Alliances, Arms Exports, and Electoral Trade Cycles

Joshua Alley

April 8, 2022

Democratic Statecraft Lab, University of Virginia

How do U.S. political budget cycles

affect international security

cooperation?

U.S. Monetary Policy Near Elections

U.S. Monetary Policy Near Elections



Arms Sales



1. U.S. political budget cycles increase trade.

- 1. U.S. political budget cycles increase trade.
- 2. Defense contracting has a critical role in budget cycles.

- 1. U.S. political budget cycles increase trade.
- 2. Defense contracting has a critical role in budget cycles.
- 3. Contracting cycles lead to arms exports, especially to allies.

- 1. U.S. political budget cycles increase trade.
- 2. Defense contracting has a critical role in budget cycles.
- 3. Contracting cycles lead to arms exports, especially to allies.
- 4. **Outcome**: U.S. imports increase, and allies receive more U.S. exports through arms.

International security consequences of political budget cycles.

International security consequences of political budget cycles.

1. Most prior research focuses on presence and domestic consequences of cycles (e.g. Nordhaus 1975; Tufte 1978; Rogoff 1987).

International security consequences of political budget cycles.

- 1. Most prior research focuses on presence and domestic consequences of cycles (e.g. Nordhaus 1975; Tufte 1978; Rogoff 1987).
- 2. Some work on international consequences, mostly in economic growth and finance: (e.g. Thompson and Zuk 1983; Ito 1991; Foerster and Schmitz 1997)

International security consequences of political budget cycles.

- 1. Most prior research focuses on presence and domestic consequences of cycles (e.g. Nordhaus 1975; Tufte 1978; Rogoff 1987).
- 2. Some work on international consequences, mostly in economic growth and finance: (e.g. Thompson and Zuk 1983; Ito 1991; Foerster and Schmitz 1997)
- 3. Identifying general trade cycles is also a marginal contribution.

1. Argument: Budget Cycles, Defense Contracting, Arms Transfers, and Trade.

- 1. Argument: Budget Cycles, Defense Contracting, Arms Transfers, and Trade.
- 2. Results: Electoral Trade Cycles.

- 1. Argument: Budget Cycles, Defense Contracting, Arms Transfers, and Trade.
- 2. Results: Electoral Trade Cycles.
- 3. Results: Defense Contracting and Arms Trade Cycles.

Argument

Political Budget Cycles

In order to win elections:

Political Budget Cycles

In order to win elections:

1. Leaders use fiscal and monetary policy to increase economic growth.

Political Budget Cycles

In order to win elections:

- 1. Leaders use fiscal and monetary policy to increase economic growth.
- 2. Also employ more targeted policies (Conconi et al. 2017; Ahlquist 2010, Philips 2020).

 Economic expansion increases domestic consumption, pulling in imports.

- 1. Economic expansion increases domestic consumption, pulling in imports.
- 2. Price effects of monetary expansion increase exports. Likely weaker effect (Clark and Hallerberg 2000).

- Economic expansion increases domestic consumption, pulling in imports.
- 2. Price effects of monetary expansion increase exports. Likely weaker effect (Clark and Hallerberg 2000).
- 3. Imports to all other countries rise. Exports increase somewhat.

1. Presidents control contract allocation.

- 1. Presidents control contract allocation.
- 2. Use this for targeted stimulus (Mayer 1995; DeRouen Jr and Heo 2000).

- 1. Presidents control contract allocation.
- 2. Use this for targeted stimulus (Mayer 1995; DeRouen Jr and Heo 2000).
- 3. Creates additional defense goods.

- 1. Presidents control contract allocation.
- 2. Use this for targeted stimulus (Mayer 1995; DeRouen Jr and Heo 2000).
- 3. Creates additional defense goods.
- 4. Some defense goods will be exported.

1. Allies provide a market for additional defense goods.

- 1. Allies provide a market for additional defense goods.
- 2. Result of common security interests, defense industry integration.

