

# IO

## International Organization

**Neta C. Crawford**

Cooperation Among Iroquois Nations

**James D. Morrow**

The Forms of International Cooperation

**Ronald B. Mitchell**

Regime Design Matters

**Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise**

Mexico's Free Trade Policy

**Stanley D. Nollen and Dennis P. Quinn**

Free Trade, Fair Trade, Strategic Trade, and Protectionism

Edited at the University of Southern California  
Published quarterly by The MIT Press  
Founded in 1947, and supported, by the World Peace Foundation

#### EDITORIAL BOARD

Miles Kahler, Chairperson

David A. Baldwin  
Thomas J. Biersteker  
Benjamin J. Cohen  
Peter F. Cowhey  
Jack Donnelly  
Barry Eichengreen  
Albert Fishlow  
Jeffrey Frieden  
Judith L. Goldstein  
Joanne Gowa  
Joseph M. Grieco

Stephan Haggard  
Christer Jönsson  
Robert O. Keohane  
Stephen D. Krasner  
Friedrich V. Kratochwil  
David A. Lake  
Charles S. Maier  
Timothy J. McKeown  
Helen V. Milner  
John S. Odell

Robert Powell  
J. David Richardson  
Volker Rittberger  
Ronald Rogowski  
John Gerard Ruggie  
Anne-Marie Slaughter Burley  
Jack Snyder  
Beth V. Yarbrough  
Oran R. Young  
Mark W. Zacher

*Editor:* John S. Odell

*Managing editor:* Candyce Kornblum Anger

*Review editors:* Janice Stein

Beth V. Yarbrough

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION invites the submission of original manuscripts on all aspects of world politics and international political economy. Abstracts, manuscripts, and footnotes should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively and placed at the end of the manuscript. Submit four copies (printed on one side of the page only), along with a statement of each author's affiliation, to the Editor, *International Organization*, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0035. Submitted articles must not have been published elsewhere and may not currently be under review in any format by any other publisher. Authors may expect a decision within two months of the Editor's receipt of a manuscript.

Statements and opinions expressed in *International Organization* are the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the Board of Editors, the Board of Trustees of the World Peace Foundation, the University of Southern California, or The MIT Press.

*International Organization* (ISSN 0020-8183) is published quarterly (winter, spring, summer, and autumn) by The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA 02142. Subscriptions and address changes

should be addressed to MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142; (617) 253-2889; e-mail: journals-orders@mit.edu. Subscriptions are on a volume year basis. Rates are: Individuals \$35.00, Institutions \$85.00, Students/Retired \$25.00. Outside U.S. add \$14.00 for postage and handling. Canadians add additional 7% GST. Current issues are \$22.00. Back issues are: Individuals: \$11.00, Institutions \$22.00. Outside U.S. add \$5.00 per issue for postage and handling. Canadians add additional 7% GST. To be honored free, claims for missing issues must be made immediately upon receipt of the next published issue. Prices subject to change without notice. Second Class postage is paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. *International Organization* is distributed by Ubiquity, 607 Degraw St., Brooklyn, NY 11217, (718) 875-5491. *International Organization* is abstracted or indexed in the following: Academic Abstracts, ABC Pol Sci, America: History and Life, Applied Social Sciences Index & Abstracts, Current Contents/Social & Behavioral Sciences, International Bibliography of Economics (also in IBSS), International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences/Political Science, International Political Science Abstracts, Journal of

Economic Literature, Magazine Index (Information Access Company), Middle East: Abstracts and Index, Public Affairs Information Service/PAIS, Social Sciences Citation Index, Social Sciences Index, Social Science Source. *Advertising and Mailing List Rental:* Please write to Marketing Manager, MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142 USA, or telephone (617) 253-2866, e-mail: journals-info@mit.edu.

*Rights and permissions:* All inquiries concerning rights and permissions should be sent to Subsidiary Rights Manager, MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142. E-mail: journals-rights@mit.edu.

Permission to photocopy articles for internal or personal use or the internal or personal use of specific clients is granted by The IO Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC), provided that the fee of \$3.00 per copy is paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. The fee code for users of the Transactional Reporting Service is 0020-8183/94 \$3.00. For those organizations that have been granted a photocopy license with CCC, a separate system of payment has been arranged.

