

国際政治経済 II (International Political Economy II)

公共政策大学院
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オフィスアワー：授業後 or 木曜 1-3時（要予約）

現在の国際政治経済の特徴は政治と経済、政策決定の国際要因と国内要因が交錯することにある。戦後の西側先進諸国の政治経済は国家間合意による自由な貿易・資本移動の体制は、「埋め込まれた自由主義」と称される民主政の下での国内の経済発展と社会安定を前提にしてきた。近年では、経済の国際化とソ連の崩壊・民主化の（第三の）波により、民主政と開放市場経済による経済発展の図式は規範化され、非西側開発途上国に拡大している。このことは、各国の経済政策の分析は政治過程の理解なくして困難となり、経済政策の国際・国内政治要因の連動関係が一層強化されたことを示唆している。

国際政治経済とは、政府の対外経済政策や国家間の経済関係を説明する際に、経済的要因を前提に、国際・国内政治の影響を理解する学問で、その分析枠組は—

対外経済政策・国際経済関係 = 政治的独立諸変数 + 経済的制御諸変数

と表現でき、制御変数に関しては経済学の基礎理論に立脚し、独立変数に関しては国際政治や政治学の知見を応用する。

講義では、このような国際経済関係の政治的側面の理解に必要な理論枠組の展開、および最新の実証成果を概観する。特に、（1）国際システムレベル分析の限界と国内政治要因の重要性、即ち、戦後西側先進諸国で、国家間合意による自由貿易や資本移動の拡大を保証する要因として、貿易・投資拡大に伴う経済利得が民主政府の下、民意に基づき安定的に配分されたことの重要性、（2）経済の国際化に伴い、通貨・金融や貿易・投資をめぐる国内政治制度や市場整備の必要性、（3）各国が国内政体や市場制度の脆弱性を補完し、国内政策対応・規律の国際的信認を強化する手段としての投資、貿易、通貨協定や国際経済機関の役割、（4）資本移動や貿易拡大により経済危機の国際化に直面して、国際市場や国際機関が各国政府に迫る政策変更や政策規律の問題などに焦点をあてる。最終の2回では、冷戦後の先進国および国際機関の援助や制裁の規定要因を概観して、国際政治経済と外交政策分析の架橋とする。

国際経済関係の規定要因としての特に国内政治に焦点を当てることは、経済国際化に伴う経済危機の世界的伝播の下、各国政府の対立・連携により変容してきている地域・国際経済関係の理解のためには、経済運営と政権維持の両立に迫られた政府の選択肢がどう制約・規定され、行動主体としての国家・政府が経済政策的合理性と国内政治的妥当性をどう調整するかを理解が必要であることを意味する。換言すれば、政策研究は、通常、最適で効率的な政策企画に必要な専門性を培養することを目指す、なぜ現状の政策が問題を内包しつつ継続し、なぜ改革の試みが特定の非最適な結果になるのかを理解するには、政治的独立変数の効果を理解する必要がある。それが本講の政策実践的含意であるとともに、本講と国際経済や国際経済法科目との補完的相違点である。

授業は以下の形態をとる。まず、テキストは学部学生を念頭においているので、参加者はシラバスで指定された週はテキストの指定箇所（1 章程度）を読んで来て A 4 用紙 1 ページ程度のレジュメを提出する義務がある（全部で 7 回、計 10 章）。教室では、最初の 5 分程度はテキストの内容を確認・復習し、質問点・疑問点を議論した後、講義形式で現状の展開や最近の問題関心に沿った理論枠組や実証研究を紹介して、テキストの内容を敷衍・補足するが、その際も、質問点・疑問点に随時議論できるようにする。国際政治経済 I の受講や国際経済、国際政治、統計の予備知識は必要でない。講義は公共政策大学院生が対象のため、教科書の理論を更に展開し、かつ最新の実証結果を紹介する高度な内容を準備する予定であるが、それに怯まず挑戦し、基礎的なことでも怖じけず積極的に授業中、質問・発言し、納得することが要求かつ歓迎される。

