

Osher Lifelong Learning Institute, Winter 2022 **Contemporary Economic Policy**

American University
March-May, 2022

Host: Jon Haveman, Ph.D.
National Economic Education Delegation



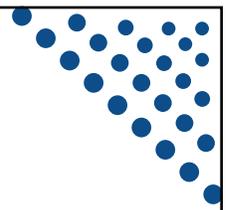
1

Available NEED Topics Include:

- **Coronavirus Economics**
- **US Economy**
- **Climate Change**
- **Economic Inequality**
- **Economic Mobility**
- **Trade and Globalization**
- **Minimum Wages**
- **Immigration Economics**
- **Housing Policy**
- **Federal Budgets**
- **Federal Debt**
- **Black-White Wealth Gap**
- **Autonomous Vehicles**
- **US Social Policy**



2



Course Outline

• Contemporary Economic Policy

- Week 1 (3/11): US Economy & Coronavirus Economics
- Week 2 (3/18): Federal Debt (Brian Peterson, Central College)
- **Week 3 (3/25): Trade and Globalization (Alan Deardorff, Univ. of Michigan)**
- Week 4 (4/1): Healthcare Economics (Veronika Dolar, SUNY-Old Westbury)
- Week 5 (4/8): Economics of Immigration (Jennifer Alix-Garcia, Oregon St. Univ.)
- Week 6 (4/15): Economic Inequality (Kyle Montanio, Colorado University - Denver)
- Week 7 (4/22): Economic Mobility (Kathryn Wilson, Kent State University)
- Week 8 (4/29): Discrimination in US Policy History (Jon Haveman, NEED)
- Week 9 (5/6): The Black-White Wealth Gap (Mike Shor, Univ. of Connecticut)
- Week 10 (5/13): The Gender Wage Gap (Mallika Pung, Univ. of New Mexico)

3

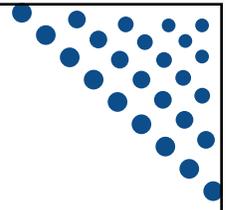


Trade and Globalization

Alan Deardorff, Ph.D.
University of Michigan



4



Trade and Globalization

Alan V. Deardorff
University of Michigan

Presentation to Osher Lifelong Learning Institute
American University
March 25, 2022



5



6

Impact of Russia-Ukraine War

• How Russia-Ukraine war impacts globalization

- War itself disrupts trade, especially exports of
 - o Ukraine: wheat
 - o Russia: wheat, oil
- Economic sanctions by governments disrupt
 - o Financial linkages
 - o Trade
- Private companies stop dealing with Russia



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

7

Impact of Russia-Ukraine War

• Financial sanctions by US, EU, UK, and others

- Frozen foreign-held assets of individuals, Putin and dozens of others
- Restrictions on Russia's Central Bank's use of international reserves
- Several Russian banks removed from the Swift international payments system
- Cut off many Russian banks from transactions and operations
- Long list of Russian companies banned or restricted
- Possible restrictions on Russia borrowing from IMF and World Bank



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

8

Impact of Russia-Ukraine War

- **Trade sanctions by governments**

- Oil and other energy
 - o Germany puts Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline on hold
 - o US bans from Russia
 - o UK to phase out Russian oil by end of 2022
 - o EU to become independent from Russia by 2030
- EU bans steel imports from Russia
- US restricts exports to Russia, especially technology and military; later also to Belarus; later also luxury goods
- EU and UK impose export restrictions similar to US
- Ban on Russian air carriers by Canada, EU, US, UK
- G-7 to revoke Russia's most favored nation status
 - o Permits them to raise tariffs on Russian goods



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

9

Impact of Russia-Ukraine War

- **Private Companies Stop Dealing in Russia, per NBC News updated Mar 16:**

- Automotive: Ford, GM, Toyota, ...
- Aviation: Airbus, Boeing, American, Delta, United, ...
- Energy: BP, ExxonMobil, Shell
- Equipment: Caterpillar, Honeywell, Deere
- Food & Bev: Burger King, Coke, McDonalds, Starbucks, ...
- Finance: Citigroup, Deutsche Bank, Vanguard, ...
- Consumer goods: Proctor & Gamble, Unilever, Mars, ...
- Leisure: Airbnb, Hilton, Expedia, ...
- Logistics: DHL, FedEx, Maersk, UPS
- Media: Netflix, Roku, Disney, ...
- Payment services: Amex, Visa, Western Union, ...
- And many more: Consulting, Retail, Technology



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

10

Effect of Sanctions

- **Too soon to know fully**
 - Will they stop Russia?
 - Clearly no, or at least not yet
 - Sanctions in the past have only sometimes worked
 - Will they reduce trade?
 - They already have
 - But Russia's role in trade is not large in most products
 - Short-term effects are greater from the war itself

Outline

- **What is Globalization?**
- **Pros and Cons of Trade**
- **Trade Policies**
- **The Role of Trade Agreements & WTO (if time)**

What Globalizations Is

- **Growth over time of many interactions between countries**
 - Trade
 - Global Value Chains
 - Foreign Direct Investment
 - Financial Flows
 - International Travel
 - Migration
- **I will focus here on trade**



