

미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계경제의 미래

The Future of the International Order and
the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election

2024. 10. 15. 화 | 09:00 ~ 14:10

국회의원회관 제2세미나실

국회미래연구원  YouTube 생중계(한영 동시통역)

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진행 순서

개회식

OPENING

09:00 ~ 09:20

개회사	국회미래연구원 Helen V. Milner 프린스턴대 니하우스센터 소장
축사	우원식 국회의장
환영사	윤재옥 국회의원·국회글로벌외교안보포럼 대표의원 위성락 국회의원·선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼 대표의원

세션 1

SESSION 1

09:20 ~ 10:30

미국 대선 전망과 민주주의, 국제질서의 미래

좌장	전재성 서울대 교수
발표	Frances E. Lee 프린스턴대 교수 서정건 경희대 교수
패널	Nolan McCarty 프린스턴대 교수 Hye Young You 프린스턴대 교수 최형두 국회의원·국회글로벌외교안보포럼·선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼 박현석 국회미래연구원 거버넌스그룹장

세션 2

SESSION 2

10:40 ~ 11:50

미국 대선 이후 세계화, 통상질서의 미래

좌장	유명희 전 통상교섭본부장
발표	Leonardo Baccini 맥길대 교수 이승주 중앙대 교수
패널	Helen V. Milner 프린스턴대 니하우스센터 소장 Stephanie Rickard 런던정경대 교수 정기창 법무법인 광장 국제통상팀장 조성대 한국무역협회 통상연구실장

세션 3

SESSION 3

13:00 ~ 14:10

미국 대선 이후 경제안보, 디리스팅의 미래

좌장	김현욱 세종연구소장
발표	Kenneth Scheve 예일대 교수 박종희 서울대 교수
패널	Dustin Tingley 하버드대 교수 Edward D. Mansfield 펜실베니아대 교수 배영자 건국대 교수 차정미 국회미래연구원 국제전략연구센터장

PROGRAM

OPENING ADDRESS	National Assembly Futures Institute Helen V. Milner Director of the Niehaus Center of Princeton University
CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS	Wonshik Woo Speaker of National Assembly
WELCOME ADDRESS	Jaeok Yun Chair of National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum Sunglac Wi Chair of Suprapartisan Forum for Advanced Diplomacy

The U.S. Presidential Election and Democracy : the Future of International Order

CHAIRPERSON	Chaesung Chun Professor of Seoul National University
PRESENTER	Frances E. Lee Professor of Princeton University Jungkun Seo Professor of Kyung Hee University
PANEL	Nolan McCarty Professor of Princeton University Hye Young You Professor of Princeton University Hyungdu Choi Member of National Assembly Hyeon Seok Park Head of Governance Group of National Assembly Futures Institute

The U.S. Presidential Election and Globalization : the Future of Global Trade Order

CHAIRPERSON	Myung-hee Yoo former Minister for Trade
PRESENTER	Leonardo Baccini Professor of McGill University Seungjoo Lee Professor of Chung-Ang University
PANEL	Helen V. Milner Director of the Niehaus Center of Princeton University Stephanie Rickard Professor of LSE Kichang Chung Head of International Trade Practice Group of Lee & Ko Seongdae Cho Director of Trade Studies and Cooperation Department of KITA

The U.S. Presidential Election and Economic Security : the Future of De-risking

CHAIRPERSON	Hyunwook Kim President of Sejong Institute
PRESENTER	Kenneth Scheve Professor of Yale University Jong-hee Park Professor of Seoul National University
PANEL	Dustin Tingley Professor of Harvard University Edward D. Mansfield Professor of University of Pennsylvania Youngja Bae Professor of Konkuk University Jungmi Cha Director of Center for International Strategies of National Assembly Futures Institute

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Seungjoo Lee Professor of Chung-Ang University	65

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Kenneth Scheve Professor of Yale University	75
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개 회 사

안녕하십니까.

가을의 문턱에서 계절의 변화조차 잇고, 국민과 이 나라의 더 나은 미래를 위해 일하고 계시는 여러분 모두의 건강과 행복을 기원합니다.

오늘날 세계는 강대국 경쟁의 부활과 지정학적 위기의 확산 속에서 다양한 도전과 위협에 직면해 있습니다. 파괴적 기술의 부상과 글로벌 거버넌스의 위기 속에서 미래의 불확실성은 그 어느 때보다 높아지고 있습니다.

이러한 불확실성 속에서 불과 한 달 앞으로 다가온 미국 대선이 국제질서와 세계경제에 미칠 영향에 세계가 주목하고 있습니다. 국내적으로도 각계에서 전망과 대비에 분주합니다.

이에 국회미래연구원, 국회글로벌외교안보포럼, 선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼은 미국 프린스턴대 니하우스센터와 함께 “미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계경제의 미래”를 주제로 국제학술회의를 개최합니다. 미국정치와 국제정치경제 분야의 최고 전문가들이 참여하여 미국 대선 결과를 전망하고, 국제질서와 통상질서, 경제안보와 디리스크의 미래에 대해 열린 토론을 벌일 것입니다.

혼란의 시대, 그 어느 때보다 시대에 대한 통찰과 미래를 토론하는 지성의 교류가 필요한 시기입니다. 한미 양국의 전문가들이 함께 시대의 도전과 기회를 전망하고, 대안과 협력 방안을 모색하는 대토론의 자리에 여러분의 많은 관심과 참여 부탁드립니다.

감사합니다.

국회미래연구원



OPENING ADDRESS

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen,

Today, the world faces a wide range of challenges and risks, with the resurgence of great power rivalry and the spread of geopolitical crises. The uncertainty of the future is higher than ever, compounded by the rise of destructive technologies and the crisis in global governance.

Amid this high uncertainty, the world is keenly watching the upcoming U.S. presidential election, now less than a month away, and its potential impact on the international order and the global economy. Domestically, many sectors are also actively preparing for post-election landscape.

In light of these concerns, the National Assembly Futures Institute, the National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum, and the Suprapartisan Forum for Advanced Diplomacy, in collaboration with Princeton University's Niehaus Center, are hosting an international academic conference under the theme of "The Future of the International Order and the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election." Distinguished experts and scholars in U.S. politics and International Political Economy will participate, offering predictions on the election outcome and engaging in vibrant discussions on the future of the international order, trade systems, economic security, and de-risking strategies.

In this era of uncertainty, there is a greater need than ever for intellectual exchange and discussion on the challenges of our times and the future. I invite all of you to take a keen interest in and actively participate in this grand forum, where experts from both the U.S. and Korea come together to forecast the challenges and opportunities of the era and explore alternatives and ways for cooperation.

Thank you.

National Assembly Futures Institute

개 회 사

프린스턴대 니하우스센터 소장 **Helen V. Milner**



Helen V. Milner

Director of the Niehaus Center of Princeton University

A series of horizontal dotted lines intended for handwritten notes.

A series of 25 horizontal dotted lines, evenly spaced, providing a template for handwriting practice. The lines span the width of the page and are positioned between the top and bottom solid lines.

축 사



국회의장 우 원 식

안녕하십니까? 국회의장 우원식입니다.

먼저, 「미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계경제의 미래」 국제학술회의 개최를 진심으로 축하드립니다.

오늘 이렇게 국회미래연구원, 프린스턴대학교 니하우스센터, 윤재옥 의원님이 대표로 있는 국회글로벌외교안보포럼, 위성락 의원님이 대표로 있는 선진외교포럼이 공동 주최하는 국제학술회의에 참석해 주신 한미 양국의 학자, 전문가분들, 의원님들 그리고 온라인으로 참여해 주신 여러분들께 감사의 말씀을 드립니다.

특히, 헬렌 밀러 프린스턴대학교 니하우스센터 소장님 등 한국까지 직접 방문하여 귀한 토론의 장을 함께 열어주신 미국 학자분들께 감사와 환영의 말씀을 드립니다.

또한, 발표를 맡아주신 프란시스 리 프린스턴대학교 교수님, 서정건 경희대학교 교수님, 레오나르도 바치니 맥길대학교 교수님, 이승주 중앙대학교 교수님, 케네스 세브 예일대학교 교수님, 박종희 서울대학교 교수님을 비롯하여 패널 분들께도 감사드립니다.

미국 대선이 20일 앞으로 다가왔습니다. 미국 대선이 초래할 국제 질서 변화와 차기 미국 대통령이 세계 경제에 미칠 영향에 많은 이들의 이목이 집중되고 있습니다.

세계 여러 국가들은 한 목소리로 향후 10년이 국제 질서의 미래에 중대한 시기가 될 것이라고 말합니다. 강대국 간의 패권 경쟁은 갈수록 심화되고 있고, 글로벌 경제 사회의 거대한 변화 속에서 디지털 격차와 그린 격차가 인류 공존과 공동 번영에 위협이 되고 있습니다.

디지털 전환과 녹색 전환이라는 변화 속에서 대한민국이 더 나은 미래를 맞이하기 위해 한국이 미국을 비롯한 세계 여러 나라들의 중요한 파트너가 되어야 합니다. 한국은 개발도상국에서 선진국으로 도약한 세계 유일의 국가입니다. 중대한 글로벌 변화를 앞두고 향후 국제 질서와 세계경제의 향방을 면밀히 분석하는 것이 미래 대한민국이 한 단계 더 발전하는 길이 될 것입니다.

오늘 이 학술대회가 미국 유수의 전문가들이 한국을 방문하여 한국의 전문가들과 함께 미국 대선을 전망하고, 미국 대선 이후 민주주의, 세계화, 경제안보 등의 미래를 논의하는 자리라는 점에서 매우 의미가 깊습니다.

오늘 이 자리에 모인 한미 양국의 뛰어난 학자, 전문가 분들이 한미 양국의 이익을 넘어 세계 인류의 미래가 더 나은 방향으로 나아갈 수 있도록 오늘의 문제를 토론하고 대안을 모색할 수 있는 자리가 되기를 기대합니다.

다시 한번 국회미래연구원의 「미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계경제의 미래」 국제학술회의 개최를 진심으로 축하드리며, 오늘의 학술회의에서 논의되는 여러 고전들이 한미 관계가 한 단계 더 발전하는 계기가 되길 기원합니다.

감사합니다.

국회의장 우 원 식



CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS

Good morning, everyone. I am Wonshik Woo, Speaker of the National Assembly.

First, I wholeheartedly congratulate you on the successful opening of the international academic conference on "The Future of the International Order and the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election."

I extend my deepest gratitude to the scholars, experts, and representatives from both Korea and the United States, as well as those participating online, for attending this conference, which is co-hosted by the National Assembly Futures Institute, Princeton University's Niehaus Center, the National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum led by Representative Jaeok Yun, and the Suprapartisan Forum for Advanced Diplomacy led by Representative Sunghac Wi.

In particular, I would like to express my special gratitude and extend a warm welcome to the American scholars, including Director Helen Milner of Princeton University's Niehaus Center, who have traveled all the way to Korea to participate in this valuable forum for meaningful discussion.

I would also like to thank the presenters: Professor Frances E. Lee of Princeton University, Professor Jungkun Seo of Kyung Hee University, Professor Leonardo Baccini of McGill University, Professor Seungjoo Lee of Chung-Ang University, Professor Kenneth Scheve of Yale University, and Professor Jong-hee Park of Seoul National University, as well as all the panelists involved.

The U.S. presidential election is just 20 days away, and many are focused on how it may reshape the international order and impact the global economy under the next president.

Countries around the world agree that the coming decade will be pivotal for the future of the international order. The escalating rivalry for dominance among major

powers, coupled with sweeping changes in the global economic and social landscape, has turned the digital and green divides into serious threats to humanity's coexistence and shared prosperity.

In the midst of these shifts, marked by digital and green transitions, Korea must position itself as a key partner to the United States and other global players to secure a brighter future. Korea is the only nation in the world that has successfully transitioned from a developing country to a developed one. As we face these monumental global changes, a thorough analysis of the direction of the international order and the global economy will be crucial for Korea's further development and progress in the years ahead.

It is highly meaningful that today's conference brings together eminent American experts visiting Korea to join Korean experts in discussing the U.S. presidential election, the future of democracy, globalization, and economic security in the post-election world.

I hope that this gathering of distinguished scholars and experts from both Korea and the United States will provide an opportunity to engage in meaningful discussions that go beyond the interests of our two nations, offering solutions that can help guide humanity toward a better future.

Once again, I sincerely congratulate the National Assembly Futures Institute on hosting this international conference on "The Future of the International Order and the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election," and I hope that the valuable insights shared today will serve as a stepping stone for further strengthening the relationship between the Republic of Korea and the United States.

Thank you.

Wonshik Woo

Speaker of National Assembly

환영사



국회의원·국회글로벌외교안보포럼 대표의원 **윤재옥**

안녕하십니까.

국회글로벌외교안보포럼 대표의원 윤재옥입니다.

오늘 국회글로벌외교안보포럼과 국회미래연구원, 프린스턴대학교 니하우스센터, 선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼이 함께 ‘미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계경제의 미래’를 주제로 세미나를 개최하게 되어 매우 기쁘게 생각합니다. 특히, 프린스턴대학교 니하우스센터 헬렌 밀러 소장님을 비롯하여 한국을 방문하여 귀한 지성교류의 시간을 갖게 해주신 미국 학자분들 모두에게 반갑고 감사하다는 말씀드립니다.

미국 대선이 불과 한 달도 채 남지 않았습니다. 한국에서도 미국 대선결과에 따른 외교와 경제, 기술과 안보의 변화에 대한 많은 관심과 다양한 논의가 펼쳐지고 있습니다. 미국 대선과 이후 국제질서는 한국뿐만 아니라 세계가 주목하고 토론하고 있는 주제입니다. 세계는 국제질서 변화와 지정학적 충돌, 그리고 파괴적 기술혁신 속에서 그 어느 때보다 높은 불안정성과 불확실성에 직면해 있습니다.

오늘 이 세미나는 그러한 의미에서 매우 시의적절하고, 의미있는 자리입니다. 한미 양국의 최고 학자들이 함께 모여 세계질서 대전환의 시대에 우리가 직면한 도전과 기회를 발견하고 대안과 협력의 방향을 모색하는 자리가 될 것이라 믿습니다.

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한국은 최근 세계지식재산기구(WIPO)가 발표한 '2024 글로벌 혁신지수'에서 세계 6위를 기록했습니다. 세계 6위의 군사강국이고, 14위의 경제강국입니다. 한국은 기후변화, 책임있는 기술혁신, 지속가능발전과 포용적 성장 등 세계가 직면한 도전과 과제에 글로벌 중추국가로서의 역할과 기여를 다하고자 합니다.

국회글로벌외교안보포럼은 외교·안보·국방·통일·인권 분야의 글로벌 전략 및 국가 정책 수립과 법·제도 개선을 통해 대한민국의 평화와 번영에 기여하기 위한 목적으로 21대 국회에서 창립되어 22대 국회에도 이어지고 있습니다. 본 포럼은 국익과 국민을 위해 정당과 이념을 넘어 함께 논의하고 고민하는 연구단체로, 9월에 미 대선 이후 우리의 과제를 주제로 토론회를 개최한 바 있습니다. 오늘 이 세미나는 미 대선 이후 한국의 과제를 넘어 세계의 과제를 토론하는 자리입니다.