---

# International Organization

Volume 48, Number 3, Summer 1994

---

- A security regime among democracies: cooperation among Iroquois nations *Neta C. Crawford* 345
- Modeling the forms of international cooperation: distribution versus information *James D. Morrow* 387
- Regime design matters: intentional oil pollution and treaty compliance *Ronald B. Mitchell* 425
- The origins and sustainability of Mexico's free trade policy *Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise* 459
- Free trade, fair trade, strategic trade, and protectionism in the U.S. Congress, 1987–88 *Stanley D. Nollen and Dennis P. Quinn* 491

---

# Contributors

---

**Neta C. Crawford** is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

**Ronald B. Mitchell** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Oregon, Eugene.

**James D. Morrow** is Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

**Stanley D. Nollen** is Professor in the School of Business, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

**Manuel Pastor** is Associate Professor of Economics at Occidental College and a Research Fellow at the college's International and Public Affairs Center, Los Angeles, California.

**Dennis P. Quinn** is Associate Professor in the School of Business, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

**Carol Wise** is Assistant Professor at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and a Resident Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C.

---

# Abstracts

---

## **A security regime among democracies: cooperation among Iroquois nations**

by Neta C. Crawford

In precolonial and colonial North America five Iroquois nations, which previously had fought for generations, stopped wars among themselves and lived in peace for about 325 years. This history raises several questions: why did the Iroquois nations stop fighting each other; did the fact that each nation was a democracy have anything to do with the end of war among them; and what are the lessons of this peace for international relations scholars? A security regime formed by the Iroquois in 1450, known as the Iroquois League, accounts for the peace. Comparing the Iroquois League with the Concert of Europe indicates an important role for norms and institutionalization in ameliorating the security dilemma. Further, the five democratic nations that formed the Iroquois League exemplify Immanuel Kant's idea of a system for "perpetual peace." Finally, the history of the Iroquois League challenges realist claims of cross-cultural and timeless validity.

## **Modeling the forms of international cooperation: distribution versus information**

by James D. Morrow

The problems of distribution and information impede international cooperation. They arise when actors select how they will cooperate. An exploration of the interaction between these problems using a limited information model of cooperation leads to six conclusions. First, leadership solutions to coordination problems always exist, but leadership here is very different from hegemonic provision of public goods. Second, actors can cooperate in the face of anarchy even without a shadow of the future. Third, diffuse reciprocal strategies arise naturally in coordination problems. Fourth, norms and institutions are intertwined within successful cooperation. Fifth, the form of cooperation on an issue varies with the relative importance of distribution and information. Finally and most important, distributional and informational problems interfere with each other. Arrangements to cooperate can successfully address one, but not both, of these problems.

## **Regime design matters: intentional oil pollution and treaty compliance**

by Ronald B. Mitchell

Whether a treaty elicits compliance from governments or nonstate actors depends upon identifiable characteristics of the regime's compliance systems. Within the international

regime controlling intentional oil pollution, a provision requiring tanker owners to install specified equipment produced dramatically higher levels of compliance than a provision requiring tanker operators to limit their discharges. Since both provisions entailed strong economic incentives for violation and regulated the same countries over the same time period, the variance in compliance clearly can be attributed to different features of the two subregimes. The equipment requirements' success stemmed from establishing an integrated compliance system that increased transparency, provided for potent and credible sanctions, reduced implementation costs to governments by building on existing infrastructures, and prevented violations rather than merely deterring them.

### **The origins and sustainability of Mexico's free trade policy**

by Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise

Standard explanations for trade liberalization do not fully account for Mexico's turn toward free trade during the 1980s. To a large extent, the initiative came from within the country. Even many Mexican entrepreneurs whose sectors seem likely to lose from increased competition now support trade liberalization. Four conditions lowered the "political cost-benefit ratio" for policymakers and entrepreneurs. First, Mexico's leaders dispersed implementation into several financial ministries, thereby better insulating this policy from lobbying by the likely "losers." Second, potential losers were less well-informed than were likely "winners." Third, under these conditions, the liberal ideological biases of Mexican elite policymakers and investors flourished, prompting them to accept a higher political cost than would have been tolerated otherwise. Finally, many Mexicans came to perceive trade liberalization as a necessary tool in the fight against inflation. Each of these hypotheses, however, also flags a possible threat to the policy's future political survival.

### **Free trade, fair trade, strategic trade, and protectionism in the U.S. Congress, 1987-88**

by Stanley D. Nollen and Dennis P. Quinn

What conditions led the One Hundredth Congress of the United States to enact fair trade and strategic trade policies into law during 1987-88? Political partisanship is an important force, with Democrats supporting and Republicans opposing all types of trade intervention. Otherwise, the coalitions of support for and opposition to the various trade policies differ, particularly in the Senate. In that body, international business is associated with support for fair trade policies and with opposition to classical protectionism, while domestic U.S. business is associated with support for classical protectionism. Liberalism is strongly associated with support for fair and strategic trade policies but is not associated with classical protectionism. In the House of Representatives, the long-standing protectionist coalition remains an influence. Few forces in support of free trade remain in U.S. politics. Changing international market conditions rapidly affect the making of U.S. trade policy.