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

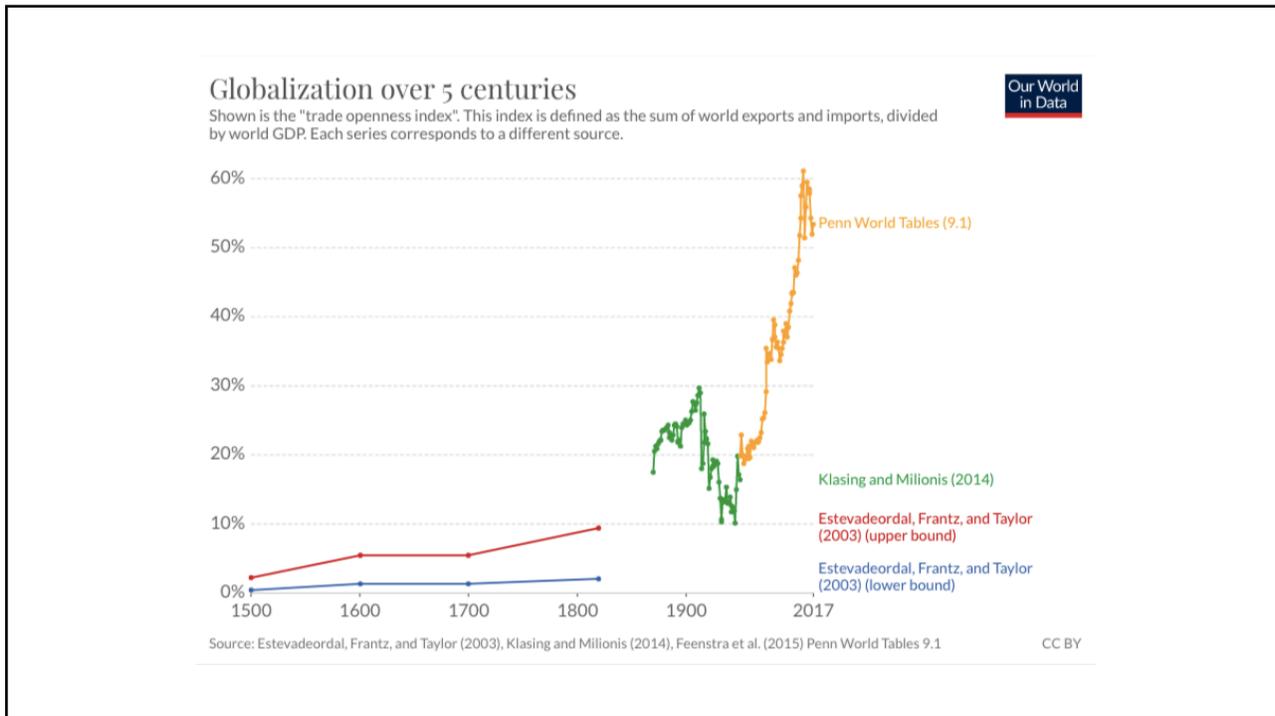
13

Trade

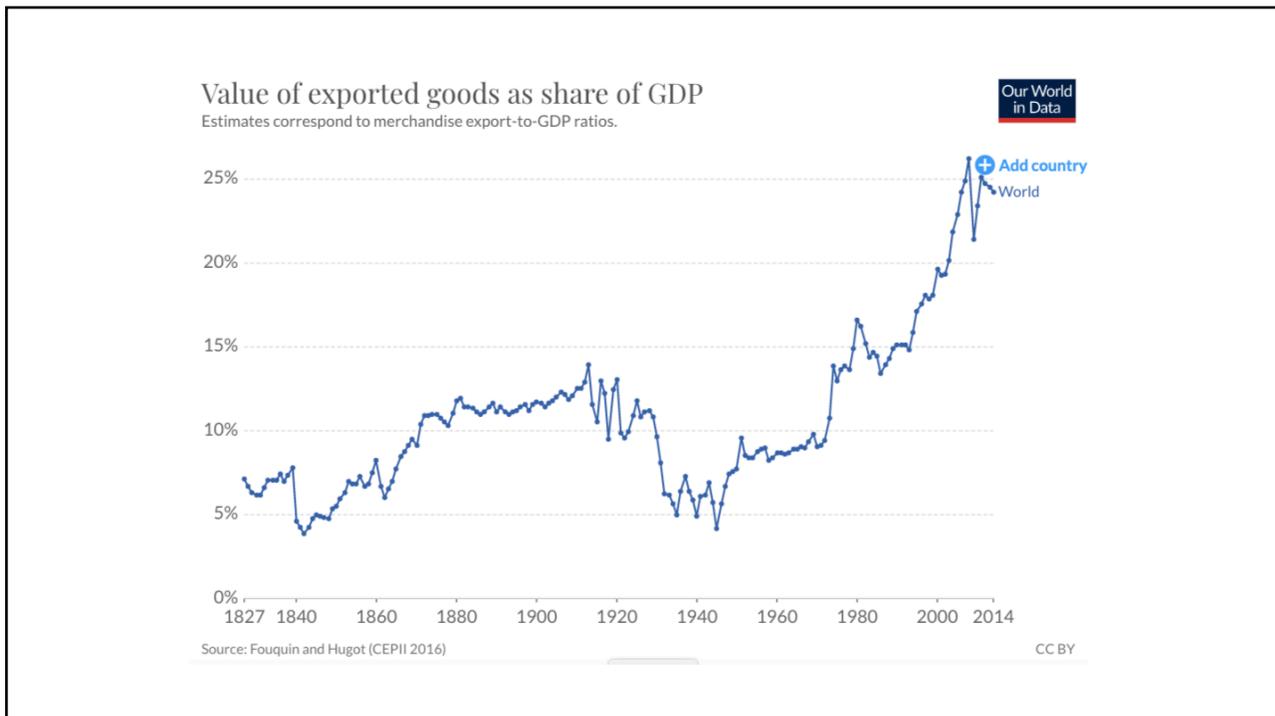


NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

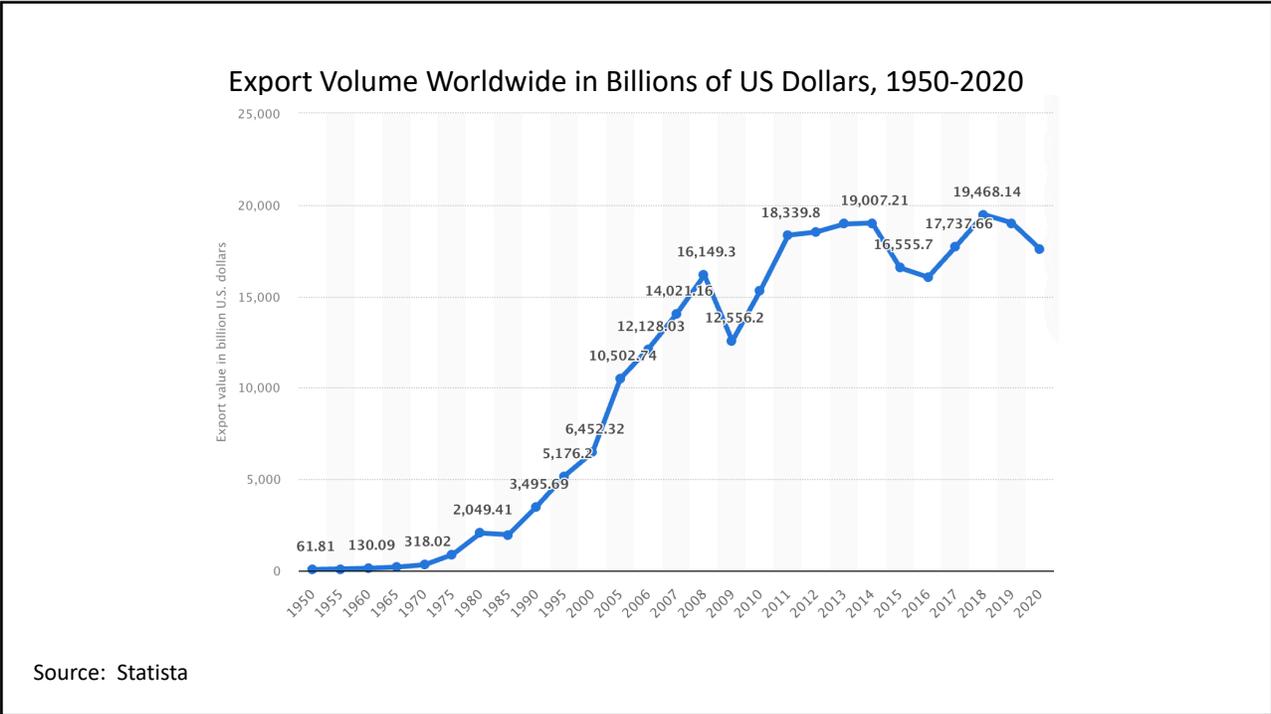
14



15



16



17

Global Value Chains

NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

18

Effects on Economies

• Supply Chains

- Globalization has created long and complex international supply chains



19

20

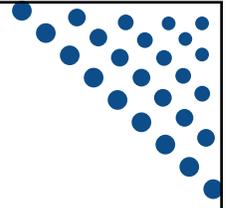
NAFTA and the Auto Supply Chain



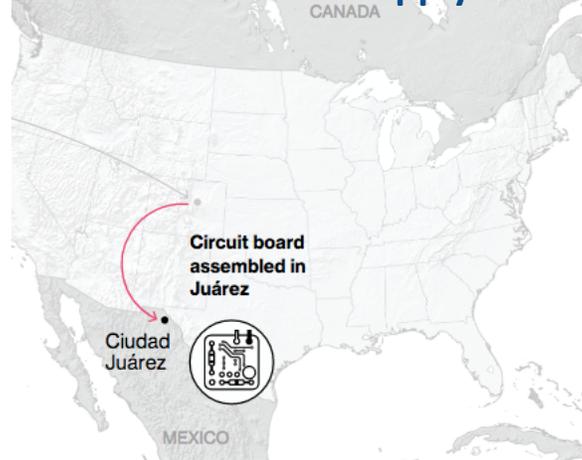
Black, Diamond, and Merrill, "One Tiny Widget's Dizzying Journey Shows Just How Critical Nafta Has Become," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017.

20

21



NAFTA and the Auto Supply Chain

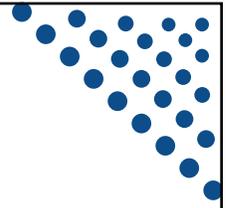


NATIO
EDUCA

Black, Diamond, and Merrill, "One Tiny Widget's Dizzying Journey Shows Just How Critical Nafta Has Become," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017.

21

22



NAFTA and the Auto Supply Chain

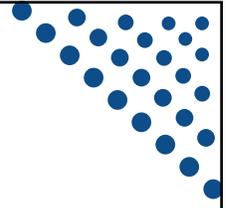


NATIO
EDUCA

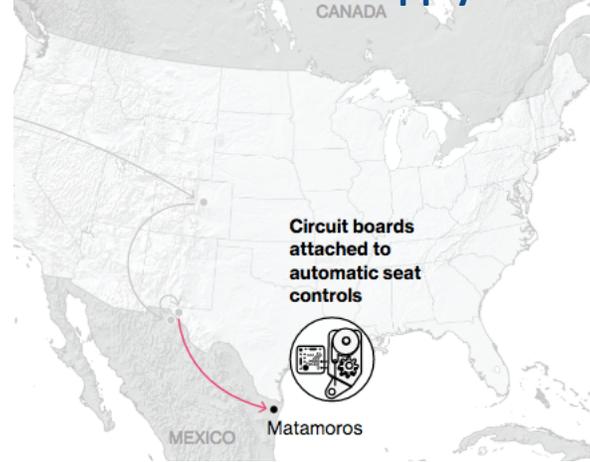
Black, Diamond, and Merrill, "One Tiny Widget's Dizzying Journey Shows Just How Critical Nafta Has Become," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017.

22

23



NAFTA and the Auto Supply Chain

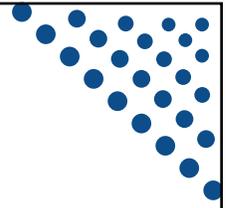


NATIO
EDUCA

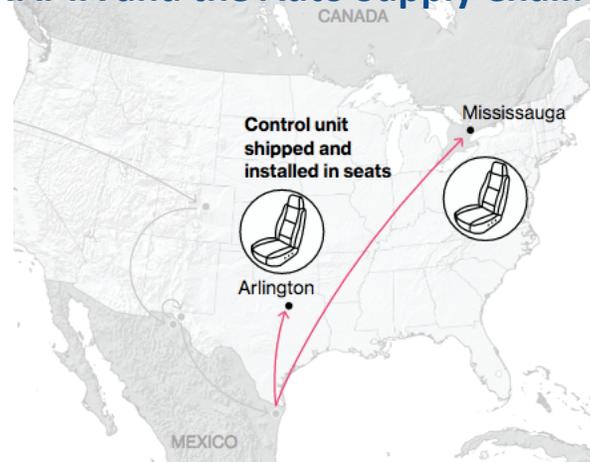
Black, Diamond, and Merrill, "One Tiny Widget's Dizzying Journey Shows Just How Critical Nafta Has Become," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017.

