

Trump 2.0

Look Back to Look Forward



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Look Back An Aggressive First Term



01

“America First”

Policy: Focused on U.S. interests in trade, immigration, and foreign relations, often resulting in conflicts with allies and global organizations.

02

Trade War: Initiated tariffs, targeting China, leading to a trade war that increased costs for American businesses and consumers but benefited countries like Thailand, which expanded exports and attracted investment.

03

Energy and Deregulation: Reduced regulations to boost fossil fuel production, sparking debates on economic growth versus environmental concerns.

04

Unorthodox Diplomacy: Built ties with authoritarian leaders while being skeptical of alliances like NATO.

05

Withdrawal from Global Agreements: Exited the Paris Agreement and Iran nuclear deal, raising concerns about international cooperation.

Look Forward: Key Transformations in the Trump 2.0 Era



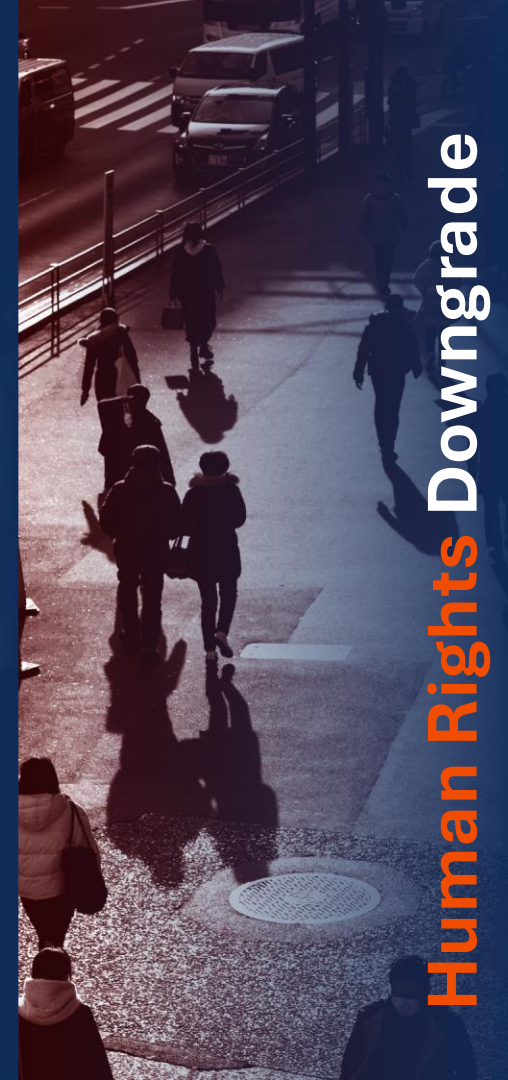
The Art of Trade War



A New World (Dis) Order



Trump Card Crypto Ally



Human Rights Downgrade



Climate Change Denialism



The Art of Trade War



Unit: %YOY, (Share in 2023)	2023	2023Q1	2023Q2	2023Q3	2023Q4	Nov-23	Dec-23	Jan-24	YTD
Total (100%)	-1.0%	-3.3%	-5.2%	-0.5%	5.8%	4.9%	4.7%	10.0%	10.0%
US (17.2%)	2.8%	-3.7%	1.7%	3.4%	10.2%	17.5%	0.3%	13.7%	13.7%
China (12%)	-0.8%	-7.2%	-0.5%	4.3%	0.4%	-3.9%	2.0%	2.1%	2.1%
ASEAN5 (14.1%)	-1.6%	-1.0%	-12.2%	-5.5%	15.7%	12.9%	18.0%	18.1%	18.1%
CLMV (9.4%)	-14.3%	-5.7%	-19.2%	-22.0%	-8.9%	-7.6%	-9.4%	16.6%	16.6%
Japan (8.7%)	0.1%	-0.3%	-2.4%	2.9%	0.0%	4.3%	-3.7%	1.0%	1.0%
EU28 (9.1%)	-3.4%	-0.6%	1.0%	-7.9%	-6.1%	-6.6%	-8.3%	3.6%	3.6%
Hong Kong (3.9%)	10.0%	-3.3%	-9.5%	34.7%	25.8%	12.8%	35.0%	72.0%	72.0%
Australia (4.3%)	8.2%	-9.0%	15.4%	9.0%	18.4%	18.3%	17.8%	32.4%	32.4%
Middle East (3.9%)	1.7%	19.6%	-3.5%	-3.6%	-4.1%	-4.2%	-5.4%	3.3%	3.3%
India (3.6%)	-3.9%	3.9%	-19.4%	1.6%	1.3%	-7.2%	2.8%	4.1%	4.1%
Switzerland (1.4%)	18.3%	-48.1%	106.7%	294.5%	187.4%	77.9%	567.6%	5.1%	5.1%

Source: SCB EIC analysis based on data from the Ministry of Commerce.

