INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

SIXTH EDITION



JAMES GERBER

International Economics

SIXTH EDITION

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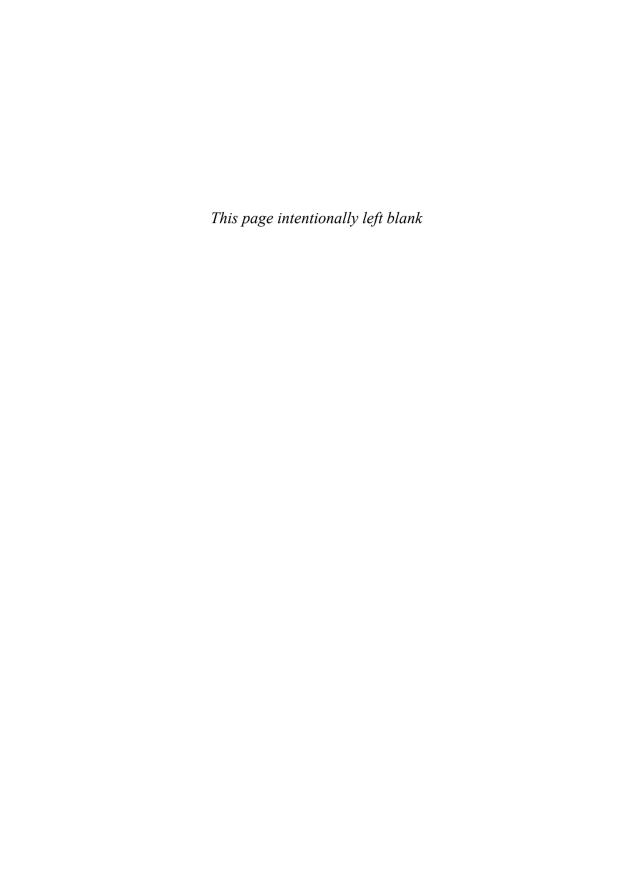
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International Economics

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James Gerber

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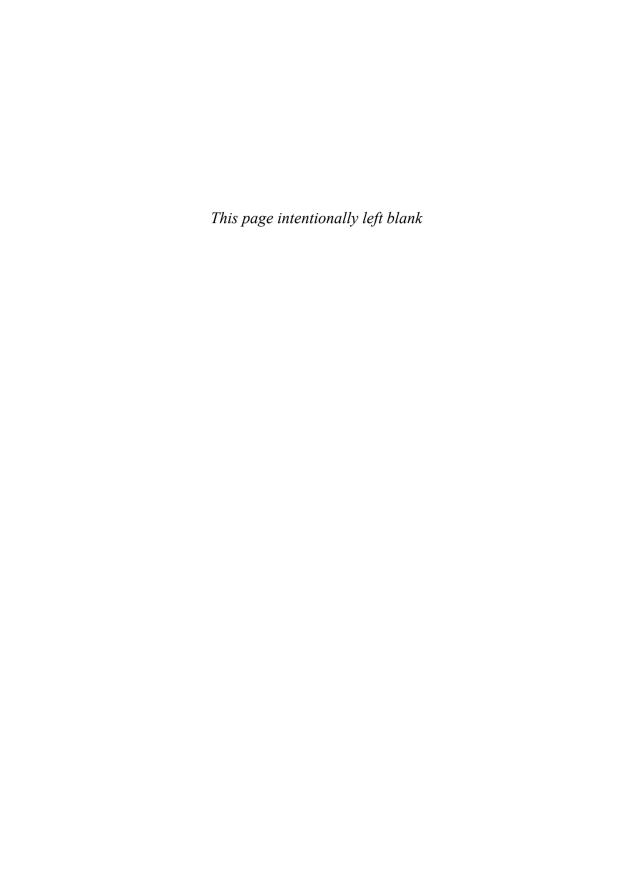
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BRIEF CONTENTS

Preface xix

PART 1	Introduction and Institutions	1
Chapter 1	The United States in a Global Economy	2
Chapter 2	International Economic Institutions Since World War II	17
PART 2	International Trade	39
Chapter 3	Comparative Advantage and the Gains from Trade	40
Chapter 4	Comparative Advantage and Factor Endowments	63
Chapter 5	Beyond Comparative Advantage	92
Chapter 6	The Theory of Tariffs and Quotas	114
Chapter 7	Commercial Policy	136
Chapter 8	International Trade and Labor and Environmental Standards	156
PART 3	International Finance	179
Chapter 9	Trade and the Balance of Payments	180
Chapter 10	Exchange Rates and Exchange Rate Systems	209
Chapter 11	An Introduction to Open Economy Macroeconomics	244
Chapter 12	International Financial Crises	270
PART 4	Regional Issues in the Global Economy	299
Chapter 13	The United States in the World Economy	300
Chapter 14	The European Union: Many Markets into One	326
Chapter 15	Trade and Policy Reform in Latin America	357
Chapter 16	Export-Oriented Growth in East Asia	384
Chapter 17	The BRIC Countries in the World Economy	412
	Glossary	437
	Index	449

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CONTENTS

Preface xix

PART 1	Introduction and Institutions	1
Chapter 1	The United States in a Global Economy	2
	Introduction: International Economic Integration	2
	Elements of International Economic Integration	3
	The Growth of World Trade	4
	Capital and Labor Mobility	6
	Features of Contemporary International Economic Relations	8
	Trade and Economic Growth	10
	Twelve Themes in International Economics	11
	The Gains from Trade and New Trade Theory (Chapters 3, 4, and 5)	11
	Wages, Jobs, and Protection (Chapters 3, 6, 7, and 8)	12
	Trade Deficits (Chapters 9, 11, and 12)	12
	Regional Trade Agreements (Chapters 2, 13, and 14)	12
	The Resolution of Trade Conflicts (Chapters 2, 7, and 8)	13
	The Role of International Institutions (Chapters 2, 8, and 12)	13
	Exchange Rates and the Macroeconomy (Chapters 10 and 11)	13
	Financial Crises and Global Contagion (Chapter 12)	14
	Capital Flows and the Debt of Developing Countries	14
	(Chapters 2, 9, and 12) Latin America and the World Economy (Chapter 15)	14
	Export-Led Growth in East Asia (Chapter 16)	15
	The Integration of the BRICs into the World Economy (Chapter 17)	15
	Vocabulary 15 • Study Questions 16	13
	, , , , ,	4-
Chapter 2	International Economic Institutions Since World War II	17
	Introduction: International Institutions and Issues Since World War II	17
	International Institutions	17
	A Taxonomy of International Economic Institutions	18
	The IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO	19
	The IMF and World Bank	19
	The GATT, the Uruguay Round, and the WTO	20
	CASE STUDY: The GATT Rounds	22
		iv

