

Politics 165A
Globalization and Governance in the Trading System
Fall 2007
Fridays 1:40-4:30 (Block S4)
Golding Judaic Center 107

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Office Hours:
Tuesday 1-3
Golding 120

Description

“Globalization” has become a popular buzzword of our time, and its economic features have inspired political debate, social protest, and international discord in recent years. This research seminar examines how globalization has affected society and politics, and how nations, groups, and individuals have responded to it. The course will focus on the globalization of the trading system, specifically the rules and authority of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and related international agencies; the policymaking functions of national political institutions, primarily in the United States; and the role and influence of firms, labor unions, citizen groups, and other private actors.

Prerequisites

Students should have taken Politics 15A, Introduction to International Relations, or a course on international economic issues such as Economics 8B, The Global Economy.

Admission Procedures

Signature of the instructor is required for admission to the course. The order of enrollment preference will be: 1). Politics and IGS majors, by graduation year; 2). Seniors and Juniors in other majors who have satisfied the prerequisites and completed at least two politics courses. Politics graduate students may also enroll. First-year students and students without prior coursework in international relations or political economy will not be admitted.

Course Requirements

The requirements for the course and the calculation of final grades are as follows:

- 1). Regular attendance and class participation (15%)
- 2). A discussion session presentation (10%)
- 3). A research paper (45%)
- 4). A research paper prospectus (10%)
- 5). A research paper presentation (20%)

Class Attendance and Participation (15%)

Because the course is a small, highly interactive research seminar, it is essential that you come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Class attendance, and the level and quality of your participation, will be the deciding factor in cases where the final grade is borderline.

Discussion Session Presentation (10%)

At each class meeting for which readings are assigned, one student will give a [presentation of the key issues raised in the topic for that week](#) and provide a critical analysis of the argument and methodology of the readings. Presentations must use PowerPoint. A sign-up sheet to schedule the discussion session presentations will be posted on my office door in Golding 120 on Monday, September 3 at 9am.

Research Paper (45%)

You must write a research paper of at least 20 pages. The research paper is due by 4pm on Monday, December 17. Completed papers must present a clear research question; a thesis statement; evidence to substantiate the thesis, drawn from class discussions, readings, and outside research; and complete citations of published work from which you obtained ideas and information. The general parameters of the assignment are as follows:

- 1). Papers must include a political economy component. You should focus on policy toward at least one type of cross-border economic activity or its effects, e.g. trade, exchange rates, capital flows, foreign direct investment, immigration, labor and environmental standards, pollution, etc.
- 2). Papers must include a clear research question that seeks to explain some political outcome or anomaly related to economic globalization.
- 3). Papers must involve outside research. You should consult scholarly articles and books, official government publications and websites, and other sources of information and data.

Research Paper Prospectus (10%)

A [prospectus of your research paper](#) is due at the start of class on October 12. In about 5 pages, it should present your research question and proposed explanation, and describe the sources you will consult and the evidence you will provide to substantiate your thesis.

Research Paper Presentation (20%)

[Research paper presentations](#) are scheduled for December 7. In about 15 minutes, you will discuss your research question, scholarly debates on the topic, and your findings using PowerPoint.

Grading

Assignments will be graded out of 100 points based on the following scale: A (93 and above); A- (90-92); B+ (87-89); B (83-86); B- (80-82); C+ (77-79); C (73-76); C- (70-72); D (65-69); F (less than 65). Final scores and grades will be computed in Microsoft Excel using the following formula: $SCORE = 0.15*ATTENDANCE/PARTICIPATION + 0.1*DISCUSSION/PRESENTATION + 0.45*PAPER + 0.1*PROSPECTUS + 0.2*RESEARCH/PRESENTATION$.

Disability Statement

If you need academic accommodations because of a documented disability, please make sure that I receive your letter of accommodation as soon as possible. For questions about documenting a disability or requesting academic accommodations, please contact Beth Rodgers-Kay in Academic Services at 6-3470.

Course Policies

A statement of [course policies regarding absences and late papers](#) can be found on [Latte](#). If your participation in intercollegiate athletic competition conflicts with any of the requirements for this course, please make sure to provide me with a letter from the Director of Athletics stating the dates of these conflicts.

Discussion Questions

Uploaded on [Latte](#) are discussion questions to accompany the weekly course readings; you are encouraged to consult these questions before starting the reading assignments.

