코로나19시대 다자질서의 변화와 한국외교

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Liberal International Order

• Openness, multilateral cooperation, rules-based order, alliance

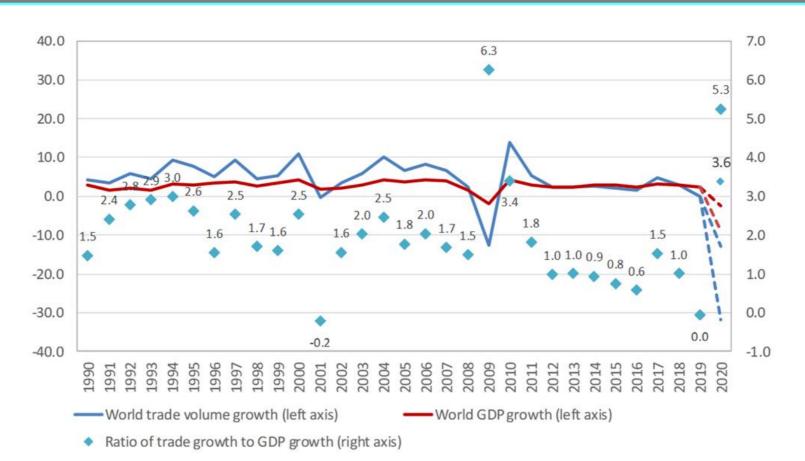
Leadership to provide public goods

• The U.S.-led international order

Challenges to Multilateralism

- 2008 GFC
 - Decline in trade growth rates
 - The rise of protectionism
- Different from previous challenges
 - Challenges from within

세계 무역과 세계 GDP

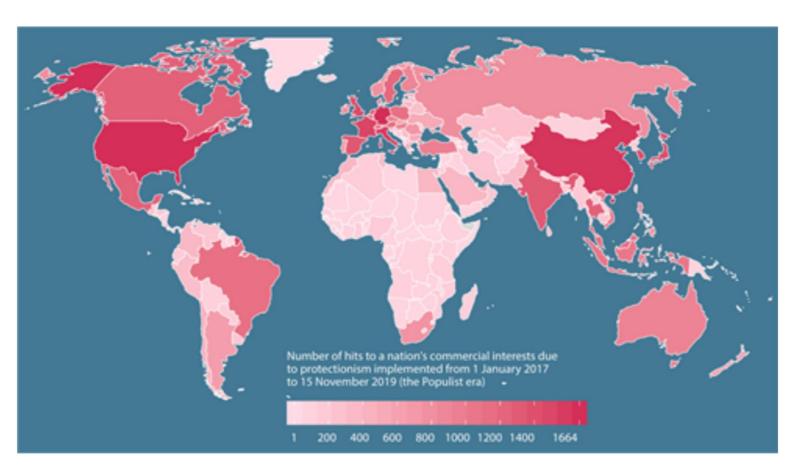


출처: <https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/pres20_e/pr855_e.htm>.

Challenges to Multilateralism

- The U.S.-China strategic competition
 - Economy-security linkage
 - Tech competition
 - "America first" vs. "Wolf warrior diplomacy"

보호주의의 확산



출처: Evenett and Fritz(2019).

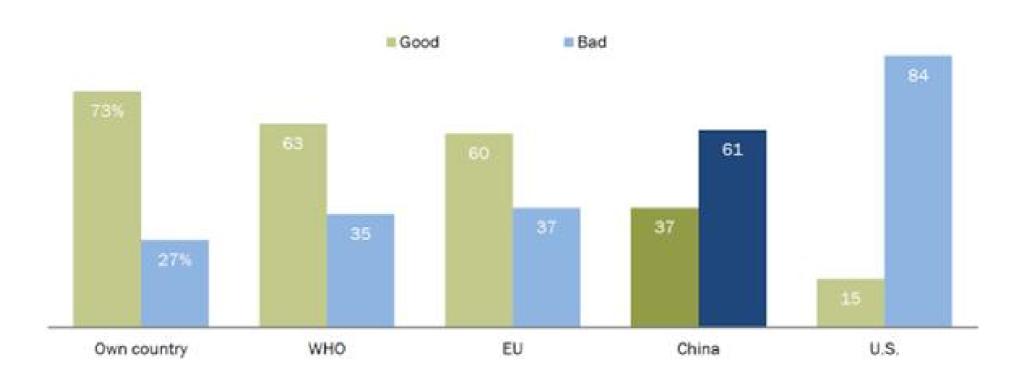
Multilateralism in Crisis

- Global challenges
 - "Hyper-uncertainty"
 - Emerging security
 - Issue linkage
- COVID-19
 - COVID-19: Health security → human security → system crisis
 - The need for transnational cooperation
 - Facilitate structural changes in GVCs
 - Politicization of international organizations
 - WTO, WHO,,,