単位認定は出席、レジュメ（7 回分）と筆記試験による。（尚、このシラバスおよび昨年の授業の資料スライドは <http://www.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hiwatari/> からダウンロードできるようにする。）

Text Book and References

テキストは公共政策事務室でコピーできる。他に法学部研究室図書館や経済学部図書館で閲覧できる。それ以外文献は学内の端末からe-ジャーナルでダウンロードできる。入手困難な文献については、適宜メール等で連絡のこと。

Text Book

Oatley, Thomas. 2008. *International Political Economy: Interests and Institutions in the Global Economy, 4th Edition* (New York: Pearson/Longman 2010)

Related Readings

- Gilpin, Robert. 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Gilpin, Robert. 2001. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Spero, Joan Edelman and Jeffrey A. Hart. 1997. *The Politics of International Economic Relations, 5th Edition* (London: Routledge).
- Grieco, Joseph M. and G. John Ikenberry. 2003. *State Power and World Markets: The International Political Economy*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company).
- Stubbs, Richard and Underhill, Geoffrey R. D. 1999. *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order Global Power, 2nd Edition* (New York: St. Martin's Press).
- Ravenhill, John. 2005. *Global Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- **Frieden, Jeffrey A. and David A. Lake eds. 2009. *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth, 5th Edition* (New York: St. Martin's)**

Introductory readings

- Oatley, Chapter 1
- Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw Hill), Chap 1.

I. Beyond System-level Analysis: The Second-image Revived

Week 1: System-level Analysis: Structural realism and liberal institutionalism

Puzzle of the week: Why is system-level analysis (structural realism and liberal institutionalism) inadequate?

Structural Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theory

- Kranser, Stephen D. 1976. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* 28 (3): 317-347. **(Frieden and Lake, Chapter 1)**
- Eichengreen, Barry. 1989. "Hegemonic Stability Theories of the International Monetary System." In Richard Cooper et al., *Can Nations Agree? Issues in International Economic Cooperation* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution): 255-298. **(Frieden and Lake, Chapter 15)**
- Gowa, Joanne. 1989. "Bipolarity, Mutipolarity, and Free Trade." *American Political Science Review* 83 (4): 135-146.
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Complex Interdependence and Liberal Institutionalism

- Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chaps. 4-5
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- Estevadeordal, Antoni and Kati Suominen. 2008. "Sequencing Regional Trade Integration and Cooperation Agreements." *The World Economy* 31 (1): 112-140.
- Hansen, Holley E., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Stephen C. Nemeth. 2008. "IO Mediation of Interstate Conflicts: Moving Beyond the Global versus Regional Dichotomy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (2): 295-325.

Week 2: System-level Analysis and Political Regimes

Puzzle of the week: What is the relation between domestic politics (such as the degree of democratization) and economic globalization (or is there such a relation)?

Democratic Peace and Commercial Peace

- Barbieri, Katherine, and Gerald Schnerder 1999. "Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 36 (4): 387-404.
- Bearce David H. 2003. "Grasping the Commercial Institutional Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 41:347-70.
- Gartzke, Eric, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. 2001. "Investing in the Peace: Economic Interdependence and International Conflict." *International Organization* 55 (2): 391-438.
- Gartzke Erik and Quan Li. 2003. "War, Peace, and the Invisible Hand: Positive Political Externalities of Economic Globalization." *International Studies Quarterly* 47:561-86.
- Gartzke Erik. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166-91.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2000. "Trade Blocs, Trade Flows, and International Conflict." *International Organization* 54 (4): 775-808.
- Oneal, John R. and Bruce M. Russett. 1997. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985." *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 267-294.

- Oneal, J. R., and B. Russett. 1999. "The Kantian peace - The Pacific benefits of democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52 (1):1-
- Oneal, J. R., and B. Russett. 2005. "Rule of three, let it be? When more really is better." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22 (4): 293-310.
- Oneal, J. R., B. Russett, and M. L. Berbaum. 2003. "Causes of peace: Democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (3): 371-93.
- Russett, Bruce M., John R. Oneal, and David R. Davis. 1998. "The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950-85." *International Organization* 52 (3): 441-467
- Pevehouse Jon C., and Bruce Russett. "Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60 (Fall): 969-1000.
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- Weeks, Jessica. 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62 (1): 35-64.