Protectionist Policies Could Jeopardize 11% Of Thailand's Total Exports To The US

FACT SHEET

- Thailand is currently the United States' **18th-largest goods trading partner**, with **USD72.8 billion** in two-way goods trade during **2023**
- In 2022, the US contributed **USD15.8 billion** of FDI to Thailand, Thailand's FDI in the US was **USD2.9 billion**

WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN?

- Thai Baht is one of the most vulnerable in emerging Asia to Trump's 2nd term
- Thailand could see a significant reduction in raw material exports related to the China-US supply chain, estimated at **THB49 million**, due to rising tariffs on Chinese goods
- **Electronics and communication equipment**, which are closely linked to Chinese supply chains, are expected to bear the brunt of the impact
 - These goods account for about **25%** of Thai exports to the US, or **4.3%** of Thailand's **total exports**
- In contrast, Vietnam benefits from bilateral and multilateral free trade agreements (FTAs), such as those with the EU and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, providing enhanced access to alternative markets



THE GOLDEN AGE OF AMERICA:

Isolationist and Protectionist Policies

LOOK BACK | IMPACT



2017-2021

1. **TPP withdrawal:** The US ceded economic leadership in Asia, allowing China to expand its regional influence
2. **Tariffs announcement:** US-China trade war – global supply chain disruptions and increased costs for businesses and consumers worldwide
3. **New NAFTA:** Modernized trade rules in North America but added stricter provisions that increased compliance costs for businesses

LOOK FORWARD | IMPLICATIONS



2025-2029

1. **Trade protectionism:** Continued emphasis on tariffs will lead to strains on global trade and push countries toward regional agreements
2. **US-China relationship:** Escalating tensions will force businesses to diversify supply chains, increasing production costs globally
3. **Deregulation:** Pro-business policies may boost short-term economic growth in the US, but risk long-term environmental and financial stability

What might the economic futures of Thailand look like?



Scenarios For Thailand

Base Case STEADY ADAPTATION

Global Trends

- US-China tensions continue at current levels, with moderate global economic growth
- Thailand focuses on regional trade (RCEP) while maintaining its position in global supply chains
- Exports grow modestly, but reliance on key sectors like agriculture and tourism limits diversification
- Investment in infrastructure and digital transformation progresses steadily but without major breakthroughs

Local Impacts

- Moderate economic growth (2-3% annually)
- Stable but limited competitive gains compared to regional peers like Vietnam or Indonesia

Best Case REGIONAL POWERHOUSE

Global Trends

- Thailand becomes a hub for regional trade and investment under RCEP and other agreements
- Proactive government policies attract foreign direct investment (FDI) in high-tech industries and green energy
- Geopolitical tensions push companies to diversify supply chains, benefiting Thailand as a neutral, reliable partner
- Digital transformation and upskilling efforts position Thailand as a leader in the ASEAN region

Local Impacts

- High economic growth (>3%+ annually)
- Diversified economy with strong industrial and technological sectors
- Enhanced global competitiveness and reduced reliance on tourism

Worst Case MARGINALISED ECONOMY

Global Trends

- Escalating US-China tensions disrupt global supply chains, sidelining Thailand as companies consolidate elsewhere
- Failure to adapt to changing trade dynamics and a lack of innovation leave Thailand trailing regional competitors
- Heavy reliance on tourism leaves Thailand vulnerable to external shocks like pandemics or climate disasters

Local Impacts

- Weak economic growth (<2% annually)
- Declining relevance in global trade, increased unemployment, and rising inequality
- Long-term economic stagnation with limited opportunities for recovery



What Should Thai Businesses Focus On?

