

独立行政法人経済産業研究所 (RIETI)
RIETI 公開 BBL ウェビナー
「2024年の米国大統領選挙：課題と展望」
2024年10月16日(水)

グレン・S・フクシマ
米国投資者保護公社副理事長
米国先端政策研究所上級研究員
元在日米商工会議所会頭
元米国大統領府通商代表部通商代表補代理 (日本・中国担当)

I. Introduction

- A. USTR (1985-90), Asia (1990-2012), CAP (2012-), SIPC (2022-)
- B. GOP; DNC, DSCC, DCCC, DGA; Emily's List; CAPA21; etc.
- C. Today's topic ("unprecedented")

II. U.S. Presidential Election of Tuesday, 11/5/24 [20 days from today]

- A. Election schedule
 - 1. 1/15 Iowa primary
 - 2. 3/5 Super Tuesday
 - 3. 3/12 Biden wins nomination (1,968); Trump wins nomination (1,215)
 - 4. 6/27 TV debate hosted by CNN: Biden vs. Trump
 - 5. 7/15-18 Republican National Convention (Milwaukee, Wisconsin)
 - 6. 8/19-22 Democratic National Convention (Chicago, Illinois)
 - 7. 9/10 TV debate hosted by ABC: Harris vs. Trump
 - 8. 10/1 TV debate hosted by CBS: Walz vs. Vance
 - 9. 11/5 Election
- B. Inauguration on Monday, 1/20/25

III. "Unprecedented" U.S. Presidential Election

- A. Candidates oldest in history (81 and 78)
- B. Candidates with low favorability ("double haters")
- C. Candidates with serious legal issues
- D. Disastrous TV debate (June 27)
- E. Assassination attempts (July 13, September 15)
- F. Withdrawal so late in the election (July 21)
- G. Reversal of public opinion: Trump > Biden → Harris > Trump

IV. CNN TV Debate on June 27

- A. Most decisive TV debate since first TV presidential debate in 1960
- B. Clearly showed Biden not capable of winning election, serving until 2029 (86)
- C. Calls for Biden to step aside: journalists, donors, Representatives, Senators, Nancy Pelosi
- D. Defiance, resistance by Biden
- E. Public opinion polls
 - 1. White House
 - 2. Senate
 - 3. House of Representatives
 - 4. Supreme Court
 - 5. No checks ("guard rails")
 - 6. Supreme Court decision on presidential immunity (July 1)

V. Announcement on July 21 (1:46 p.m.)

- A. Latest withdrawal by presidential candidate in modern history (LBJ on 3/31/68)
- B. Open convention or Vice President Kamala Harris?
- C. Biden supports Harris (2:13 p.m.)
- D. Others follow
- E. If Biden had withdrawn in 2023, at least 10 other candidates (Gavin Newsom, Gretchen Whitmer, J.B. Pritzker, Josh Shapiro, Andy Breshear, Corey Booker, Amy Klobuchar, Julian Castro, Pete Buttigieg, etc.)

VI. Completely New Race Since July 21

- A. Democrats excited, engaged, reenergized, unified
- B. Women, youth, nonwhites
- C. Fundraising, volunteers, public opinion polls
- D. Democrats returned to choosing an outsider (Carter, Clinton, Obama)
- E. Biden was an exception
- F. Harris for President Core Supporter Zoom call (July 22): California

VII. Choice for Vice President

- A. J.D. Vance, senator from Ohio
- B. Tim Walz, governor from Minnesota (vs. Josh Shapiro)

VIII. Public Opinion Polls (538 electoral votes; 270 to win)

- A. National (FiveThirtyEight, 10/11): Harris 48.5% vs. Trump 46.0% (+2.5% Harris)
- B. National (Real Clear Politics, 10/11): Harris 49.1% vs. Trump 47.1% (+2.0% Harris)
- C. Battleground States (FiveThirtyEight, 10/11) [Harris 50 vs. Trump 43]:
 - 1. Arizona [11]: 46.8% Harris vs. Trump 48.2 (+1.4% Trump)
 - 2. Georgia [16]: 47.3% Harris vs. Trump 48.2% (+0.9% Trump)
 - 3. Michigan [15]: 47.7% Harris vs. Trump 47.0% (+0.7% Harris)
 - 4. Nevada [6]: 47.6% Harris vs. Trump 47.1% (+0.5% Harris)
 - 5. North Carolina [16]: 47.3% Harris vs. Trump 48.2% (+0.9% Trump)
 - 6. Pennsylvania [19]: 47.8% Harris vs. Trump 47.5% (+0.3% Harris)
 - 7. Wisconsin [10]: 47.9% Harris vs. Trump 47.3% (+0.6% Harris)
- D. Reliability of public opinion polls (turnout, "Bradley effect," "Hidden Trump" voters, etc.)

IX. Major Issues

- A. Economy
- B. Immigration
- C. Abortion
- D. Education
- E. Health care
- F. Environment, climate change
- G. Foreign policy (Israel/Hamas, Russia/Ukraine, China/Taiwan, Iran, North Korea, etc.)

X. Contrasting Candidates

- A. Trump: Older (78), Germany, East Coast, male, white, past (MAGA)
- B. Harris: Younger (59), Jamaica/India, West Coast, female, Black/Asian, future ("Not Going Back")
- C. California: 40M, #5 economy, agriculture/hi tech/movies, trade, investment, immigration, Asia

XI. Vulnerabilities

- A. Harris: woman; nonwhite (Black/Asian, foreign parents); California ("socialist")
- B. Trump: age, indictments, fitness for presidency
- C. Interference by external parties

XII. Congressional Elections

- A. Senate (47 Democrats + 4 Independents + 49 Republicans = 100 seats)
- B. House of Representatives (217 Republicans + 213 Democrats + 5 vacancies = 435 seats)
- C. Countervailing powers: White House, Congress, Supreme Court, mass media

XIII. Prospects

- A. Difficult to predict; many variables; anything can happen in 20 days
- B. October surprise?
- C. When will the election results be known?
- D. Will there be an orderly transition of power?
- E. Challenges, lawsuits, violence?
- F. If Trump wins, "Second American Revolution": Heritage Foundation "Project 2025"?
 - 1. Personnel (10,000 rather than 4,000?)
 - 2. Domestic policy
 - 3. Foreign policy
- G. If Harris wins, how much continuity with Biden Administration?
 - 1. Personnel
 - 2. Domestic policy
 - 3. Foreign policy

XIV. U.S.-Japan Relations

- A. Importance of Japan as an alliance partner
 - 1. Military security
 - 2. Political
 - 3. Economic
 - 4. Burden-sharing
- B. Impact of U.S. relations with China, Russia, North Korea, Europe, NATO, IOs, etc.
- C. Harris vs. Trump Administration
 - 1. International organizations
 - 2. Environment, energy, climate change
 - 3. Trade, investment, immigration
 - 4. Asia
 - 5. Nippon Steel acquisition of U.S. Steel