Course Readings

You are expected to complete the course readings in advance of the class meeting for which they are assigned. Please note that the reading load is demanding– 120 pages per week, on average, with a few sessions as high as 140 pages– and plan ahead. You can purchase books at the [Brandeis University Bookstore](#) or online at [amazon.com](#); they are also on reserve at the Main Library. Course readings appear in the following sources:

Required Texts

John H. Barton, Judith L. Goldstein, Timothy E. Josling, and Richard H. Steinberg, *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO* (Princeton University Press, 2006). [HF1713 .E96 2006]

Robert Z. Lawrence, *Crimes and Punishments? Retaliation under the WTO* (Institute for International Economics, 2003). [HF1713 .L373 2003]

Kimberly Ann Elliott and Richard B. Freeman, *Can Labor Standards Improve under Globalization?* (Institute for International Economics, 2003). [HD6476 .E44 2003]

Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges* (Institute for International Economics, 2005). [HF1746 .H85 2005]

Electronic Readings

Electronic readings are indicated by a hyperlink. While these readings are distributed electronically, I expect you to print all of them. There is no Xeroxed, bound reader for the course, but you are welcome to share print-outs and form groups to save on printing costs. Readings available through LTS have a stable URL in the hyperlink, or you can use the bibliographic information to locate the journal issue in [e-Journals A-Z](#). Other readings are uploaded to [Latte](#); follow the hyperlink or find them in the “Files” button.

Course Schedule

August 31 Introduction: Globalization and Governance

September 7 Creating the Trade Regime: The GATT

- WTO website: [Principles of the Trading System](#) and [The GATT Years](#).
- John H. Barton et al., *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*, Chap. 1-2: 1-60.
- Douglas A. Irwin, [The GATT in Historical Perspective](#), *American Economic Review* 85:2 (May 1995): 323-328.
- Thomas W. Zeiler, [Managing Protectionism: American Trade Policy in the Early Cold War](#), *Diplomatic History* 22:3 (Summer 1998): 337-360.
- Douglas A. Irwin, [The GATT's Contribution to Economic Recovery in Postwar Europe](#), *Europe's Post-War Recovery*, edited by Barry Eichengreen (Cambridge University Press, 1995): 127-150.

September 14 Rosh Hashanah (No Class)

September 21 Strengthening the Trade Regime: The WTO

- WTO website: [What Is the World Trade Organization?](#); [The Uruguay Round](#); and [Developing Countries: Overview](#).
- John H. Barton et al., *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*, Chap. 6-8: 153-217.
- John Odell and Barry Eichengreen, [The United States, the ITO, and the WTO: Exit Options, Agent Slack, and Presidential Leadership](#), *The WTO as an International Organization*, edited by Anne O. Krueger (University of Chicago Press, 1998): 181-209.
- Judith Goldstein and Joanne Gowa, [U.S. National Power and the Postwar Trading Regime](#), *World Trade Review* 1:2 (July 2002): 153-170.

September 28 Dispute Settlement in the WTO

- WTO website: [Settling Disputes: A Unique Contribution](#).
- Susan Esserman and Robert Howse, [The WTO on Trial](#), *Foreign Affairs* 82:1 (January-February 2003): 130-140.
- John H. Barton et al., *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*, Chap. 3: 61-90.
- Robert Z. Lawrence, *Crimes and Punishments? Retaliation under the WTO* (Institute for International Economics, 2003), entire book.

October 5 Trade Rules and Non-Tariff Barriers

- WTO website: [Anti-Dumping, Subsidies, Safeguards](#) and [Textiles: Back in the Mainstream](#).
- N. Gregory Mankiw and Phillip L. Swagel, [Antidumping: The Third Rail of Trade Policy](#), *Foreign Affairs* 84:4 (July-August 2005): 107-119.
- John H. Barton et al., *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*, Chap. 4: 91-102 and 108-124.
- Robert J. Read, [The Political Economy of Trade Protection: The Determinants and Welfare Impact of the 2002 US Emergency Steel Safeguard Measures](#), *World Economy* 28:8 (August 2005): 1119-1137.
- Dan Ikenson, [Threadbare Excuses: The Textile Industry's Campaign to Preserve Import Restraints](#), Cato Center Trade Policy Analysis #25, October 2003.
- Edward Gresser, [America's Hidden Tax on the Poor: The Case for Reforming U.S. Tariff Policy](#), PPI Policy Report, 25 March 2002, and [Toughest on the Poor: Tariffs, Taxes, and the Single Mom](#), PPI Policy Report, 10 September 2002.

