



# EMPOWERING EXPORTERS

Reciprocity, Delegation,  
and Collective Action in  
American Trade Policy

Michael J. Gilligan

MICHIGAN STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

MICHIGAN

# Empowering Exporters Reciprocity Delegation And Collective Action In American Trade Policy

**Ian Pickup**



## **Empowering Exporters Reciprocity Delegation And Collective Action In American Trade Policy:**

**Empowering Exporters** Michael J. Gilligan, 2010-08-27 Until the New Deal most groups seeking protection from imports were successful in obtaining relief from Congress In general the cost of paying the tariffs for consumers was less than the cost of mounting collective action to stop the tariffs In 1934 with the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act all of this changed The six decades that followed have produced a remarkable liberalization of trade policy in the United States This occurred despite the fact that domestic politics according to some of the best developed theories should have prevented this liberalization Michael Gilligan argues that liberalization has succeeded because it has been reciprocal with liberalization in other countries Our trade barriers have been reduced as an explicit quid pro quo for reduction of trade barriers in other countries Reciprocity Gilligan argues gives exporters the incentive to support free trade policies because it gives them a clear gain from free trade and thus enables the exporters to overcome collective action problems The lobbying by exporters balancing the interests of groups seeking protection changes the preferences of political leaders in favor of more liberalization Gilligan tests his theory in a detailed exploration of the history of American trade policy and in a quantitative analysis showing increases in the demand for liberalization as the result of reciprocity in trade legislation from 1890 to the present This book should appeal to political scientists economists and those who want to understand the political underpinnings of American trade policy Michael J Gilligan is Assistant Professor of Politics New York University

**Empowering Exporters** Michael J. Gilligan, 1997-10-10 Explores the politics of free trade policies in the United States

*The Economics of the World Trading System* Kyle Bagwell, Robert W. Staiger, 2004-08-20 World trade is governed by the rules of the World Trade Organization WTO the successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade GATT The WTO sets rules of conduct for the international trade of goods and services and for intellectual property rights provides a forum for multinational negotiations to resolve trade problems and has a formal mechanism for dispute settlement It is the primary institution working through rule based bargaining at freeing trade In this book Kyle Bagwell and Robert Staiger provide an economic analysis and justification for the purpose and design of the GATT WTO They summarize their own research discuss the major features of the GATT agreement and survey the literature on trade agreements Their focus on the terms of trade externality is particularly original and ties the book together Topics include the theory of trade agreements the origin and design of the GATT and the WTO the principles of reciprocity the most favored nation principle terms of trade theory enforcement preferential trade agreements labor and environmental standards competition policy and agricultural export subsidies

Dilemmas of a Trading Nation Mireya Solis, 2017-08-01 The balancing of competing interests and goals will have momentous consequences for Japan and the United States in their quest for economic growth social harmony and international clout Japan and the United States face difficult choices in charting their paths ahead as trading nations Tokyo has long aimed for greater decisiveness which would allow it to move away from a fragmented policymaking system favoring

the status quo in order to enable meaningful internal reforms and acquire a larger voice in trade negotiations And Washington confronts an uphill battle in rebuilding a fraying domestic consensus in favor of internationalism essential to sustain its leadership role as a champion of free trade In Dilemmas of a Trading Nation Mireya Sol s describes how accomplishing these tasks will require the skillful navigation of vexing tradeoffs that emerge from pursuing desirable but to some extent contradictory goals economic competitiveness social legitimacy and political viability Trade policy has catapulted front and center to the national conversations taking place in each country about their desired future direction economic renewal a relaunched social compact and projected international influence Dilemmas of a Trading Nation underscores the global consequences of these defining trade dilemmas for Japan and the United States decisiveness reform internationalism At stake is the ability of these leading economies to upgrade international economic rules and create incentives for emerging economies to converge toward these higher standards At play is the reaffirmation of a rules based international order that has been a source of postwar stability the deepening of a bilateral alliance at the core of America s diplomacy in Asia and the ability to reassure friends and rivals of the staying power of the United States In the execution of trade policy today we are witnessing an international leadership test dominated by domestic governance dilemmas

