

## The second Trump administration and the future of Japan-US relations

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### 1. The situation surrounding the second Trump administration

- Unified government, but the number of seats held by the two parties in both the House and Senate is a historic narrow margin. The division of American politics and society, and the intensifying power struggle and conflict between the two parties will continue in the future.
  - The possibility of a temporary shutdown of the federal government has decreased, but this does not mean that policies reflecting the intentions of the President or the Republican leadership have become easier to pass.
  - The unified government will last for only two years? Congressmen considering retirement in the midterm elections, senators who are not up for election, and conservatives within the party (especially fiscal conservatives) may rebel.
- The burden of being a hegemonic power and ask other countries to share the burden.
  - The burden of providing international public goods and dissatisfaction with other countries free riding.
  - The administration will reduce its burden and ask other countries to increase their burden.

### 2. The second Trump administration

- Emphasis on changing the status quo.
- Administration using presidential orders
  - US presidential orders are only for regulating the executive branch. Congress and the courts can limit the presidential power. The administration may place importance on foreign policy, which has fewer constraints than domestic policy.
- Passion for reducing the size of government
  - The DOGE led by Elon Musk. Fiscal conservatives within the Republican Party
- Rejection of liberal internationalism. Modifies diplomatic stance based on norms and values. Based on anti-globalism and unilateralism, prioritizes the realization of partial interests that the president values.
  - The assumption: the peace and prosperity of the United States will be established regardless of the situation in other countries.
  - Not enforcing ideals and norms may ease friction with authoritarian countries. It does not give a high status to countries that share values.
- Dismantle the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)?
  - Global public health crisis and the risk of a new pandemic.
  - Will China and terrorists fill the vacuum created by the reduction in the scale of US foreign aid, reducing the presence and influence of the liberal democratic camp?
- Trade policy
  - It is unclear whether the remarks on tariffs are his true intentions or a bargaining chip. There are various positions on trade policy within the administration.
  - The direction of trade policy is converging between the two major parties. Hardline rhetoric

against China, emphasis on economic security rather than international cooperation based on expanding economic interdependence.

- Does the president view China from an economic perspective rather than a military one? Is the high tariff policy against China adopted based on economic perspectives, or does it have other purposes?
- "Peace through strength" and alliances
  - The reciprocal discourse that the U.S. needs allies for its own sake has lost its power. There is a strong awareness of whether the costs of alliances are commensurate with the benefits obtained.
  - Shifting the burden of security issues to other countries (allies and friendly countries) by region

### 3. Implications for Japan-US relations

- Differences from the first Trump administration: President Trump's experience, confidence, and loyal cabinet members
  - Trust-building between leaders is important. It is also important to deepen relations at the working-level.
  - There are no major concerns between Japan and the United States.
  - What will the administration's position on China be?
    - Differences between Secretary of State Rubio, National Security Advisor Waltz, and the MAGA faction.
    - How will they respond to a Taiwan emergency? What about relations with Japan, Australia, and the Philippines?
  - Good relations with the United States is most important to Japan. It is also important to create an environment in which Japan's national interests can be realized.
    - How can we persuade the importance of having US troops in Japan to the Trump administration?
    - Japan, which has been enthusiastic about international cooperation and has placed importance on international law, is able to coordinate between diverse countries and to present a new vision of order.
    - The economic and strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific region.
    - Cooperate with other US allies and explain to the US the benefits of working with them. Continuing to pursue the values of liberal internationalism.
  - Recognize the division within the US. Build trust from a long-term perspective.
    - In the US, where economic disparities exist and the two major parties are evenly matched, the governing party may change with each presidential election.
    - Issues that conflict and converge between the two major parties.
    - Difference in position between the Federal and State Governments.