23

24



NAFTA and the Auto Supply Chain

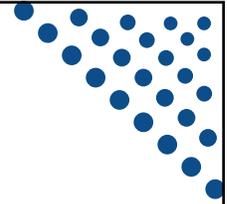


NATIO
EDUCA

Black, Diamond, and Merrill, "One Tiny Widget's Dizzying Journey Shows Just How Critical Nafta Has Become," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017.

24

25



NAFTA and the Auto Supply Chain

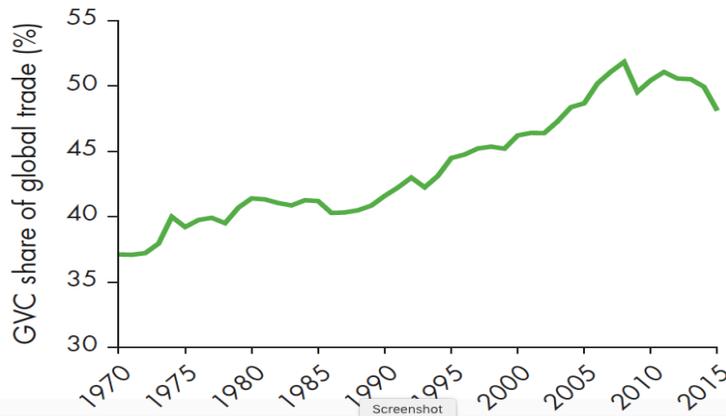


Black, Diamond, and Merrill, "One Tiny Widget's Dizzying Journey Shows Just How Critical Nafta Has Become," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017.

25

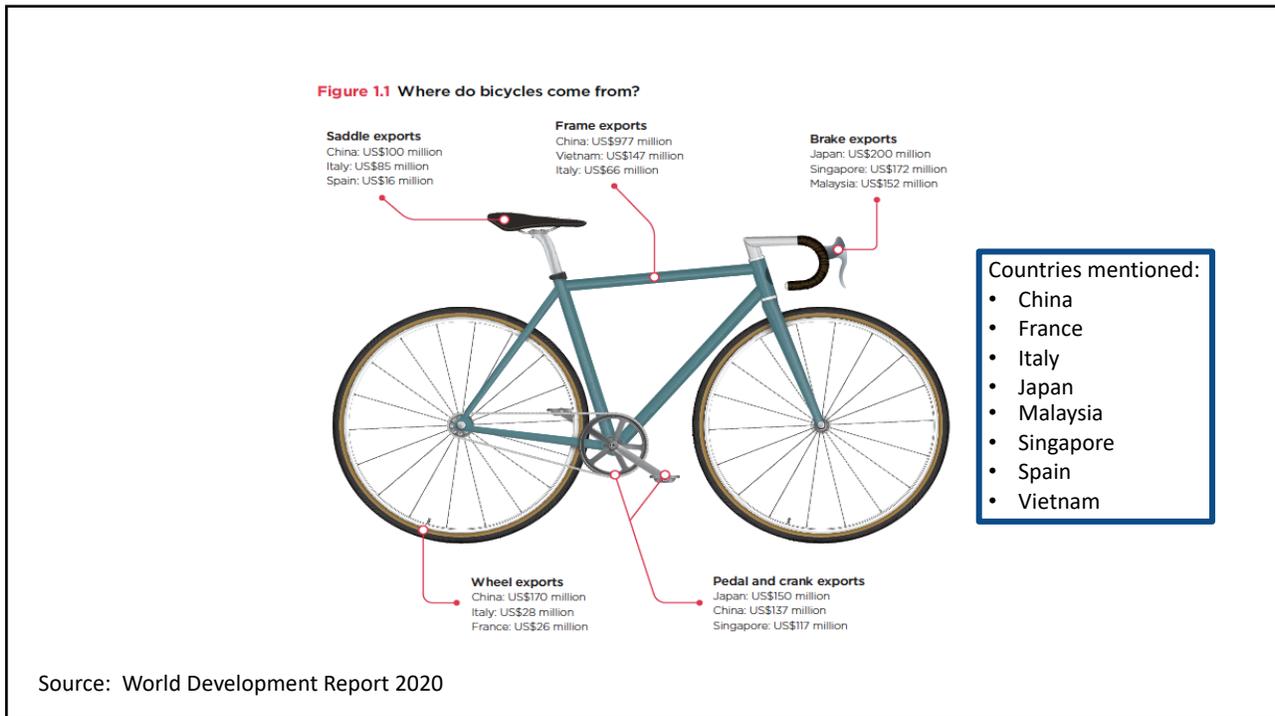
Growth of Global Value Chains, 1970-2015

Figure 1.2 GVC trade grew rapidly in the 1990s but stagnated after the 2008 global financial crisis



Source: World Development Report 2020

26



27

Supply Chains

• Example: The iPhone assembled in China from parts:

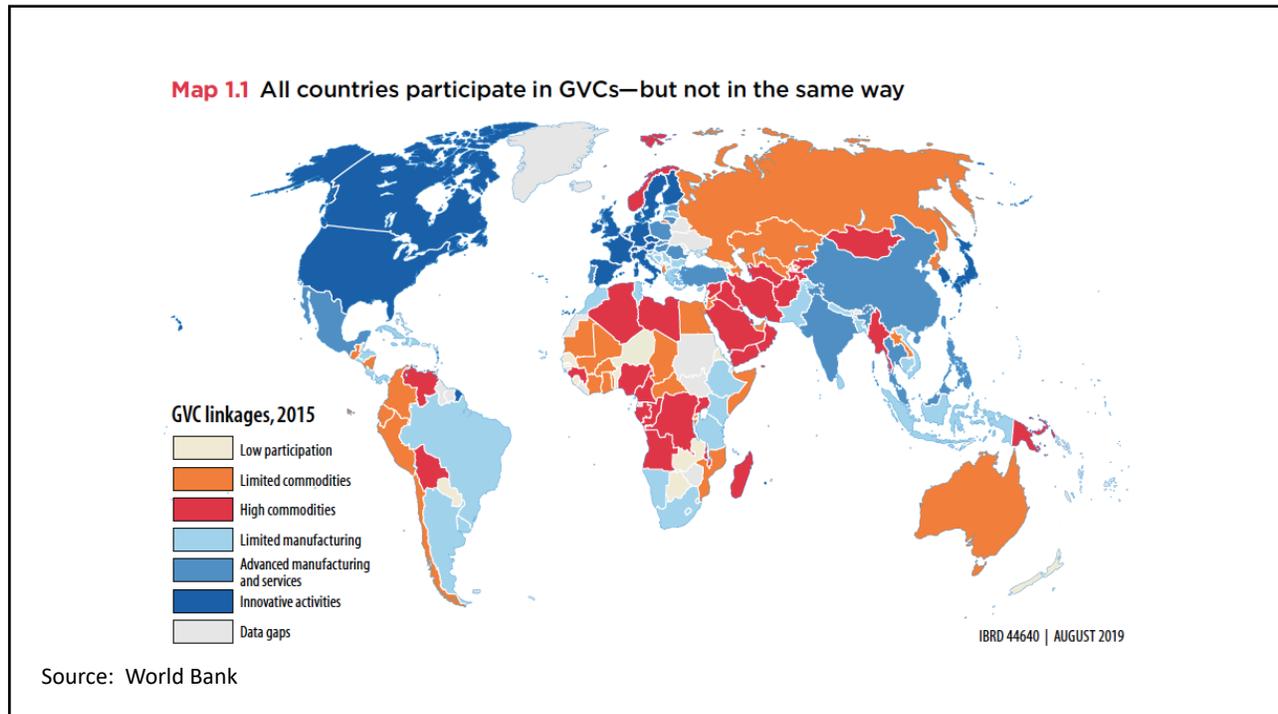
Part	Come from
Accelerometers	Germany, the US, South Korea, China, Japan, and Taiwan.
Audio chips	US, UK, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, and Singapore.
Batteries	Samsung (South Korea), which has factories in eighty countries.
Cameras	Qualcomm (US) and Sony (Japan), both with plants in many countries
Chips for 3G/4G/LTE networking	Qualcomm (US)
Compasses	AKM Semiconductor (Japan) with plants in the US, France, England, China, South Korea, and Taiwan.
Glass screen	Corning (US) with plants in twenty-six countries.
Gyroscopes	Switzerland
... and many more	