**The Oxford Handbook of International Political Economy**, 2025-01-17 The field of International Political Economy IPE has rapidly developed into a central pillar in the study of International Relations and its interdisciplinary roots make it a rich and productive area of scholarly interest This Oxford Handbook analyses and evaluates the state of the art in IPE research Bringing together leading experts from a wide geographical and theoretical spectrum the Handbook provides accessible and comprehensive surveys on topics central to the study of International Political Economy As IPE scholarship evolves to explore global events such as financial crises and trade wars examining how politics is both a cause and a consequence of economics it highlights the practical and problem driven nature of the field The Handbook considers the purported European North American divide and the impact of the surrounding debate on the approach taken to the field The chapters review the scholarly literature outline future research opportunities and consider the ways in which world events have contributed to new research in the field The Handbook covers both the theoretical and methodological foundations of the field as well as substantive topics within it including regulation foreign aid migration NGOs capital political military relations and many others The Oxford Handbooks of International Relations is a twelve volume set of reference books offering authoritative and innovative engagements with the principal sub fields of International Relations The series as a whole is under the General Editorship of Christian Reus Smit of the University of Melbourne and Duncan Snidal of the University of Oxford with each volume edited by specialists in the field The series both surveys the broad terrain of International Relations scholarship and reshapes it pushing each sub field in challenging new directions Following the example of Reus Smit and Snidal s original Oxford Handbook of International Relations each volume is organized around a strong central thematic by scholars drawn from different perspectives reading

its sub field in an entirely new way and pushing scholarship in challenging new directions      Food Fights over Free Trade Christina L. Davis, 2011-10-23 This detailed account of the politics of opening agricultural markets explains how the institutional context of international negotiations alters the balance of interests at the domestic level to favor trade liberalization despite opposition from powerful farm groups Historically agriculture stands out as a sector in which countries stubbornly defend domestic programs and agricultural issues have been the most frequent source of trade disputes in the postwar trading system While much protection remains agricultural trade negotiations have resulted in substantial concessions as well as negotiation collapses Food Fights over Free Trade shows that the liberalization that has occurred has been due to the role of international institutions Christina Davis examines the past thirty years of U S agricultural trade negotiations with Japan and Europe based on statistical analysis of an original dataset case studies and in depth interviews with over one hundred negotiators and politicians She shows how the use of issue linkage and international law in the negotiation structure transforms narrow interest group politics into a more broad based decision process that considers the larger stakes of the negotiation Even when U S threats and the spiraling budget costs of agricultural protection have failed to bring policy change the agenda rules and procedures of trade negotiations have often provided the necessary leverage to open Japanese and European markets This book represents a major contribution to understanding the negotiation process agricultural politics and the impact of international institutions on domestic politics      *Delivering on Promises* Lauren J. Peritz, 2022-12-21 A timely investigation into the conditions that make international agreements and the institutions that enforce them vulnerable When do international institutions effectively promote economic cooperation among countries and help them resolve conflict Although the international system lacks any central governing authority states have created rules particularly around international economic relations and empowered international tribunals to enforce those rules Just how successful are these institutions In Delivering on Promises Lauren J Peritz demonstrates that these international courts do indeed deliver results but they are only effective under certain conditions As Peritz shows states are less likely to comply with international rules and international court decisions when domestic industries have the political ability to obstruct compliance in particular cases The author evaluates the argument with an extensive empirical analysis that traces the domestic politics of compliance with the decisions of two international economic courts the World Trade Organization s dispute settlement mechanism and the Court of Justice of the European Union At a time when international agreements are under attack this book sheds light on the complex relationship between domestic politics and international economic cooperation offering detailed evidence that international economic courts are effective at promoting interstate cooperation      *Growth, Trade, and Systemic Leadership* Rafael Reuveny, William R. Thompson, 2009-12-21 Proposes an innovative argument for the existence of world governance      Global Trade John J. Kirton, 2017-05-15 Trade has long been a core part of international relations Bilateral plurilateral and multilateral trade flows and agreements have arisen in many ways and in

many areas over the centuries From regional arrangements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement to the all encompassing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades and now the World Trade Organization the system of global trade has seen struggles and successes alike The traditional debate over liberalization and protectionism remains central today and with ever expanding globalization facing all states the future of global trade seems to be no less controversial than it was centuries ago By assembling the key scholarly works that have defined the field of global trade this work addresses these debates and examines the past to see what the future of global trade might look like      **Globalizing India** Aseema