세계가 급변하고 다양한 도전들이 동시에 제기되는 오늘날, 한미 양국의 최고 학자, 전문가들이 참여하여 미국 대선 이후 국제질서, 세계경제의 미래를 토론하는 오늘 이 자리가 한국과 미국, 양국의 과제는 물론 한미 양국의 협력, 나아가 더 나은 미래 국제질서를 위한 다양한 대안들을 모색하는 데 토론의 장이 되기를 기대합니다.

감사합니다.

국회의원·국회글로벌외교안보포럼 대표의원 **윤재욱**



WELCOME ADDRESS

Good morning, everyone.

I am Jaeok Yun, Chair of the National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum.

It is with great pleasure that we hold today's seminar on "The Future of the International Order and the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election," co-hosted by the National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum, the National Assembly Futures Institute, Princeton University's Niehaus Center, and the Suprapartisan Forum for Advanced Diplomacy. I would especially like to extend a warm welcome and my gratitude to the American scholars, including Director Helen Milner of the Niehaus Center, for visiting Korea and co-hosting this valuable intellectual exchange.

With less than a month remaining until the U.S. presidential election, there is growing interest and a range of discussions in Korea regarding the potential diplomatic, economic, technological, and security changes that may result from the election outcome. The U.S. election and its implications for the international order are topics of global importance, sparking debate not only in Korea but around the world. As we face shifting international order, geopolitical confrontation, and disruptive technological innovations, the world is encountering unprecedented levels of instability and uncertainty.

Today's conference is both timely and meaningful in that regard. I believe it will serve as a platform for the leading scholars from Korea and the United States to come together, identify the challenges and opportunities we face in this era of great transformation in the global order, and explore potential alternatives and avenues for cooperation.

The liberal international order is facing a complex set of challenges across various domains, including politics, economics, the environment, technology, leadership, and community. In this era of challenges and crises, there is a greater need than ever for responsible dialogue and solidarity to shape the future.

Recently, Korea was ranked 6th in the world in the 2024 Global Innovation Index published by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). Korea is also the 6th strongest military power and the 14th largest economy globally. Korea is committed to fulfilling its role and contributions as a global pivotal state in addressing the challenges the world faces, including climate change, responsible technological innovation, sustainable development, and inclusive growth.

The National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum was founded during the 21st National Assembly, with its mission continuing into the current 22nd Assembly, with the goal of contributing to the peace and prosperity of the Republic of Korea through the formulation of global strategies and national policies in the fields of diplomacy, security, defense, unification, and human rights, as well as the improvement of laws and institutions. The Forum is a research group that transcends party lines and ideologies, engaging in discussions for the sake of national interest and the well-being of the people. In September, we hosted a forum discussing Korea's challenges after the U.S. presidential election. Today's international academic conference extends beyond Korea's issues to address global challenges in the post-election order.

In this era of rapid global changes and concurrent challenges, I hope that this gathering of distinguished scholars and experts from both Korea and the United States, discussing the future of the international order and the global economy after the U.S. presidential election, will serve as a platform for not only identifying the challenges faced by our two countries but also exploring the potential for ROK-U.S. cooperation and various alternative solutions for a better future international order.

Thank you.

Jaeok Yun

Chair of National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum

환 영 사



국회의원·선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼 대표의원 **위 성 락**

안녕하십니까, 더불어민주당 국회의원 위성락입니다. 귀한 시간을 내어 ‘미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계 경제의 미래’ 세미나에 함께해주신 여러분을 환영합니다.

오늘 세미나는 국회미래연구원과 국회의원 연구단체 국회글로벌외교안보포럼, 그리고 선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼이 합심해서 준비했습니다. 우선 성공적 개최를 위해 꼼꼼히 준비해 주신 국회미래연구원 실무자 분들께 고마움을 전합니다. 세미나 각 세션에서 좌장을 맡아주신 분들과 발표자 및 패널로 함께해주시는 분들께도 진심으로 감사드립니다.

지금 한반도는 중대한 변곡점을 지나고 있습니다. 윤석열 정부 출범 이후, 한반도 주변의 역학 구도는 크게 변화하였습니다. 2023년 캠프 데이비드에서의 한·미·일 정상회의로 3국 간의 안보협력 체제가 본격화되었고, 2024년 북·러 간의 사실상 동맹 체결은 한반도에 새로운 냉전의 흐름을 불러일으키고 있습니다. 이러한 지정학적 상황 속에서 다가오는 미국 대선은 한반도와 국제정세에 또 다른 거대한 변화를 가져올 수 있는 중요한 변수입니다. 미국의 차기 대통령이 누가 될지에 따라 한미동맹과 남북관계, 그리고 북핵 문제에 대한 대응이 크게 달라질 것입니다.

특히, 경제적 측면에서 미국 대선의 결과는 한국과 동북아시아 경제에 중대한 영향을 미칠 것입니다. 해리스 후보의 경우 동맹 강화를 바탕으로 한 대중국 견제를 지속할 가능성이 크고, 한국은 이에 적응해 나가야 할 것입니다. 반면, 트럼프 후보의 경우 동맹을 경시하며 미국 우선주의를 더욱 강조할 것이 예상되어, 한국 경제에 상당한 부담과 불확실성을 초래할 수 있습니다. 한국은 이러한 상황 속에서 경제적 기회와 위기를 동시에 관리할 수 있는 능동적인 외교 전략을 마련해야 할 것입니다.

이번 세미나는 ‘미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계 경제의 미래’를 주제로 세 개의 세션으로 나뉘어 진행됩니다. 첫 번째 세션에서는 미국 대선 결과가 국제질서와 민주주의에 미치는 영향을 심도 있게 논의하고, 두 번째 세션에서는 세계화와 통상질서의 변화 속에서 한국 경제가 직면할 도전과 기회를 탐구할 것입니다. 마지막 세션에서는 경제안보와 디리스팅 전략을 중심으로 미·중 간의 갈등과 같은 국제 경제의 불확실성에 대한 대응 방안을 다룰 예정입니다.

이처럼 각 세션에서 논의될 주제들은 우리가 직면한 중요한 과제를 다루고 있습니다. 오늘의 논의가 한반도의 미래를 준비하는 데 큰 도움이 되기를 바랍니다. 참석해 주신 모든 분들께 다시 한번 깊이 감사드리며, 오늘의 토론이 건설적이고 유익한 방향으로 이루어지기를 기대하겠습니다.

감사합니다.

국회의원·선진외교를 위한 초당적 포럼 대표의원 **위 성 락**



WELCOME ADDRESS

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am National Assemblyman Sunghac Wi from the Democratic Party of Korea. I extend a heartfelt welcome to all of you attending today's seminar on "The Future of the International Order and the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election," and I sincerely thank you for taking the time to join us.

Today's seminar has been jointly organized by the National Assembly Futures Institute, the National Assembly Global Diplomacy and Security Forum—a research group of National Assembly members—and the Suprapartisan Forum for Advanced Diplomacy. First and foremost, I would like to express my special thanks to the staff of the National Assembly Futures Institute for their meticulous efforts in ensuring the successful organization of this seminar. I also offer my sincere gratitude to the session chairs, speakers, and panelists.

At present, the Korean Peninsula stands at a critical juncture. Since the inauguration of the Yoon Suk Yeol administration, the geopolitical landscape surrounding the peninsula has shifted dramatically. In 2023, the Camp David summit between Korea, the U.S., and Japan set in motion a full-fledged trilateral security cooperation. By 2024, the de facto alliance pact between North Korea and Russia has triggered a new Cold War dynamic on the Korean Peninsula. At this pivotal moment, the upcoming U.S. presidential election presents a crucial variable that could profoundly reshape the Korean Peninsula and the broader international landscape. Depending on who is elected as the next U.S. president, the dynamics of the ROK-U.S. alliance, inter-Korean relations, and responses to the North Korean nuclear issue could change significantly.

In the economic aspect, in particular, the outcome of the election will have a far-reaching impact on Korea and the broader Northeast Asian region. If Kamala Harris is elected, we can expect continued efforts to hold China in check through a strengthened alliance, prompting Korea to adjust accordingly. In contrast, if Donald Trump is elected, his expected emphasis on an "America First" agenda and downplaying of alliances could create significant burdens and uncertainties for the Korean economy. In this context, Korea must develop a proactive diplomatic strategy to navigate both the economic opportunities and the challenges that may arise.

The seminar is structured into three sessions under the overarching theme of "The Future of the International Order and the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election." The first session will explore how the U.S. election outcome will impact the international order and democracy. The second session will examine the challenges and opportunities facing the Korean economy amid changes in globalization and the global trade order. The final session will address responses to economic uncertainties, such as U.S.-China tensions, with a focus on economic security and de-risking strategies.

Each of these session topics addresses crucial issues we confront. I hope that today's discussions will significantly contribute to our preparation for the future of the Korean Peninsula. Once again, I deeply appreciate the presence of all participants and look forward to constructive and insightful discussions.

Thank you.

Sunglac Wi

Chair of Suprapartisan Forum for Advanced Diplomacy


The Future of
the International Order and
the Global Economy after
the U.S. Presidential Election

SESSION 1

**The U.S. Presidential Election and Democracy :
the Future of International Order**

**The 2024 Election and the
Future of American Politics**

Frances E. Lee Professor of Princeton University



The 2024 Election and the Future of American Politics

Frances E. Lee
Princeton University

National Assembly
Republic of Korea
October 15, 2024

1. What do we know about the 2024 elections at this point?
2. What consequences follow from what we know?

A Battle for the Ages!

- Party control of all the political institutions is in play: House, Senate & Presidency
- Not since 2000 have we seen such tight competition for all three national political institutions simultaneously



Outcomes likely to be close

- Margins of congressional control are historically narrow
- Small battlefield
 - Senate elections: 7 competitive seats
 - House elections: 25-30 closely competitive seats
 - Presidential election: 7 states in contention
- Electoral college outcome will be close



Consequences of closely competitive conditions

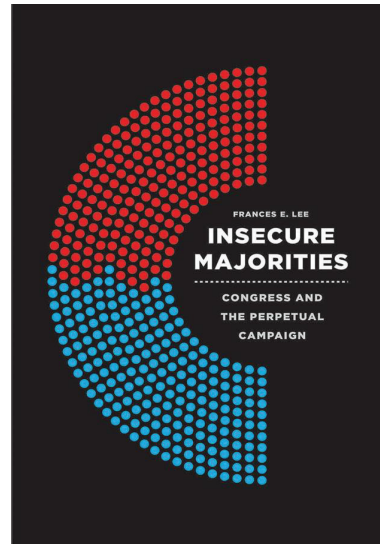
1. Risk of Contested Outcome

- Losing side may be tempted to believe the outcome was illegitimate; litigation possible
- Little sense of popular mandate: contested meaning



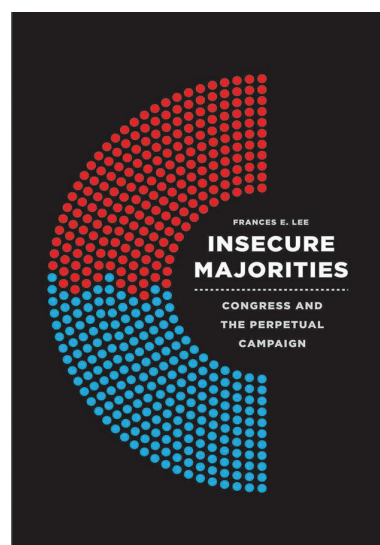
2. The battle for party power will continue unabated.

- Party not controlling the presidency will be looking ahead to the midterms.
- Era of insecure majorities continues



2. The battle for party power will continue unabated.

- Preoccupation with short-term politics.
- Focus on partisan messaging.
- Weaker incentives for bipartisanship.

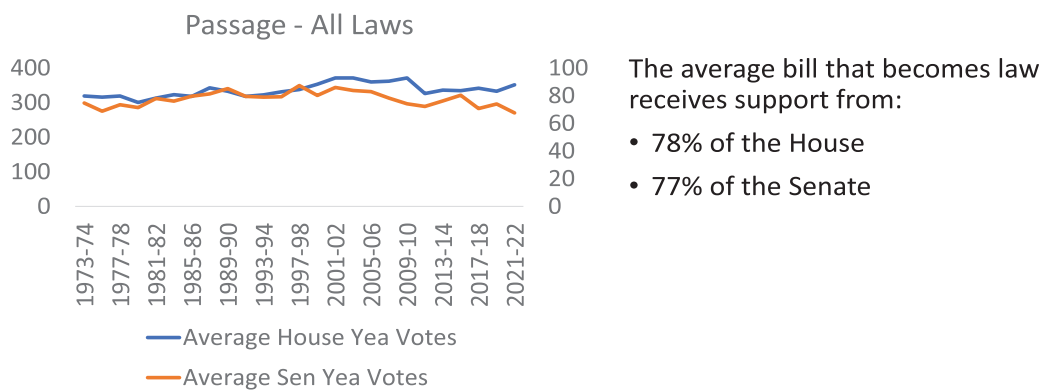


3. Politically weak presidents.

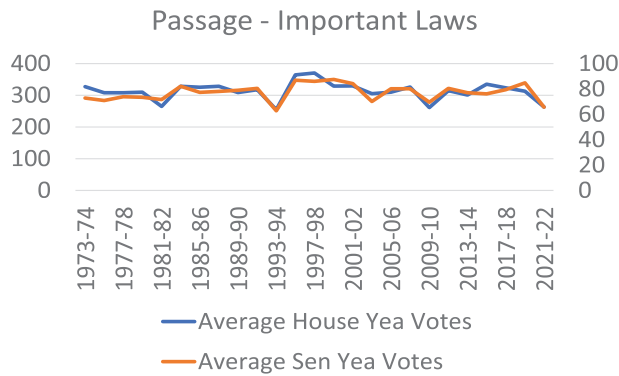
Presidents poorly situated to gain the cross-party support they need for legislative success.

Bipartisanship is essential for legislative success.

Laws rarely get enacted on close votes.



Important laws rarely get enacted on close votes.

