

Gary Winslett

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Employment

2024-present	Director, International Politics and Economics Program
2024-present	Associate Professor, Middlebury College
2018-present	Assistant Professor, Middlebury College Department of Political Science and the International Politics and Economics Program
2017-2018	Visiting Assistant Professor, Boston College Departments of Political Science and International Studies
2016-2017	Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellow, European University Institute Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

Education

2016	Ph.D., Department of Political Science, Boston College Major field: International Relations, Minor field: Comparative Politics
2009	B.A. in Political Science and in Economics, <i>summa cum laude</i> , University of Florida

Book- *Competitiveness and Death: Trade and Politics in Cars, Beef, and Drugs* (2021 University of Michigan Press)

Abstract: Cross-national differences in regulation have become the most significant barriers to international trade. My book attempts to explain why states sometimes choose to reduce these regulatory trade barriers but at other times choose to maintain or increase them. To do this, I examine the international negotiation over regulatory trade barriers in three industries. The first investigates consumer safety, labor-related domestic content, and environmental regulations in the trade in automobiles in North America and the European Union. The second analyzes mad-cow safety regulations and the trade in beef between the United States and Japan. The third examines intellectual property regulations and the trade in pharmaceuticals between the United States, India, and Latin America. I assert that businesses are likely to succeed at reducing a regulatory trade barrier when they can link their desire for that reduction with broader concerns about economic competitiveness while activist organizations are likely to succeed at defending a regulatory trade barrier when they can link their desire for maintaining or increasing that barrier with preventing needless death. The book adds to the IPE scholarly literature by demonstrating the limits of globalization, by improving understanding of activists' and businesses' political power, and by moving past cleavage-based explanations of trade politics.

Article/Book Chapter Publications

- 2024 “Digital Trade in Services: Globalization’s Exciting New Frontier” in *Defending Globalization: Facts and Myths About The Global Economy and Its Fundamental Humanity*. Scott Lincicome and Clark Packard (eds.) *Cato Press*.
- 2022 “Technology and the New Geography of Trade Politics” In *A Research Agenda for International Political Economy*. David Deese (ed.) Edward Elgar: Northampton.
- 2022 “The Trade Zax: Explaining When Regulatory Disputes Escalate into Trade Wars” In *Research Handbook on Trade Wars*. Wei Liang and Ka Zeng (eds.) Edward Elgar: Northampton.
- 2021 “The Evolving Legal Architecture Shaping the Digital Trade in Services,” with Taylor Phillips. *Journal of Law, Technology, and Policy*. p. 257-312.
- 2019 “Choosing Among Options for Regulatory Cooperation.” *Global Governance*. 25:1. p. 100-122.
- 2018 “Critical Mass Agreements: The Proven Template for Trade Liberalization in the WTO.” *World Trade Review*. 17:3. p. 405-426.
- 2018 “Protectionism” in *Terms of Trade: Making Sense of World Trade Politics*. Klaus Dingwerth and Clara Weinhardt (eds.) Routledge: London.
- 2016 “How Regulations Became the Crux of Trade Politics.” *Journal of World Trade* 50:1. p. 47-70.
- 2016 “Public Opinion Distribution and Party Competition in U.S. Trade Policy.” *The World Economy*. 39:8. p. 1128-1145.
- 2016 "Differential Threat Perceptions: How Transnational Groups Influence Bilateral Security Relations" *Foreign Policy Analysis*. 12:4. p. 653-673.
- 2015 “Substitutability, Securitisation, and Hydro-Hegemony: Ontological and Strategic Sequencing in Shared-River Relations.” *Conflict, Security, and Development*. 15:3. p. 283-309.
- 2012 “Party Competition as a Driver of Foreign Policy: Explaining Changes in the British Labour Party’s Immigration Policies and the Turkish AKP’s Approach to Cyprus.” *Journal of Advanced International Studies*. Vol. 4. p. 127-153.

Working Papers

“Populists’ Overreach on Antitrust and Big Tech”

“Beliefs, Not Human Capital, Explain Opposition to International Trade”

“For All Mankind: The Trade Policy-AI Development Nexus”

Book Manuscript (under review)

Big Tech and Its Populist Critics

Five companies (Apple, Microsoft, Facebook, Amazon, and Google) are at the heart of the Internet. Their size and influence mean they are at the center of a range of political economy issues. Across these different areas, these Big Tech firms have come under sustained and at times withering criticisms from populists on both the left and the right. This book examines the political economy around these five firms and the United States government in five areas (data and regulation, competition policy, taxes, socioeconomic inequality, and U.S. foreign economic policy) and explains why some populist critiques of them have merit but most do not.