Sinha,2016-04-26 India s recent economic transformation has fascinated scholars global leaders and interested observers alike In 1990 India was a closed economy and a hesitant and isolated economic power By 2016 India has rapidly risen on the global economic stage foreign trade now drives more than half of the economy and Indian multinationals pursue global alliances Focusing on second generation reforms of the late 1990s Aseema Sinha explores what facilitated global integration in a self reliant country pre disposed to nationalist ideas The author argues that the impact of globalization on India has affected trade policy as well as India s trade capacities and private sector reform India should no longer be viewed solely through a national lens globalization is closely linked to the ambitions of a rising India The study uses fieldwork undertaken in Geneva New Delhi Mumbai and Washington DC interviews with business and trade officials as well as a close analysis of the textile and pharmaceutical industries and a wide range of documentary and firm level evidence to let diverse actors speak in their own voices      The Relevance of Regions in a Globalized World Galia Press-Barnathan,Ruth Fine,Arie M.

Kacowicz,2018-11-09 This volume provides a unique open inter disciplinary dialogue across the Humanities and Social Sciences to further our understanding of the phenomenon of regions and regionalism in a globalized world both at the theoretical and empirical levels What comprises a region What are the different regional dynamic processes that take place What is the relationship between the regional and the global What role does identity building play Bringing together scholars from various disciplines within and across the Social Sciences and the Humanities to reflect on these questions the book explores how regions are imagined constructed understood and explained in different academic disciplines Each chapter addresses these common questions and uses its own disciplinary lenses to answer them In addition the volume offers interesting reflections on the academic borders constructed in the study of regions thus demonstrating the importance of obtaining insights from both social scientists and humanities scholars in order to better understand the relevance of regions in a complex and globalized world An important work for scholars and postgraduate students in many fields including political science international relations sociology economics geography history and literature as well as for those interested in regionalism and area studies      **The Oxford Companion to American Politics** David Coates,2012-07-12 Provides

students and scholars with a valuable reference source in the field of American Politics The Companion will equip readers with a deep understanding of the complex interaction between governmental institutions and processes and the wider

American economy and society that they govern

**Defending Interests** Gregory C. Shaffer, 2003-11-25 This book examines the growing interaction between private enterprises and public officials to challenge foreign trade barriers Building on more than one hundred interviews with former and current trade officials and private attorneys in the United States and Europe Gregory Shaffer calls attention to the ways in which well organized private parties are using the World Trade Organization's legal system to advance their own commercial ambitions and how public officials increasingly are dependent on their assistance Shaffer assesses the historical political legal economic and cultural factors that have affected the formation of these ad hoc public private partnerships as well as trends in the European Union toward U S style practice He considers the implications of these public private trade litigation networks for the effectiveness and equity of the WTO system and the stability of U S E U relations

Public Policy and the CJEU's Power Emmanuelle Mathieu, Christian Adam, Miriam Hartlapp, 2020-05-21 Public Policy and the CJEU's Power offers an overarching analytical framework for thinking about the impact of policy contexts on the CJEU's influence on European public policy and the course of European integration Thereby it lays out a research agenda that is best described as public policy approach to studying judicial power in the European Union The policy contexts within which actors operate do not only structure the incentives to use litigation they also affect how strongly the implementation of court rulings relies on these policy stakeholders Therefore the CJEU's power is strongly dependent on policy contexts and policy stakeholders This argument is illustrated by a wide variety of empirical analyses covering the three major types of legal actions before the CJEU infringement proceedings preliminary rulings and annulments a wide variety of policy fields e g competition law internal market regulation common agriculture policy social policies foreign policy and different types of policy stakeholders e g public private subnational national and European stakeholders Using this rich empirical material the book provides an analytic framework for thinking about how policy contexts influence the CJEU's impact Bringing together expert contributions Public Policy and the CJEU's Power will be of great interest and use to scholars working on the European Union law and politics and public policy The chapters were originally published as a special issue in the Journal of European Integration