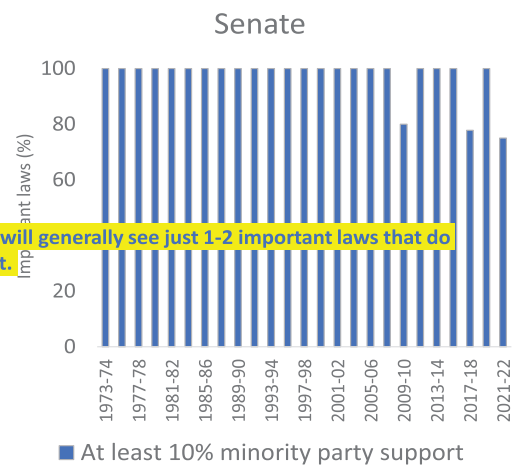
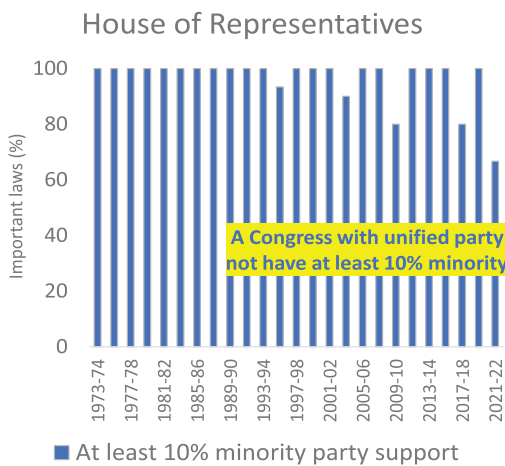


The average important law receives support from:

- 72% of the House
- 77% of the Senate

11

Important laws almost always win meaningful minority party support



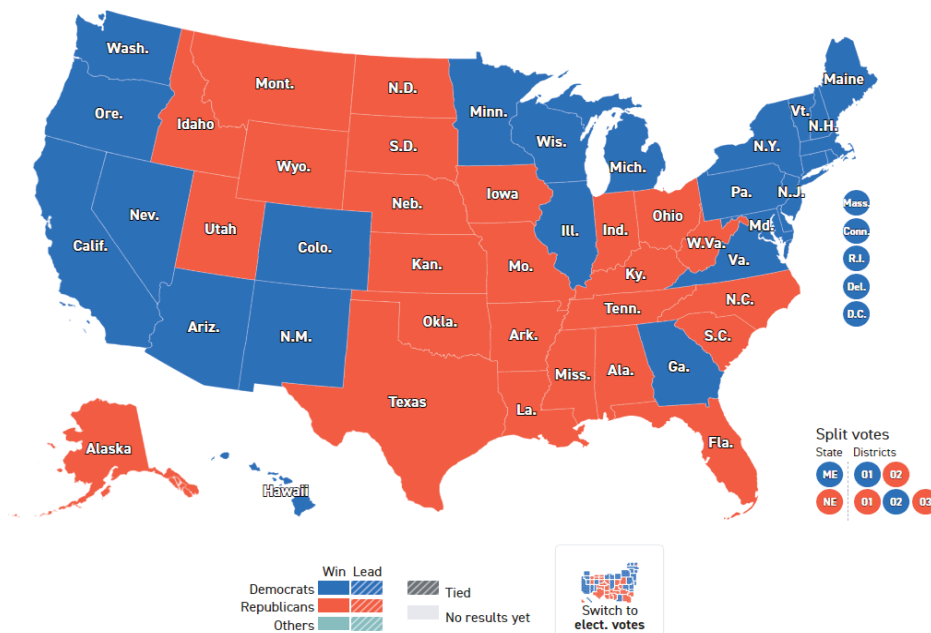
A Congress with unified party control will generally see just 1-2 important laws that do not have at least 10% minority support.

1
2

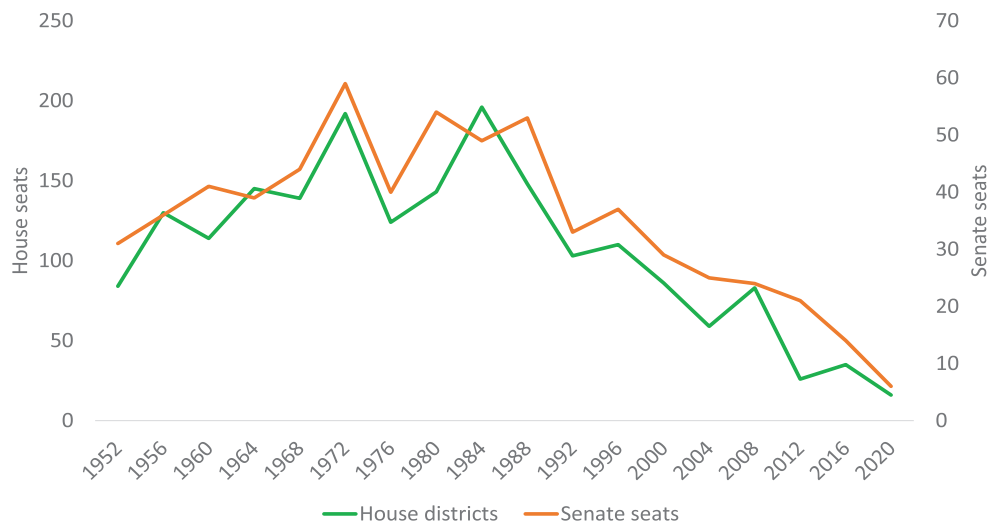
Presidents *need* bipartisan support...

But electoral circumstances put them in a poor position to get it.

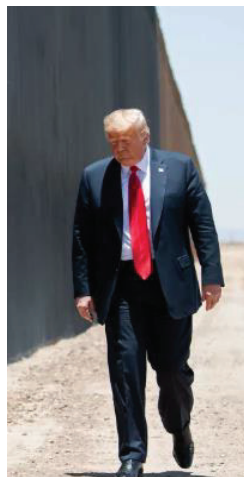
Rigid Electoral Maps (for example: 2020 Presidential Election Outcome)



Constituencies with Divergent Partisan Outcomes in Presidential and Congressional Elections



Presidential Unilateralism & Overreach



Likely outcomes of the 2024 elections:

- No breakthrough in the partisan stalemate
- Continued confrontational partisanship in Congress
- A president with a narrow geographic base of support and low approval ratings
- A president who will struggle to enact a legislative agenda and will be tempted toward unilateral action

The Future of
the International Order and
the Global Economy after
the U.S. Presidential Election

SESSION 1

**The U.S. Presidential Election and Democracy :
the Future of International Order**

2024 US Presidential Election and the Future of American Foreign Policy

Jungkun Seo Professor of Kyung Hee University

2024 US Presidential Election and the Future of American Foreign Policy

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2016년 8-9월 조사	미국 대통령 선거가 자국에 미치는 영향력						
	많이	약간	있다 (개)	별로	전혀	없다 (개)	모름/응답거절
1 Korea, Rep (South)	68%	23%	91%	2%	0%	2%	7%
2 Brazil	30%	52%	82%	11%	3%	14%	4%
3 China	13%	69%	82%	16%	2%	18%	0%
4 Canada	26%	54%	80%	15%	2%	17%	3%
5 Italy	19%	61%	80%	15%	1%	16%	4%
6 Portugal	20%	60%	80%	15%	1%	16%	4%
7 Germany	21%	57%	78%	15%	2%	17%	5%
8 Iraq	43%	33%	76%	11%	11%	22%	2%
9 Pakistan	50%	25%	75%	14%	7%	21%	4%
10 Afghanistan	31%	43%	74%	14%	8%	22%	4%
11 Sweden	17%	56%	73%	15%	1%	16%	11%
12 Japan	26%	44%	70%	11%	1%	12%	18%
13 Colombia	22%	46%	68%	16%	12%	28%	4%
14 France	14%	54%	68%	22%	5%	27%	5%
15 Lebanon	34%	34%	68%	13%	13%	26%	6%
16 Egypt	23%	44%	67%	12%	14%	26%	7%
17 South Africa	20%	47%	67%	14%	4%	18%	15%
18 Hong Kong	13%	53%	66%	29%	3%	32%	2%
19 Peru	27%	39%	66%	12%	5%	17%	17%
20 Nigeria	22%	43%	65%	20%	14%	34%	1%
21 Spain	13%	51%	64%	20%	10%	30%	6%
22 Latvia	22%	42%	64%	17%	5%	22%	14%
23 Ireland	18%	44%	62%	28%	5%	33%	5%
24 Finland	9%	51%	60%	31%	3%	34%	6%
25 Netherlands	7%	52%	59%	29%	2%	31%	10%
26 Austria	16%	43%	59%	32%	3%	35%	6%
27 Palestinian territories	14%	44%	58%	26%	16%	42%	0%
28 Macedonia	26%	32%	58%	17%	8%	25%	17%
29 Jordan	33%	24%	57%	19%	19%	38%	5%
30 India	27%	30%	57%	27%	10%	37%	6%
31 Australia	13%	44%	57%	29%	5%	34%	9%
32 United Kingdom	14%	43%	57%	28%	4%	32%	11%
33 Panama	22%	35%	57%	26%	7%	33%	10%
34 Azerbaijan	18%	34%	52%	10%	15%	25%	23%
35 Argentina	17%	34%	51%	15%	7%	22%	27%
36 Ecuador	23%	27%	50%	16%	6%	22%	28%
37 Norway	11%	35%	46%	32%	8%	40%	14%
38 Thailand	10%	34%	44%	25%	17%	42%	14%
39 Bangladesh	11%	31%	42%	18%	8%	26%	32%
40 Slovenia	8%	32%	40%	35%	17%	52%	8%
41 Russian Federation	12%	28%	40%	21%	11%	32%	28%
42 Bulgaria	21%	15%	36%	49%	15%	64%	0%
43 Mexico	14%	13%	27%	68%	5%	73%	0%
44 Paraguay	5%	21%	26%	49%	17%	66%	8%

* 영향력 '있다' 응답 내림자순. 당시국 미국은 이 질문을 하지 않음
 * SOURCE : WIN/Gallup International The Global Vote on U.S. Elections 2016



December 4, 1952 - Dwight D. Eisenhower leaves headquarters of the 5th Field Artillery Group during his visit to the headquarters of the 1st Republic of Korea's Capitol Division [77-18-872]



Dick Gephardt: "Hyundai"



What 2 Watch 4? Fundamentals vs. Processes?

3

1. Early Voting(election day → election weeks): good for Dem?

- ▣ US Prez Election in 2000 = election day in-person voting by more than 80 percent
- ▣ 2024 Election = 45% election day in-person voting + 20% early in-person voting + 35% early mail-in voting(MIT Prof. Charles Stewart)
- ▣ Vote Count Chaos?
 - PA = no early voting count until 7 am on the Election Day
 - FL = early voting count in advance, compared to the 2000 election chaos
- ▣ NV/GA = GOP governors; MI, WI, PA, AZ, NC = Dem governors
 - non-citizen voting controversy = New Hampshire: first-time voter ID restriction

2. TV campaign commercial(i.e. negative campaign): good for GOP?

- ▣ Unlike the case of Korea, tv campaign commercials critical in US
- ▣ Without Trump risk, only focusing on the economy and inflation

Is GOP Trump's Party?

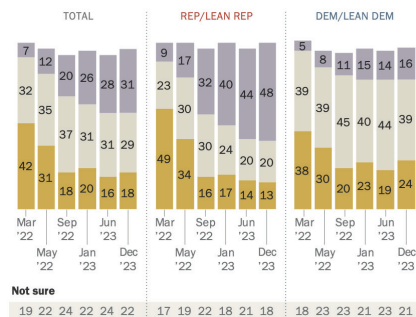
Trump and GOP: Primary vs. Policy?

4

Since Russia's invasion, Republicans have grown increasingly skeptical of U.S. aid level to Ukraine

% who say that when it comes to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. is providing ___ support to Ukraine

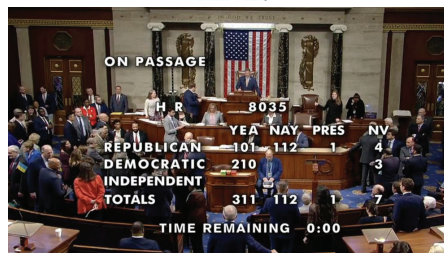
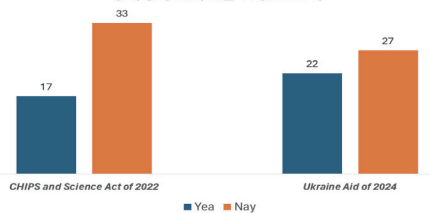
■ Too much ■ About right ■ Not enough



Not sure
19 22 24 24 22 22 17 19 22 22 18 21 18

Note: No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 2023.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

경제안보와 전통안보 공화당 상원의원들 찬성 vs. 반대



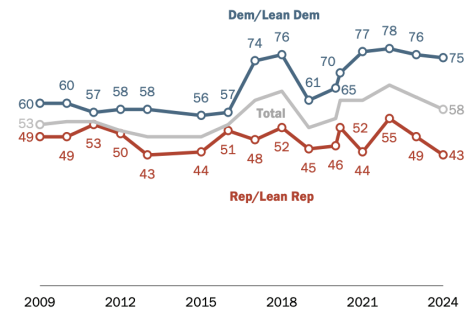
Trump 2nd Term and US Foreign Policy?

5

- Trump foreign policy
 - ▣ **unilateralism(GOP tradition)**
 - ▣ **non-interventionism(post-Iraq War)**
- Ukraine = no longer aid + no war hawks in Congress
- Taiwan contingency = scope/speed/sequence?
- Cong-Prez relations and US foreign policy
 - ▣ US troops in South Korea under NDAA
 - ▣ vs. Kaine-Rubio amendment and NATO
- Normalization with China and Goldwater
 - ▣ American president as the “sole organ”

Partisan gap on views of NATO is increasing

% who have a favorable opinion of NATO



Note: Starting in March 2020, data is from Pew Research Center's online American Trends Panel; older data is from telephone surveys.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 1-7, 2024. Q4e.
 "Growing Partisan Divisions Over NATO and Ukraine"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

2024 US Elections and Security Policy

6

- **2024 US Presidential Election and American Politics**
 - ▣ Domestic issues only(the economy and immigration) → No FP debates
 - ▣ Domestic-centered + Political polarization → division over Ukraine & Israel
- **Alliance Relations and Domestic Politics**
 - ▣ Trump: non-interventionism + unilateralism → weakened alliance
 - ▣ Harris: multilateralism + college-educated voters → internationalism
 - ▣ Burden sharing pressure or US troops withdrawal → Trump Only?
- **Except for Trump, alliance-oriented FP still remains in US**
 - ▣ Democratic Party: lattice-work + minilateralism → cost-effective FP
 - ▣ post-Trump era: GOP and FP debates? political economy missing?

2024 US Elections and Trade Policy

7

- **Both Trump and Harris = NOT the champions of industrial policy**
 - ▣ Trump = “Tariff Man” + only trade issue against China
 - ▣ Harris = welfare interests > business interests
- **US Congress and IRA/CHIPS and Science Act**
 - ▣ Sen. Manchin(D-WV) + Senate Parliamentarian → key to IRA passage
 - ▣ Existing measures + Senate bipartisanship right before IRA → key to CHIPS
 - ▣ Despite the claims of “countering China,” it still matters who the president is, which party is the majority, when it should pass, what should be included etc.
- When considering the future of American politics and the Korean economy, the US Congress is critical, along with the media and the presidency

North Korea and Americanization? (Seo 2013, 204)

8

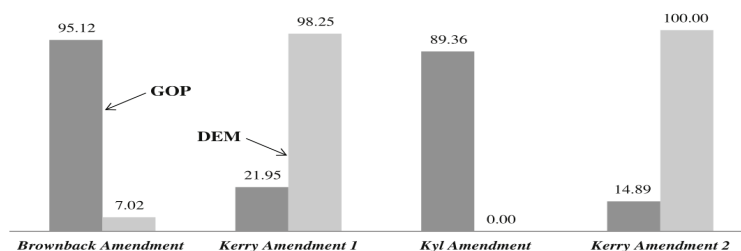


Figure 2. Senate Amendments and Partisan Breakdown, 2009–2012

Note: **Brownback Amendment** (S.AMDT.1597) to express the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of State should redesignate North Korea as a state sponsor of terrorism (July 22, 2009).