- 1. Allies provide a market for additional defense goods.
- 2. Result of common security interests, defense industry integration.
- 3. Exports double as a commitment signal for U.S. leaders (Yarhi-Milo et al 2018).

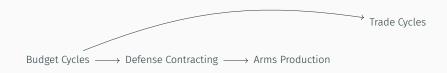
- 1. Allies provide a market for additional defense goods.
- 2. Result of common security interests, defense industry integration.
- 3. Exports double as a commitment signal for U.S. leaders (Yarhi-Milo et al 2018).
- 4. Allies gain security and establish a cooperative reputation.

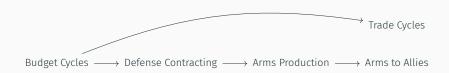
Argument Summary

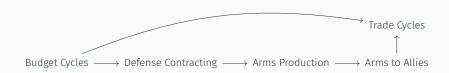
Budget Cycles











Hypotheses

TRADE CYCLES HYPOTHESIS: As time to a presidential election decreases, U.S. imports and exports will increase, and exports to allies will increase more than other trade flows.

Hypotheses

TRADE CYCLES HYPOTHESIS: As time to a presidential election decreases, U.S. imports and exports will increase, and exports to allies will increase more than other trade flows.

ARMS EXPORTS HYPOTHESIS: As time to a presidential election decreases, U.S. arms exports to allies will increase.

Electoral Trade Cycles

Analyze changes in US trade with all other states, 1951 to 2014.

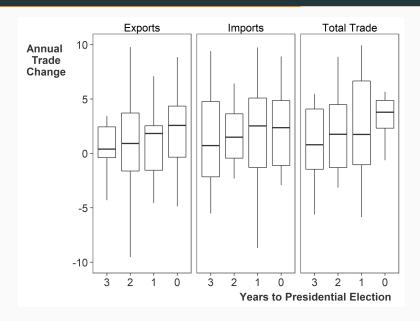
1. Outcome: Changes in log exports, imports, and total trade.

- 1. Outcome: Changes in log exports, imports, and total trade.
- 2. Independent Variables: Dummy indicator of defense alliance, years to presidential election, interaction.

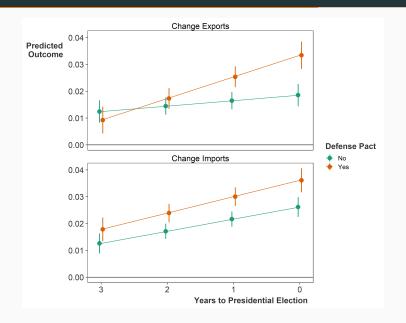
- 1. Outcome: Changes in log exports, imports, and total trade.
- 2. Independent Variables: Dummy indicator of defense alliance, years to presidential election, interaction.
- 3. Estimator: Robust regression.

- 1. Outcome: Changes in log exports, imports, and total trade.
- 2. Independent Variables: Dummy indicator of defense alliance, years to presidential election, interaction.
- 3. Estimator: Robust regression.
- 4. Adjust for gravity model factors, security threats, common interests, presidential partisanship.

Electoral Trade Cycles



Alliances and Trade Regression Results



Arms Export Cycles

Analyze US arms exports to all other states, 1951 to 2014.

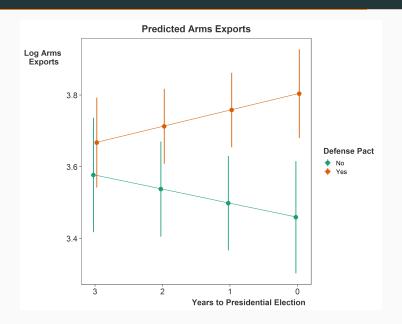
1. Outcome: Log Arms Transfers (SIPRI), non-zero values.

- Outcome: Log Arms Transfers (SIPRI), non-zero values.
- 2. Independent Variables: Dummy indicator of defense alliance, years to presidential election, interaction.