*The Oxford Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade* Lisa L. Martin, 2015 The Oxford Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade presents the most up to date review of scholarship in this field Building on an understanding of the economic interests that drive international trade political scientists integrate theories of domestic society domestic institutions and international organizations to further our understanding of this vital force of globalization This volume both surveys established theory and showcases cutting edge research

Why Adjudicate? Christina L. Davis, 2012-05-27 The World Trade Organization WTO oversees the negotiation and enforcement of formal rules governing international trade Why do countries choose to adjudicate their trade disputes in the WTO rather than settling their differences on their own In Why Adjudicate Christina Davis investigates the domestic politics behind the filing of WTO complaints and reveals why formal dispute settlement

creates better outcomes for governments and their citizens Davis demonstrates that industry lobbying legislative demands and international politics influence which countries and cases appear before the WTO Democratic checks and balances bias the trade policy process toward public lawsuits and away from informal settlements Trade officials use legal complaints to manage domestic politics and defend trade interests WTO dispute settlement enables states and domestic groups to signal resolve more effectively thereby enhancing the information available to policymakers and reducing the risk of a trade war Davis establishes her argument with data on trade disputes and landmark cases including the Boeing Airbus controversy over aircraft subsidies disagreement over Chinese intellectual property rights and Japan's repeated challenges of U S steel industry protection In her analysis of foreign trade barriers against U S exports Davis explains why the United States gains better outcomes for cases taken to formal dispute settlement than for those negotiated Case studies of Peru and Vietnam show that legal action can also benefit developing countries

Democratic Foreign Policy Making R. Pahre, 2006-10-30

Leading scholars from the United States and the European Union examine how democracies make foreign policy when their citizens disagree The authors focus in particular on differences of opinion between the legislature and the executive often called divided government and the constraints of public opinion on a leader's actions

**The Economics and Politics of Climate Change** Dieter Helm, Cameron Hepburn, 2009-10-29 The volume brings together leading climate change policy experts to set out the economic analysis and the nature of the negotiations at the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen and beyond

**In Place of Inter-state Retaliation** William Phelan, 2015 Unlike many other trade regimes the European Union forbids the use of inter state retaliation to enforce its obligations and rules out the use of common escape mechanisms such as anti dumping between the EU member states How does the EU do without these mechanisms that appear so vital to the political viability of other international trade regimes including the World Trade Organization How therefore is the European legal order with the European Court of Justice at its centre able to be so much more binding and intrusive than the legal obligations of many other trade regimes This book puts forward a new explanation of a key part of the European Union's legal system emphasising its break with the inter state retaliation mechanisms and how Europe's special form of legal integration is facilitated by intra industry trade parliamentary forms of national government and European welfare states It argues first that the EU member states have allowed the enforcement of EU obligations by domestic courts in order to avoid the problems associated with enforcing trade obligations by constant threats of trade retaliation It argues second that the EU member states have been able to accept such a binding form of dispute settlement and treaty obligation because the policy adjustments required by the European legal order were politically acceptable High levels of intra industry trade reduced the severity of the economic adjustments required by the expansion of the European market and inclusive and authoritative democratic institutions in the member states allowed policy makers to prioritise a general interest in reliable trading relationships even when policy changes affected significant domestic lobbies Furthermore



generous national social security arrangements protected national constituents against any adverse consequences arising from the expansion of European law and the intensification of the European market The European legal order should therefore be understood as a legalized dispute resolution institution well suited to an international trade and integration regime made up of highly interdependent parliamentary welfare states      **The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions**

R. A. W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, Bert A. Rockman, 2008-06-12 This one volume distillation provides a comprehensive overview of the main branches of contemporary political science It will serve as the reference book for political scientists and those following their work for years to come

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