Kishida's Foreign Policy Legacy: What will come next?

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# Kishida's foreign policy legacy

Prime Minister of Japan Fumio Kishida unexpectedly announced on 14 August 2024 that he will not contest the upcoming Liberal Democratic Party's presidential nomination. After nearly three years as LDP leader and prime minister, Kishida's accomplishments included increasing the defence budget, hosting the G7 summit and



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Back Issues

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### Japan's Revolutionary Military Change: Explaining Why It Happened Under Kishida



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**Keywords:** defense policy, international security, East Asia, Japan, domestic politics, foreign policy analysis, international relations

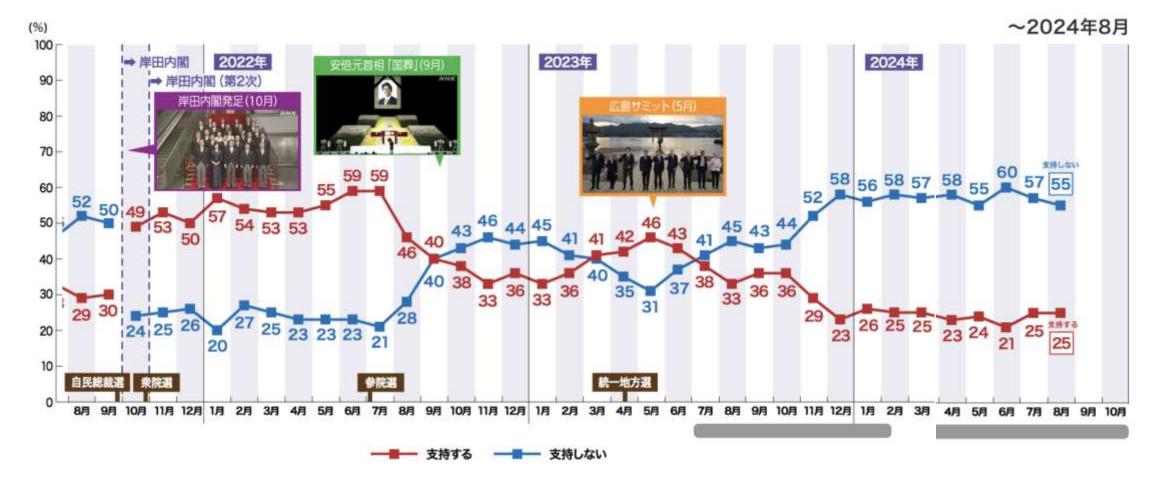
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# Kishida as the "Prime" Foreign Minister



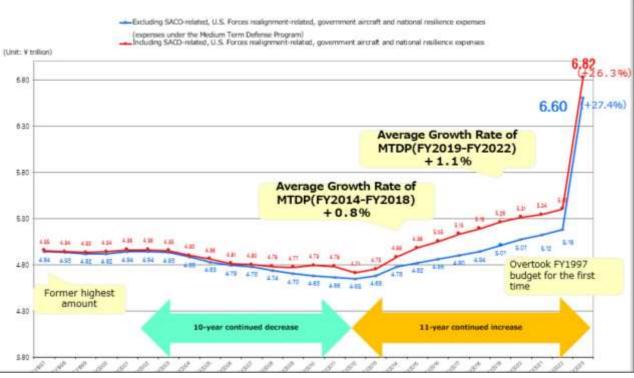
### **Cabinet Approval Rate**

### 内閣支持率



### New Capabilities

#### (Reference 2) Change in Expenditure (Annual Budget)





# Japan's Economic Security Policies

- 1. Economic Security Promotion Act (2022)
- 2. Introduction of Security Clearance System (ongoing)
- 3. Export Control
- 4. Investment Screening
- 5. Critical Technology Management
- 6. Semiconductor Policy
- 7. Research Integrity (including deemed reexport and state-sponsored influence and interference)
- 8. Industrial Security/ Cyber Security

- 9. Human rights due diligence
- 10. Trade-Related Economic Coercion and Non-Market Policies and Practices
- 11. Review and Regulation of the Use of Real Estate Surrounding Important Facilities and on Remote Territorial Islands
- 12. Data Security
- 13. International Standardization
- 14. Fighting against Disinformation
- 15. Economic Intelligence



### American Grand Design

#### Figure 1: Kent Calder(2004) San Francisco System

A Dense Network of Bilateral Alliances

Absence of Multilateral Security Structures

Strong Asymmetry in Alliance Relations

Special Precedence of Japan

Liberal Trade Access to American Markets with Aids

### Figure 2: Indo-Pacific System

Minilateralism and Security Networking	
Evolving Roles of Japan and the UK	
Special attention on Taiwan situation	
Enclosed Partnership towards Economic Security	

Not Strong Emphasis on Political Values

R. Sahashi "Deepened Division in Eurasian Politics: Enhanced San Francisco System and Strategic Resonance of Authoritarian States," Korea On Point (Korea Association of International Studies), November 18<sup>th</sup>, 2023.

