# Industrial Policy in a New Global Paradigm

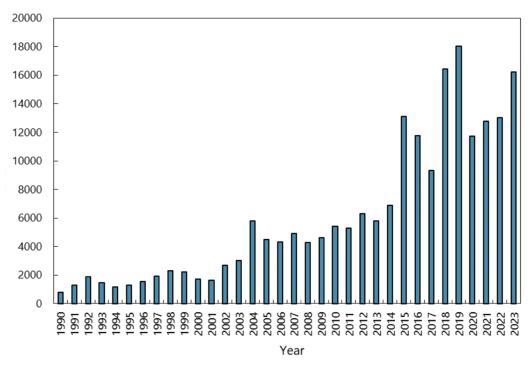
Karen Dynan

Harvard University

Federal Reserve Bank of Boston 2025 Economic Conference November 22, 2025

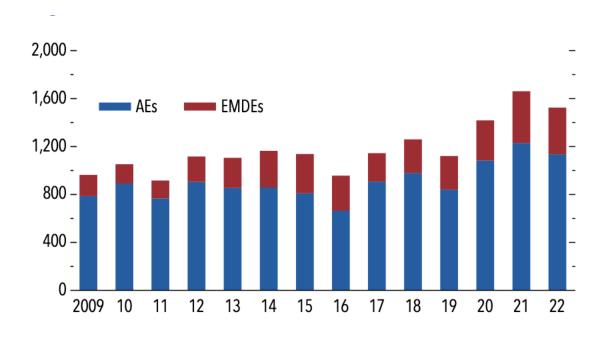
### Industrial policy has expanded globally in the 2020s

### Mentions of Industrial Policy in Business Press Number of articles



Source: Evenett, Jakubik, Martín, and Ruta (2024); authors' calculations based on data from Factiva.

### Global Evolution of Industrial Policy Number of new measures



Source: <u>International Monetary Fund</u> (2025); AEs refers to advanced economies and EMDEs refers to emerging market and developing economies).

### **Notable recent US industrial policy**

#### The Washington Post A new era of industrial policy kicks off with signing of the Chips Act

The legislation provides \$52 billion to companies building computer chip factories and research facilities in the United States, an intervention conservatives long opposed as picking winners and losers

Updated August 9, 2022 More than 3 years ago



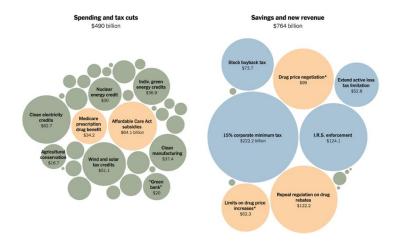
President Biden signs the Chips and Science Act into law alongside major proponents including Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.), Sen. Todd C. Young (R-Ind.) and Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.). (Demetrius Freeman/The Washington Post)

#### The New Hork Times

#### A Detailed Picture of What's in the Democrats' Climate and Health Bill

By Francesca Paris, Alicia Parlapiano, Margot Sanger-Katz and Eve Washington Updated August 16, 2022

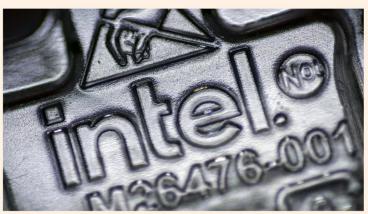
Democrats in Congress have had to scale back their legislative ambitions since last year, but the Inflation Reduction Act, passed by the House on Friday and signed by President Joseph R. Biden Jr. on Tuesday, is still a substantial piece of legislation that will make big investments in the environment and health care, and increase taxes on some key groups.



#### FINANCIAL TIMES

### US to take 10% stake in troubled chipmaker Intel

Equity investment of \$8.9bn marks the Trump administration's latest corporate intervention



Intel said the US government would purchase the shares at \$20.47 each, below Friday's closing price of \$24.80 © Hannibal Hanschke/EPA/Shutterstock

### US industrial policy shows both change and continuity

Reducing exposure to global supply disruptions => much more attention since COVID

Advancing the green transition => pushed by the previous Administration but has been rejected by the current one

Enhancing national security => consistent priority across recent administrations

Increasing economic growth and job opportunities => enduring objective

### Three points

- 1. Improving policies apart from industrial policy should be the starting point for policymakers
- 2. Industrial policy opens a Pandora's Box of complications
- 3. Responding to the rise of China is a special case

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# Traditional policies are the most effective way to boost economic growth and job opportunities