Kerry Amendment 1 (S.AMDT.1761) to express the sense of the Senate that the United States should fully enforce existing sanctions, and should explore additional sanctions, with respect to North Korea and to require a review to determine whether North Korea should be re-listed as a state sponsor of terrorism (July 22, 2009).

Kyl Amendment (S.AMDT.2354) to prohibit assistance to North Korea under title II of the Food for Peace Act (June 20, 2012).

Kerry Amendment 2 (S.AMDT.2454) to prohibit assistance to North Korea under title II of the Food for Peace Act unless the President issues a national interest waiver (June 20, 2012).

2024 US Elections and North Korea

9

- **American foreign policy and Americanization**
 - ▣ The Ukraine War → conservative radio show → opposed to aid
 - ▣ Israel-Hamas War → young voters and TikTok → opposed to Israel

- **North Korea and Americanization: How? When? For What?**
 - ▣ No debates over how to handle North Korea's nuclear threats
 - ▣ Instead, candidates' comments prevail.
 - "I got along with him" vs. "I will not cozy up to Kim Jong Un"
 - Americanization over Kim Jong Un?
 - Substantive debates over North Korea still missing
 - Trump 2nd term and America-first deal with Kim?

The Future of
the International Order and
the Global Economy after
the U.S. Presidential Election

SESSION 2

**The U.S. Presidential Election and Globalization :
the Future of Global Trade Order**

The Future of Global Trade Governance

Leonardo Baccini Professor of McGill University

The Future of Global Trade Governance

Leonardo Baccini (McGill University)

Global Orders after the 2024 US Elections, ROK

15 October 2024

The Question

- How will the global trade order and the pattern of globalization change after the 2024 US presidential election?
 - Systemic factors are against global trade governance
 - US politics play some role, at the margin.

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years

International Trade Flows & Activities

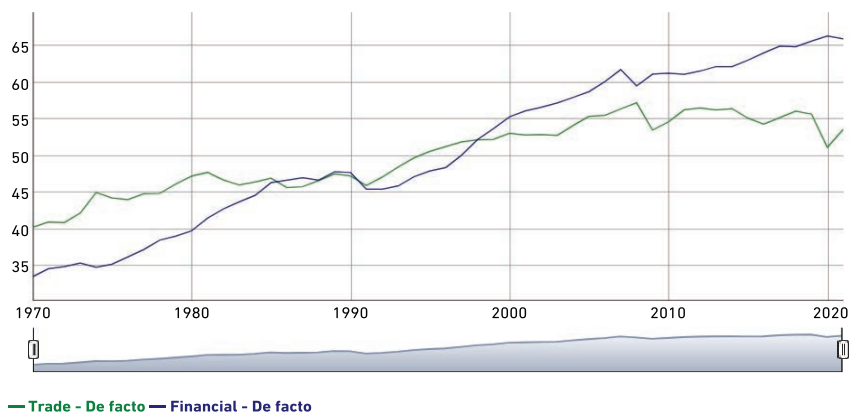


Figure: Source: KOF Index (2024).

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years
- 2 Trade liberalization has stagnated over the past 10 years

Trade Liberalizing Policies

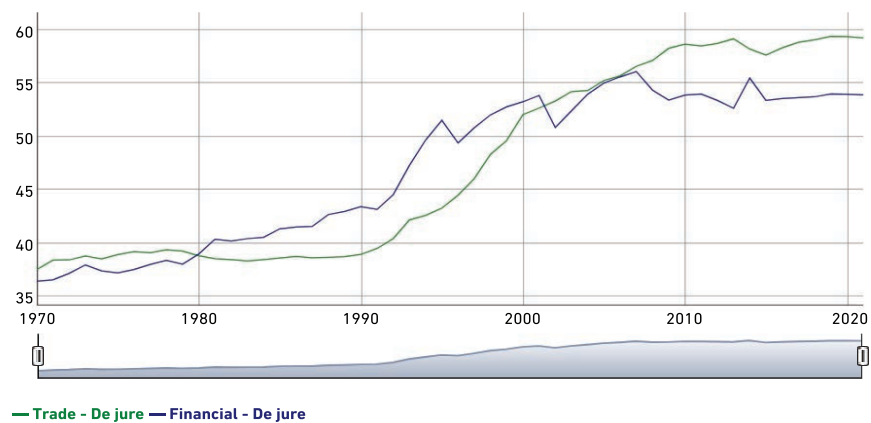


Figure: Source: KOF Index (2024).

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years
- 2 Trade liberalization has stagnated over the past 10 years
- 3 Protectionism has been on the rise for a few years

Trade Restrictive Measures

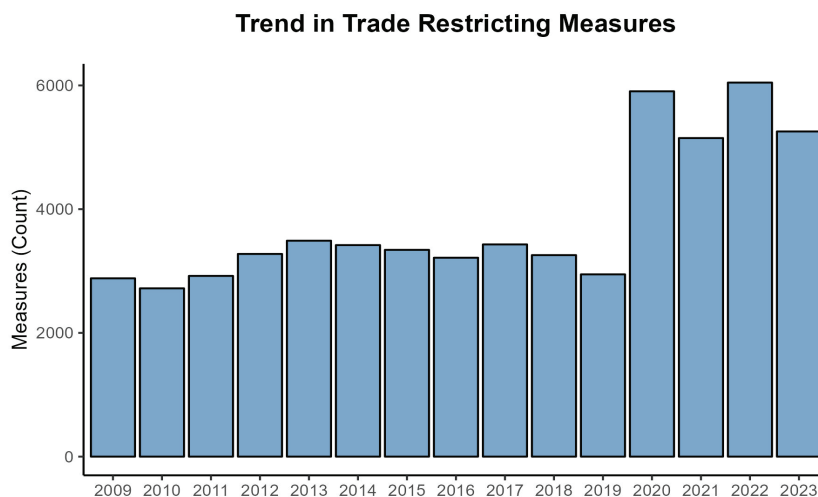


Figure: Source: GTA (2024).

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years
- 2 Trade liberalization has stagnated over the past 10 years
- 3 Protectionism has been on the rise for a few years
- 4 Trade cooperation has slowed down over the past 20 years

Trade Agreements

Yearly Trend in Newly Signed PTAs

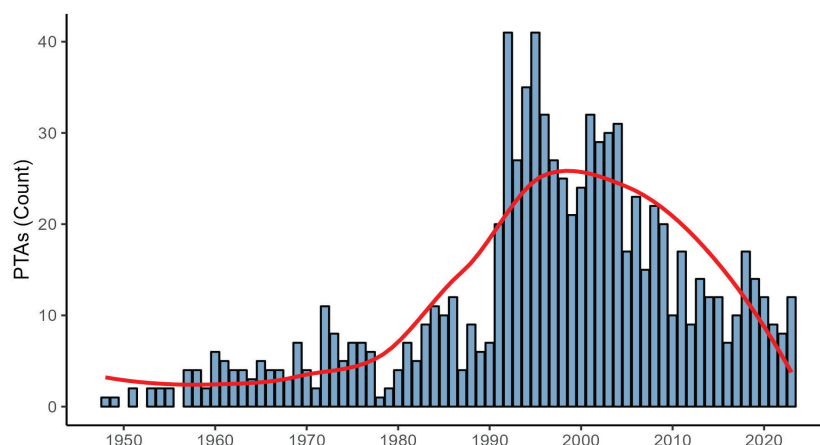


Figure: Source: Desta (2024).

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years
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- 3 Protectionism has been on the rise for a few years
- 4 Trade cooperation has slowed down over the past 20 years
- 5 Economic uncertainty has been rising over the past 10 years

Economic Uncertainty

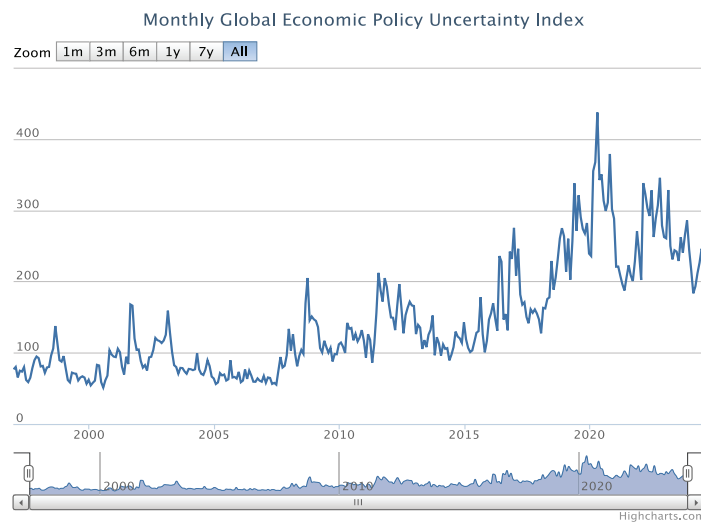


Figure: Source: Economic Policy Uncertainty Index (2024).

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years
- 2 Trade liberalization has stagnated over the past 10 years
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- 4 Trade cooperation has slowed down over the past 20 years
- 5 Economic uncertainty has been rising over the past 10 years
- 6 We are in the midst of a major technological transformation

Automation

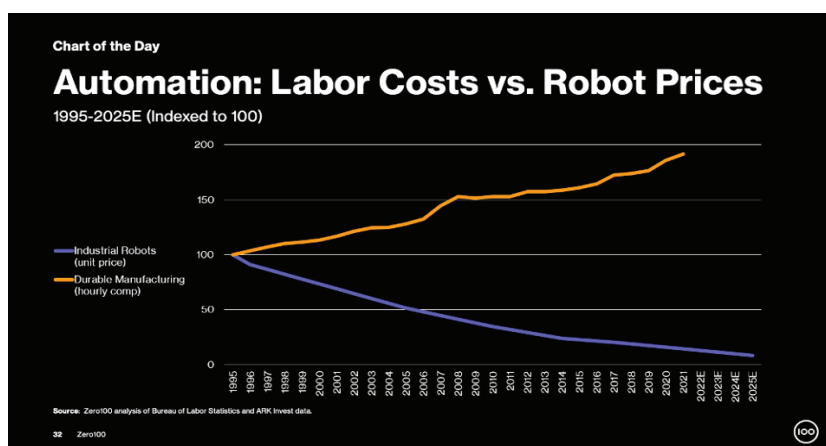


Figure: Source: International Trade Administration.

Stylized Facts

- 1 Trade activities have stagnated over the past 10 years
- 2 Trade liberalization has stagnated over the past 10 years
- 3 Protectionism has been on the rise for a few years
- 4 Trade cooperation has slowed down over the past 20 years
- 5 Economic uncertainty has been rising in the past 10 years
- 6 We are in the midst of a major technological transformation
- 7 Populism has been on the rise for quite some time.

The Rise of Populism

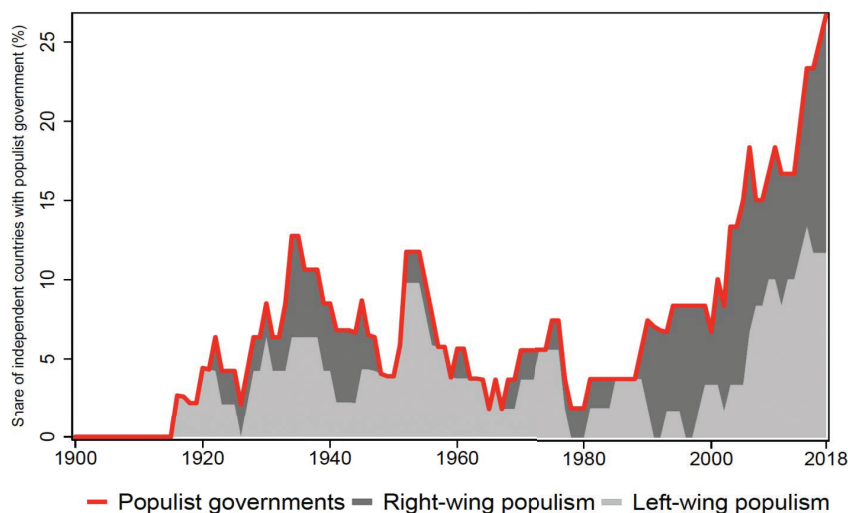


Figure: Source: Funke et al (VoxEU, 16 Feb 2021).

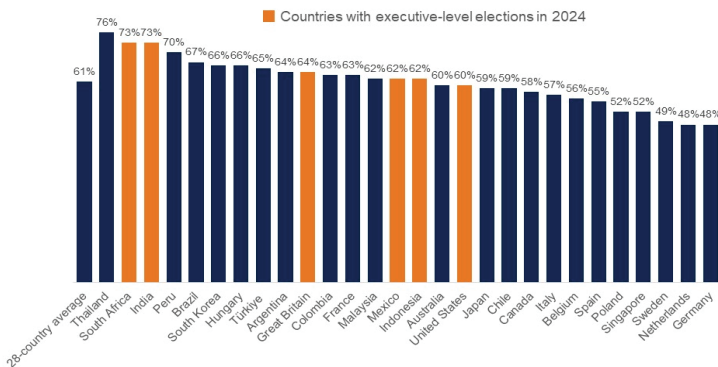
Demand for Populism in the World

Several countries with executive-level elections feature high levels of populist sentiment

Broken System index

The system is broken index is made up of the average agreement to the five statements below:

- The [country's] economy is rigged to advantage the rich and powerful
- Traditional parties and politicians don't care about people like me
- To fix [COUNTRY], we need a strong leader willing to break the rules
- [COUNTRY] needs a strong leader to take the country back from the rich and powerful
- Experts in this country don't understand the lives of people like me



© Ipsos Source: Ipsos poll of 20,630 online adults under age 75 across 28 countries, interviewed November 22-December 6, 2023



Figure: Source: IPSOS (2024).

Party Position on Trade

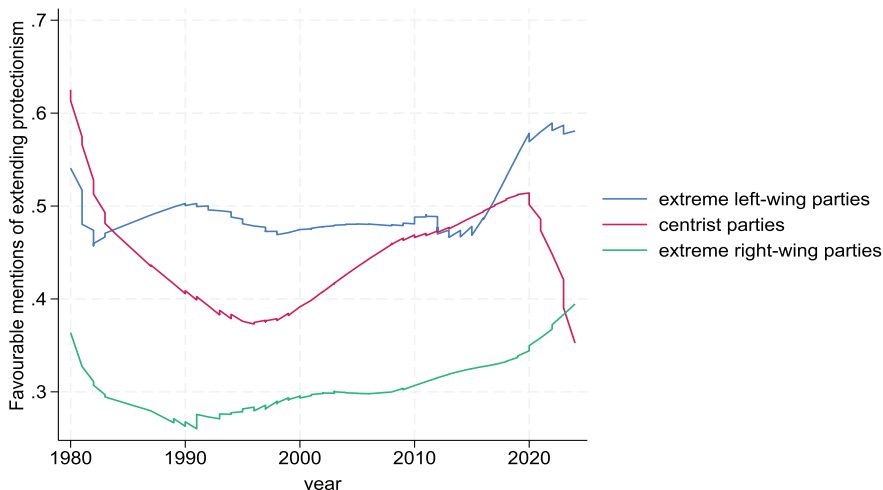


Figure: Source: Party Manifesto (2024).