Teaching Experience

Courses Taught:

- International Political Economy- Middlebury College (Spring 2019, Fall 2019, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2021, Spring 2022, Fall 2023, Fall 2024), Boston College (Spring 2018)
- International Politics- Middlebury College (Fall 2018, Fall 2019, Spring 2021, Fall 2021, Spring 2022, Spring 2024, Spring 2025)
Boston College (Fall 2017, Spring 2018)
- Politics of Money and Finance- Middlebury College (Spring 2020, Fall 2021, Spring 2024, Fall 2024)
- International Law- Middlebury College (Spring 2019, Fall 2020, Fall 2023)
- Climate Change and the Markets of Tomorrow- Middlebury College (Winter 2024)
- The Politics of Big Technology- Middlebury College (Winter 2020)
- The Politics of Taxes- Middlebury College (Fall 2020, Spring 2025)
- Global Trade Politics- Middlebury College (Fall 2018)
Boston College (Spring 2016)
- Political Economy of Climate Change- Boston College (Fall 2017)

- I have advised 17 senior theses across Political Science, International Politics and Economics, and International and Global Studies (primary adviser on 12 those).

Guest Lecturer:

- “Multilevel Governance in European Trade Policy”, Master’s Programme at the Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) Berlin, Germany (May 2017)
- “Trade Policy in the Trump Administration” in The Politics and Institutions of International Economic Relations- Boston College (Fall 2017)
- “The Trans-Pacific Partnership” in The Politics and Institutions of International Economic Relations- Boston College (Fall 2015)
- “Liberalism in International Relations Theory” and “The Cuban Missile Crisis” in Introduction to International Studies- Boston College (Spring 2015)
- “The Iran-Iraq War” and “The Sanctions Regime” in US-Iran Relations Since World War II- Boston College (Spring 2014)
- “Fossil Fuels, Electricity R&D, US and Comparative”; “Russia and Central Asia” and led Crisis Simulation: Energy Emergency “Oil Shockwave” in The Politics of Energy in U.S., Comparative, and Global Perspectives- Boston College (Fall 2012)

Teaching Assistant:

- The Politics and Institutions of International Economic Relations with Professor David Deese (Fall 2015)
- Introduction to International Studies with Professor Jennifer Erickson (Spring 2015)
- US-Iran Relations Since WW II with Professor Ali Banuazizi (Spring 2014)
- Modern Iran with Professor Ali Banuazizi (Fall 2013)
- The Politics of Energy in US, Comparative, and Global Perspective with Professor David Deese (Fall 2012)

Other Teaching Experience:

- Apprenticeship in College Teaching, The Center for Teaching Excellence, Boston College (2016)
- Participant, Conference on Teaching Strategies at Small and Liberal Arts Institutions, University of Massachusetts-Amherst (2015)

Awards and Grants

2016-2017	Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellowship, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute
2016	Humane Studies Fellowship, \$5000, Institute for Humane Studies
2015	Ph.D. Scholarship, \$1500, Institute for Humane Studies

2015	Summer Funding Grant, \$5000, Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College
2014	Summer Funding Grant, \$5000, Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College
2013	Bradley Grant, \$2100, Boston College
2013	Travel Grant, \$1400, Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College
2012	Critical Language Scholarship, U.S. State Department.
2012	Bradley Grant, \$2100, Boston College (declined).

Conference Presentations

2025	“Beliefs, Not Human Capital, Explain Opposition to International Trade” International Studies Association Annual Conference (Chicago, IL)
2025	“For All Mankind: The Trade Policy-AI Development Nexus” International Studies Association Annual Conference (Chicago, IL)
2024	Panelist on “Creating a Culture of Abundance” Abundance Conference. (Washington DC)
2024	“Populists’ Overreach on Antitrust and Big Tech.” International Studies Association Annual Conference. (San Francisco, CA)
2022	“The Trade Zax: Explaining When Regulatory Disputes Escalate into Trade Wars” International Studies Association Annual Conference. (Nashville, TN)
2022	“Technology and the New Geography of Trade Politics.” International Studies Association Annual Conference. (Nashville, TN)
2021	“Technology and the New Geography of Trade Politics.” American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (Seattle, WA- virtually)
2021	“Press Brakes and Professors: The Tech Titans and Socioeconomic Inequality” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (Las Vegas, NV- virtually) and at the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Providence, RI- virtually)
2021	“Author Meets Critics: A Review Panel of Competitiveness and Death: Trade and Politics in Cars, Beef, and Drugs” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (Las Vegas, NV- virtually)
2021	“The Evolving Legal Architecture Shaping the Digital Trade in Services” presented at the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Providence, RI- virtually)
2020	“Press Brakes and Professors: The Tech Titans and Socioeconomic Inequality” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association