Source: Krueger 2020, International Trade (What Everyone Needs to Know), p. 254

NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

28

28



29

Pros and Cons of Globalization

- **Pros and Cons of Globalization**
 - Gains from Trade
 - Theory of Comparative Advantage
 - Other Sources of Gain from Trade
 - Costs of Trade

 NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

30



Gains from Trade

Theory of Comparative Advantage



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

31



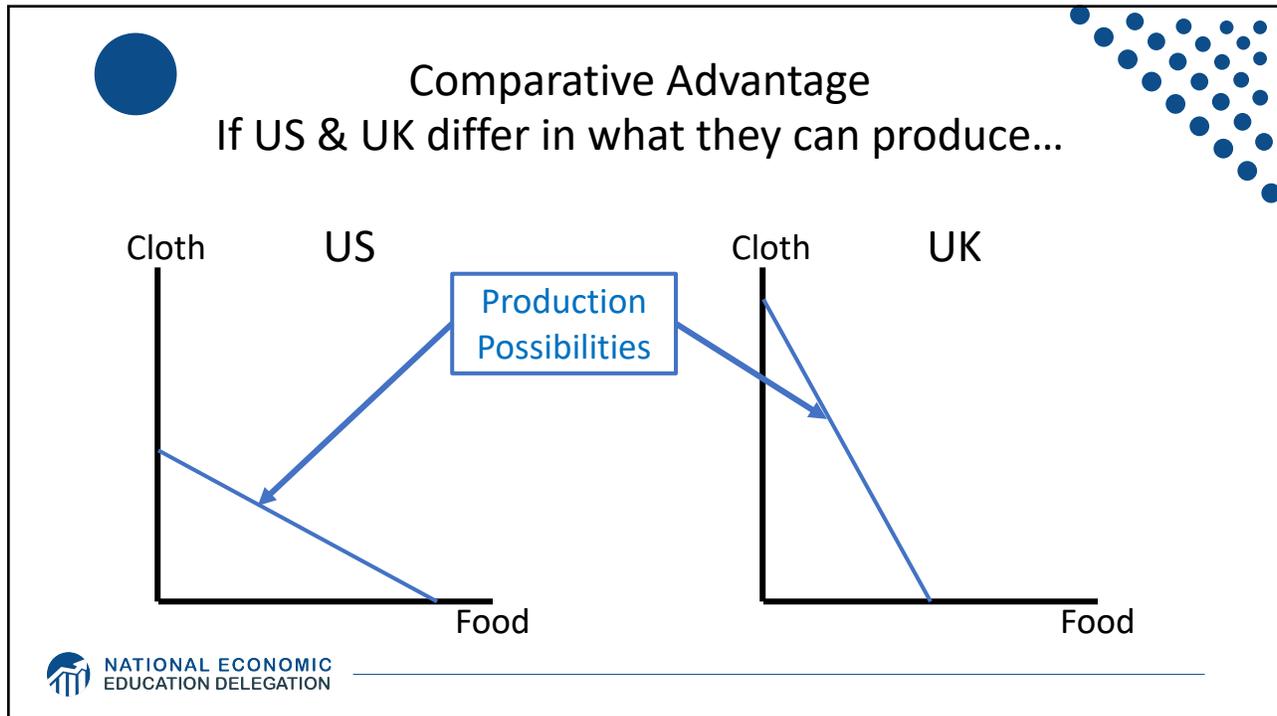
Comparative Advantage

- **The Theory of Comparative Advantage says:**
 - Countries can gain,
 - By producing
 - More than they need of what they do relatively best, and
 - Less than they need of what they do relatively worst
 - And exporting the extra to other countries in exchange for what they need
 - By doing that, ALL countries can
 - Get more of everything, if that's what they want, and therefore
 - Gain from trade
- **Illustration with a graph of just 2 countries & 2 goods**