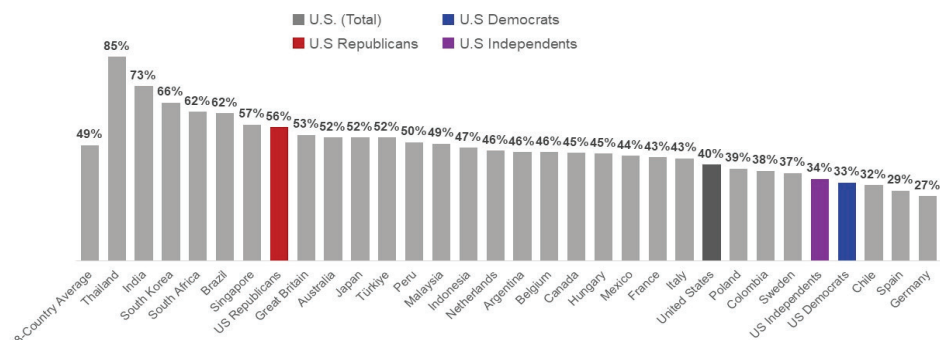
The Role of Politics

- When in power, populist parties/presidents halt trade cooperation

Demand for Populism in the US

Democrats, Republicans lie on the opposite ends of the spectrum when it comes to support for populist leaders

To fix [Country], we need a strong leader willing to break the rules



© Ipsos Source: Ipsos poll of 20,630 online adults under age 75 across 28 countries, interviewed November 22-December 6, 2023



Figure: Source: IPSOS (2024).

Attitudes toward Trade in the US

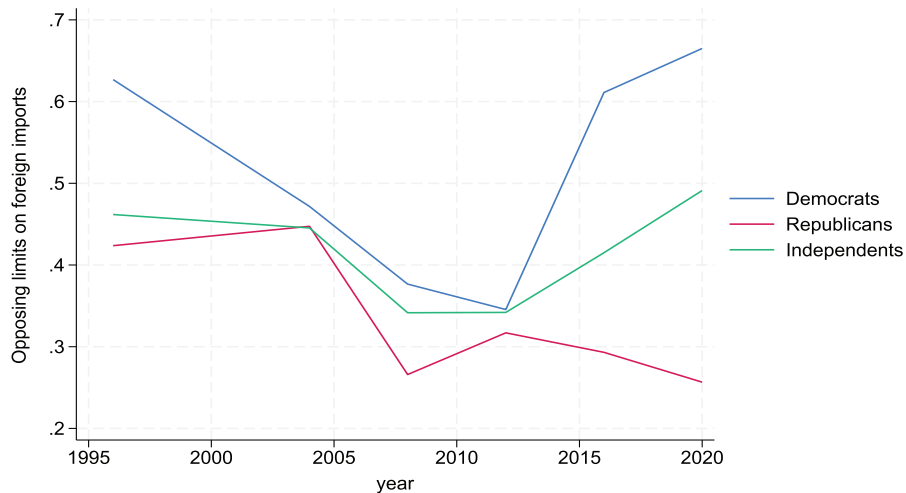


Figure: Source: ANES (2024).



The Role of Politics

- When in power, populist parties/presidents halt trade cooperation
- A second Trump term would further jeopardize global (trade) governance as we know it;
 - a universal tariff of at least 10% on all US imports with a higher rate on goods from China
 - enforcement of trade agreements would be weakened



The Role of Politics

- When in power, populist parties/presidents halt trade cooperation
- A second Trump term would further jeopardize global (trade) governance as we know it;
 - a universal tariff of at least 10% on all US imports with a higher rate on goods from China
 - enforcement of trade agreements would be weakened
- Harris' trade policy is not clear (probably continuing Biden's):
 - avoiding new free trade agreements
 - targeted trade and national security restrictions on trade with China
 - promotion of labor rights and environmental protection
 - industrial subsidies and a willingness to impose import measures to shield industries like steel and green energy.



Summary

- Systemic factors (geopolitical tensions, technological changes, populism) are here to stay



Summary

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- Traditional tariffs are already low (more than 50% of products face zero)

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- Main trade partners already have trade agreements in force

Summary

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- Traditional tariffs are already low (more than 50% of products face zero)
- Main trade partners already have trade agreements in force
- Appetite for further trade cooperation will remain low among economic actors and the public

Summary

- Systemic factors (geopolitical tensions, technological changes, populism) are here to stay
- Traditional tariffs are already low (more than 50% of products face zero)
- Main trade partners already have trade agreements in force
- Appetite for further trade cooperation will remain low among economic actors and the public
- The challenge will be maintaining trade cooperation as it is.

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Conclusion

THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION!



The Future of
the International Order and
the Global Economy after
the U.S. Presidential Election

SESSION 2

**The U.S. Presidential Election and Globalization :
the Future of Global Trade Order**

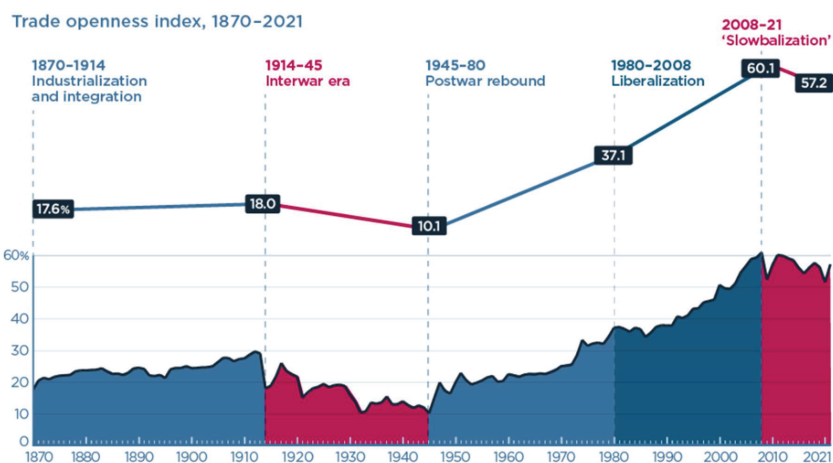
Globalization and
Trade after the U.S.
Presidential Election

Seungjoo Lee Professor of Chung-Ang University

Globalization and Trade after the U.S. Presidential Election



Slowbalization



Source: Irwin (2022). 2

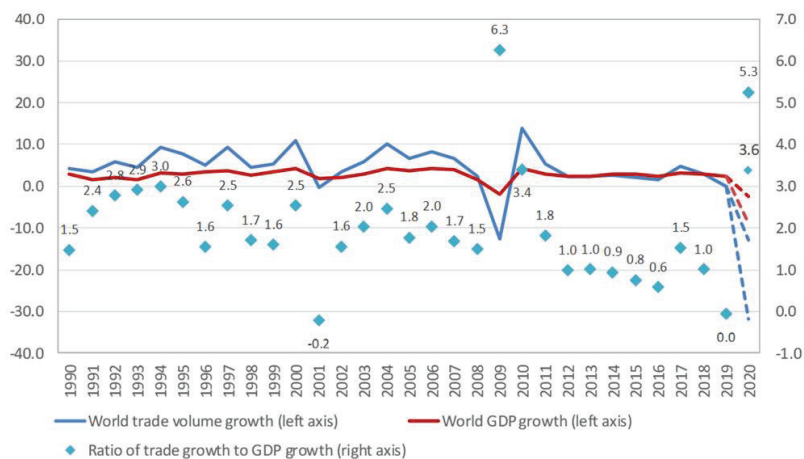
What Is Different?

- What is different?
 - Economic consequences
 - Trade as a source of economic growth
 - Increase in intermediate goods
 - Political Context
 - Crisis of rules-based order
 - The U.S.-China strategic competition
 - The rise of geopolitical conflicts



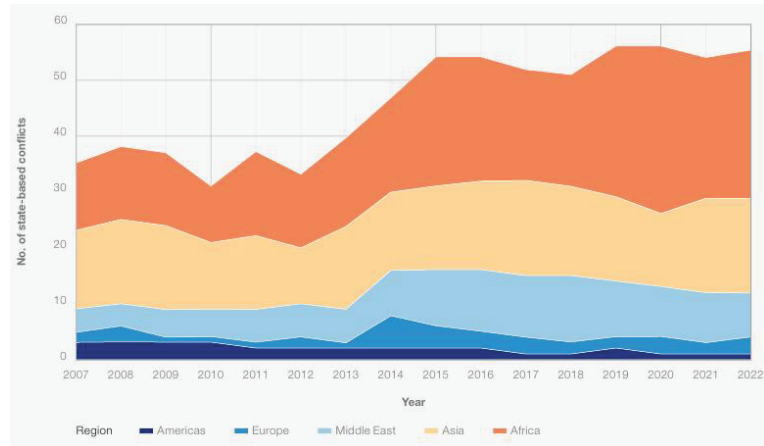
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World Trade vs. World GDP



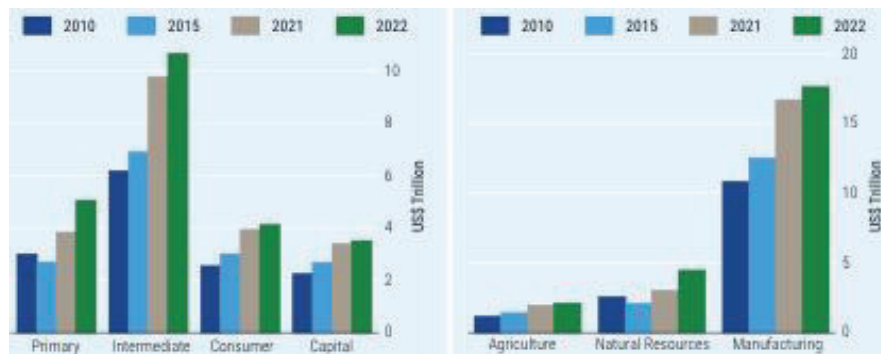
Source: https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/pres20_e/pr855_e.htm 4

Armed Conflicts, 2007~2022



Source: WEF (2024). 5

Trade in Goods by Stage of Processing and Category



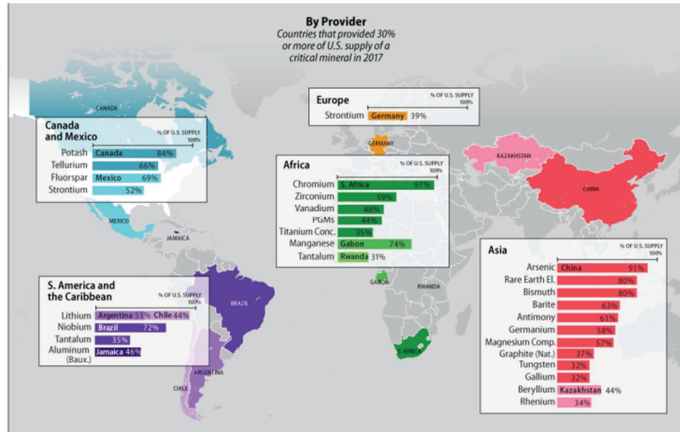
Source: UNCTAD (2023). 6

Critical Minerals

By Mineral

Critical minerals in order of U.S. import reliance in 2017

Mineral	U.S. Import Reliance
Arsenic	100%
Cesium	100%
Fluorspar	100%
Gallium	100%
Graphite (Nat.)	100%
Indium	100%
Manganese	100%
Niobium	100%
Rare Earth El.	100%
Rubidium	100%
Scandium	100%
Strontium	100%
Tantalum	100%
Vanadium	100%
Bismuth	97%
Uranium	93%
Titanium Conc.	92%
Potash	92%
Barite	86%
Antimony	85%
Rhenium	81%
Tin	76%
Aluminum (Baux.)	75-100%
Tellurium	75-100%
PGMs	71%
Chromium	71%
Cobalt	69%
Magnesium Comp.	51%
Germanium	50-75%
Lithium	50-75%
Tungsten	50-75%
Beryllium	17%
Hafnium	Net Exporter
Helium	Net Exporter
Zirconium	Net Exporter



Source: CRS (2019). 7

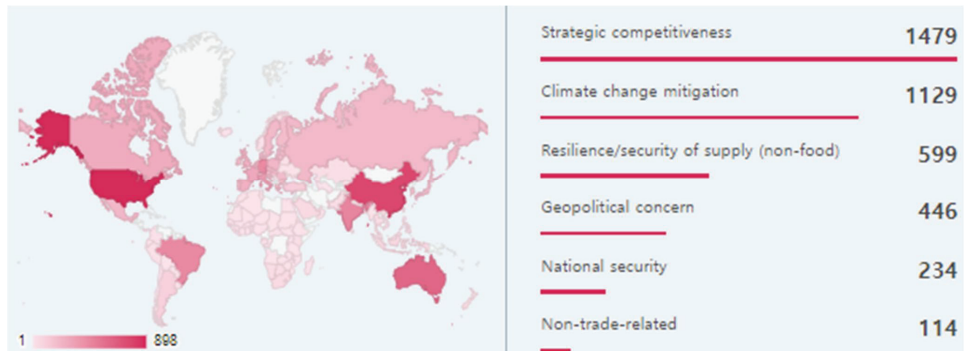
Protectionism and Industrial Policy

- The return of industrial policy
 - Securitization
 - National security
 - Strategic competitiveness
 - Geopolitical risk
 - Structural vulnerability
 - Supply chain



8

Protectionism and Industrial Policy



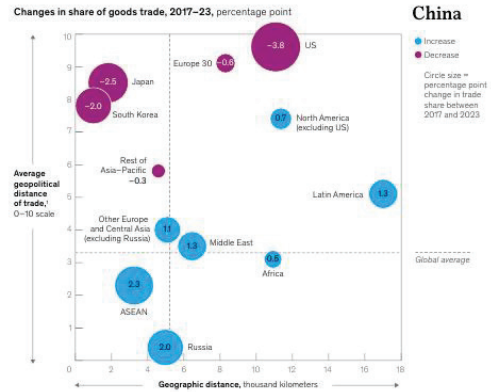
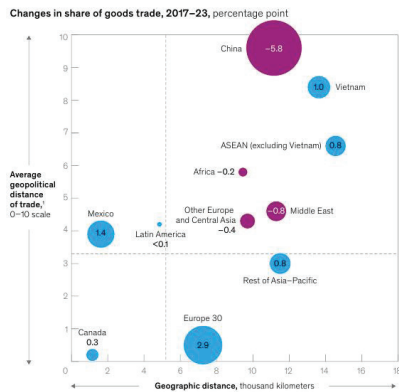
Source: GTA (2024). 9

Geopolitics and Trade

- Geographic distance vs. geopolitical distance
 - Efficiency vs. resilience
- Supply chain restructuring
- High technology competition
 - Dual-use
 - Securitization

10

Change in Trade Patterns



Source: McKinsey Global Institute (2024: 21).