- (Honolulu, HI) and at the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Mystic, CT) (both cancelled due to coronavirus)
- 2020 “The Sturm und Drang Dialectic: The Tech Titans and U.S. Economic Foreign Policy” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (Honolulu, HI) (cancelled due to coronavirus)
- 2019 “A Fiendishly Difficult Dilemma: The Tech Titans and Competition Policy” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (Toronto, CA)
- 2018 “Platform, Asset, Magic: The Tech Titans and the Political Economy of Data and Regulation, and Tech Giants” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (San Francisco, CA), the annual conference of the American Political Science Association (Boston, MA), and the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Portsmouth, NH)
- 2018 “21st Century Firms under 20th Century Rules: An Analysis of Tech Giants’ Tax Minimization Stratagems” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (San Francisco, CA), the annual conference of the American Political Science Association (Boston, MA), and the annual conference of the Northeastern Political Science Association (Montreal, CA).
- 2018 “A Fiendishly Difficult Dilemma: The Tech Titans and Competition Policy” presented the annual conference of the Northeastern Political Science Association (Montreal, CA).
- 2017 “Sectoral Plurilaterals: The New Template for Trade Liberalization” at Capitalism: History, Politics, and Society- a European University Institute Conference (Florence, IT)
- 2017 “Conceptualizing Political Opposition to Trade” at When Institutions Fail: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Institutional Change, a European University Institute Conference (Florence, IT)
- 2016 “Buy-Outs, Marginalization, and Motivation in Business-Activist Bargains Over Regulation and Trade” presented at the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Newport, RI)
- 2016 “Automobiles and Regulatory Regionalism in North America and Europe” presented at the annual conference of the Midwestern Political Science Association (Chicago, IL), and the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Newport, RI)
- 2016 “Catching Roadrunner: Mad-Cow Regulations and the U.S.-Japan Beef Trade 2003-2013” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (Atlanta, GA) and the annual conference of the Northeastern Political Science Association (Philadelphia, PA)
- 2015-2016 “Swedish Mangoes and Canadian Deodorant: How Regulations Became the Crux of Trade Politics” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association (Atlanta, GA-2016) and at the annual conference of the American Political Science Association (San Francisco, CA-2015)

- 2014 “How Public Opinion Distribution Influences Party Competition Over U.S. Trade Policy” presented at the annual conference of the New England Political Science Association (Boston, MA) and the annual conference of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago, IL)
- 2013 “The Political Economy of Iranian Political Factions’ Responses to Sanctions” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association-Northeast ISA (Providence, RI) and at the annual conference of the International Security Studies Section of ISA and the International Security and Arms Control Section of APSA (Washington, DC).
- 2013 “It’s Not the Water; It’s What the Water Does: A Means-Centered Analysis of Riparian Relations” presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association-Northeast ISA (Providence, RI), at the annual conference of the International Security Studies Section of ISA and the International Security and Arms Control Section of APSA (Washington, DC)
- 2013 “Managing Reform: Economic Performance Strategies of Authoritarian Regimes” with David Deese and John Louis, presented at the annual conference of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago, IL)
- 2012 “Shared Nuisance Versus Not My Problem: How Transnational Groups Influence Bilateral Security Relations” presented at the annual conference of the Northeastern Political Science Association (Boston, MA) and at the annual conference of the International Security Studies Section of ISA and the International Security and Arms Control Section of APSA (Chapel Hill, NC)

Professional Service and Development

- 2023-present Economic Adviser to the Vermont Treasurer, Mike Pieciak
- 2022-present Christian A. Johnson Fellow in Modern Political Thought, Middlebury College
- 2023 Peer Reviewer for *Global Business and Organizational Excellence*
- 2022 Served as a Reviewer for Mary Anne Madeira’s book workshop “Commerce, Coalitions, and the Rise of the Firm”
- 2022 Peer Reviewer for *International Affairs*
- 2021-2022 Associate Fellow for International Trade and Finance Policy, R Street Institute
- 2019-2021 Section Head, Technology and Politics Section, New England Political Science Association
- 2015-2021 Peer Reviewer for *American Politics Research*
- 2014-2021 Peer Reviewer for *International Interactions*
- 2020 Discussant, International Studies Association Conference (cancelled-coronavirus)
- 2019 Chair and Discussant, International Political Economy: Private Firms and Public Interventions to Promote Innovation. International Studies Association. (Toronto)
- 2019 Peer Reviewer for *International Studies Review*
- 2018 Participant, Cultural Competencies Engagement Training, Boston College Office for Institutional Diversity
- 2018 Peer Reviewer for *Sustainability*