	Regional Trade Agreements Five Types of Regional Trade Agreements CASE STUDY: Prominent Regional Trade Agreements Regional Trade Agreements and the WTO For and Against RTAs	23 24 26 27
	The Role of International Economic Institutions The Definition of Public Goods Maintaining Order and Reducing Uncertainty CASE STUDY: Bretton Woods	28 29 29 31
	Criticism of International Institutions Sovereignty and Transparency Ideology Implementation and Adjustment Costs	33 33 34 35
	Summary 36 • Vocabulary 37 • Study Questions 38	
PART 2	International Trade	39
Chapter 3	Comparative Advantage and the Gains from Trade	40
	Introduction: The Gains from Trade Adam Smith and the Attack on Economic Nationalism A Simple Model of Production and Trade Absolute Productivity Advantage and the Gains from Trade CASE STUDY: Gains from Trade in Nineteenth- Century Japan Comparative Productivity Advantage and the Gains from Trade The Production Possibilities Curve Relative Prices The Consumption Possibilities Curve The Gains from Trade Domestic Prices and the Trade Price Absolute and Comparative Productivity Advantage Contrasted	40 40 41 42 44 45 46 46 47 48 50
	Gains from Trade with No Absolute Advantage CASE STUDY: Changing Comparative Advantage in the Republic of Korea, 1960–2007	52 53
	Comparative Advantage and "Competitiveness"	54
	Economic Restructuring CASE STUDY: Losing Comparative Advantage Summary 60 • Vocabulary 60 • Study Questions 61	56 58
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Contents	хi

Chapter 4	Comparative Advantage and Factor Endowments	63
	Introduction: The Determinants of Comparative Advantage	63
	Modern Trade Theory	63
	The Heckscher-Ohlin (HO) Trade Model	64
	Gains from Trade in the HO Model	65
	Trade and Income Distribution	68
	The Stolper-Samuelson Theorem	69
	The Specific Factors Model	71
	CASE STUDY: Comparative Advantage in a Single Natural Resource	72
		73
	Empirical Tests of the Theory of Comparative Advantage	74
	Extension of the Heckscher-Ohlin Model	75
	The Product Cycle	76
	CASE STUDY: United States—China Trade	78
	Foreign Trade versus Foreign Investment Off-Shoring and Outsourcing	79 81
	CASE STUDY: Off-Shoring by U.S. Multinational	01
	Corporations	82
	Migration and Trade	83
	The Impact of Trade on Wages and Jobs	85
	CASE STUDY: Do Trade Statistics Give a Distorted Picture of Trade Relations? The Case of the iPhone 3G	86
	Summary 88 • Vocabulary 89 • Study Questions 90	
Chapter 5	Beyond Comparative Advantage	92
	Introduction: More Reasons to Trade	92
	Intraindustry Trade	93
	Characteristics of Intraindustry Trade	93
	The Gains from Intraindustry Trade	96
	CASE STUDY: United States and Canada Trade	98
	Trade and Geography	99
	Geography, Transportation Costs, and Internal Economics	
	of Scale	99
	CASE STUDY: The Shifting Geography of Mexico's	100
	Manufacturing External Economies of Scale	100
	Trade and External Economies	101
	Industrial Policy	103
	Industrial Policies and Market Failure	104

xii Contents

	Industrial Policy Tools	106
	Problems with Industrial Policies	107
	CASE STUDY: Do the WTO Rules Against Industrial Policies Hurt	
	Developing Countries?	109
	Summary 111 • Vocabulary 112 • Study Questions 112	
Chapter 6	The Theory of Tariffs and Quotas	114
-	Introduction: Tariffs and Quotas	114
	Analysis of a Tariff	114
	Consumer and Producer Surplus	115
	Prices, Output, and Consumption	116
	Resource Allocation and Income Distribution	118
	CASE STUDY: A Comparison of Tariff Rates	120
	Other Potential Costs	122
	The Large Country Case	123
	Effective versus Nominal Rates of Protection	124
	CASE STUDY: The Uruguay and Doha Rounds	125
	Analysis of Quotas	127
	Types of Quotas	127
	The Effect on the Profits of Foreign Producers	128
	Hidden Forms of Protection	130
	CASE STUDY: Intellectual Property Rights and Trade	131
	Summary 133 • Vocabulary 133 • Study Questions 134	
Chapter 7	Commercial Policy	136
	Introduction: Commercial Policy, Tariffs, and Arguments for Protection	136
	Tariff Rates in the World's Major Traders	137
	The Costs of Protectionism	139
	The Logic of Collective Action	140
	CASE STUDY: Agricultural Subsidies	141
	Why Nations Protect Their Industries	143
	Revenue	143
	The Labor Argument	144
	The Infant Industry Argument	145
	The National Security Argument	146
	The Cultural Protection Argument	146
	The Retaliation Argument	146
	CASE STUDY: Traditional Knowledge and Intellectual Property	147
	The Politics of Protection in the United States	149
	Countervailing Duties	149
	Antidumping Duties	150

	Contents	xiii
	Escape Clause Relief	151
	Section 301 and Special 301 CASE STUDY: Economic Sanctions	152 152
	Summary 154 • Vocabulary 154 • Study Questions 155	
Chapter 8	International Trade and Labor and Environmental Standards	156
	Introduction: Income and Standards	156
	Setting Standards: Harmonization, Mutual Recognition, or Separate? CASE STUDY: Income, Environment, and Society	157 159
	Labor Standards	160
	Defining Labor Standards	161
	CASE STUDY: Child Labor	162
	Labor Standards and Trade Evidence on Low Standards as a Predatory Practice	163 165
	CASE STUDY: The International Labour Organization	166
	Trade and the Environment	167
	Transboundary and Non-Transboundary Effects	167
	CASE STUDY: Trade Barriers and Endangered Species	169
	Alternatives to Trade Measures	171
	Labels for Exports	172
	Requiring Home Country Standards	172
	Increasing International Negotiations	173
	CASE STUDY: Global Climate Change	174
	Summary 176 • Vocabulary 177 • Study Questions 177	
PART 3	International Finance	179
Chapter 9	Trade and the Balance of Payments	180
	Introduction: The Current Account	180
	The Trade Balance	180
	The Current Account Balance	181
	Introduction to the Financial and Capital Accounts Types of Financial Flows	183 186
	Limits on Financial Flows	189
	CASE STUDY: The Crisis of 2007–09 and the Balance of Payments	190
	The Current Account and the Macroeconomy	192
	The National Income and Product Accounts	193
	Are Current Account Deficits Harmful?	197
	CASE STUDY: Current Account Deficits in the United States	199
	International Debt	201
	CASE STUDY: Odious Debt	202