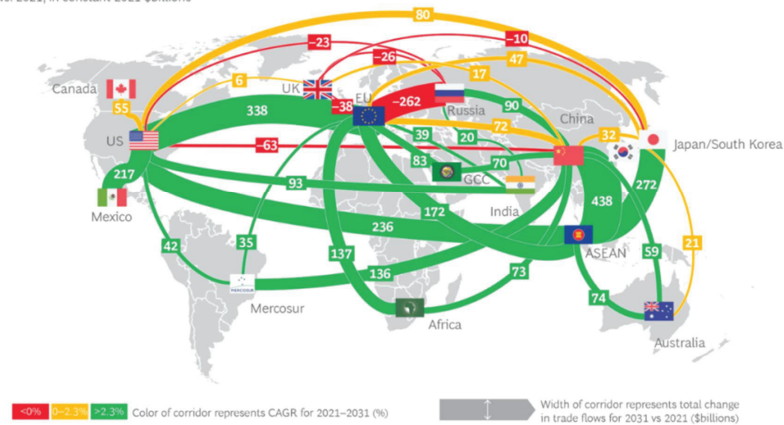
The U.S. Election and World Trade Order

- Trade war 2.0 vs. Derisking
 - Tariff vs. export control, investment screening
- Emerging issues
 - High tech
 - Development vs. utilization
 - Digital trade
 - “20th century rules, 21st century reality”
- Rewiring
 - Interaction between economic uncertainty and geopolitical risk
 - National interests and corporate interests
 - Beyond fragmentation?

12

Takeaway

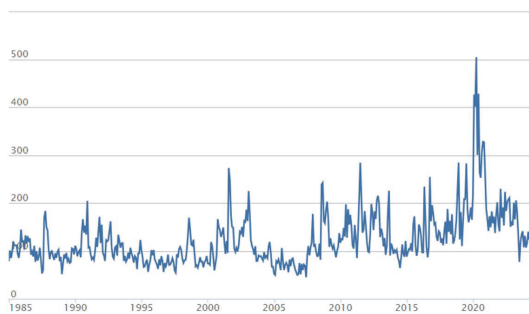
Change in trade of goods, major corridors¹
2031 vs. 2021, in constant 2021 \$billions



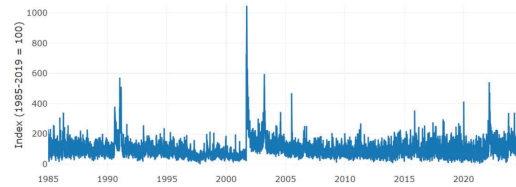
Source: BCG (2023). 13

Takeaway

Economic Policy Uncertainty

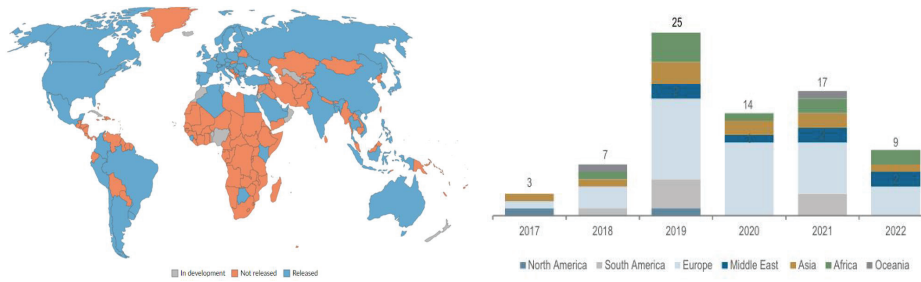


Geopolitical Risk Index



Source: Economic Policy Uncertainty; Mateo Iacoviello (2024).

AI National Strategy



Source: Our World in Data (2022), 15



16

The Future of
the International Order and
the Global Economy after
the U.S. Presidential Election

SESSION 3

**The U.S. Presidential Election and Economic Security :
the Future of De-risking**

Economic Security and Technology

Kenneth Scheve Professor of Yale University



Economic Security and Technology

October 15, 2024

Kenneth Scheve

Economic Security and Technology

The Question:

How will the future of economic security change after the US presidential election?

Key Policy Areas:

- Supply Chains
- US-China Competition over Technology
- National Industrial Policies

Economic Security and Technology

Forecasting Sources:

- Legislation and Executive Orders
(Trump 2017-2020, Biden 2021-2024)
- 2024 Party Platforms, Speeches, and Campaign Webpages
- Project 2025

3

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Economic Security and Technology

Shared Assessments:

- **Double Meaning of US Economic Security:**
 - Safeguard US national security interests
 - Support the economic welfare of American workers and families
- **China as the primary challenge to both objectives**

4

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Economic Security and Technology

Harris Administration Forecast

- **Focus on supply-chain resilience:** Semiconductors, AI, quantum computing, pharmaceuticals, green tech
 - Key Legislation: Executive Order 14017 (2021) CHIPS Act 2022, Inflation Reduction Act (2022), DPA Reform Act (2023), Export controls (2021-2024), Expanded CFIUS reviews
- **Trade Diversification:** Shift from China to allies, boost reshoring
- **Increased State Role in the Economy:** Expanded use of the Defense Production Act

5

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Economic Security and Technology

Trump Second Administration Forecast

- **Reshoring Economic Activity:**
 - Tariff increases and regulation of both inward and outward investment
- **Sectoral-Targeted policies:**
 - Tax incentives for semiconductors, pharmaceuticals, and defense
- **Energy Independence:**
 - Shift away from the Inflation Reduction Act and green technology policies to focus on oil, gas, and coal production
- **China-Targeted policies:**
 - Use of export controls, CFIUS, Section 301, Section 232

6

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Economic Security and Technology

Caveats/Questions:

1. Is distinction between a Harris and Trump administration in the treatment of allies overdrawn?

- Project 2025 envisions deeper partnerships with US allies including Korea to create diversified supply chains; reshoring only is expensive

2. How deep is Trump commitment to broad-based protectionist policies versus those targeted in key sectors?

- Project 2025 advocates a more strategic approach, reshoring in specific sectors similar to Harris/Biden

3. Do similar objectives and policies differ in tone and scale, affecting international cooperation?

The Future of
the International Order and
the Global Economy after
the U.S. Presidential Election

SESSION 3

**The U.S. Presidential Election and Economic Security :
the Future of De-risking**

Rethinking Economic
Security to Rebuild Liberal
International Order


Jong-hee Park Professor of Seoul National University

미국 대선 이후 경제안보, 디리스팅의 미래

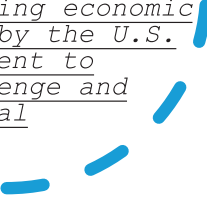
Rethinking Economic Security to Rebuild Liberal International Order

Jong Hee Park

Political Science and International Relations
Economic Security Cluster, Institute for Future Strategy
Seoul National University



Inward Looking in Economic Security Dialogue

- NSS 2022 says “Our strategy toward the PRC is threefold: 1) to invest in the foundations of our strength at home - our competitiveness, our innovation, our resilience, our democracy, 2) to align our efforts with our network of allies and partners, acting with common purpose and in common cause, and 3) compete responsibly with the PRC to defend our interests and build our vision for the future.” (24)
 - EU, Australia, Canada, Japan, and South Korea adopt US-like economic security strategies.
 - My argument: The inward-looking economic security strategies adopted by the U.S. and its allies are insufficient to counter China's global challenge and achieve most of their internal objectives.
- 

Why?

China's Global South Focus: China primarily targets the Global South, not liberal democracies (LDs). LDs can survive without China, but Global South may not.

Varying Dependence on China: LDs have different levels of dependence on China. Asian countries are particularly reliant due to geographical proximity.

China's Technological Advancement: Semiconductor is the only area where US and its allies maintains an advantage. This advantage may be short-lived. China's rapid progress in AI and telecommunication technology pose an enormous opportunity to Global South.

Why?

Protectionist Tendencies: Economic security measures often resemble protectionism. Focus on safeguarding domestic markets, industries, firms, and workers over foreign entities.

"Derisking" or "decoupling" lack clear guidelines and actionable plans beyond export control. Economic security policies often result in a patchwork of protectionist, nationalist, and xenophobic measures.

A **New Washington Consensus** is not yet clearly explained.

Problems of Protectionism: Protecting home markets (infant industries, sensitive technologies, critical materials, etc.) creates new issues: moral hazard, cronyism, over-production, over-stockpiling, and subsidy war.

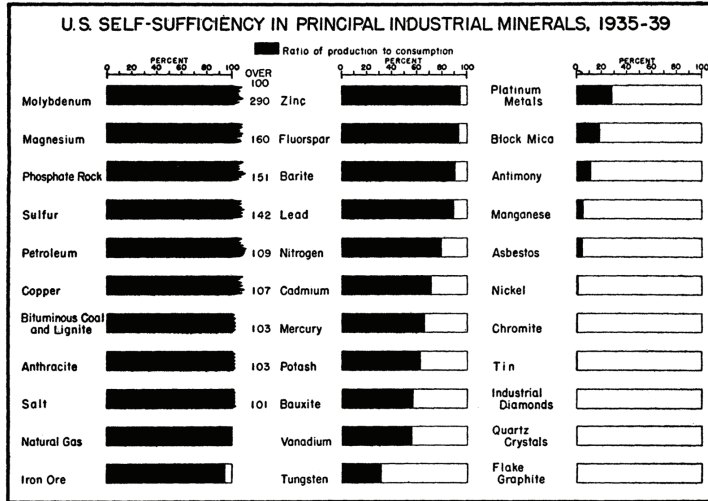


Figure 3. Ratio of production of chief mineral products to consumption, 1935-1939. Building materials (stone, cement, lime, etc.) not included.

Our Mineral Resources and Security

By Elmer Walter Pehrson July 1945
Published on July 1, 1945

Just before World War II, the United States was in a position to be **self-sufficient** in most of the key critical minerals that were important input factors in industry and weapons production.

Just before World War II, the United States accounted for **60% of global oil production**. As of 2023, it's 20%.

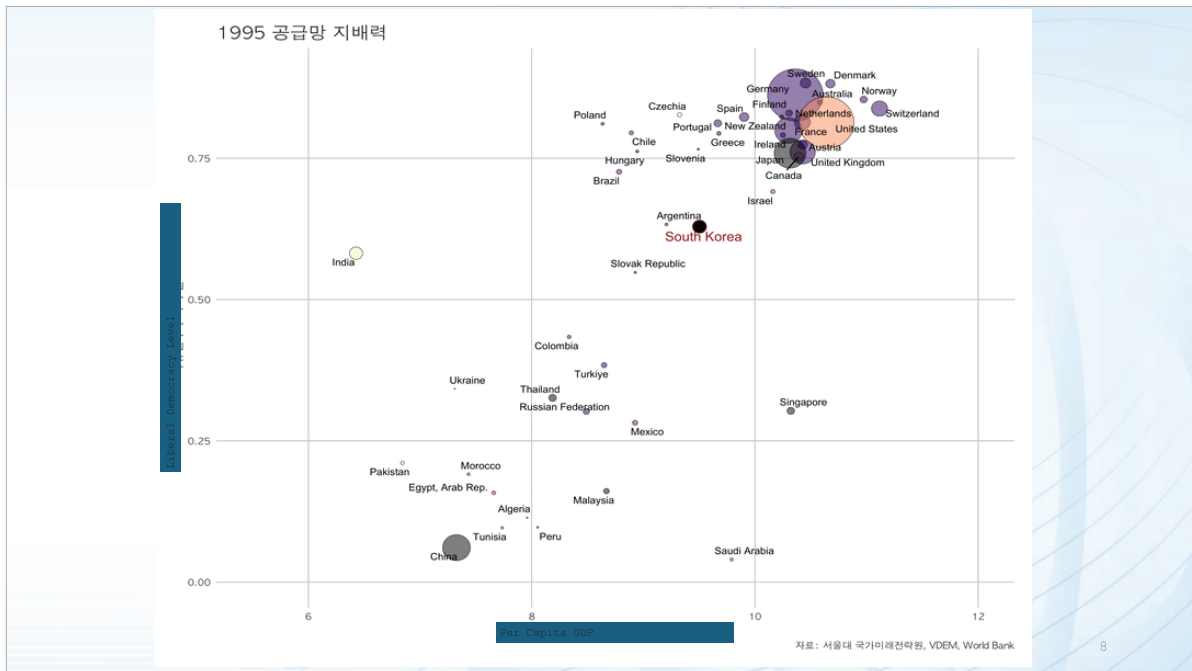
Cluster #	Commodity	Supply risk (SR)										Leading producers		Most vulnerable applications	
		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Name(s)	Percent of world (2007-2016)	Description	2016 EV scores
1	Dysprosium											China		Permanent magnets	
1	Yttrium											China		Advanced ceramics	
1	Neodymium											China		Permanent magnets	
1	Cobalt											D.R. Congo		Superalloys	
1	Lanthanum											China		Catalysts	
1	Cerium											China		Catalysts	
1	Graphite											China		Refractories	
1	Bismuth											China		Chemicals	
1	Aluminum											China, Russia		Passenger cars and light trucks	
1	Antimony											China		Batteries	
1	Tantalum											Rwanda, D.R. Congo		Capacitors	
1	Praseodymium											China		Permanent magnets	
1	Tungsten											China		Cemented carbides	
1	Rhodium											South Africa		Catalytic converters	
1	Ruthenium											South Africa		Electronics	
1	Magnesium											China		Aluminum alloys	
1	Platinum											South Africa		Catalytic converters	
1	Niobium											Brazil		Steel alloys	
1	Gallium											China		Integrated circuits	
1	Palladium											Russia, South Africa		Catalytic converters	
1	Iridium											South Africa		Electronics	
1	Titanium											China, Japan		Aerospace alloys	
1	Germanium											China		Fiber optics	
2	Indium											China		Electronics and alloys	
2	Tin											China, Indonesia		Tin alloys	
2	Samarium											China		Permanent magnets	
2	Barite											China, India		Oil and natural gas well drilling	
	Vanadium											China, South Korea		Galvanizing	
	Potash											China, South Africa		Steel alloys	
	Chromium											Canada, Russia		Fertilizer	
	Arsenic											South Africa, Kazakhstan		Steel alloys	
2	Strontium											China		Wood preservatives and pesticides	
2	Manganese											China, Spain		Ferrite ceramic magnets	
2	Nickel											South Africa, Australia		Steel alloys	
												China, Russia		Steel alloys	