2017	Peer Reviewer for <i>International Security</i>
2015-2017	Peer Reviewer for <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>
2016	Panel Chair, International Political Economy: Negotiations, Regulation, and FDI. New England Political Science Association. (Newport, RI)
2016	Discussant, What Role Institutions: Science, Sport, and Regulation. New England Political Science Association. (Newport, RI)
2016	Peer Reviewer for <i>Comparative Economic Studies</i>
2015-2016	Coordinator, Graduate Fellows, Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College
2015	Panel Organizer, “Surveillance in a Security-Concerned Society” (featuring Torin Monahan, Shaun Spencer, and David Rosen) Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College
2015	Institute for Humane Studies, Advanced Policy Seminar “Government Granted Privilege in American Capitalism”, George Mason University
2014	Panel Organizer and Discussant, “The Power of Money” (featuring Jonathan Kirshner and Benjamin Cohen) Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College
2014	Institute for Qualitative and Mixed-Methods Research (IQMR), Syracuse
2012-2016	Graduate Fellow, Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College

Service to Middlebury College

2024-present	Director of the International Politics and Economics Program
2024-present	Director of the Alexander Hamilton Forum Organized talks on party politics, transgender medicine and public policy, tax politics and the budget deficit, and Jacksonian populism
2025	Led a tutorial of artificial intelligence tools for approximately 20 other faculty members
2023	Co-Organizer of the IP&E Symposium
2021-2024	Associate Director of the Alexander Hamilton Forum I have organized talks on the following (among other events): Educational Polarization with David Hopkins, Marriage and Social Class with Patrick Brown and Elizabeth Breunig, Guns Rights with Clark Neily and Joseph Blocher, The American Dream with Michael Strain, Conspiracism with Russell Muirhead, Immigration with Alex Nowrasteh and Peter Skerry, and Religious Liberty with David French and Linda McClain.
2020-present	Rohatyn Center Faculty Fellow- Co-convenor of the Power, Wealth, and Global Political Economy Program
2020-present	Faculty Advisor for the Debate Team
2022	Participant in Debate with Bill McKibben on “Coalition Building and the Future of the Environmental Movement”
2021-2022	HPC Committee
2020-2021	Co-convenor of the Alexander Hamilton Forum
2018-2020	Interviewer for Fulbright Scholarship Applicants
2020	Faculty Advisor for Model United Nations- Cyber Strategy Competition

2019-2020	Presenter at Hot Topics Luncheons: “‘Alexa, Why is My Job So Awful?’ Amazon and Allegations of Labor Abuse” and “The 2020 Election and the Future of the World Order.”
2020	Served on hiring committee for a postdoctoral fellowship in the PSCI department
2020	Political Science Department Digital Learning Liaison
2019	Nominated for College Advisor Award
2019	Co-Organizer of the IP&E Symposium

Popular Press Publications

2025	“Manufacturing is Thriving in the South. Here’s Why Neither Party Wants to Admit It.” <i>The Washington Post</i> . May 14, 2025.
2025	“Trump’s Trade War Isn’t Over Yet.” <i>The Washington Post</i> . May 29, 2025.
2025	“Mass Timber: A Promising New Housing Technology.” <i>Chamber of Progress</i> .
2025-present	Co-author of The Rebuild.
2023	“Digital Trade in Services: Globalization’s Exciting New Frontier.” <i>Cato Institute</i> . September 26, 2023.
2021-2024	Wrote and edited a series of 51 essays on intellectual connections between progressive politics and libertarianism, “The Neoliberal Papers.”
2021	“The Political Significance of the TRIPS Waiver” <i>The National Interest</i> . May 27, 2021.
2020	“Why Do the Rich Get Away With Ultra-Low Tax Bills?” <i>The National Interest</i> . October 29, 2020. <i>The Conversation</i> . October 28, 2020.

Other Research and Work Experience

2014	Research Assistant, Dr. David Deese, Boston College (fall semester) Research involving public choice and climate change
2013	Research Assistant, Dr. Timothy Crawford, Boston College (spring semester) Helped contribute to an APSA pilot program on active citations in qualitative research on deterrence attempts leading up to World War I
2012	Research Assistant, Dr. David Deese, Boston College (spring semester) Research involving authoritarian regimes’ use of economic reforms to maintain power
2011	Research Assistant, Dr. Jennifer L. Erickson, Boston College (fall semester) Research involving states’ use of conventional arms sales as a nuclear non-proliferation tool within the context of the dove’s dilemma
2011	Political Analyst for Exclusive Analysis (London, UK) I analyzed the economic impact of developing political issues ranging from hydraulic fracturing regulations to state budget deficits and the Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act.
2010-2011	Tutor, Parliament Tutors, prepared high school and college students for the GRE, GMAT, LSAT, SAT, and ACT.

References Available By Request