xiv Contents

	The International Investment Position	203
	Summary 204 • Vocabulary 205 • Study Questions 206	
	APPENDIX A: Measuring the International Investment Position	207
	APPENDIX B: Balance of Payments Data	208
Chapter 10	Exchange Rates and Exchange Rate Systems	209
·	Introduction: Fixed, Flexible, or In-Between?	209
	Exchange Rates and Currency Trading	210
	Reasons for Holding Foreign Currencies	211
	Institutions	212
	Exchange Rate Risk	212
	The Supply and Demand for Foreign Exchange	213
	Supply and Demand with Flexible Exchange Rates	214
	Exchange Rates in the Long Run	215
	Exchange Rates in the Medium Run and Short Run	218
	CASE STUDY: The Largest Market in the World	222
	The Real Exchange Rate	224
	Alternatives to Flexible Exchange Rates	226
	Fixed Exchange Rate Systems	227
	CASE STUDY: The End of the Bretton Woods System	231
	Choosing the Right Exchange Rate System CASE STUDY: Monetary Unions	233235
	Single Currency Areas	236
	Conditions for Adopting a Single Currency	237
	CASE STUDY: Is the NAFTA Region an Optimal Currency Area?	239
	Summary 240 • Vocabulary 241 • Study Questions 241	
	APPENDIX: The Interest Rate Parity Condition	242
Chapter 11	An Introduction to Open Economy Macroeconomics	244
	Introduction: The Macroeconomy in a Global Setting	244
	Aggregate Demand and Aggregate Supply	245
	Fiscal and Monetary Policies	250
	Fiscal Policy	250
	Monetary Policy	251
	CASE STUDY: Fiscal and Monetary Policy during the	
	Great Depression	253
	Current Account Balances Revisited	256
	Fiscal and Monetary Policies, Interest Rates, and	256
	Exchange Rates	256

	Fiscal and Monetary Policy and the Current Account The Long Run	258 260
	CASE STUDY: Argentina and the Limits to Macroeconomic Policy	
	Macro Policies for Current Account Imbalances The Adjustment Process	262 263
	CASE STUDY: The Adjustment Process in the United States	264
	Macroeconomic Policy Coordination in Developed Countries	266
	Summary 267 • Vocabulary 268 • Study Questions 268	
Chapter 12	International Financial Crises	270
	Introduction: The Challenge to Financial Integration	270
	Definition of a Financial Crisis	271
	Sources of International Financial Crises	273
	Crises Caused by Economic Imbalances	273
	Crises Caused by Volatile Capital Flows	274
	CASE STUDY: The Mexican Peso Crisis of 1994 and 1995	276
	Domestic Issues in Crisis Avoidance Moral Hazard and Financial Sector Regulation	279 279
	Exchange Rate Policy	280
	Capital Controls	281
	CASE STUDY: The Asian Crisis of 1997 and 1998	282
	Domestic Policies for Crisis Management	286
	Reform of the International Financial Architecture	287
	A Lender of Last Resort	288
	Conditionality	289
	Reform Urgency CASE STUDY: The Global Crisis of 2007	291 291
		291
	Summary 295 • Vocabulary 297 • Study Questions 297	
PART 4	Regional Issues in the Global Economy	299
Chapter 13	The United States in the World Economy	300
	Introduction: A New World Economy	300
	Background and Context	301
	CASE STUDY: Manufacturing in the United States	303
	The Shifting Focus of U.S. Trade Relations	304
	The NAFTA Model	307
	Demographic and Economic Characteristics of North America	307
	Canada-U.S. Trade Relations Mexican Economic Reforms	308 310
	Monicul Leonoline Reloins	210

Contents xv

xvi Contents

	The North American Free Trade Agreement Two NAFTA-Specific Issues	311 313
	CASE STUDY: Ejidos, Agriculture, and NAFTA in Mexico	314
	New and Old Agreements	316
	Labor and Environmental Standards Investor-State Relations	317 319
	Job Loss Due to Trade	320
	CASE STUDY: The African Growth and Opportunity Act	322
	Summary 323 • Vocabulary 324 • Study Questions 325	
Chapter 14	The European Union: Many Markets into One	326
	Introduction: The European Union	326
	The Size of the European Market	328
	The European Union and Its Predecessors	330
	The Treaty of Rome	330
	Institutional Structure	331
	Deepening and Widening the Community in	
	the 1970s and 1980s	333
	Before the Euro	333
	The Second Wave of Deepening: The Single European Act	335
	CASE STUDY: The Schengen Agreement The Delors Report	335 336
	Forecasts of the Gains from the Single European Act	337
	Problems in the Implementation of the SEA	339
	CASE STUDY: The Erasmus Program and Higher Education	341
	The Third Wave of Deepening: The Maastricht Treaty	342
	Monetary Union and the Euro	343
	Costs and Benefits of Monetary Union	344
	The Political Economy of the Euro CASE STUDY: The Financial Crisis of 2007–2009 and the Euro	345 347
	Widening the European Union	350
	New Members	350
	CASE STUDY: Spain's Switch from Emigration to Immigration	351
	The Demographic Challenge of the Future	353
	Summary 354 • Vocabulary 355 • Study Questions 356	
Chapter 15	Trade and Policy Reform in Latin America	357
	Introduction: Defining a "Latin American" Economy	357
	Population, Income, and Economic Growth	358