COVID-19 and International Order

- The U.S. supremacy vs. the U.S. in decline
 - "America first" and "will deficit"
- China-centered new world order vs. collapse of China
 - "Trust deficit"
- Issues
 - Openness
 - Globalization 4.0
 - The limitations of international cooperation
 - · Nationalism vs. COVAX
 - Incorporation of non-state actors
- Leadership vacuum

Perception on COVID-19 Response



Source: Pew Research Center (2020).

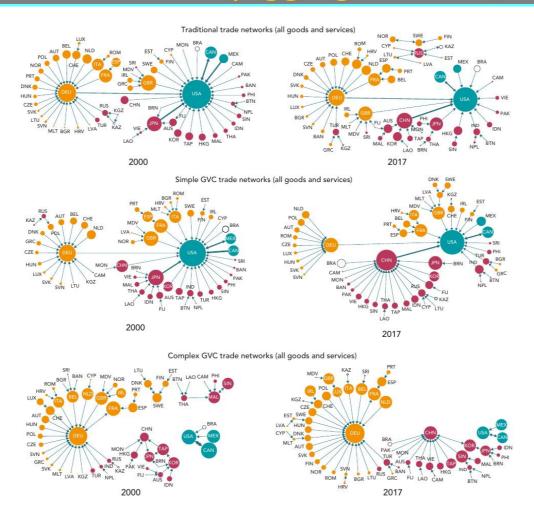
COVID-19, Strategic Competition and GVCs

- GVCs
 - Advance of globalization
 - Tech innovation and efficiency
- The U.S.-China strategic competition
 - Global imbalance
 - Tech competition and supply Chain
- COVID-19
 - Weaponization of interdependence

GVCs: Continuity and Change (Aggregate)

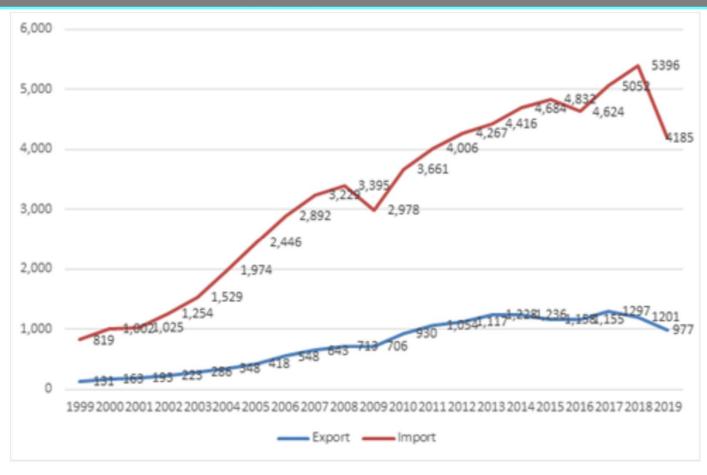
- Traditional and simple GVCs Network
 - The rise of China as a hub
 - Global imbalance
- Complex GVCs Network
 - Hierarchical structure
 - Inflow linkages from Asian countries
 - Outflow linkage to the US

Demand Hubs of Trade (Aggregate Level, 2000-2017)