- 1. Diversify export markets:** Mitigate risks from US-China trade tensions by expanding trade partnerships with non-US markets, such as the EU, ASEAN, and RCEP nations
- 2. Strengthen regional integration:** Capitalize on opportunities from agreements like RCEP to enhance competitiveness in Asia-Pacific supply chains
- 3. Build resilience in supply chains:** Focus on creating flexible, multi-country supply chains to withstand disruptions from geopolitical conflicts or trade wars



A New World (Dis)Order



THE TRUMP DOCTRINE:

From Disengagement to Dominance

LOOK BACK | IMPACT



2017-2021

1. **Withdrawal from Iran Nuclear Agreement:** Escalated tensions in the Middle East, deepened distrust with European allies, and increased the risk of Iran resuming nuclear activities
2. **Withdrawal from UN Human Rights Council:** Undermined US influence in global human rights discussions, allowed countries with poor human rights records to gain more sway within the council
3. **WHO withdrawal notice:** Weakened global health cooperation at a critical time, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, and led to diminished U.S. leadership in global health policy
4. **Open skies withdrawal:** Reduced transparency in military activities between the U.S. and Russia, increasing risks of miscommunication and miscalculations in global security

LOOK FORWARD | IMPLICATIONS



2025-2029

1. **Ukraine-Russia:** US disengagement from Ukraine could embolden Russia's actions, undermining European security and potentially leading to more aggressive expansion in the region (escalation)
2. **Gaza-Israel:** US policy shifts may intensify the Israeli Palestinian conflict (Trump is known to be a Zionist), tipping the scale towards Israel and reducing the chances for peace – further isolating the US from Arab allies, and the global community who are appalled by the ongoing genocide
3. **Imperialist views on Canada/Panama/Greenland:** Potential to strain US relations with key allies, destabilize regional geopolitics, and provoke international backlash over aggressive foreign policy actions

What might the foreign policy futures of Thailand look like?



Scenarios For Thailand

Base Case NEUTRAL STATE

Global Trends

- Thailand adopts a neutral stance, maintaining strong ties with ASEAN and avoiding direct alignment with any superpower
- Limited spillover effects from global conflicts, with Thailand focusing on economic stability and regional diplomacy
- Trade disruptions and higher defense spending marginally impact the economy, but tourism and exports recover steadily

Local Impacts

- Moderate economic growth (2-3% annually), with resilience through diversification
- Limited geopolitical risks but constrained opportunities for influence in global affairs

Best Case STRATEGIC NON-ALIGNMENT

Global Trends

- Thailand positions itself as a mediator and regional leader in ASEAN, promoting peace and multilateral diplomacy
- Strong engagement with RCEP and proactive efforts to attract displaced investments and trade amid global disruptions
- The country's neutrality enhances its global standing, drawing FDI as a stable, neutral ground for business

Local Impacts

- High economic growth (>3%+ annually), driven by trade and investment
- Strengthened geopolitical influence as a key voice for peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific

Worst Case FALLOUT

Global Trends

- Global conflicts severely disrupt trade routes and supply chains, directly impacting Thailand's export-driven economy
- Pressure from superpowers to take sides leads to diplomatic strain and regional instability
- Economic downturn due to rising oil prices, inflation, and reduced investment, coupled with heightened defence spending

Local Impacts

- Economic growth stagnates (<1.5% annually), with rising unemployment and social unrest
- Thailand faces long-term challenges in rebuilding its economy and restoring international trust



Trump Card Crypto Ally



Trump Promised A Strategic National Crypto Stockpile If Elected To A Second Term

FACT SHEET

Trump's election victory resulted in:

- Bitcoin jumped nearly **8%** in early trading, climbing above **USD100,000**
- Ether, the world's second most popular cryptocurrency rallied **8%**
- Another token, dogecoin, rocketed as much as **18%**

WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN?

- Aims to integrate digital assets into the mainstream financial system
- **Regulatory clarity and support:** Trump plans to establish a clear legal framework for the cryptocurrency industry, addressing longstanding uncertainties and fostering growth
- *He has appointed **David O. Sacks as the White House AI and Crypto Czar** to lead these efforts*
- **Integration into traditional finance:** The administration intends to facilitate the incorporation of cryptocurrencies into traditional financial systems, potentially through initiatives like a U.S. Bitcoin reserve and easing industry access to banking services

MARKET IMPLICATIONS

While these policies may boost cryptocurrency adoption and market growth, experts caution that reduced oversight could lead to increased market volatility and potential financial instability



What might the crypto futures of Thailand look like?