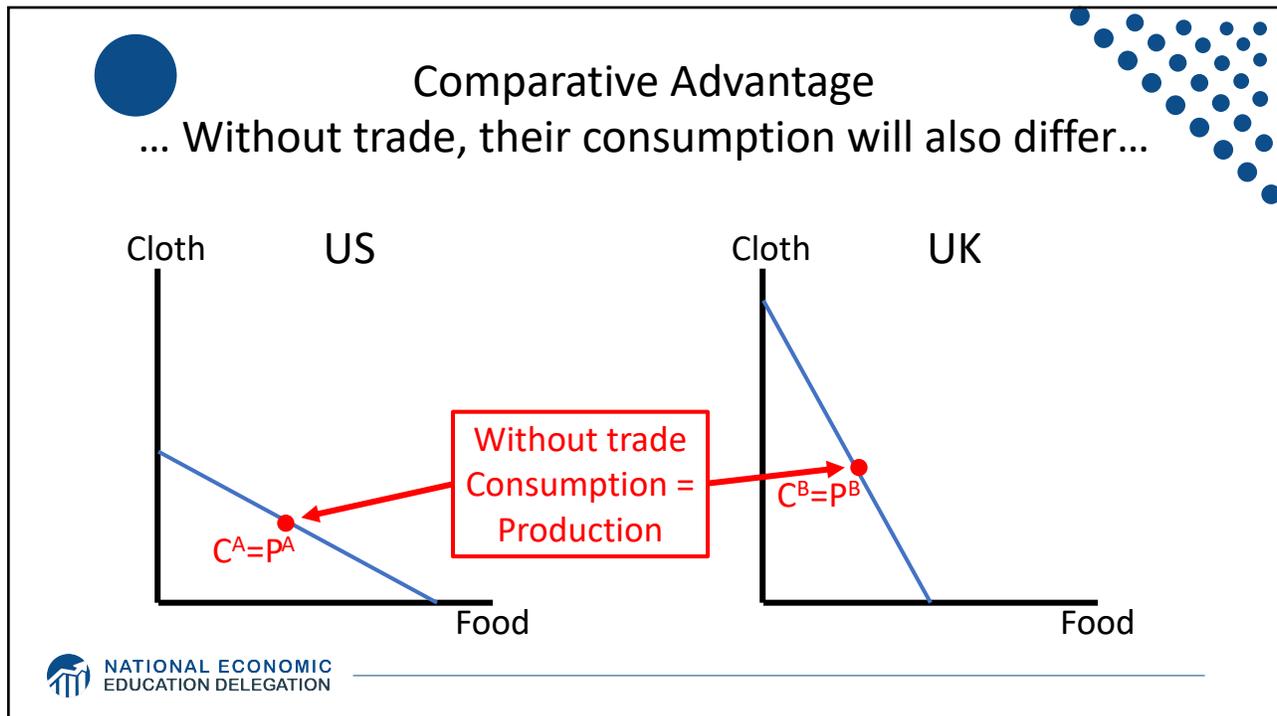


NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

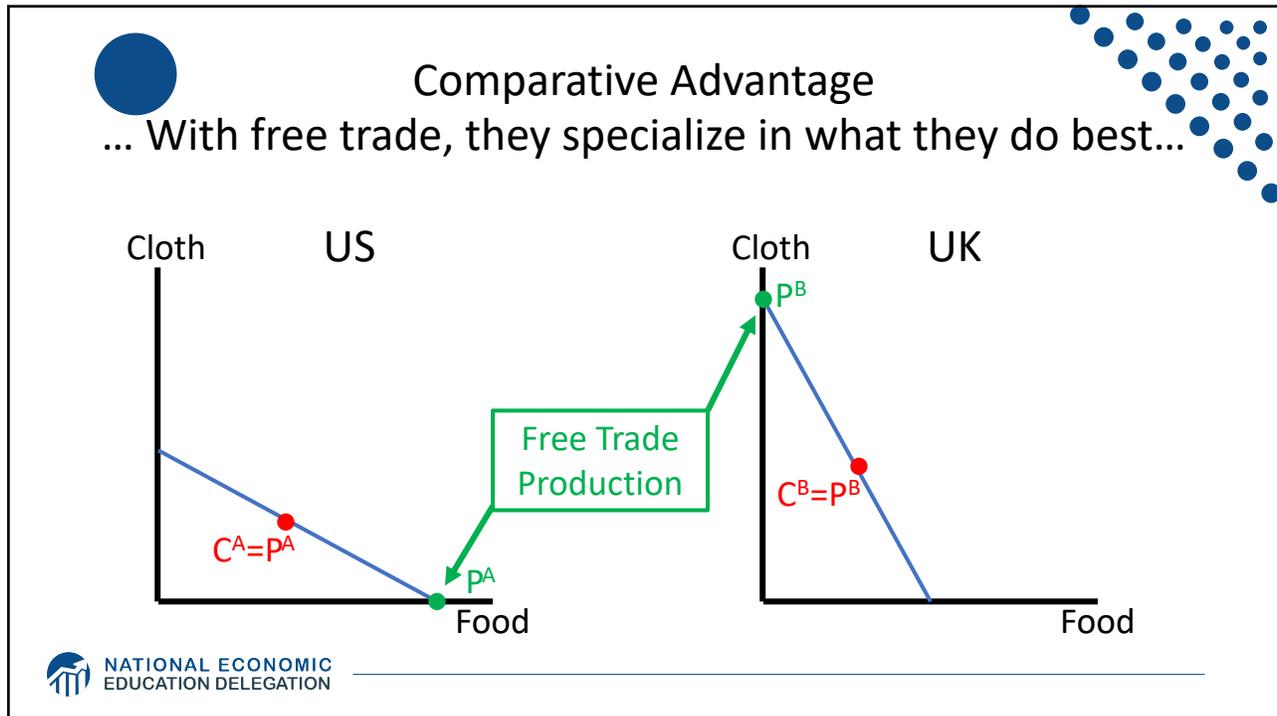
32



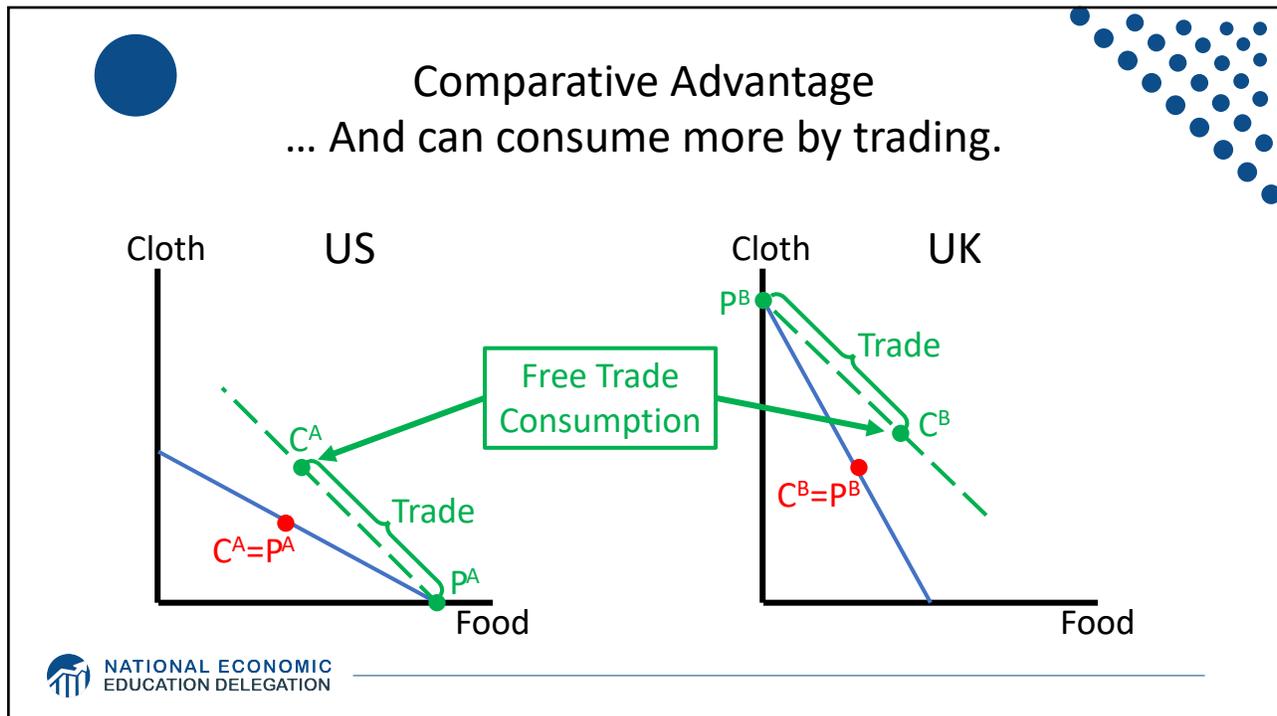
33



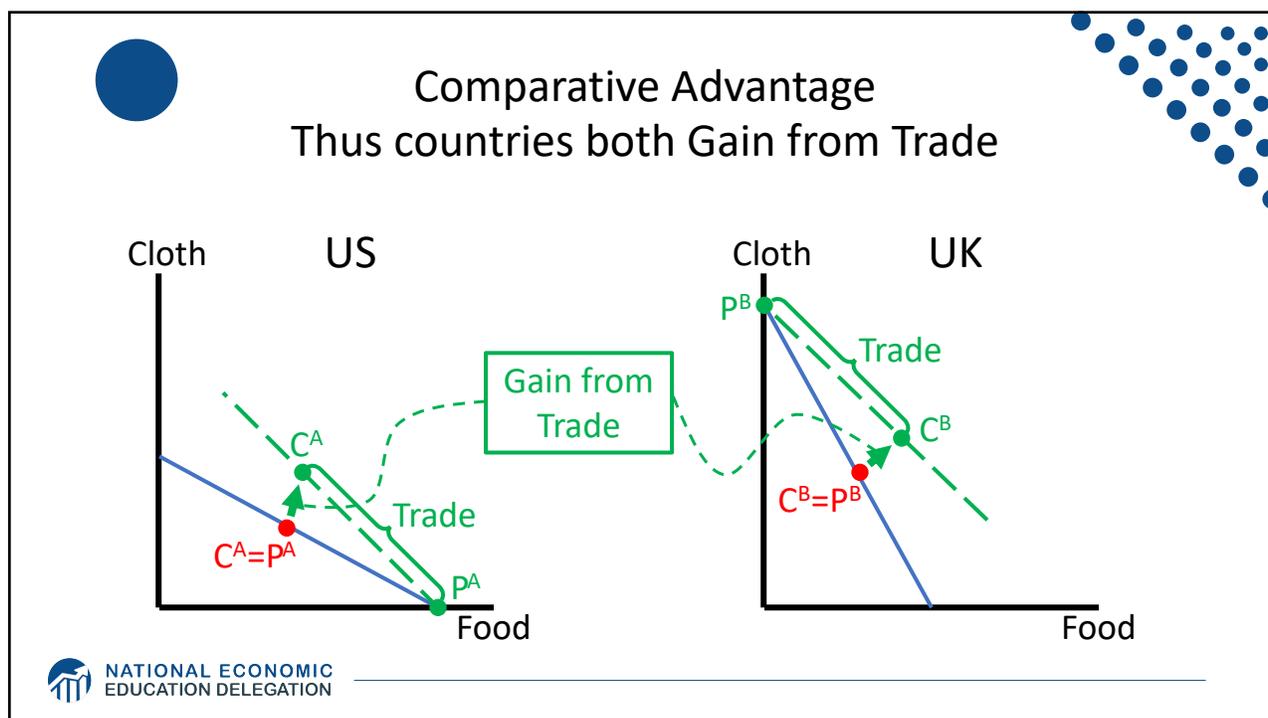
34



35



36



37

Generality of Comparative Advantage

- **The Theory of Comparative Advantage requires:**
 - “Perfect competition” (i.e., all buyers and sellers are very small)
 - Absence of market “distortions” (externalities, etc.)
 - i.e., reasons why supplies and demands don’t reflect true costs and benefits
- **The Theory of Comparative Advantage does not require:**
 - Any limit on numbers of goods, factors, and countries
 - That only final goods are traded (thus consistent with supply chains)
 - That factors (labor, capital) be immobile between countries
 - (However, the gains from trade then accrue to countries including their mobile-factor owners.)

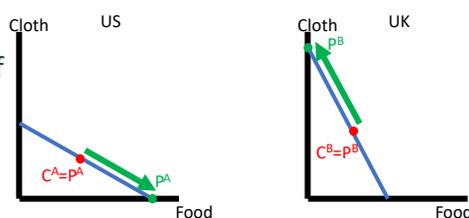
NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

38

Generality of Comparative Advantage

• But note:

- Nothing in the theory says that everyone in each country gains
- Opening to trade requires
 - Some industries to shrink or disappear while others expand
 - Firms and workers in shrinking industries
 - Certainly lose during the transition
 - May be permanently worse off
 - In example, losers are producers of
 - Cloth in US
 - Food in UK



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

39

Gains from Trade

Other Sources of Gain from Trade



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

40

Other sources of Gain from Trade

- **Productivity** (most productive firms expand and export)
- **Returns to scale** (small countries can support larger firms)
- **Competition** (monopolies in small countries lose market power)
- **Variety** (buyers, both consumers and firms, can access more choices)
- **Supply chains** (firms can source parts from cheapest or best sources)
 - (That's really just the above, but within industries and firms.)
- **Technology** (producers get access foreign technologies)



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

41

Costs of Trade



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

42

But there are Costs

- **Economic:**
 - When trade expands (or contracts)
 - o Some firms lose market share or shut down
 - o Other firms supplying inputs to those firms shrink or shut down
 - o Workers in both lose jobs
 - o Their **communities** lose customers
 - Macroeconomic cost: Vulnerability to foreign recession/inflation
 - Dependence on other countries' willingness to trade
 - Vulnerability to trade disruption
 - o Crisis induced (earthquake, flood, disease, war)
 - o Policy induced (sanctions, tariffs, export bans)
- **Non-economic**
 - Loss of cultural differences
 - Spread of invasive species and plant disease
 - Spread of human disease