	Contents	xvii
	Import Substitution Industrialization	360
	Origins and Goals of Import Substitution Industrialization	360
	Criticisms of Import Substitution Industrialization CASE STUDY: ISI in Mexico	363 364
	Macroeconomic Instability and Economic Populism	366
	Populism in Latin America	367 368
	CASE STUDY: Economic Populism in Peru, 1985–1990	
	The Debt Crisis of the 1980s	369
	Proximate Causes of the Debt Crisis	369 371
	Responses to the Debt Crisis	
	Neoliberal Policy Reform and the Washington Consensus	373
	Stabilization Policies to Control Inflation	373
	Structural Reform and Open Trade	375 376
	CASE STUDY: Regional Trade Blocs in Latin America The Next Generation of Reforms	378
	CASE STUDY: The Chilean Model	379
		317
	Summary 381 • Vocabulary 382 • Study Questions 382	
Chapter 16	Export-Oriented Growth in East Asia	384
	Introduction: The High-Performance Asian Economies	384
	Population, Income, and Economic Growth	386
	A Note on Hong Kong	387
	General Characteristics of Growth in the HPAE	388
	Shared Growth	389
	Rapid Accumulation of Physical and Human Capital	389
	Rapid Growth of Manufactured Exports	390
	Stable Macroeconomic Environments	391
	The Institutional Environment	391
	CASE STUDY: Doing Business in the High-Performance	
	Asian Economies	392
	Fiscal Discipline and Business-Government Relations	394
	CASE STUDY: Deliberation Councils in the Ministry of Economy,	
	Trade, and Industry (METI)	394
	Avoiding Rent Seeking	396
	CASE STUDY: Were East Asian Economies Open?	397
	The Role of Industrial Policies	399
	Targeting Specific Industries in the HPAE	399
	Did Industrial Policies Work? CASE STUDY: HCI in Korea	401
		402
	The Role of Manufactured Exports	403
	The Connections between Growth and Exports	404

xviii Contents

	Is Export Promotion a Good Model for	
	Other Regions?	405
	CASE STUDY: Asian Trade Blocs	406
	Is There an Asian Model of Economic Growth?	407
	Summary 409 • Vocabulary 410 • Study Questions 411	
Chapter 17	The BRIC Countries in the World Economy	412
	Introduction: The BRICs	412
	Demographic and Economic Characteristics	413
	Economic Reform in the BRIC Economies	417
	The Reform Process in China	418
	Indian Economic Reforms	419
	Russian Economic Reforms	420
	Brazilian Economic Reforms	421
	The Next Step for the BRICs	422
	CASE STUDY: Why Did the USSR Collapse and China Succeed?	423
	The BRICs in the World Economy	425
	Trade Patterns	426
	The Challenges of the BRICs in the World Economy	428
	Services	428
	Manufacturing	429
	Resources	430
	Unresolved Issues	430
	The Choices Ahead	433
	Summary 434 • Vocabulary 435 • Study Questions 435	
Glossary	437	
Index	449	

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International Economics is designed for a one-semester course covering both the micro and macro components of international economics. The Sixth Edition continues the approach of the first five editions by offering a principles-level introduction to the core theories, together with policy analysis and the institutional and historical contexts of international economic relations. My goal is to make economic reasoning about the international economy accessible to a diverse group of students, including both economics majors and nonmajors. My intention is to present the consensus of economic opinion, when one exists, and to describe the differences when one does not. In general, however, economists are more often in agreement than not.

New to the Sixth Edition

This Sixth Edition of *International Economics* preserves the organization and coverage of the Fifth Edition and adds a number of updates and enhancements. New to this edition:

- All tables and graphs have been updated.
- Each chapter begins with a list of student learning outcomes.
- Chapter 3 has a new case study on the gains from trade that uses the historical example of Japan's opening in the nineteenth century.
- Chapter 4's discussion of off-shoring is extended by a new case study examining China's role in global supply chains for the Apple iPhone 3G.
- Chapter 5's discussions of intraindustry trade and industrial policies are streamlined, and the model of monopolistic competition is incorporated into the text instead of being left to the appendix.
- Chapter 5 also has a new case study on the WTO and developing countries.
- Chapter 7's discussion of tariff rates now includes data on China and is more focused on current tariff levels.
- Chapter 8 on labor and environmental standards has a new case study on global climate change.
- Chapter 10 now provides students with IMF estimates of the number of countries using each type of exchange rate system.
- Chapter 13 is refocused towards U.S. international economic relations, including NAFTA, but adds material on other trade agreements, including a new case study on preferential agreements such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

- Chapter 14 has less material on EU institutions and more on the gains from the Single Market Program, together with a new case study on the current problems in the euro area and the costs of monetary union.
- Chapter 17 examines the BRIC economies; the emphasis on China remains, but new material looks at the rise of the BRICs and their impact on the international economy.

Hallmarks of International Economics

Several features of *International Economics* distinguish it from the many excellent texts in the field:

- First, the approach is broader than the theoretical apparatus used by economists. Economic theory is covered and its mastery is essential, but most readers grasp theory more completely when it is presented along with real-world applications. To this end, I have supplemented economic theory with case studies and other content ranging from the role of economic institutions and the analysis of international economic policies to the recent history of the world economy.
- Second, the objective of covering both the micro and macro sides in a one-semester course necessitates paring back the coverage of theory in order to focus on the central concepts. As all instructors are aware, many theoretical topics are of secondary or tertiary importance, which can pose a problem for students who may lack the needed breadth and depth of understanding to rank topics by their relative importance.
- Third, International Economics provides richer historical and institutional detail than most other texts. This material illuminates the relationships between economic theory and policy, and between economics and the other social sciences.
- Fourth, I have organized Part 4 of the book into five chapters, each focused on a geographic area as follows: North America with emphasis on the United States, the European Union, Latin America, East Asia, and the BRIC economies. These chapters offer students the chance to broaden their understanding of world trends and to observe the intellectual power of economic theory in practice.

Flexibility of Organization

A text requires a fixed topical sequence because it must order the chapters one after another. This is a potential problem for some instructors, as there is a wide variety of preferences for the order in which topics are taught. The Sixth Edition strives for flexibility in allowing instructors to find their own preferred sequence.

Part 1 includes two introductory chapters that are designed to build vocabulary, develop historical perspective, and provide background information about the different international organizations and the roles they play in the world

economy. Some instructors prefer to delve into the theory chapters immediately, reserving this material for later in the course. There is no loss of continuity with this approach.

Part 2 presents the micro side of international economics, while Part 3 covers the macro side. These two parts can easily be reversed in sequence if desired.

Part 2 includes six chapters that cover trade models (Chapters 3–5) and commercial policy (Chapters 6–8). A condensed treatment of this section could focus on the Ricardian model in Chapter 3, and the analysis of tariffs and quotas in Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 8 on labor and environmental standards can stand on its own, although the preceding chapters deepen student understanding of the trade-offs.