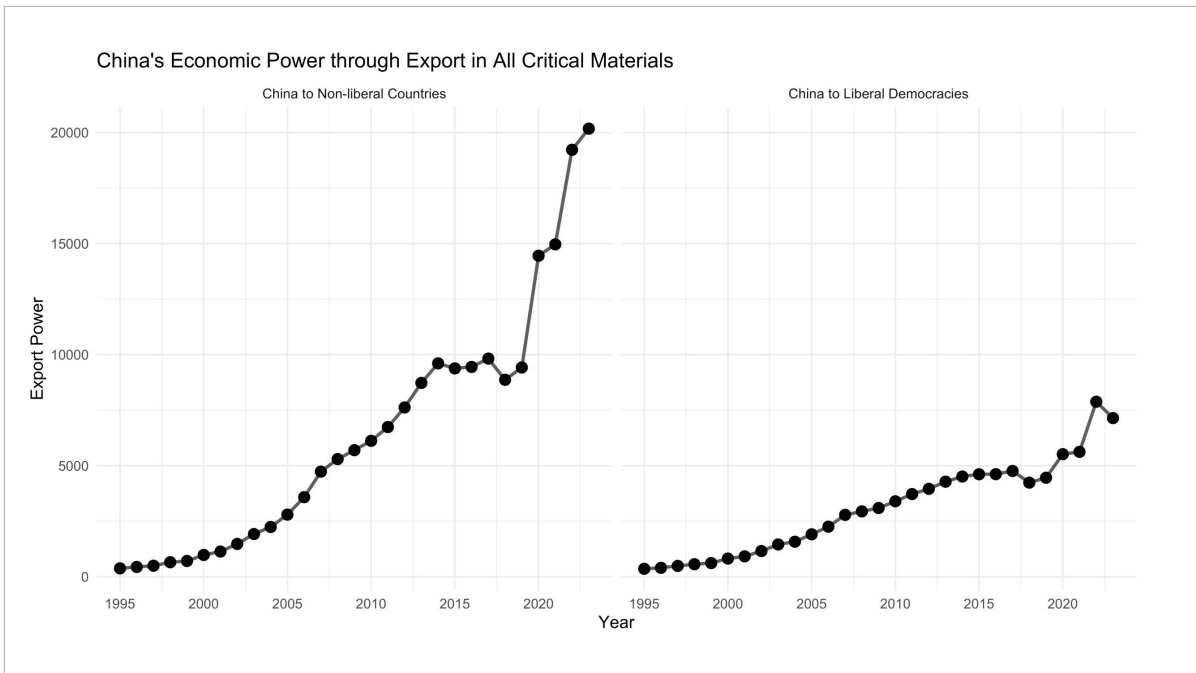
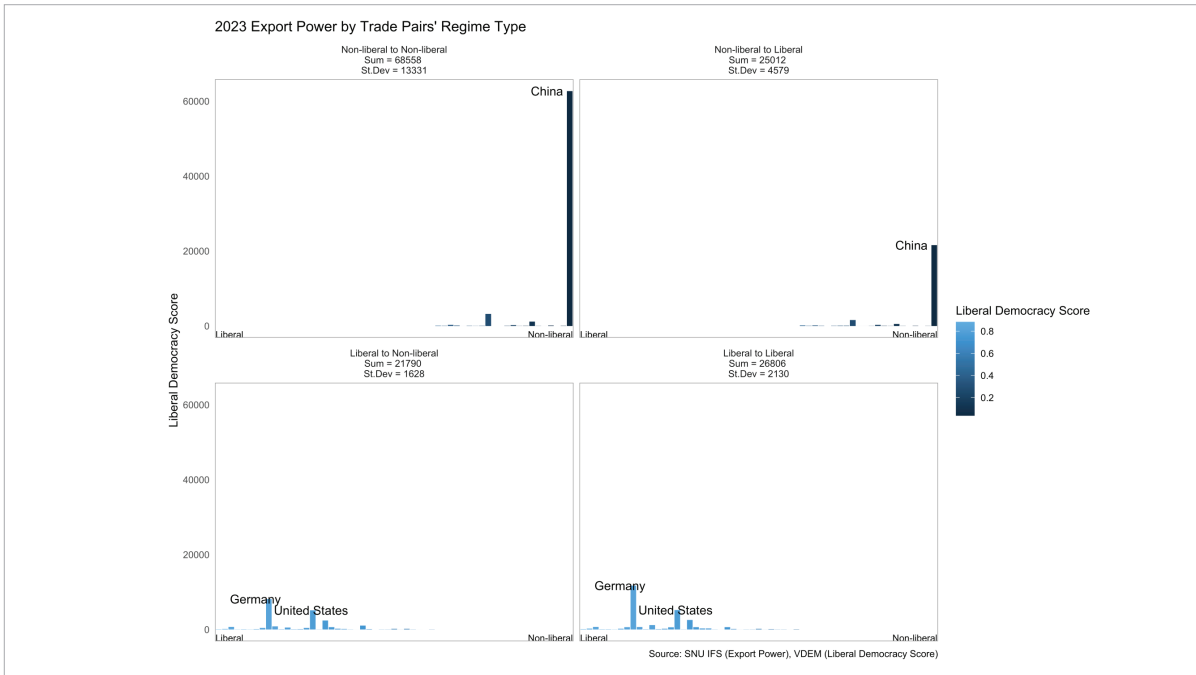
Nedal T. Nassar et al., Evaluating the mineral commodity supply risk of the U.S. manufacturing sector. *Soc. Sci. Adv.* 6, eaay8647 (2020). DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.aay8647

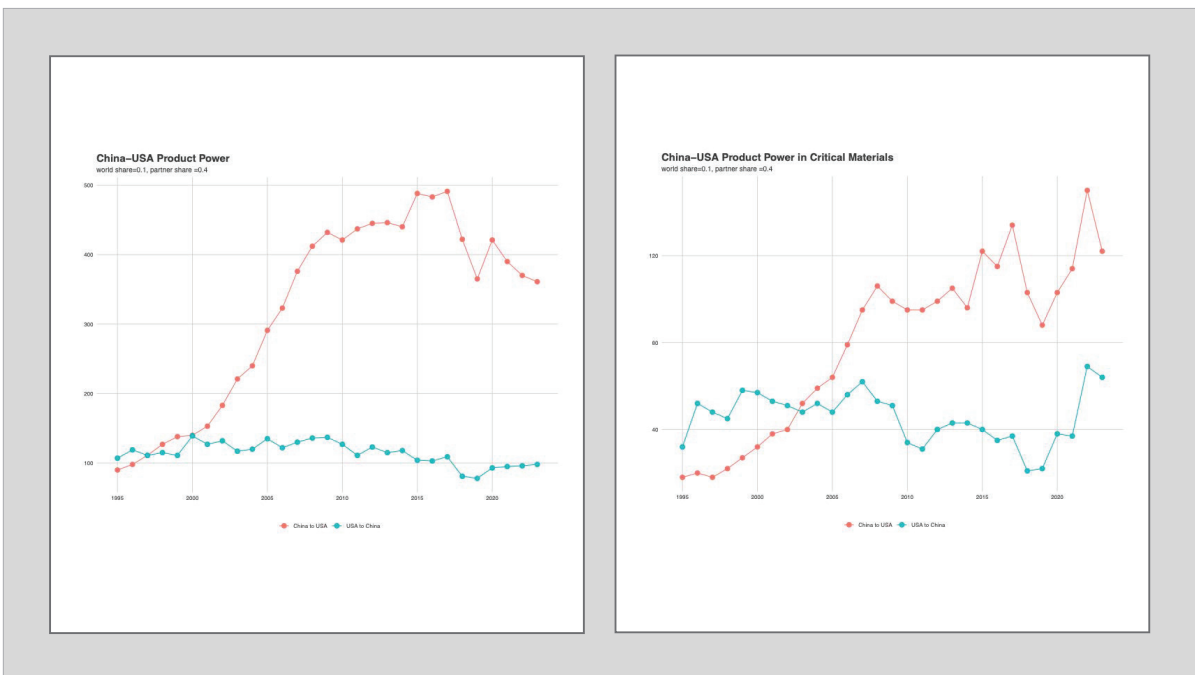
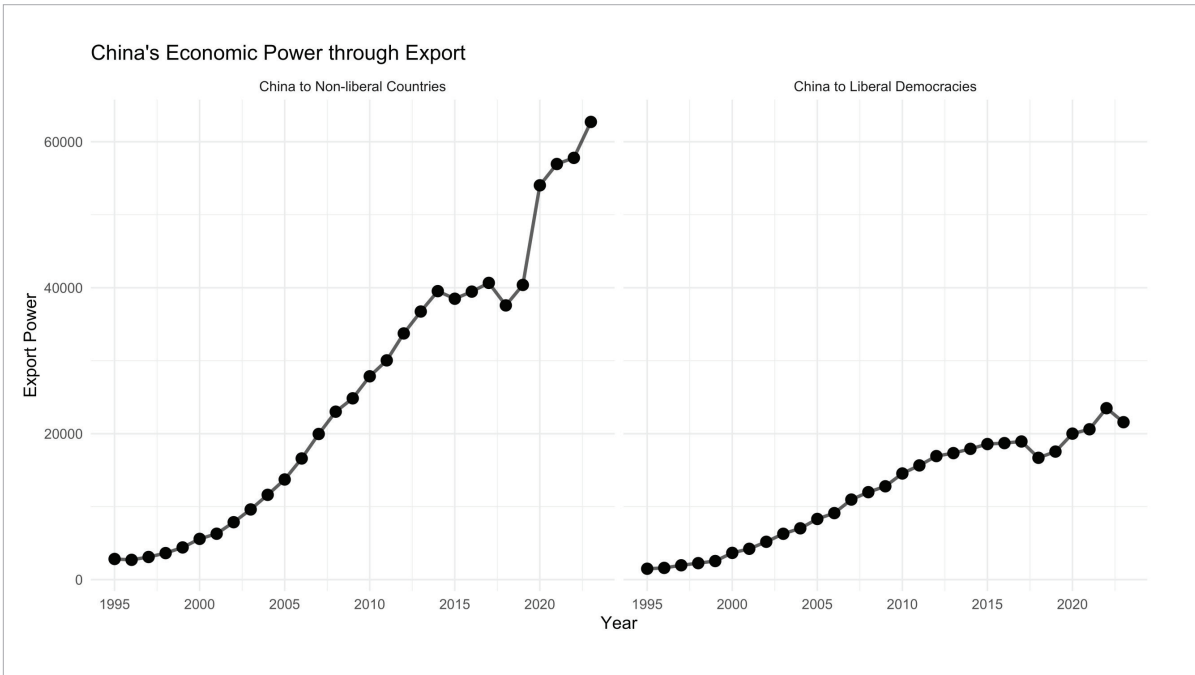
Country	2021 Power Rank	2001-2021 Power Rank Shift	2021 Power Score	2001 Power Score	2021 Vulnerability Rank	2001-2021 Vulnerability Rank Shift	2021 Vulnerability Score	2001 Vulnerability Score
China	1	▲2	83210	11637	56	▼17	975	716
Germany	2	0	22235	18749	29	▲29	1135	581
USA	3	▼2	12749	26789	19	▲2	1220	842
Italy	4	No Value	5102	No Value	44	No Value	1029	No Value
India	5	▲3	4562	1771	8	▲39	1363	675
Japan	6	▼2	2067	5238	7	▼4	1371	1087
France	7	▼2	1857	4215	55	▼19	977	736
Netherlands	8	▲2	1545	1612	32	▼14	1113	858
Turkey	9	▲15	1503	218	2	▲38	1420	715
Switzerland	10	▲1	1467	1545	26	▼11	1183	872
Spain	11	▲2	1390	792	15	▲31	1253	680
United Kingdom	12	▼6	1360	3134	12	▲16	1278	806
Belgium	13	▼4	1165	1726	50	▼24	997	820
Rep. of Korea	14	▼2	852	1295	1	▲3	1492	1027
Russian Federation	15	0	670	552	17	▲35	1235	622
Austria	16	▲1	594	465	31	▼26	1129	956
Malaysia	17	▲3	494	309	10	▲38	1312	669
Pakistan	18	▲17	468	96	5	▲44	1392	643
Canada	19	▼2	462	465	11	▼10	1301	1212
Sweden	20	▼6	430	673	56	▼21	975	738
Czechia	21	▲7	406	155	35	▼23	1106	899
Portugal	22	▼3	390	325	108	▼26	669	460

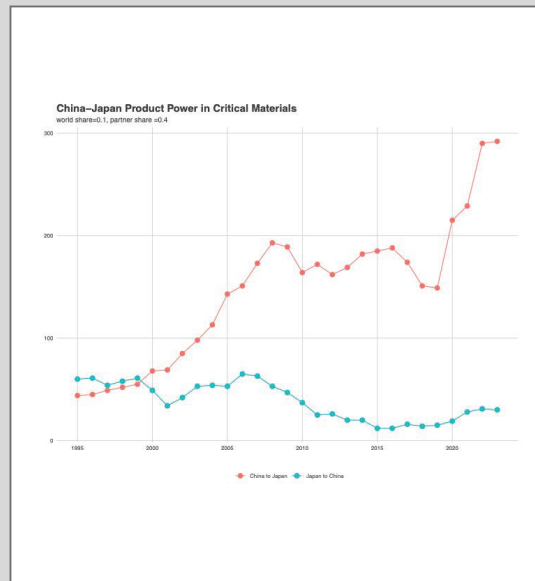
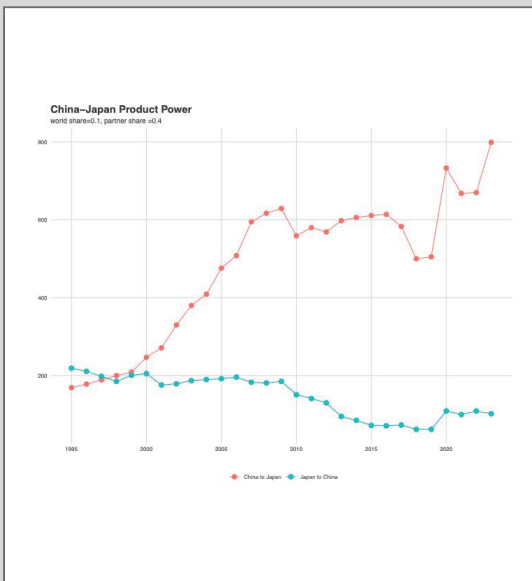
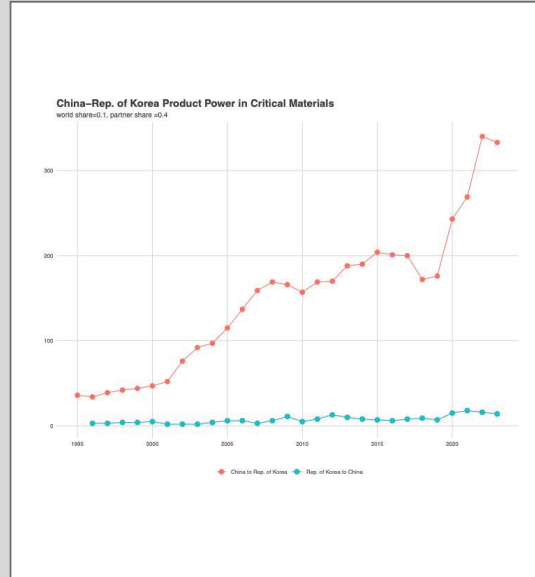
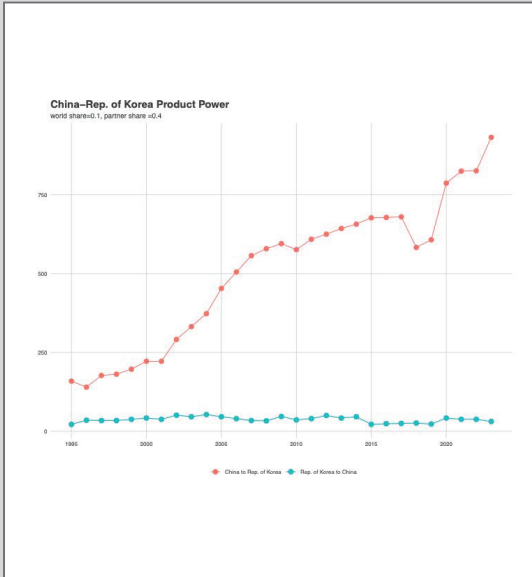
Table 1. Supply Chain Dominance Rank Note that Italy's reporting unit has changed between 2001 and 2021, rendering its past rankings unavailable.