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

43

Pause

- **Pause for**
 - Questions
 - 5-Minute Break
- **Next: Trade Policies**



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

44

44

Trade Policies that Affect Globalization

- Policies that Encourage It
 - Tariff Reductions
 - Trade Agreements
 - Other
- Policies that Discourage It
 - Trump's Tariffs
 - Trade War

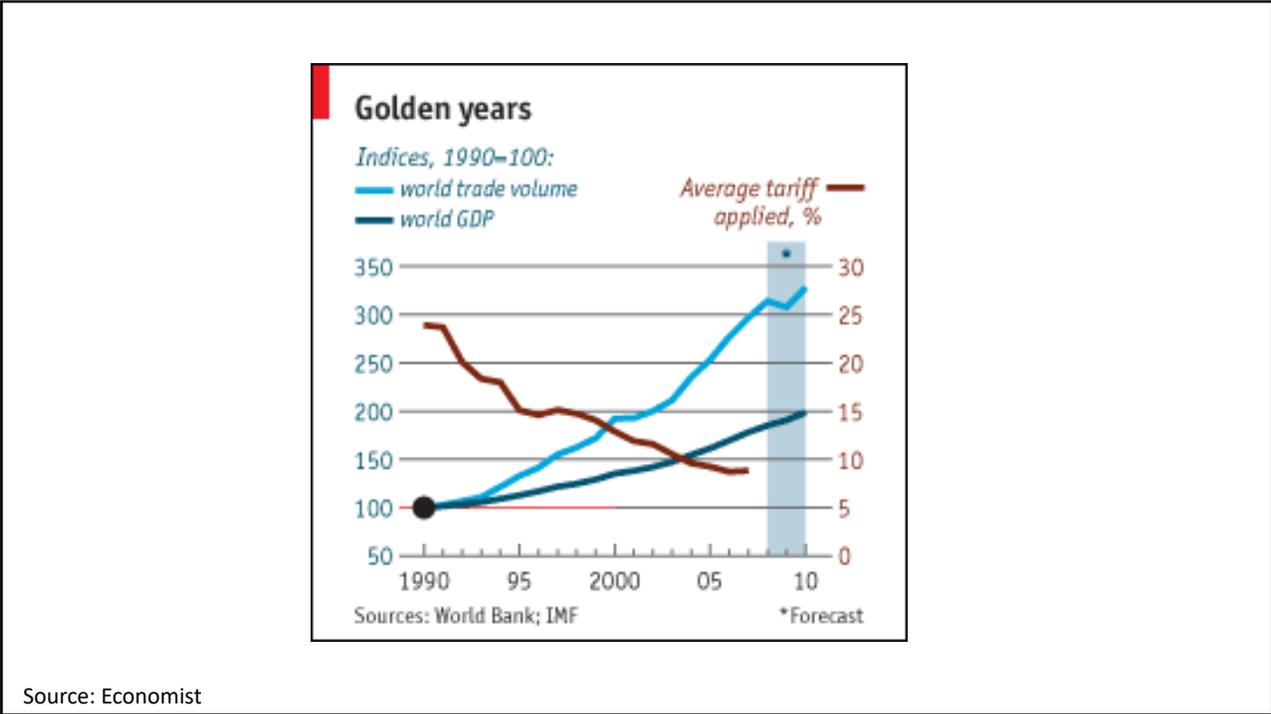
Policies that Encourage Globalization

●●●●●●●●●●
●●●●●●●●●●
●●●●●●●●●●
●●●●●●●●●●
●●●●●●●●●●

Tariff Reductions

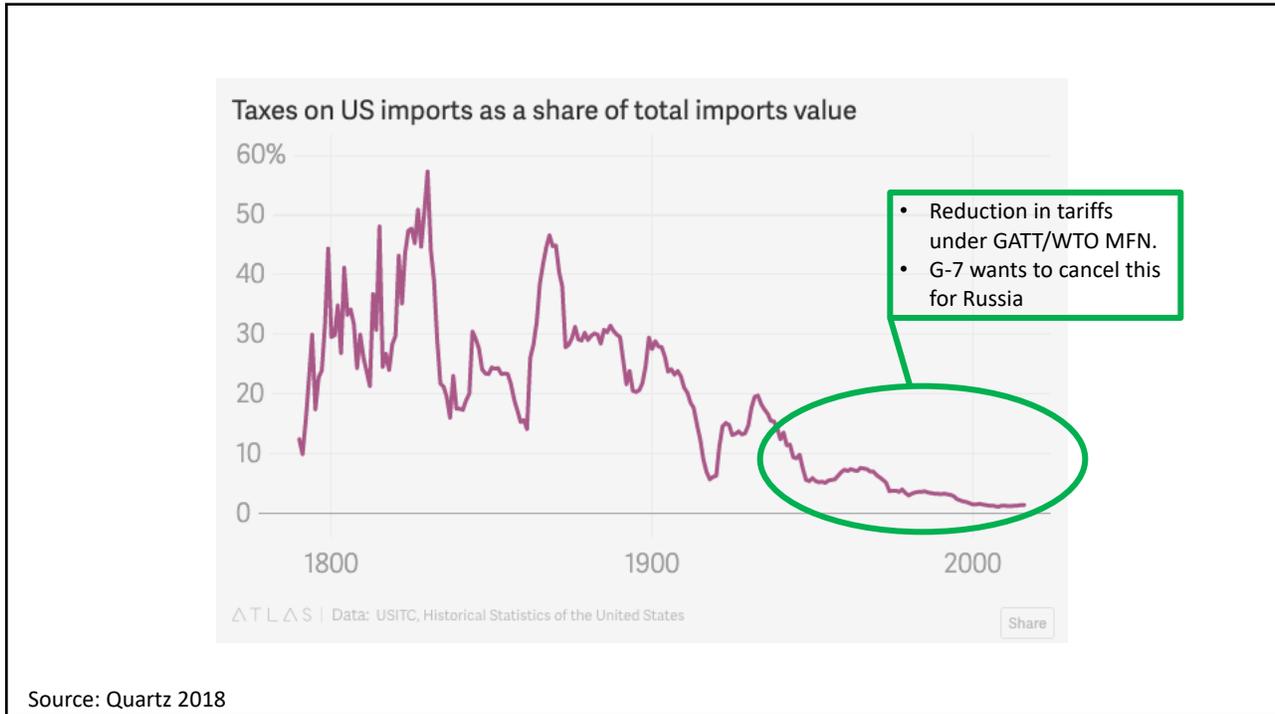
 NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

47



Source: Economist

48

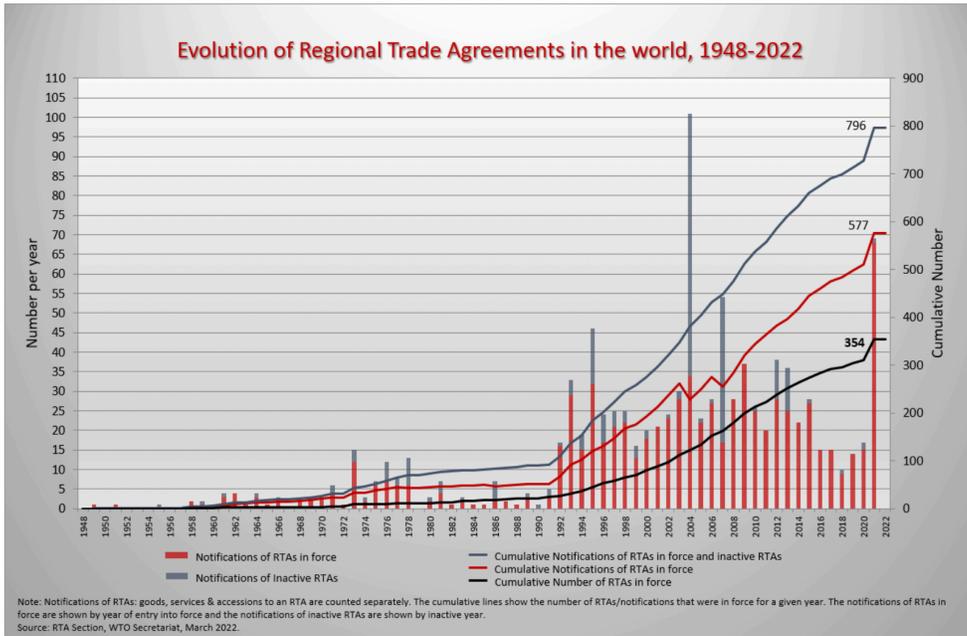


49

Trade Agreements

NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

50



Source: WTO

51

European Union



Source: Europa.eu

52

NAFTA (now USMCA)