## Why was "Big Bang" possible?

- Not re-emergence of militarism
- Evolutional Change? → Revolutionary Change
- Political Survival of Kishida
- Shadow of Abe
- The role of National Security Secretariat (NSS)
- Space Strategy, Cyber Capability, Defense Equipment Export, OSA

Ayumi Teraoka and Ryo Sahashi, "Japan's Revolutionary Military Change: Explaining Why It Happened Under Kishida" *Pacific Affairs*, 2024 (fast-track available)

"Kishida claimed that his strength was his ability to listen to other people's opinions, but his own policy strategies and ideology were weak. As a man who genuinely

wanted to become prime minister, Kishida focused on acquiring and maintaining power. A priority for him was to be flexible and resolve various policy issues and to gain the support of the mainstream factions within his own party and of the major government ministries. Unlike former prime minister Shinzo Abe, he did not like the cut and thrust of debate. His unruffled decision-making, combined with his liberal image, did not strike a strong chord with the public."

(My EAF article, September 1, 2024)

# Kishida achieved a lot, but concerns remain.

### Security dilemma in economic realm is also deepened

The U.S. and China each moving to restructure their relationships to reduce economic dependence on the other and to seek the inclusion of third countries

China strengthens its economic policy of autonomy and selfreliance, and begins trade restrictions and maintains economic coercions



### Gradual disintegration of the interdependence accelerates



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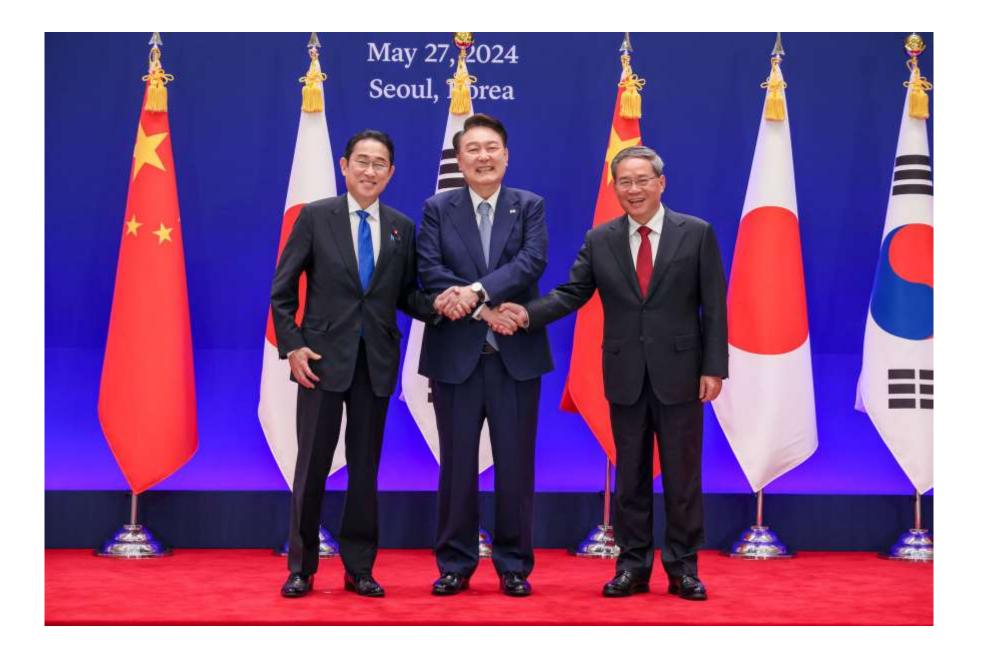
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# Declining US internationalism

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# Uneasy Frontier of Authoritarians



# After Kishida

• Kobayashi Takayuki and Takaichi Sanae

- Ishiba Shigeru
  - Change the distance among US, Japan and China?

- Koizumi Shinziro
  - De-centrized governance style?



# Challenges

- Political Momentum for security policy?
- Nationalism?
- ROK
- China and Taiwan
- USA and Australia