Part 3 covers the balance of payments, exchange rates, open-economy macro-economics, and international financial crises. Chapter 11 on open economy macro-economics is optional. It is intended for students and instructors who want a review of macro-economics, including the concepts of fiscal and monetary policy, in a context that includes current accounts and exchange rates. If Chapter 11 is omitted, Chapter 12 (financial crises) remains accessible as long as students have an understanding of the basic concepts of fiscal and monetary policy. Chapter 12 relies most heavily on Chapters 9 (balance of payments) and 10 (exchange rates and exchange rate systems).

Part 4 presents five chapters, each focused on a geographic area. These chapters use theory presented in Chapters 3–12 in a similar fashion to the economics discussion that students find in the business press, congressional testimonies, speeches, and other sources intended for a broad civic audience. Where necessary, concepts such as the real rate of exchange are briefly reviewed. One or more of these chapters can be moved forward to fit the needs of a particular course.

Supplementary Materials

The following supplementary resources are available to support teaching and learning.

Companion Website: www.pearsonhighered.com/gerber

- David Dieterle of Walsh College has prepared a Web-based PowerPoint presentation comprising lecture notes and all of the text's tables and figures.
- In recognition of the importance of the Internet as a source of timely information, the Companion Website offers Web links for each chapter of *International Economics*. These links, complete with descriptions of the content available at each site, provide easy access to relevant, current data sources.

Other Supplements

Laura Wolff of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, has revised the TestGen and brought it up to date with the text. The TestGen is available for download on the Instructor's Resource website. The Instructor's Manual is

also available online as an additional resource. Finally, the CourseSmart eTextbook for the text is available through www.coursesmart.com. CourseSmart goes beyond traditional expectations, providing instant, online access to the textbooks and course materials you need at a lower cost to students. And, even as students save money, you can save time and hassle with a digital textbook that allows you to search the most relevant content at the very moment you need it. Whether it's evaluating textbooks or creating lecture notes to help students with difficult concepts, CourseSmart can make life a little easier. See how when you visit www.coursesmart.com/instructors.

MyEconLab MyEconLab

MyEconLab has been designed and refined with a single purpose in mind: to create those moments of understanding that transform the difficult into the clear and obvious. With comprehensive homework, quiz, test, and tutorial options, instructors can manage all their assessment needs in one program.

MyEconLab for *International Economics*, Sixth Edition offers the following resources for students and instructors:

- All end-of-chapter questions from the text are available in MyEconLab.
- Personal study plans are created for each individual student based on performance on assigned and sample exercises.
- **Instant tutorial feedback** on a student's problem and graphing responses to questions.
- Interactive learning aids, such as *Help Me Solve This* (a step-by-step tutorial), help the student right when they need it.
- News articles are available for classroom and assignment use. Up-to-date news articles and complementary discussion questions are posted weekly to bring today's news into the classroom and course.
- Real-Time Data Analysis These exercises allow instructors to assign problems that use up-to-the-minute data. Each RTDA exercise loads the appropriate and most currently available data from FRED, a comprehensive and up-to-date data set maintained by the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. Exercises are graded based on that instance of data, and feedback is provided.
- An enhanced Pearson eText available within the online course materials and offline via an iPad app. The enhanced eText allows instructors and students to highlight, bookmark, and take notes.
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- **Temporary access** for students who are awaiting financial aid; a seventeenday grace period of temporary access.
- One place for students to access all of their MyLab courses. Students and instructors can register, create, and access all of their MyLab courses, regardless of discipline, from one convenient online location: www.pearsonmylab.com.

For more information, please visit www.myeconlab.com.

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Jeff Ankrom
Wittenberg University

David Aschauer Bates College

H. Somnez Atesoglu Clarkson University

Titus Awokuse *University of Delaware*

Mohsen Bahmani-Oskooee University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Richard T. Baillie Michigan State University

Mina Baliamoune-Lutz, University of North Florida Eugene Beaulieu
University of Calgary

Ted Black

Towson University

Bruce Blonigen *University of Oregon*

Lee Bour

Florida State University

Byron Brown

Southern Oregon University

Laura Brown

University of Manitoba

Albert Callewaert Walsh College

Tom Carter Oklahoma City University

Srikanta Chatterjee Massey University, New

Zealand

Jen-Chi Cheng

Wichita State University

Don Clark

University of Tennessee

Raymond Cohn

Illinois State University

Peter Crabb

Northwest Nazarene University

David Crary

Eastern Michigan University

Al Culver

California State University, Chico

Joseph Daniels

Marquette University

xxiv Preface

Alan Deardorff University of Michigan

Craig Depken II
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

John Devereaux University of Miami

K. Doroodian *Ohio University* Carolyn Evans,

Santa Clara University

Noel J. J. Farley Bryn Mawr College

Ora Freedman Stevenson University

Lewis R. Gale IV University of Southwest Louisiana

Kevin Gallagher Boston University

Ira Gang

Rutgers University
John Gilbert

Utah State University
James Giordano

Villanova University

Amy Jocelyn Glass
Texas A&M University

Joanne Gowa
Princeton University
Gregory Green

Idaho State University

Thomas Grennes
North Carolina State University

Winston Griffith Bucknell University

Jane Hall

California State University, Fullerton

Seid Hassan

Murray State University

F. Steb Hipple

East Tennessee State University

Paul Jensen Drexel University

Ghassan Karam Pace University George Karras

University of Illinois at Chicago

Kathy Kelly

University of Texas, Arlington

Abdul Khandker University of Wisconsin, La

Crosse

Jacqueline Khorassani Marietta College

Sunghyun Henry Kim Brandeis University Vani Kotcherlakota University of Nebraska at