Regime Types and Selectorate Theory

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, J. D. Morrow, R. M. Siverson, and A. Smith. 1999. "An Institutional Explanation of The Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 93 (4): 791-807.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, J. D. Morrow, R. M. Siverson, and A. Smith. 1999. "Policy failure and political survival - The contribution of political institutions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (2): 147-61.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, J. D. Morrow, R. M. Siverson, and A. Smith. 2002. "Political institutions, policy choice and the survival of leaders." *British Journal of Political Science* 32:559-590.
- Epstein, David L., Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 551-569.
- McGuire, Martin C. and Mancur Olson Jr. 1996. "The Economics of Autocracy and Majority Rule: The Invisible Hand and the Use of Force." *Journal of Economic Literature* 34: 72-96.
- Weeks, Jessica. 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62 (1): 35-64.

Economic Consequences of Political Regimes

- Adsera, Alicia and Carles Boix. 2002. "Trade, Democracy, and the Size of the Public Sector: The Political Underpinnings of Openness." *International Organization* 56 (2): 229-262.
- Aghion, Phillippe, Alberto Alesina and Francesco Trebbi. 2004. Endogenous Political Institutions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119: 565-611.
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- Brender, Adi, and Allan Drazen. 2007. "Consolidation of New Democracy, Mass Attitudes, and Clientelism." *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* 99 (2): 304-309.
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- Down, Ian. 2007. "Trade Openness, Country Size and Economic Volatility: The Compensations Hypothesis Revisited." *Business and Politics* 9 (2), Article 3.
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- Hays, Jude C., Sean D. Ehrlich and Clint Peinhardt. 2005. "Government Spending and Public Support for Trade in OECD Countries: An Empirical Test of the Embedded Liberalism Thesis." *International Organization* 59 (2): 473-494.
- Jones Benjamin F. and Benjamin A. Olsen. 2005. "Do Leaders Matter? National Leadership and Growth Since World War II." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*
- Lee, Ha Yan, Luca Antonio Ricci, Roberto Rigobon. 2004. "Once Again, Is Openness Good for Growth." *NBER Working Paper* 10749.
- Mulligan, Casey B., Ricard Gil, and Xavier Sala-i-Martin 2004. "Do Democracies Have Different Public Policies than Nondemocracies?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18 (1): 51-57.

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Political Consequences of Globalization

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Authoritarian Regimes and Democratization

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Economic Voting

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Week 3: Political Regimes and International Negotiations/Agreements

Puzzle of the week: Does political regimes and institutions explain international negotiations/agreements beyond interdependence /liberal institutionalism/ or regime theory?

Commitment, Credibility, and Regimes

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Negotiations and Domestic Institutions

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II. Political Economy of International Trade and Investment

Week 4: Domestic Interests and International Trade and Investment

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Week 5: Domestic Politics and International Trade and Investment

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Week 6: Trade and Investment Agreements

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Week 7: International and Regional Trade Regimes

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Puzzle of the week: Does (and to what extent) GATT/WTO promotes trade?

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III. The Political Economy of International Finance

Week 8: Capital Liberalization, Financial Market Reforms, and Exchange Rate Policy

Puzzle of the week: Who wants (opposes) capital liberalization and why?

5. Oatley, Chapter 11 & 12

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6. Oatley, Chapter 15

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Week 11: Capital Mobility and Economic Reforms

7. Oatley, Chapter 13

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III. The Political Economy of Economic Diplomacy

Week 12: The Political Economy of Foreign Aid

Puzzle of the week: Who receives (provides) foreign aid from (to) whom, and why?

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Week 13: The Political Economy of Economic Sanctions

Puzzle of the week: Who initiates (is targeted by) economic sanctions, and what determines their effectiveness?

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