Scenarios For Thailand

Base Case GRADUAL INTEGRATION & REGULATION

Global Trends

- Cryptocurrencies see steady adoption, with governments introducing moderate regulations to curb risks while encouraging innovation
- Institutional interest grows, but market volatility persists due to fragmented regulatory approaches across nations
- CBDCs (Central Bank Digital Currencies) coexist with private cryptocurrencies, reshaping payment systems gradually

Local Impacts

- Thailand sees modest growth in crypto adoption, with tighter SEC regulations to protect investors
- Crypto tourism emerges as a niche sector, attracting digital assets users to a crypto-friendly ecosystem
- Businesses explore blockchain for supply chains and financial transactions – face high compliance costs

Best Case CRYPTO RENAISSANCE

Global Trends

- Cryptocurrencies achieve mainstream adoption, driven by global regulatory harmony and technological advancements
- Financial inclusion improves, particularly in developing nations, as blockchain reduces transaction costs and increases access
- Stablecoins become a preferred medium for global trade, disrupting traditional financial systems

Local Impacts

- Thailand emerges as a regional hub for crypto innovation, leveraging its robust fintech ecosystem and digital-savvy population
- SMEs and startups benefit from blockchain-based financing, improving access to global markets
- Tourism and remittances flourish as seamless crypto transactions attract expats and global visitors

Worst Case CRYPTO COLLAPSE

Global Trends

- Stringent regulations and bans in key markets lead to a crypto market crash, wiping out trillions in value
- Widespread adoption of CBDCs undermines the role of private cryptocurrencies, causing diminished trust and interest
- Illicit activities linked to crypto invite harsher scrutiny, stalling innovation and investment

Local Impacts

- The crypto sector contracts significantly, affecting businesses and individuals reliant on digital assets
- Blockchain innovation stagnates due to reduced investor confidence and regulatory uncertainty
- Thailand experiences declining remittance flows as global crypto transactions dwindle, impacting rural economies



Human Rights Downgrade



THE GREAT DEI ROLLBACK:

Regressive and Discriminatory Policies

LOOK BACK | IMPACT



2017-2021

1. **June 27, 2017** - Enacted a travel ban targeting predominantly Muslim countries by Executive order
2. **2017 – 2018** - Implemented family separation policies at the border
3. **June 19, 2018** - Withdrew from international human rights agreements
4. **June 2019** - Trump rolled back protections for LGBTQ+ individuals, allowing discrimination. Promoted racially discriminatory immigration policies throughout his first term, and ran both his other campaigns on the same rhetoric
5. **Sep 22, 2020** - Trump signed an **Executive Order on Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping**, which vetoed federal agencies and contractors from conducting diversity training that he deemed “anti-American propaganda”.
6. **June 24, 2022** - Opposed reproductive rights and access to abortion by appointing Conservative Supreme Court judges

LOOK FORWARD | IMPLICATIONS



2025-2029

1. **Elimination of DEI Programs:** Trump has pledged to dismantle DEI initiatives at the federal level, criticizing them as promoting a “woke” agenda. He plans to cut federal funding for programs related to DEI, particularly in education.
2. **Trump intends to reduce or eliminate DEI measures in educational institutions,** including cutting funding for schools that teach critical race theory. This could lead to significant changes in how diversity and inclusion are addressed in schools and universities.
3. **Corporate America’s Response:** Anticipating stricter regulations, some companies have begun to scale back their DEI initiatives. For example, Meta and Amazon (**Jan 10, 2025**), and Walmart (**Nov 26, 2024**) have dropped certain diversity goals.
4. **Potential Legal Challenges:** The administration’s approach may lead to legal challenges, particularly concerning anti-discrimination laws and the scope of executive authority in regulating DEI programs.

What might the Human Rights futures of Thailand look like?



Scenarios For Thailand

Base Case MIDDLE GROUND

Global Trends

- The US reduces its DEI initiatives modestly, but key institutions and states maintain commitments to diversity
- Other countries may follow suit, but the overall impact on human rights and DEI is mixed, with incremental progress in some regions and stagnation in others
- Multinational corporations operating globally uphold DEI efforts as part of their ESG priorities

Local Impacts

- Thailand continues its trajectory as a developing economy with growing attention to inclusivity
- US influence may lead to reduced emphasis on DEI in Thai organizations linked to American investments or partnerships, but domestic advocacy groups and regional frameworks could help maintain progress in human rights and inclusivity

Best Case FLOURISHING SOCIETY

Global Trends

- The US maintains Biden's DEI initiatives, influencing global standards and encouraging widespread adoption of inclusive practices
- Multinational organizations prioritize DEI, and this cascades into national policies, particularly in developing countries
- Human rights efforts are supported by stronger international frameworks and multilateral agreements