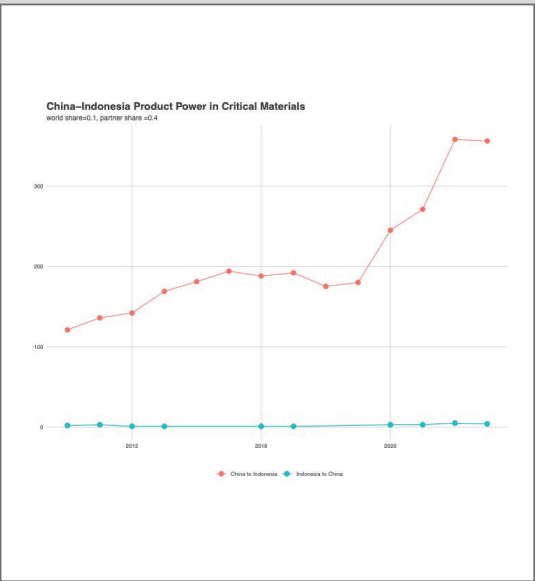
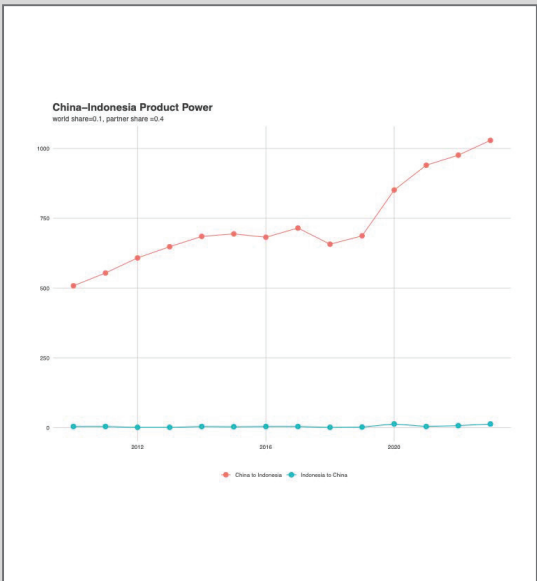
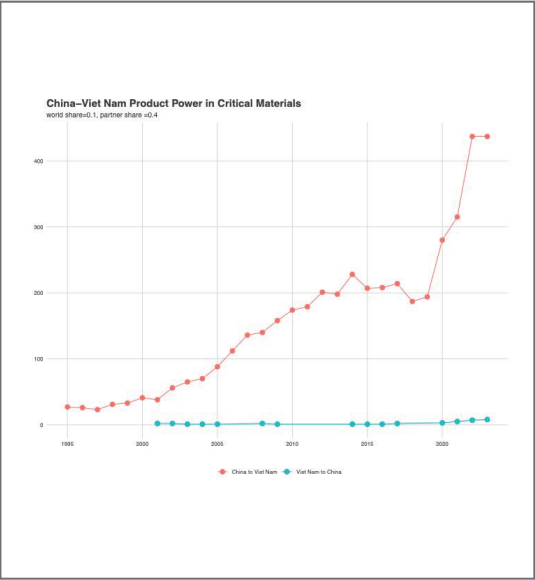
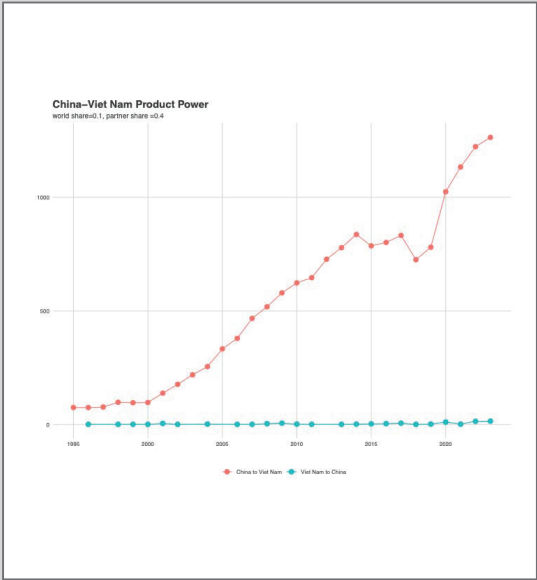
Supply Chain Dominance Index
For Economic Security Planning and International Cooperation











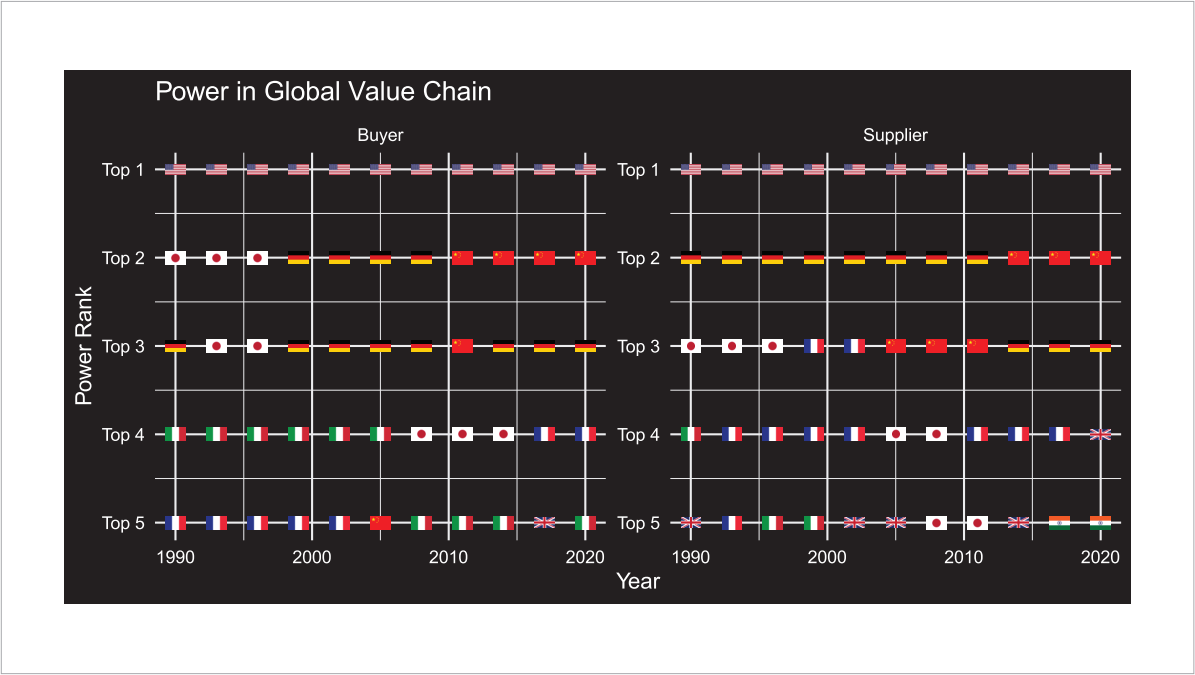
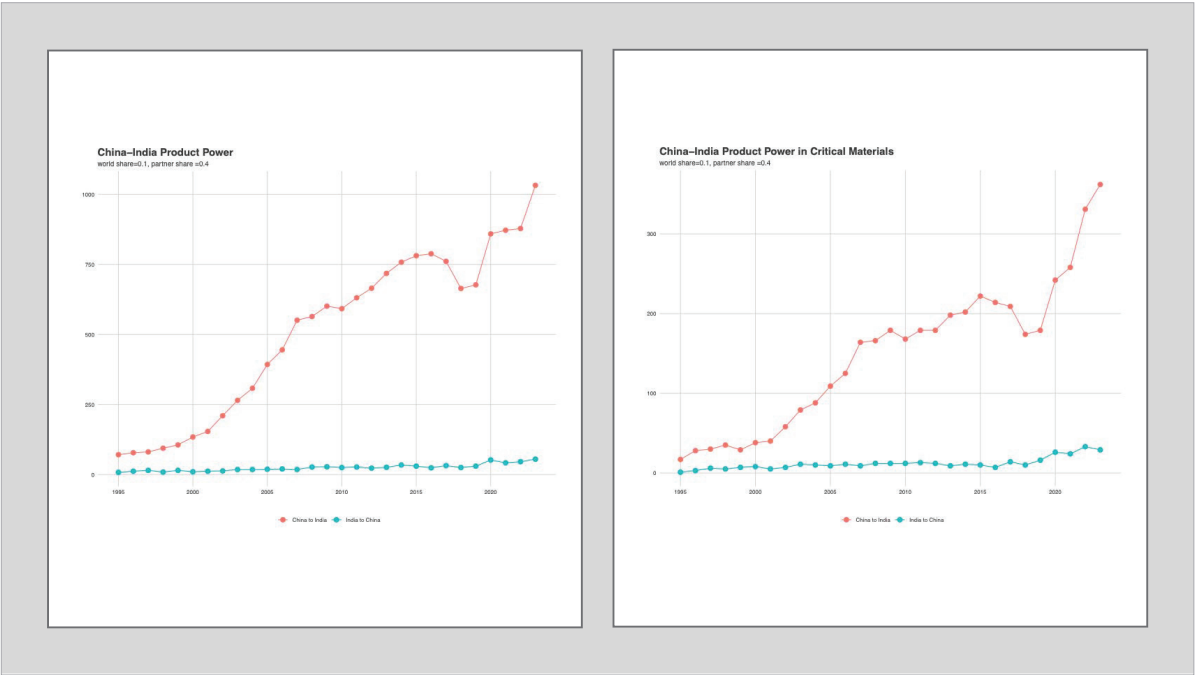
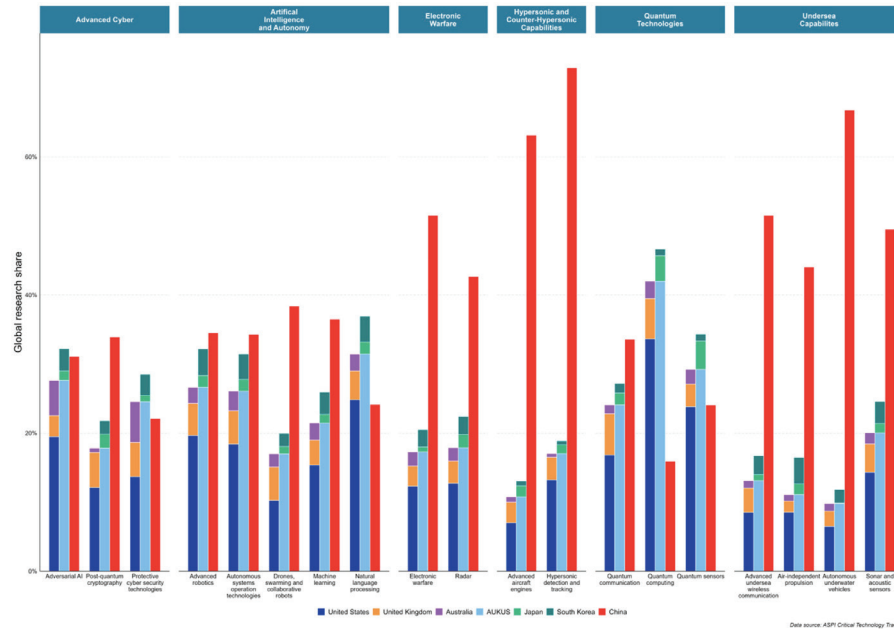


Figure 1: Research share across a range of AUKUS Pillar 2-relevant technologies



Data source: ASPI Critical Technology Tracker

Artificial intelligence, computing and communications

Technology	Tech monopoly risk	Top 5 countries					
Advanced data analytics	9/10 2.3						
		33.2%	14.4%	5.4%	4.0%	3.6%	
AI algorithms and hardware accelerators	6/10 2.2						
		30.9%	14.0%	5.9%	5.0%	4.5%	
Machine learning	9/10 2.4						
		36.5%	15.4%	5.4%	3.6%	3.2%	
Advanced integrated circuit design and fabrication	4/10 1.1						
		24.4%	22.5%	5.6%	4.3%	4.2%	
Adversarial AI	7/10 1.6						
		31.1%	19.5%	5.5%	5.1%	3.5%	
Natural language processing	6/10 1.0						
		24.8%	24.1%	4.2%	4.2%	3.7%	

3Is: Ingrained, Integrated, Inclusive

21

Ingrained Socially

- Coordinate a policy mix tailored to achieve the *socially* optimal level of production, employment, and investment within each country.
- Harmonize “buy national” strategies, including tariffs and subsidies
- Regulate short-term capital movements (IMF 2010 policy recommendations) to balance financial stability with the benefits of international capital mobility



22

Integrated Globally

- Revive the WTO: The rules-based multilateral trading system has been crucial in curbing protectionist impulses, fostering global economic growth, and contributing to international stability.
- New Round on State Subsidy: Mandatory Reporting, Enforcement, and Adjudication: transparency (reporting), action (enforcement), and resolution (adjudication)
- Encourage inbound and outbound foreign direct investment and establish an Investment Dispute Arbitration System focusing on resolving conflicts among like-minded countries.

BUSINESS / COMPANIES

Nippon Steel's China assets could derail United States Steel deal

Japan's move to force Naver to sell LINE Yahoo stakes faces criticism

By Heung-Kyu-rog, Lee Jung-soo
Updated 2024-05-09 15:53

Rule the Roost

US preventing vacancies from being filled in 7-member Appellate Body for 2 years



Cites disagreements with procedures & some of body's rulings

Move has affected the body's functioning even as disputes pile up

May 2016: USTR said it would block reappointment of South Korean member Seung Wha Chang

Objected to his role in decisions with which the US disagreed

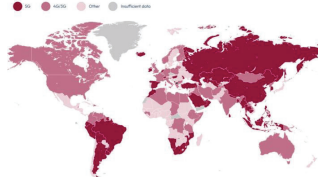
23

Inclusive to Global South

- Establish a Global Sovereign Debt Restructuring System to promote financial stability and equitable debt resolution
- Promote ethical AI proliferation globally and discourage use for surveillance and censorship
- Implement AI-focused Official Development Assistance (ODA) and leverage AI to address development challenges

Huawei & ZTE Telecom Presence

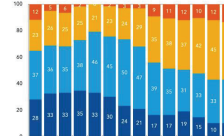
HC (Huawei and ZTE) presence in telecom markets and IT services across the globe



Rising debt risks

The proportion of countries in debt distress, or at high risk of debt distress, has doubled to 60 percent from 2015 levels.

(percent of 2020 countries with GDP data)



Source: IFC DataLab
Note: IFC DataLab uses the IFC DataLab methodology to identify countries at high risk of debt distress. IFC DataLab uses the IFC DataLab methodology to identify countries at high risk of debt distress. IFC DataLab uses the IFC DataLab methodology to identify countries at high risk of debt distress.

24

MEMO

MEMO

MEMO

MEMO

발 간 일 2024년 10월
편 집 국회미래연구원
발 행 처 국회미래연구원

이 책은 국회미래연구원 홈페이지(www.nafi.re.kr)에서 보실 수 있습니다.

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미국 대선 이후 국제질서와 세계경제의 미래

The Future of the International Order and
the Global Economy after the U.S. Presidential Election