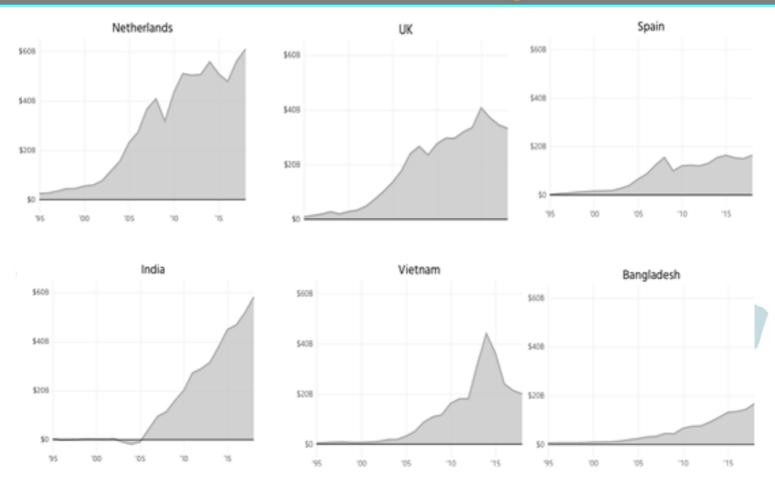
Source: WTO(2019).

미중 무역 불균형



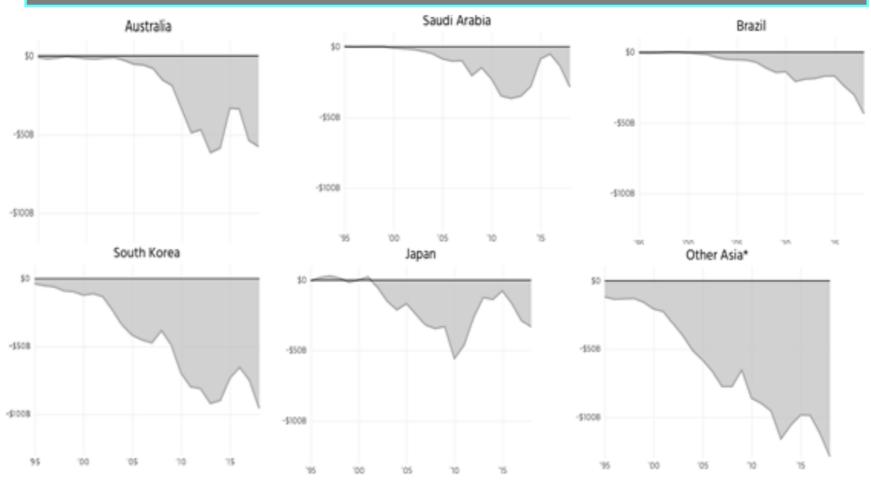
출처: United States Census Bureau.

China's Trade Surplus



출처: CSIS China Power. < https://chinapower.csis.org/trade-partner/>.

China's Trade Deficit



출처: CSIS China Power. < https://chinapower.csis.org/trade-partner/>.

GVCs as a Nexus between Economy and Security

- COVID-19
 - Vulnerability of GVCs
- Networked nature of world economy
- Network effects
 - Panopticon
 - Choke point
- Contagious
 - Japan's decision to drop Korea from White List

GVCs as a Nexus between Economy and Security

- Impact on GVCs
 - Securitization
- Restructuring of GVCs
 - Corporate strategy
 - "Anti-fragile supply chains"
 - "Multiple factories and suppliers/Multiple distribution channels"
 - Digitization, automation, and transparency
 - National strategy
 - Biden: resilient, stable, and diverse

COVID-19 and Restructuring of GVCs

- Securitization
 - Diversification
 - China + α
 - Reshoring
 - Near-shoring
 - Friend shoring



The Future of Multilateralism in the Era of COVID-19

- Global challenges
 - Prevention, peace building
 - New technologies: disruptive and emerging
 - "Before conflict erupts"
 - COVID impact
 - Stalemates and divisions
 - "The EU as a staunch promoter of vaccine multilateralism"
 - Beyond the pandemic
 - Climate change and biodiversity
 - "Real test of the multilateral system"
 - Paralyzed by vetoes
 - · Political infighting

The Future of Multilateralism in the Era of COVID-19

- Inclusive multilateralism
 - All stakeholder
 - · Civil society, business, local and regional authorities
- Upgrade
 - Agile, responsive and accountable multilateral institutions
 - Clear and urgent need for concrete multilateral solutions
 - Common action across borders

Korea's Strategic Responses

- Middle power diplomacy
 - Leadership vacuum
 - Cooperation with like-minded countries
 - Away from mercantilist approach
- "New Normal"

Korea's Strategic Responses

- Adapt to new normal
 - Economy-security linkage
- Tech competition and global governance
 - Emerging issues
 - Digital trade
- Linkage between bilateral and multilateral approaches
- Harmonize domestic and foreign policy