Local Impacts

- Thailand benefits from global momentum in DEI, with increased investment in equitable policies, labor protections, and gender equality
- Regional collaborations within ASEAN and APAC strengthen human rights frameworks, with Thailand playing a leadership role in advocating for inclusivity

Worst Case BEACON IN THE EAST

Global Trends

- The US significantly scales back DEI programs and withdraws from global human rights commitments, emboldening other nations to do the same
- This results in a regression in human rights protections, particularly for vulnerable populations, and a rise in workplace inequities
- Multinational corporations, under reduced scrutiny, deprioritize DEI efforts

Local Impacts

- With the US regressing on DEI and human rights, Thailand could position itself as a progressive leader in Asia (same-sex marriage legalized 23/01/2025)
- Thailand could become a top destination for talent migration and inclusive tourism
- Multinationals may view Thailand as a hub for regional operations due to its favorable DEI climate, increasing FDI



Climate Change Denialism



DRILL, BABY, DRILL

Regressive and Anti-Science Policies

LOOK BACK | IMPACT



2017-2021

1. In **June 2017**, Trump announced the US withdrawal from the **Paris Climate Accord**, making the United States the only country not part of the agreement aimed at reducing global carbon emissions
2. By the end of his term, Trump's administration had rolled back approximately **98** environmental regulations and replaced the Clean Power Plan with the **Affordable Clean Energy Rule** in **June 2019**
3. Trump and his cabinet frequently dismissed scientific consensus on **climate change**, rejecting findings from federal assessments that highlighted human contributions to climate change

LOOK FORWARD | IMPLICATIONS



2025-2029

1. Trump has indicated plans to further roll back environmental regulations established during the Obama era, **aiming for more aggressive fossil fuel extraction policies**
2. Trump's rhetoric suggests that he will prioritize **economic growth linked to fossil fuel production** over environmental protections or climate action
3. He has expressed skepticism about renewable energy initiatives, favoring traditional energy sources such as coal, oil, and natural gas
4. There is speculation that Trump may seek to further distance the US from international climate agreements or negotiations that he perceives as unfavorable to American energy interests

What might the green futures of Thailand look like?



Scenarios For Thailand

Base Case GRADUAL GREENING

Global Trends

- Global CO2 emissions rise moderately as some countries delay transitions to renewable energy
- Technological innovation drives incremental climate solutions, but funding and scaling are inconsistent
- Wealthier nations maintain green agendas, while developing countries struggle to balance economic growth with environmental priorities

Local Impacts

- + Thailand strengthens its position as a sustainable tourism destination, attracting eco-conscious travelers
- + Growth in green industries allows Thailand to become a regional exporter of renewable energy technologies, such as solar panels
- Continued warming increases the frequency and severity of floods, droughts, and storms, disproportionately affecting rural areas

Best Case SUSTAINABLE FUTURES

Global Trends

- Major economies achieve net-zero emissions ahead of targets through bold investments in renewables and electrification
- Revived multilateral agreements accelerate technology transfer and green finance for developing nations
- A surge in green tech innovation, breakthroughs in carbon capture, hydrogen energy, and sustainable agriculture

Local Impacts

- + FDI surges into Thailand's renewable energy and electric vehicle (EV) sectors, bolstering the economy
- + Thailand leverages its green policies and initiatives to lead ASEAN in environmental standards and collaboration
- Rapid green sector growth may create skill shortages in emerging technologies, requiring significant upskilling efforts

Worst Case CLIMATE CRISIS

Global Trends

- Carbon emissions hit record highs, exacerbating global warming beyond the 2°C threshold
- Competition for dwindling resources intensifies, fueling political instability and migration crises
- Climate-induced disasters disrupt global trade, destabilizing economies
- Climate impacts disproportionately affect poorer nations, exacerbating global inequities

Local Impacts

- + Thailand capitalizes on its commitment to green initiatives, attracting businesses and investors fleeing less-stable regions
- + Grassroots movements emerge, fostering community-led sustainability efforts
- Climate-related disasters damage key industries such as tourism, agriculture, and manufacturing

Anticipating human-centric futures is complex, but by using the “look back to look forward” framework, this piece offers a neutral foundation for anyone interested in applying Futures Thinking in making sense of the next four years.

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How can we help?

- Enable Future-Ready Strategies
- Identify Opportunities and Reduce Risks
- Gain a Competitive Advantage

Contact us to co-create your future strategy



BY