October 12 Environmental Standards and Consumer Safety

- WTO website: [Standards and Safety](#) and [The Environment: A New High Profile](#). Also read the text of [GATT Article XX](#).
- Michael M. Weinstein and Steve Charnovitz, [The Greening of the WTO](#), *Foreign Affairs* 80:6 (November-December 2001): 147-156.
- John H. Barton et al., *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*, Chap. 5: 125-152.
- Alasdair R. Young, [Political Transfer and ‘Trading Up’? Transatlantic Trade in Genetically Modified Foods and U.S. Politics](#), *World Politics* 55:4 (July 2003): 457-484.
- David Vogel, [The Politics of Trade and Environment in the United States](#), BRIE Working Paper #94, July 1999.
- Duncan Brack and Thomas Branczik, [Trade and Environment in the WTO: After Cancún](#), Briefing Paper #9, Royal Institute of International Affairs, February 2004.
- David Vogel, [Environmental Regulation and Economic Integration](#), *Journal of International Economic Law* 3:2 (June 2000): 265-279.

October 19 International Labor Standards

- WTO website: [Labor Standards: Highly Controversial](#).
- Stephen S. Golub, [Are International Labor Standards Needed to Prevent Social Dumping?](#) *Finance and Development* 34:4 (December 1997): 20-23.
- Kimberly Ann Elliott and Richard B. Freeman, *Can Labor Standards Improve under Globalization?* (Institute for International Economics, 2003), entire book.

October 26 Negotiating NAFTA

- Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges*, Chap. 1: 1-68.
- Frederick M. Abbott, [NAFTA and the Legalization of World Politics: A Case Study](#), *International Organization* 54:3 (Summer 2000): 519-547.
- Sylvia Maxfield and Adam Shapiro, [Assessing the NAFTA Negotiations](#), *The Post-NAFTA Political Economy: Mexico and the Western Hemisphere*, edited by Carol Wise (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998): 82-118.
- John Cavanagh, Sarah Anderson, Jaime Serra, and J. Enrique Espinosa, [Happily Ever NAFTA?](#) *Foreign Policy* 132 (September-October 2002): 58-65.

November 2 Dispute Settlement in NAFTA

- World Trade Institute website, skim [Chapter 11: Investment](#).
- Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges*, Chap. 4: 199-256.
- Maureen Appel Molot, [NAFTA Chapter 11: An Evolving Regime](#), *Whose Rights? The NAFTA Chapter 11 Debate*, edited by Laura Ritchie Dawson (Centre for Trade Policy and Law, Carleton University, 2002): 155-174.
- Judith Goldstein, [International Law and Domestic Institutions: Reconciling North American “Unfair” Trade Laws](#), *International Organization* 50:4 (Autumn 1996): 541-564.

November 9 Agriculture in NAFTA and the WTO

- WTO website: [Agriculture: Fairer Markets for Farmers](#).
- John H. Barton et al., *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*, Chap. 4: 102-108.
- Tim Josling and Dale Hathaway, [This Far and No Farther? Nudging Agricultural Reform Forward](#), IIE Policy Brief 04-1, March 2004.
- Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges*, Chap. 5: 283-351.
- David Orden, [Agricultural Interest Group Bargaining over the North American Free Trade Agreement](#), *The Political Economy of Trade Protection*, edited by Anne O. Krueger (University of Chicago Press, 1996): 71-83.
- Kimberly A. Elliott, [Big Sugar and the Political Economy of U.S. Agricultural Policy](#), Center for Global Development Brief, April 2005.
- Dale Hathaway, [The U.S.-Central American Free Trade Agreement: Main Effects on Agricultural Products](#), *Agricultural Trade Liberalization: Policies and Implications for Latin America*, edited by Marcos Sawaya Jank (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004): 217-240.

November 16 NAFTA and Labor

- Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges*, Chap. 2: 79-141.
- Kimberly Ann Elliott, [Labor Standards and the FTAA](#), *Integrating the Americas: FTAA and Beyond*, edited by Antoni Estevadeordal, et al. (Harvard University Press, 2004): 641-672.

- Kimberly Ann Elliott, [Labor Standards, Development, and CAFTA](#), IIE Policy Brief 04-2, March 2004.

November 23 Thanksgiving (No Class)

November 30 NAFTA and Standards

- Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges*, Chap. 3: 153-186.
- Frederick W. Mayer, [Negotiating the NAFTA: Political Lessons for the FTAA](#), *Greening the Americas: NAFTA's Lessons for Hemispheric Trade*, edited by Carolyn L. Deere and Daniel C. Esty (MIT Press, 2002): 97-116.
- Daniel C. Esty, [The Environmental Dimension of Economic Integration: The FTAA and Beyond](#), *Integrating the Americas: FTAA and Beyond*, edited by Antoni Esteveordal, et al. (Harvard University Press, 2004): 673-694.

December 7 Research paper presentations