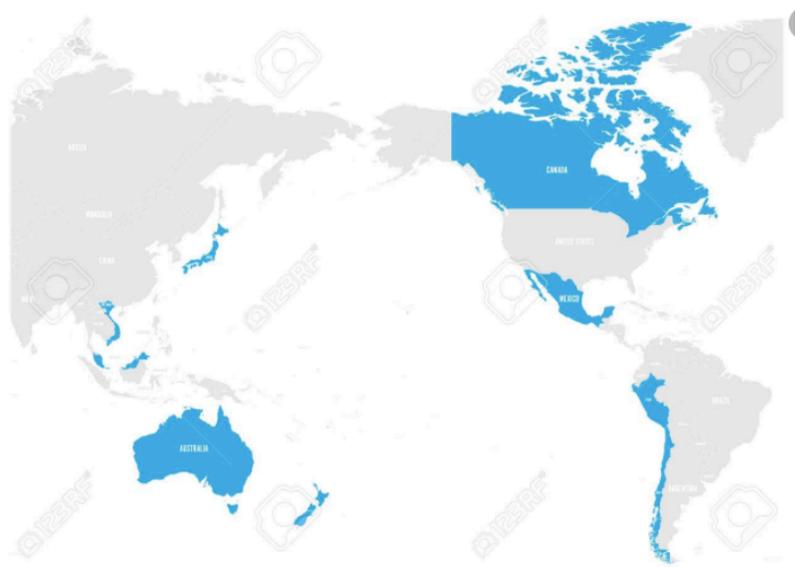
53

MERCOSUR



54

CPTPP
=
Trans-Pacific Partnership
minus US



55

RCEP
=
Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership



56

Other Policies to Encourage Globalization

- **IMF/World Bank**
 - Policy advice to open markets (the "Washington Consensus")
 - Loans to countries conditional on
 - Reducing trade barriers
 - Permitting capital flows
- **GATT/WTO (World Trade Organization) [More on this later, if time]**
 - Negotiate reciprocal trade liberalization
 - Settlement of trade disputes (usually about interfering with trade)
- **Bilateral Investment Treaties**
 - Better treatment of multinational corporations



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

57

Policies that Discourage Globalization



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

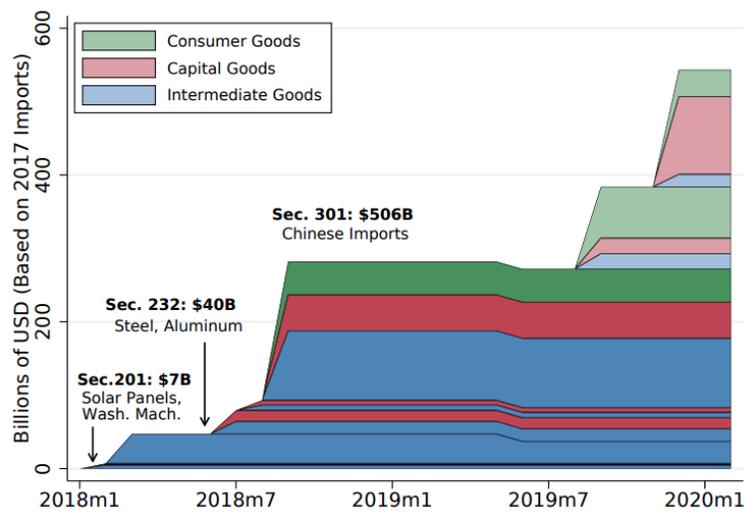
58

Trump's Tariffs and Trade War



59

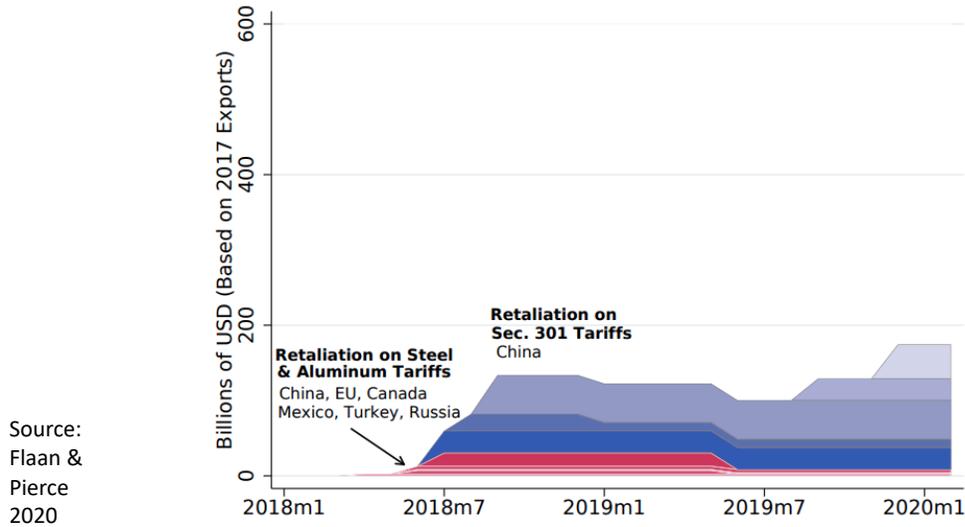
Figure B1: Composition of New U.S. Import Tariffs: 2018-2019



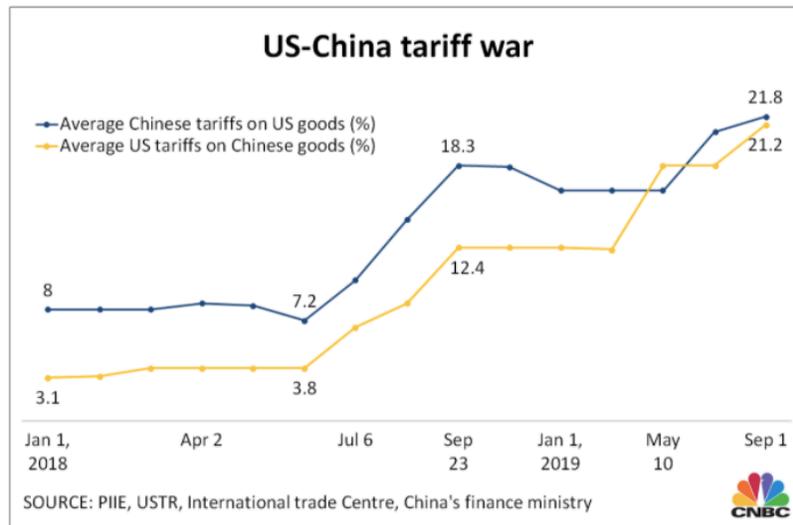
Source:
Flaan &
Pierce
2020

60

Figure 3: Timeline of Retaliatory Tariffs on U.S. Exports: 2018-2019



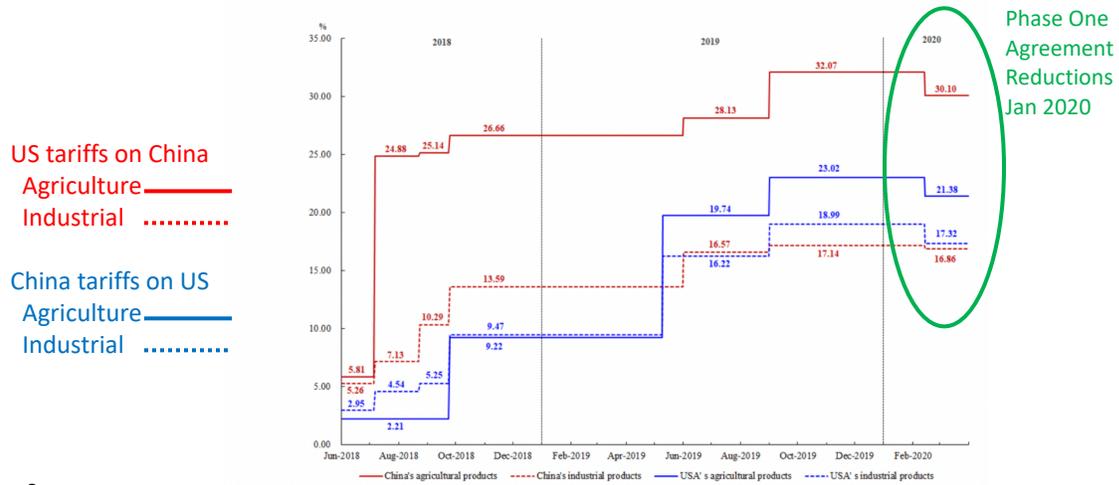
61



Source: CNBC.com The first trade salvo was fired by the U.S. in early 2018, but the bilateral trade war between the U.S. and China really kicked into a higher gear in July 2018.

62

Figure 1. China-US bilateral import tariff increases, percentage points.



Source:
Zheng et al.
Oct 2021

Source: GTAP database and the list of additional tariffs published by China and the United States

63

Effects of Tariffs

64

Effects of a tariff

- **A tariff is a tax on imports. It causes**
 - A rise in the price of the imported good in the importing country
 - A fall in the price of the imported good in the exporting country
 - The quantity imported to fall
 - The revenue of the tariff-levying government to rise
- **Almost always: the rise at home is much larger than the fall abroad**
 - That's especially true if importing country is small
 - But it's also true if importing country is as large as the U.S.
 - Example: Trump's tariffs caused US prices to rise, with hardly any perceptible fall in prices abroad.



