shifting in Latin America." *International Organization* vol.57 no.1 (Winter 2003): 111-136.

- e-res Enloe, Cynthia. "On the Beach: Sexism and Tourism." In *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Updated edition (first published in 1989). Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000: 19-41.

Recommended:

- Prasad, Eswar, et al. "Effects of Financial Globalization on Developing Countries: Some Empirical Evidence." Mimeo, International Monetary Fund, 17 March 2003.

NOTE: No class on Wednesday, Nov. 23 (Thanksgiving Break).

Tue, 29 Nov 2005, 7:00 - 8:30pm
Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity & Democratic Governance
 Prof. Xinyuan Dai, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
 "The Power of Weak International Institutions"
 John Hope Franklin Center, Room 240

13. New Issues & Persistent Debates (Nov. 30)

International Environmental Politics

- online Wijkman, Per Magnus. "Managing the Global Commons." *International Organization* vol.36 no.3 (Summer 1982): 511-536.
- e-res deSombre, Elizabeth. "Introduction and Overview." *Domestic Sources of International Environmental Policy: Industry, Environmentalists, and U.S. Power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000: 1-17.
- online Haas, Peter M. "Do Regimes Matter? Epistemic Communities and Mediterranean Pollution Control." *International Organization* vol.43 no.3 (Summer 1989): 377-404.
- online Meyer, John W., et al. "A World Environmental Regime, 1870-1990." *International Organization* vol.51 no.4 (Autumn 1997): 623-651.
- e-res Clark, Ann Marie, Elisabeth J. Friedman, and Kathryn Hochstetler. "The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society: A Comparison of NGO Participation in UN World Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women." *World Politics* vol.51 no.1 (October 1998): 1-35.

Human Rights

- online Sikkink, Kathryn. "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America." *International Organization* vol.47 no.3 (Summer 1993): 411-443.

Non-State Actors in World Politics

- cws Bütthe, Tim. "Governance through Private Authority? Non-State Actors in World Politics." *Journal of International Affairs* vol.58 no.1 (Fall 2004): 281-290.

Intellectual Property Rights

- online Sell, Susan K. and Aseem Prakash. "Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.48 no.1 (March 2004): 143-175.

Unilateralism vs. Multilateralism

- online Krauthammer, Charles. "The Unipolar Moment Revisited." *The National Interest* no.70 (Winter 2002/03): 5-17.
- e-res Martin, Lisa. "Multilateral Organizations after the U.S.-Iraq War of 2003." In *The Iraq War and Its Consequences: Thoughts of Nobel Peace Laureates and Eminent Scholars*, edited by Irwin Abrams and Wang Gungwu. River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Publishing, 2003: 359-373.

Recommended, Environmental Politics:

- Zürn, Michael. "The Rise of International Environmental Politics: A Review of Current Research." *World Politics* vol.50 no.4 (July 1998): 617-649.

O'Neill, Kate. *Waste Trading Among Rich Nations: Building a Theory of Environmental Regulation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000.

Drezner, Daniel W. "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* vol.57 no.3 (Summer 2003): 643-659.

Marinov, Nikolay. "Why Cooperation Between Rivals is Hard to Restore but Easy to Sustain." Unpublished Manuscript, Stanford University, May 2004.

Recommended, Unilateralism vs. Multilateralism:

Martin, Lisa. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* vol.46 no.4 (Autumn 1992): 765-792.

Thursday, 1 December 2005, 6pm:
Final Written Exercise due

A central concern of international political economy is to understand why the world often appears not to work as basic neoclassical economic models suggest it should. Consequently, prior familiarity with the central concepts and basic models of international economics, such as the notion of comparative advantage and the Ricardian and specific factors models of trade, is highly recommended.Â "International Political Economy: Global and Domestic Interactions." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner. New York: W. W. Norton for the American Political Science Association, 2002: 118-146.

Global political economy : understanding the international economic order / Robert Gilpin with the assistance of Jean M. Gilpin. p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index.Â Distribution of Wealth and Economic Activities National Autonomy The Politics of International Regimes Theory of Hegemonic Stability Governance of the Global Economy Conclusion. FIVE. New Economic Theories.