Kearney

Corrine Krupp
Michigan State University

Kishore Kulkarni Metropolitan State College of

Denver

Farrokh Langdana Rutgers University

Daniel Y. Lee

Shippensburg University

Mary Lesser Iona College

Benjamin H. Liebman Saint Joseph's University

Susan Linz

Michigan State University

Marc Lombard

Macquarie University, Australia

Thomas Lowinger Washington State University

Nicolas Magud University of Oregon

Bala Maniam

Sam Houston State University

Mary McGlasson

Arizona State University

Joseph McKinney
Baylor University
Judith McKinney

Hobart & William Smith Colleges

Colleges

Howard McNier

San Francisco State University

Michael O. Moore

George Washington University

Stephan Norribin Florida State University

William H. Phillips University of South Carolina

Frank Raymond
Bellarmine University
Donald Richards
Indiana State University

John Robertson University of Kentucky Community College System

Jeffrey Rosensweig *Emory University* Marina Rosser

James Madison University

Raj Roy

University of Toledo

Michael Ryan

Western Michigan University

George Samuels

Sam Houston State University

Craig Schulman
University of Arizona
William Seyfried
Winthrop University

Eckhard Siggel Concordia University

David Spiro

Columbia University

Richard Sprinkle

University of Texas, El Paso

Ann Sternlicht

Virginia Commonwealth

University

Leonie Stone State University of New York at Geneseo

Carolyn Fabian Stumph Indiana University, Purdue University, Fort Wayne

Rebecca Summary Southeast Missouri State University

Jack Suyderhoud University of Hawaii

Kishor Thanawala Villanova University

Henry Thompson Auburn University

Cynthia Tori
Valdosta State University

Edward Tower Duke University

Ross van Wassenhove *University of Houston*

Jose Ventura

Sacred Heart University

Craig Walker Oklahoma Baptist University

Michael Welker Franciscan University

Jerry Wheat

Indiana State University

Laura Wolff

Southern Illinois University,

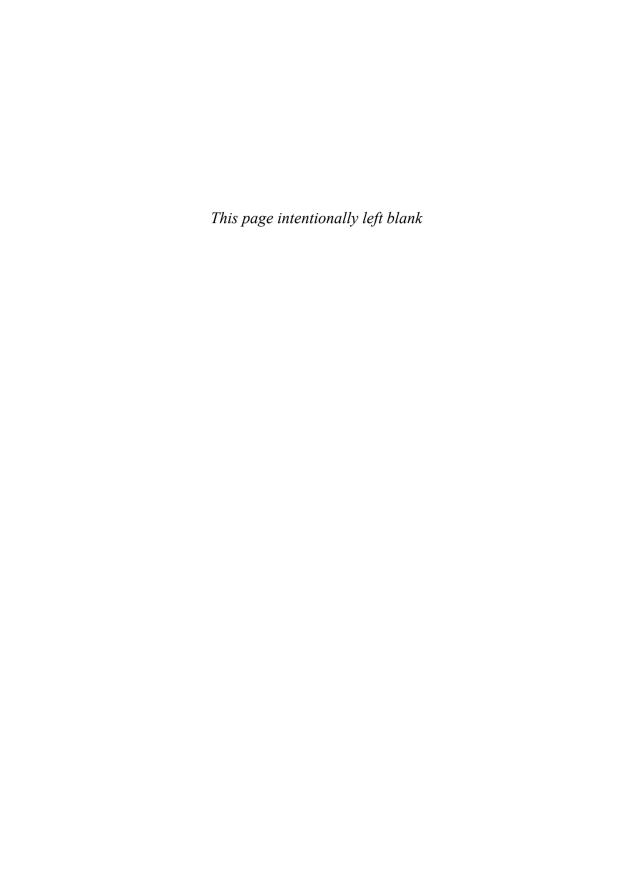
Edwardsville

Chong K. Yip

Georgia State University

Alina Zapalska

Marshall University



PART

Introduction and Institutions

The United States in a Global Economy

Learning Objectives

After studying Chapter 1, students will be able to:

- Explain how economists measure international economic integration.
- List the three types of evidence to support the idea that trade supports economic growth.
- Discuss the differences in international economic integration at the end of the nineteenth century and the current era.
- Describe the major themes of international economics.

Introduction: International Economic Integration

In August of 2007, a crisis erupted in the housing sector of the United States. At the time, few people realized that the subprime mortgage crisis would become a demonstration of international economic integration or that it would push the world economy to the brink of collapse. The crisis grew through the remainder of 2007 and into 2008, so that by the summer nearly all high-income economies were in deep distress. Contagion from the crisis spread like an epidemic as banks and other financial firms collapsed and solvent firms stopped lending. The scarcity of credit caused difficulties for businesses that could not find financing for their day-to-day operations while, at the same time, consumers cut back on their spending and businesses cut back on new investment. By the end of 2008, economies around the world were in recession, with the notable exceptions of China, India, and the major oil producers.

This episode is the most dramatic instance since the Great Depression of the 1930s of a crisis leading to severe economic recession in many countries around the world. It is, however, only one of several recent examples of crises spilling across national borders. The Russian Crisis of 1998–99, the Asian Crisis of 1997–98, the Mexican Crisis of 1994–95, the Latin American Debt Crisis of 1982–89, and a number of others caused major damage to financial systems, businesses, and households, both in the places where they originated and in many other countries.

The international integration of national economies has brought many benefits to nations across the globe, including technological innovation, less expensive products,

and greater investment in regions where local capital is scarce, to name a few. But it has also made countries vulnerable to economic problems that have become more easily transmitted from one place to another. Given that the benefits and costs of international economic integration are surrounded by controversy, it is worth clarifying what we mean by the term *international economic integration*, or *globalization in the economic sphere*. To help us understand these forces better, a historical perspective is also useful.

Elements of International Economic Integration

Most people would agree that the major economies of the world are more integrated than at any time in history. Given our instantaneous communications, modern transportation, and relatively open trading systems, most goods can move from one country to another without major obstacles and at relatively low cost. For example, most cars today are made in fifteen or more countries after you consider where each part is made, where the advertising originates, who does the accounting, and who transports the components and the final product. Nevertheless, the proposition that today's economies are more integrated than at any other time in history is not simple to demonstrate. It is clear that our current wave of economic integration began in the 1950s, with the reduction of trade barriers after World War II. In the 1970s, many countries began to encourage financial integration by increasing the openness of their capital markets. The advent of the Internet in the 1990s, along with the other elements of the telecommunications revolution, pushed economic integration to new levels as multinational firms developed international production networks and markets became ever more tightly linked.

Today's global economy is not the first instance of a dramatic growth in economic ties between nations, however, as there was another important period between approximately 1870 and 1913. New technologies such as transatlantic cables, steam-powered ships, railroads, and many others led the way, much as they do today. For example, when the first permanent transatlantic cable was completed in 1866, the time it took for a New York businessperson to complete a financial transaction in London fell from approximately three weeks to one day, and by 1914 it had fallen to one minute as radio telephony became possible.

We have mostly forgotten about this earlier period of economic integration, and that makes it easier to overestimate integration today. Instantaneous communications and rapid transportation, together with the easy availability of foreign products, often cause us to lose sight of the fact that most of what we buy and sell never makes it out of our local or national markets. We rarely pause to think that haircuts, restaurant meals, gardens, health care, education, utilities, and many other goods and services are partially or wholly domestic products. In the United States, for example, about 82.3 percent of goods and services are produced domestically, with imports (17.7 percent) making up the remainder of what we consume (2011).