- 1. Outcome: Log Arms Transfers (SIPRI), non-zero values.
- 2. Independent Variables: Dummy indicator of defense alliance, years to presidential election, interaction.
- 3. Estimator: Linear regression (OLS) with hurdle.

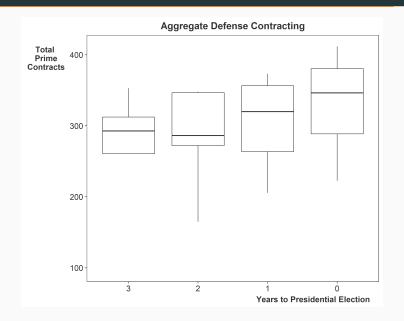
- Outcome: Log Arms Transfers (SIPRI), non-zero values.
- 2. Independent Variables: Dummy indicator of defense alliance, years to presidential election, interaction.
- 3. Estimator: Linear regression (OLS) with hurdle.
- 4. Adjust for trade model controls, lagged arms transfers, and non-zero arms transfer probability.

Arms Exports, Alliances, and Elections



Defense Contracting Cycles

Defense Contracting Cycles: 2000-2020



Discussion and Conclusion

U.S. political budget cycles expand

exports to allies.

U.S. political budget cycles expand international trade, especially arms

Discussion

Some limitations.

Discussion

Some limitations.

1. Collecting more detailed trade and arms data.

Discussion

Some limitations.

- 1. Collecting more detailed trade and arms data.
- 2. Generalizing beyond the United States.

My Research Agenda: Alliance Politics and Political Economy of Security

Alliance Politics

- Alliances and Military Spending: International Studies Quarterly, Research & Politics and Security Studies.
- 2. Economic Benefits of US Alliances.
- 3. Democratic Alliance Durability.

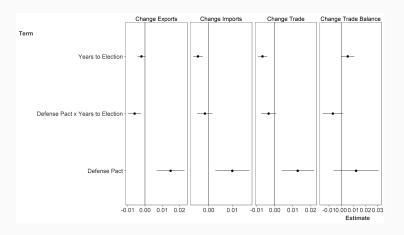
Civil Conflict

- U.S. Foreign Terrorist
 Organization (FTO) List
 and Terrorist Attacks
- Conflict Management Institutions and FDI in Post-Conflict States
- 3. Media and Support for Militant Right-Wing Extremism in the U.S.

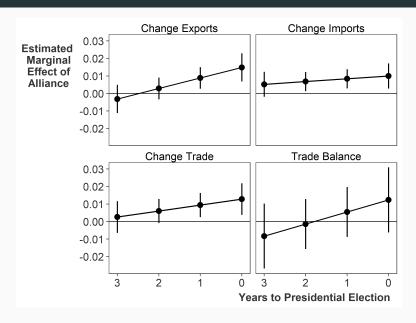
Thank you!

jkalley@virginia.edu

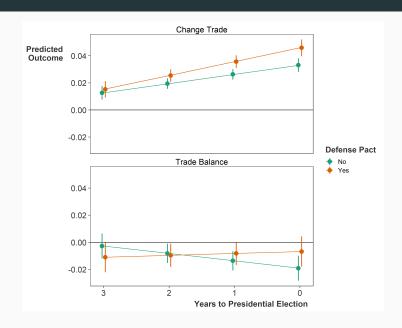
Interaction Terms: Alliances and Trade



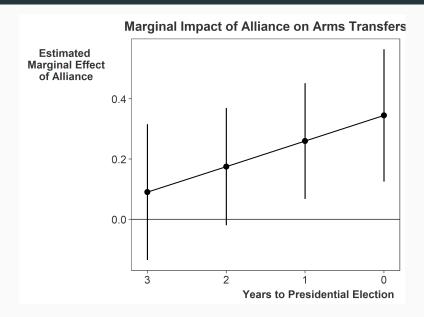
Marginal Effects: Alliances and Trade



Net Trade Outcomes



Marginal Effects: Alliances and Arms Exports



Defense Contracting by Sector