Effects of a tariff

- **The rise in price in the importing country causes**
 - A rise in price of competing goods produced there
 - Benefits to those producers
 - Harm to buyers of both the import and the competing goods
 - o Including producers that use the higher-priced goods as inputs
 - Their prices also rise, hurting their buyers
 - Employment changes:
 - o Increase in the protected industry
 - o Decrease in industries that use the protected product as inputs
 - Example: Trump's 25% tariff on steel
 - o Helped US steel firms and their workers
 - o Hurt US auto firms and workers
 - and many other industries that use steel



Effects of a tariff

- **The fall in price in the exporting country causes**
 - Harm to sellers there
 - Benefit to buyers there
 - Shift of sales to other countries
- **If the tariff is on exports from only one country (e.g, China)**
 - Buyers shift to imports from other, more costly, countries (e.g., Vietnam)

67

Arguments for and against tariffs

- **If economists are so opposed to tariffs, why are they used?**
- **Arguments for protection**
 - Many have been used, both past and present
 - See the list in my Glossary of International Economics

68

Arguments for tariffs

Arguments for Protection

<p><u>Balance of payments</u></p> <p><u>Cultural</u></p> <p><u>Decreasing cost</u></p> <p><u>Domestic distortions</u></p> <p><u>Employment</u></p> <p><u>Environmental protection</u></p> <p><u>Externalities</u></p> <p><u>Fairness</u></p> <p><u>Foreign investment</u></p> <p><u>Graham's</u></p> <p><u>Income redistribution</u></p> <p><u>Infant industry</u></p> <p><u>Labor standards</u></p>	<p><u>Monopoly</u></p> <p><u>National defense</u></p> <p><u>Noneconomic objectives</u></p> <p><u>Optimal tariff</u></p> <p><u>Patriotism</u></p> <p><u>Pauper labor</u></p> <p><u>Revenue</u></p> <p><u>Second-best</u></p> <p><u>Self-sufficiency</u></p> <p><u>Strategic industry</u></p> <p><u>Strategic trade policy</u></p> <p><u>Sunset industry</u></p> <p><u>Terms of trade</u></p>
--	---

Government Revenue

Distribution

Infant Industry

National security

Strategic trade policy

Source: Deardorffs' *Glossary of International Economics*

NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

69

69

Arguments against tariffs

- **Arguments against tariffs**
 - Economic gains from trade (see above)
 - Tariffs prompt retaliation
 - Some valid arguments for tariffs depend on information that is either
 - o Unavailable, or
 - o Available only from the protected industry
 - Even when net beneficial, tariffs are politically hard to remove
 - **Lower tariffs and greater trade reduce the likelihood of war**

NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

Skip to Conclusions

70

70

The Role of Trade Agreements

- **Countries have negotiated trade agreements throughout history**

- At least back to the 1500's between the Ottoman Empire and the powers of Europe
- The first "free trade agreement" (FTA) was between Britain and France in 1860, soon followed by many more
 - o Removed tariffs on trade with each other
- US used "reciprocal trade agreements" starting in 1934 to reduce tariffs and dig out of the Great Depression
- US led negotiation of multilateral agreements via
 - o GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) 1948
 - o WTO (World Trade Organization) 1995



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

71

The Role of Trade Agreements

- **Trade Agreements (both WTO & FTAs)**

- Promote trade by
 - o Reducing tariffs
 - o Blocking policies that discriminate against imports
- But they also do much else, mostly to serve business interests:
 - o Permit anti-dumping duties to deter competition
 - o Protect intellectual property (patents, etc.)
 - o Allow investor action against governments



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

72

The Role of Trade Agreements

- **WTO**

- 164 member countries
- Includes
 - China since 2001
 - Russia since 2012
 - Not Iran, N. Korea
- Headquarters Geneva, Switzerland



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

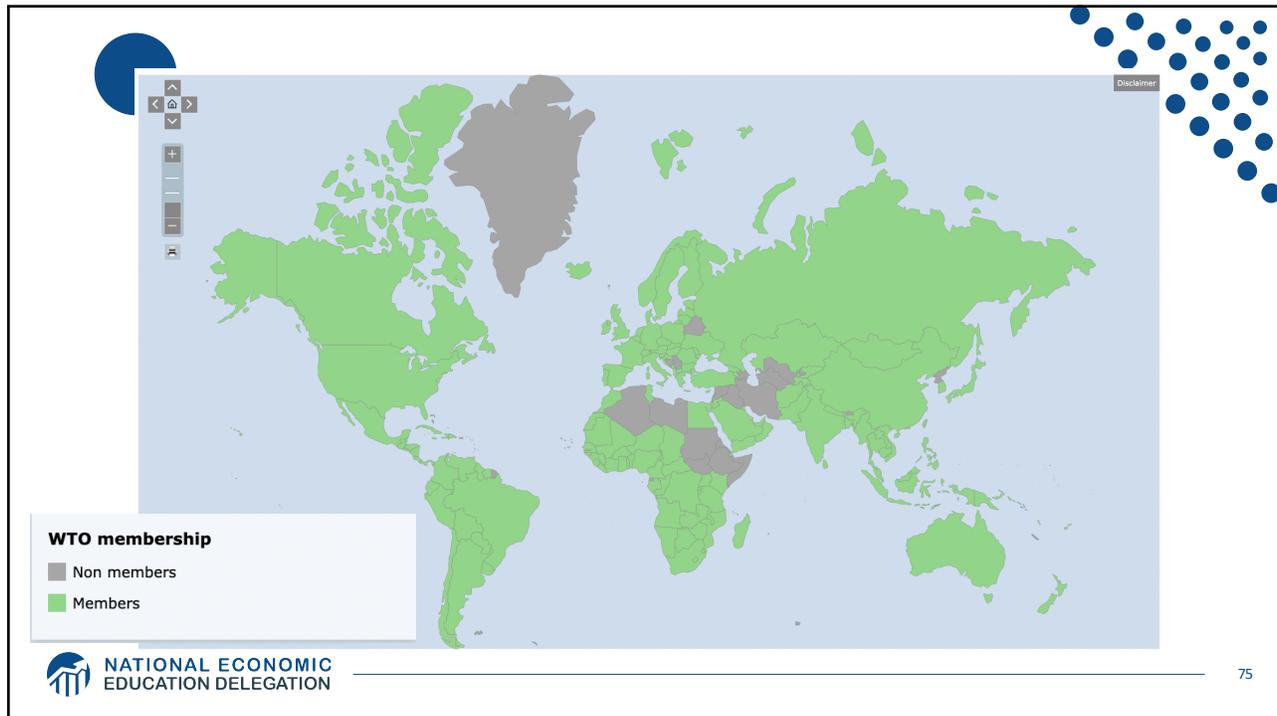
73



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

74

74



75

The Role of Trade Agreements

- **The WTO has**
 - Three Parts:
 1. GATT (Still exists, as largest part of WTO)
 - limits tariffs
 2. GATS = General Agreement on Trade in Services
 3. TRIPs Agreement = Trade Related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
 - Two Basic Principles
 1. Most Favored Nation (Don't discriminate among exporters)
 2. National Treatment (Don't discriminate against imports)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

76

The Role of Trade Agreements

• The WTO's Main Functions

- Negotiation of reduced trade barriers
 - Tariffs (GATT did this well; WTO not)
 - Removal of other barriers
- Dispute settlement
 - Countries bring cases against others
 - WTO “panels” and “Appellate Body” decide



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

77

The Role of Trade Agreements

• WTO Dispute Settlement

- There have been 609 cases initiated since 1995 (as of 1/30/22)
- About 90% have been decided in favor of the complainant, both by (132) and against US (168)
- The mechanism has been unable to decide cases since December 10, 2019 when
 - President Trump blocked appointments to Appellate Body
 - President Biden has not changed this



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

78



Globalization's Future?

 NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

79



Globalization's Future?

- **Will trade, travel, etc. come back?**
 - Yes, but only partly.
 - They've been hit hard by financial crisis, trade war, pandemic, and now war
- **Will attitudes change?**
 - Yes.
 - Firm's will try to limit exposure
 - Consumers will learn to live differently
- **Will economists' views of globalization change?**
 - I think so.
 - We still think globalization is good overall,
 - But we're learning that it needs to include
 - Reduced reliance on single sources
 - Greater protections for those who are hurt.

 NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

80

Thank you!

Thank you! Any Questions?

Alan V. Deardorff
Ford School of Public Policy
University of Michigan

www.NEEDelegation.org



Health(care) Economics

Veronika Dolar, Ph.D.
State University of New York



Thank you!

Any Questions?

www.NEEDelegation.org

Alan Deardorff
alandear@umich.edu

Contact NEED: info@NEEDelegation.org

Submit a testimonial: www.NEEDelegation.org/testimonials.php

Become a Friend of NEED: www.NEEDelegation.org/friend.php



NATIONAL ECONOMIC
EDUCATION DELEGATION

83