By comparison, in 1890 the United States made about 92 percent of its goods and services, a larger share than today, but not radically different.

The question as to whether we are more economically integrated today or in some period in the past is not only academic. Between the onset of World War I in 1914 and the end of World War II in 1945, the world economy suffered a series of human-made catastrophes that de-integrated national economies. Two world wars and a global depression caused most countries to close their borders to foreign goods, foreign capital, and foreign people. Since the end of World War II, many of the economic linkages between nations have served to repair the damage done during the first half of the twentieth century, but there is no reason to think that events might not cause a similar decoupling in the future.

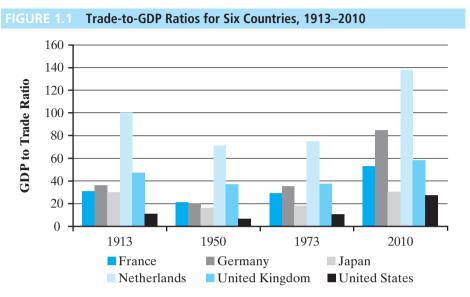
Understanding international economic integration requires us to define what we mean by the term. Economists usually point to four criteria or measures for judging the degree of integration. These are trade flows, capital flows, people flows, and the similarity of prices in separate markets. The first three points are relatively self-explanatory, while the similarity of prices refers to the fact that integrated economies have price differences that are relatively small and are due mainly to differences in transportation costs. Goods that can move freely from a low-cost to a high-cost region should experience price convergence as goods move from where they are plentiful and cheap to where they are relatively scarcer and more expensive. All of these indicators—trade flows, factor (labor and capital) movements, and similarity of prices—are measures of the degree of international economic integration.

The Growth of World Trade

Since the end of World War II, world trade has grown much faster than world output. One way to show this is to estimate the ratio of exports by all countries to total production by all countries. In 1950, total world exports—which are the same as world imports—are estimated to have been 5.5 percent of world **gross domestic product (GDP)**, a measure of total production. Fifty-five years later, in 2005, they were 20.5 percent of world GDP, nearly four times more important relative to the size of the world economy. One measure of the importance of international trade in a nation's economy is the sum of exports plus imports, divided by the GDP. Specifically, it is the value of all final goods and services produced inside a nation during some period, usually one year. The **trade-to-GDP ratio** is represented as follows:

Trade to GDP ratio =
$$(Exports + Imports) \div GDP$$

The ratio does not tell us about a country's trade policies and countries with higher ratios do not necessarily have lower barriers to trade, although that is one possibility. In general, large countries are less dependent on international trade because their firms can reach an optimal production size without having



Source: Maddison, A. (1991). "Dynamic Forces in Capitalist Development" and The World Trade Organization, "Statistics Database: Trade Profiles." Note that 2010 is an average of 2008–2010.

to sell to foreign markets. Consequently, smaller countries tend to have higher ratios of trade-to-GDP.

Figure 1.1 shows the trade-to-GDP ratio for six countries between 1913 and 2010. The decline in trade between the onset of World War I and 1950 is clearly visible in each country, as is the subsequent increase after 1950. Another pattern shown in Figure 1.1 is the smaller ratios for the United States and Japan, which have the largest populations, and the much higher ratio for the Netherlands, which has the smallest population in the sample. In general, smaller countries trade more than larger ones since they cannot efficiently produce as wide a range of goods and must depend on trade to a greater extent. For example, if the Netherlands were to produce autos solely for its own market, it would lack economies of scale and could not produce at a competitive cost, whereas the U.S. market can absorb a large share of U.S. output. Hence, the trade-to-GDP ratio measures the relative importance of international trade in a nation's economy, but it does not provide any direct information about trade policy or trade barriers.

Figure 1.1 gives a historical overview of the decline and subsequent return of international trade after World War II, but it obscures important changes in the composition of trade flows from early in the twentieth century to those at the end of the century. Before World War I most trade consisted of agricultural commodities and raw materials, while current trade is primarily manufactured consumer goods and producer goods (machinery and equipment). Consequently, today's manufacturers are much more exposed to international com-

petition than was the case in 1900. In addition, much of the growth of world trade since 1950 has been accomplished by multinational corporations. With production sites in multiple countries and inputs that pass back and forth between affiliates, multinational corporations have become dramatically important. This trend has been supported and encouraged by the telecommunications revolution and transportation improvements that have lowered the costs of coordinating operations physically separated by oceans and continents. And finally, it has also become possible to coordinate service operations such as accounting and data processing from a great distance. In sum, trade today is qualitatively different than in 1913, and the growth of the trade-to-GDP ratio since 1950 does not tell the whole story.

Capital and Labor Mobility

In addition to exports and imports, factor movements also are an indicator of economic integration. As national economies become more interdependent, labor and capital should move more easily across international boundaries. Labor, however, is less mobile internationally than it was in 1900. Consider, for example, that in 1890 approximately 14.5 percent of the U.S. population was foreign born, while in 2010, the figure was 12.9 percent. In 1900, many nations had open door immigration policies, and passport controls, immigration visas, and work permits were exceptions rather than rules. The movement of people was severely restricted by the two world wars and the Great Depression of the 1930s. In the 1920s, during the interwar period, the United States sharply restricted immigration with policies that lasted until the 1960s, when changes in immigration laws once again encouraged foreigners to migrate to the United States.

On the capital side, measurement is more difficult, since there are several ways to measure capital flows. The most basic distinction is between flows of financial capital representing paper assets such as stocks, bonds, currencies, and bank accounts, and flows of capital representing physical assets such as real estate, factories, and businesses. The latter type of capital flow is called **foreign direct investment (FDI)**. To some extent, the distinction between the two types of capital flows is immaterial because both represent shifts in wealth across national boundaries and both make one nation's savings available to another.

When we compare international capital flows today to a century ago, there are two points to keep in mind. First, savings and investment are highly correlated. That is, countries with high savings tend to have high rates of investment, and low savings is correlated with low investment. If there were a single world market in which capital flowed freely and easily, this would not necessarily be the case. Capital would flow from countries with abundant savings and capital to countries with low savings and capital, where it would find its highest returns. Second, a variety of technological improvements increased capital flows in the 1800s, as they are doing today. Transoceanic cables and radio telephony have already been

mentioned, but capital flows also increased in the late 1800s because there were new investment opportunities such as national railroad networks and other infrastructure, both at home and abroad.