Supporting research and development



Improving K-12 education and training and apprenticeship programs



Facilitating immigration of high-skilled workers



Maintaining a competitive business tax code



Keeping a stable and balanced regulatory environment and global trading system



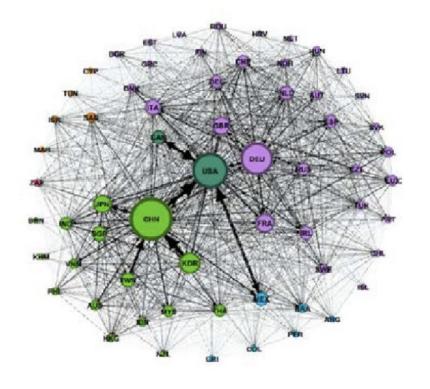
Operating federal, state, and local governments effectively

# Reducing exposure to supply disruptions is best achieved through a stable global trading environment and allies

The complexity of modern production means that reducing exposure to global supply disruptions through industrial policy would be very difficult:

Robust supply chains depend on understanding suppliers of key materials, their suppliers, and so on down the chain

Doing this for many goods would amount to central economic planning—and thus isn't practical



Screenshot from <u>Cigna</u>, <u>Gunnella</u>, <u>and Quaglietti</u> (2022); nodes show countries' shares of global value-chain trade and link thickness indicates value-added flows between them

# Broader policy changes are essential for a successful green transition

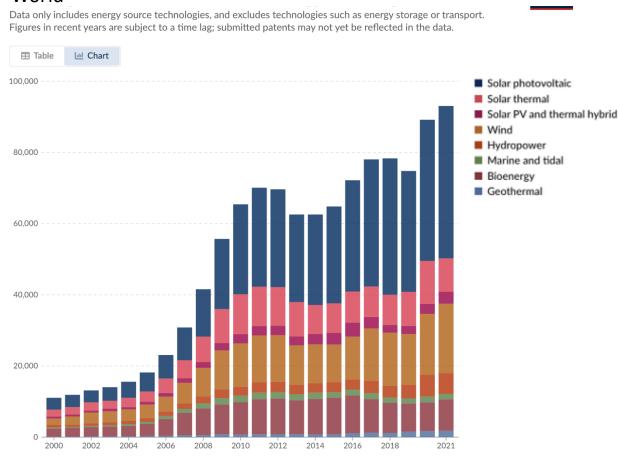
Support for clean-energy R&D

Streamlining permitting for energy production and transmission

Expansion of nuclear power

Mechanisms that effectively price carbon (if politically possible)

### Annual Patents Filed for Renewable Energy Technologies World



Screenshot from Our World in Data

### Three topics

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# Unless industrial policy is crafted very effectively, it can generate substantial inefficiency

Information failures: Governments may misjudge which sectors merit support

Fiscal strain: Subsidies often become expensive and hard to unwind

Loss of competitive pressure: Protection dulls incentives to innovate or cut costs

Cross-border spillovers: Trade measures can provoke retaliation or copycat policies

## Industrial policy risks becoming effective when it tries to do everything

Everything bagels are, of course, the best bagels. But that is because they add just enough to the bagel and no more ... And one problem liberals are facing ... is that they often add too much.

Ezra Klein



Photo: Politikaner, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0

For example, critics of the CHIPS Act and the Inflation Reduction Act have argued that these initiatives try to serve too many objectives at once (too much on the bagel)

Each law seeks simultaneously to create "good" jobs, accelerate the green transition, strengthen supply chains, and advance national security—an "everything bagel" strategy that risks blurring priorities and weakening effectiveness

### Industrial policy presents a host of political challenges

The selectivity of government treatment inherent to industrial policy:

Increases the incentive to attempt political capture and the consequences of being successful

**Encourages lobbying** 

Can facilitate corruption

Increases the risk of companies becoming "too important to fail"



### Three points

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### Why China is a special case

#### China is an economic power rivaling the United States

The average standard of living remains well below that in advanced economies, but ...

Dominant supplier in key global markets (e.g., rare earths, solar panels, heparin)

Deep integration across many supply chains

#### China is a geopolitical and military adversary

Economic leverage can be used for strategic or coercive purposes

This is a combination the United States has not faced before

Both dimensions argue for policy that is deliberate, coordinated, and long-term in focus

### Some industrial policy is warranted for China-related vulnerabilities

Industrial policy can be justified to:

Build supply chains for key defense items domestically or with long-trusted allies

Support domestic or allied capacity in strategic sectors, such as semiconductors

But the range of goods implicated needs to be narrow or this would essentially become central planning



Complementary policies are also needed to strengthen national security by promoting innovation—such as R&D and high-skilled immigration

Photo: <u>Daniel Garcia</u>, Wikimedia Commons, <u>CC BY-SA 2.0</u>, overlay added