If we compare the size of capital flows today to the previous era of globalization, flows today are much larger but mainly because economies are larger. Relative to the size of economies, the differences are not great and may even favor the 1870 to 1913 period, depending on what is measured. Great Britain routinely invested 9 percent of its GDP abroad in the decades before 1913, and France, Germany, and the Netherlands were as high at times. For significant periods, Canada, Australia, and Argentina borrowed amounts that exceeded 10 percent of their GDP, a level of borrowing that sends up danger signals in the world economy today. In other words, it is hard to make the argument that national economies have a historically unprecedented level of international capital flows today.

While the relative quantity of capital flows today may not be that much different for many countries, there are some important qualitative differences. First, there are many more financial instruments available now than there were a century ago. These range from relatively mundane stocks and bonds to relatively exotic instruments such as derivatives, currency swaps, and others. By contrast, at the turn of the twentieth century there were many fewer companies listed on the world's stock exchanges and most international financial transactions involved the buying and selling of bonds.

A second difference today is the role of foreign exchange transactions. In 1900, countries had fixed exchange rates and firms in international trade or finance had less day-to-day risk from a sudden change in the value of a foreign currency. Many firms today spend significant resources to protect themselves from sudden shifts in currency values. Consequently, buying and selling assets denominated in foreign currencies is the largest component of international capital movements. For example, according to the Bank for International Settlements in Geneva, Switzerland, *daily* foreign exchange transactions in 2010 were equal to \$3.98 *trillion*. In 1973, at the end of the last era of fixed exchange rates, they were \$15 billion.

The third major difference in capital flows is that the costs of foreign financial transactions have fallen significantly. Economists refer to the costs of obtaining market information, negotiating an agreement, and enforcing the agreement as **transaction costs**. They are an important part of any business's costs, whether it is a purely domestic enterprise or a company involved in foreign markets. Due to sheer distance, as well as differences in culture, laws, and languages, transaction costs are often higher in international markets than in domestic ones. Today's lower transaction costs for foreign investment mean that it is less expensive to move capital across international boundaries.

The volatile movement of financial capital across international boundaries is often mistakenly regarded as a new feature of the international economy. Speculative excesses and overinvestment, followed by capital flight and bankruptcies, have occurred throughout the modern era, going back at least to the 1600s and

probably earlier. U.S. and world history show a number of such cases. Financial crises are not a new phenomenon, nor have we learned how to avoid them—a fact driven home by the recent subprime mortgage crisis.

Features of Contemporary International Economic Relations

While international economic integration has been rapid, it does not appear to be historically unprecedented. The trade-to-GDP ratio is about 50 percent higher in the U.S. economy than it was in 1890, and manufacturers and service providers are more exposed to international forces. Labor is less mobile than in 1900 due to passport controls and work permits, but capital is more mobile and encompasses a larger variety of financial forms. Prices in many U.S. and foreign markets tend to be similar, although there are still significant differences. In quantitative terms, the differences between today and a hundred years ago may not be as great as many people imagine, but qualitatively, a number of additional features of the world economy separate the first decade of the twenty-first century from the first decade of the twentieth.

Deeper Integration High-income countries have low barriers to imports of manufactured goods. There are some exceptions (processed foodstuffs and apparel), but as a general rule import tariffs (taxes on imports) and other barriers such as quotas (quantitative restrictions on imports) are much less restrictive than they were in the middle of the twentieth century. As trade barriers came down during the second half of the twentieth century, two other trends began to intensify economic integration between countries. First, lower trade barriers exposed the fact that most countries have domestic policies that are obstacles to international trade. National regulations governing labor, environmental, and consumer safety standards; rules governing investment location and performance; rules defining fair and unfair competition; rules on government "buy-national" programs; and government support policies for specific industries—all have little impact on trade until formal trade barriers start to fall and trade volume increases. These policies were not implemented to protect domestic industries from foreign competition, and as long as tariffs were high and trade flows were limited, they did not matter much to trade relations. Once tariffs fell, however, many forms of domestic policies began to be viewed as barriers to increased trade. Economists sometimes refer to the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of quotas as shallow integration and negotiations over domestic policies that impact international trade as deep integration. Deep integration is much more contentious than shallow integration and much more difficult to accomplish since it involves domestic policy changes that align a country with rules that are created abroad, or at least negotiated with foreign powers.

A second noticeable trend over the last few decades is that technologically complicated goods such as smart phones and automobiles are made of components produced in more than one country and, consequently, labels such as

"Made in China" or "Made in the USA" are less and less meaningful. Low tariffs along with innovations in transportation and communication technologies have enabled firms to locate production of the different components of a sophisticated product in different countries. For example, the hardware for a 3G iPhone is produced in Germany, Korea, Japan, and the United States, and then it is assembled in China. The most valuable share of the hardware is made in Japan, but no one thinks of this device as a Japanese phone. In this case, as in many others, it is not accurate to say the product is made in one particular country since the parts come from all over, and the product is the result of a multinational effort involving firms and workers from many different countries.

These two trends raise new issues that are shaping the world economy in the twenty-first century. The first trend, greater interest in the consequences of different domestic policies, makes trade negotiations more difficult and creates widespread discussion of labor, environmental, and other standards that may affect trade flows. The second trend, greater participation in the production of a single product by firms in multiple countries, leads to concerns about the impact of trade on national economies, employment, and working conditions. National and international dialogues on these issues are a key feature of international economics in the twenty-first century.

Multilateral Organizations At the end of World War II, the United States, Great Britain, and their allies created a number of international organizations to maintain international economic and political stability. Although the architects of these organizations could not envision the challenges and issues they would confront over the next fifty years, the organizations were given significant flexibility, and they continue to play an important and growing role in managing the issues of shallow and deeper integration.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (the WTO began operation in 1995, but grew out of the GATT), and a host of smaller organizations have broad international participation. They serve as forums for discussing and establishing rules, as mediators of disputes, and as organizers of actions to resolve problems. All of these organizations are controversial and have come under increasing fire from critics who charge that they promote unsustainable economic policies or that they protect the interests of wealthy countries. Others argue that they are unnecessary foreign entanglements that severely limit the scope for national action (Chapter 2 examines this issue in detail). These organizations are attempts to create internationally acceptable rules for trade and commerce and to deal with potential disputes before they spill across international borders; they are an entirely new element in the international economy.

Regional Trade Agreements Agreements between groups of nations are not new. Free-trade agreements and other forms of preferential trade have