

“America First” and Its Implications

Kiyotaka Akasaka, President, Foreign Press Center

November 2, 2017, at Hitotsubashi University

1, America First

“From this day forward, it's going to be only **America first. America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families.”**

– President Trump’s inauguration speech, January 2017



America First”



Geopolitical relations



Economic and trade relations



Environment and other agreements



Morality

“America First” and Geopolitical Relations

While campaigning, Merkel says Europeans can't 'completely' rely on US, others CNN, May 29, 2017)

"I experienced that in the last a few days, and therefore I can only say that we Europeans must really take our fate into our own hands, of course in friendship with the United States and in friendship with Great Britain and as good neighbors wherever it is possible, also with Russia and also with all the other countries," Merkel said.

"But we need to know that we have to fight for our own future and destiny as Europeans."

“America First” and Geopolitical Relations

Would Mr. Trump, whose slogan is “America First”, choose to sacrifice Seoul in the hope of saving San Francisco? Any hint of such thinking would undermine America’s alliances. If Japan and South Korea were to stop trusting American security guarantees, they might feel compelled to develop nuclear weapons of their own, alarming China and hugely complicating an already fraught situation.

- The Economist, September 2nd 2017

“America First” and Trade Policy

“even if a WTO dispute settlement panel – or the WTO Appellate Body – rules against the United States, such a ruling does not automatically lead to a change in U.S. law or practice. Consistent with these important protections and applicable U.S. law, the Trump Administration will aggressively defend American sovereignty over matters of trade policy. “

(2017 Trade Policy Agenda and 2016AnnualReport by USTR)

“Trump suggests ignoring World Trade Organization in major policy shift” – Washington Post, March 1, 2017

“America First” and Climate Change

The New York Times

June 2, 2017

Trump Pulls U.S. Out of Climate Accord, Saying It’s a Threat to U.S. Economy

**Environment Will
Suffer as Result,
Allies and Rivals Say**

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

- In choosing to leave the pact, President Trump sided with G.O.P conservatives: “I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris.”



The New York Times, May 24, 2017

U.N. Says Trump Budget Cuts Would ‘Make It Impossible’ to Do Its Job

The United Nations said on Wednesday that the Trump administration’s proposed budget cuts would “simply make it impossible” for the global organization to maintain essential operations.

The statement, by a United Nations spokesman, added to the growing criticism of a budget submission for the 2018 fiscal year that would reduce funding of the State Department by roughly a third and cut foreign assistance by about 29 percent.

U.S. withdraws from UNESCO, the U.N.'s cultural organization, citing anti-Israel bias



The State Department announced Oct. 12 that the U.S. plans to withdraw from UNESCO, alleging a “need for fundamental reform” and “anti-Israel bias.” (The Washington Post)

Web刊

速報

ビジネスリーダー

マーケット

テクノロジー

アジア

スポーツ

マネー

ライフ

朝刊・

トップ

紙面連動

連載

社説・春秋

特集

映像

FT

オピニオン

統計

中国共産党大会

衆院選

トップ > 社説・春秋 > 記事

社説

+ フォローする

米国の国際機関軽視は世界の安定脅かす

2017/10/21付



米トランプ政権が国際機関や国際的な枠組みを軽視する姿勢を一段と強めている。指導力を発揮すべき超大国が身勝手な行動に走れば、世界の安定は脅かされる。米国は責任の重さを自覚すべきだ。

米国は、6月に地球温暖化対策の国際枠組み「パリ協定」からの離脱を表明したが、今月は国連教育科学文化機関（ユネスコ）からの脱退も決めた。反イスラエル的な姿勢や組織改革が不十分なことを理由にあげた。

世界経済の安定を損ないかねない決定も目立つ。先週は貧困問題解決などのために計画していた世界銀行の増資に反対を表明。結果的に増資は見送られた。金融危機に即応する体制づくりが必要な国際通貨基金（IMF）の増資にも批判的な姿勢を崩していない。

さらに問題なのは、通商問題に関する紛争処理を担う世界貿易機関（WTO）の上級委員の選任手続き入りに反対していることだ。任期切れでやめる委員がいても欠員が埋まらない

“America First” and Morality/Leadership Issues

America First

(egoistic, insular, small, vulgar, narcissist, dishonest, impulsive, ill-informed, capricious, and incoherent approach)

VS

- **Global/Regional leadership**
- **Universalism**
- **Multilateral cooperation**
- **UN and International org.**
- **Multi-culturalism and Anti-racism**

2, Trump's "America First" Is Based On Two Assumptions:

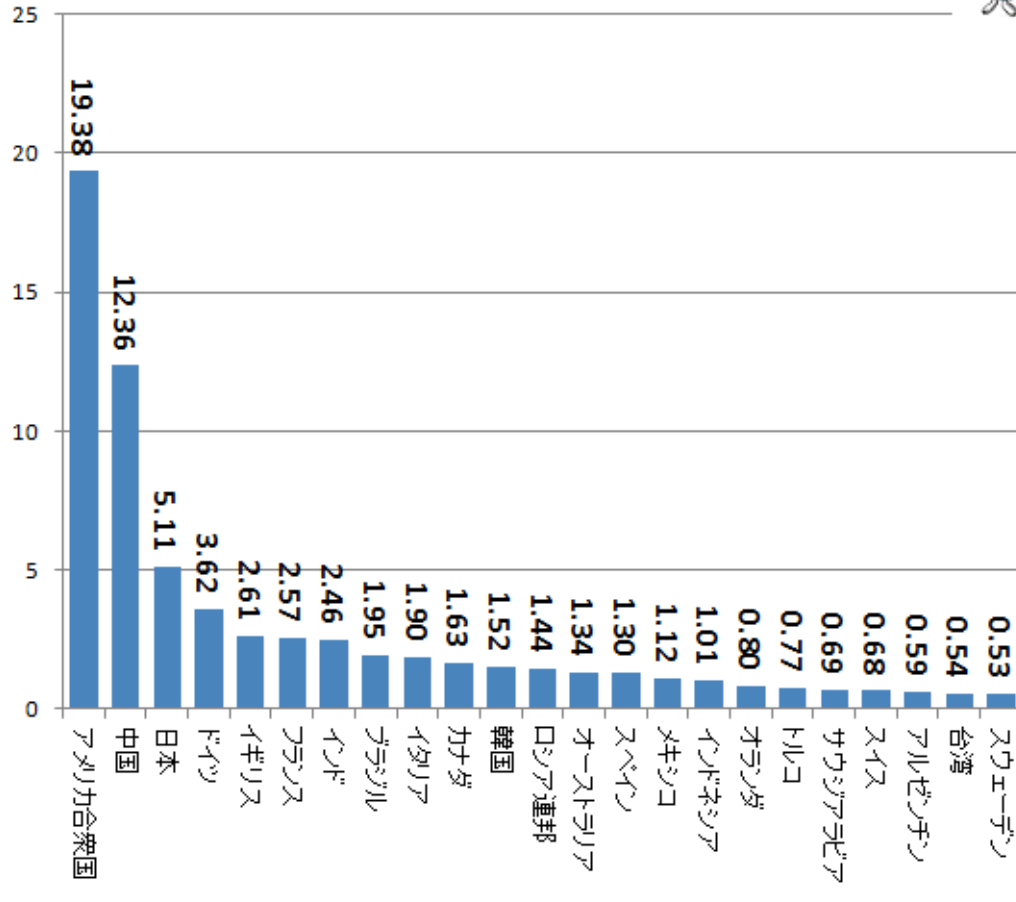
- That America cannot afford the costs of aid and diplomacy.
- That multilateral institutions make America weaker.

"Both are wildly mistaken."

("Trump and multilateralism: China first – The president's foreign policy will not deliver the American greatness he promised", the Economist, March 25th 2017

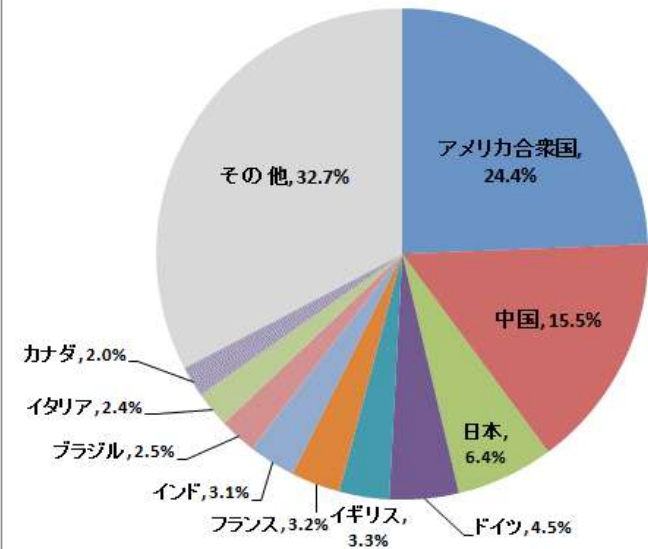
The Size of the US Economy

名目GDP上位国(IMFによる2017年予想値、兆米ドル)



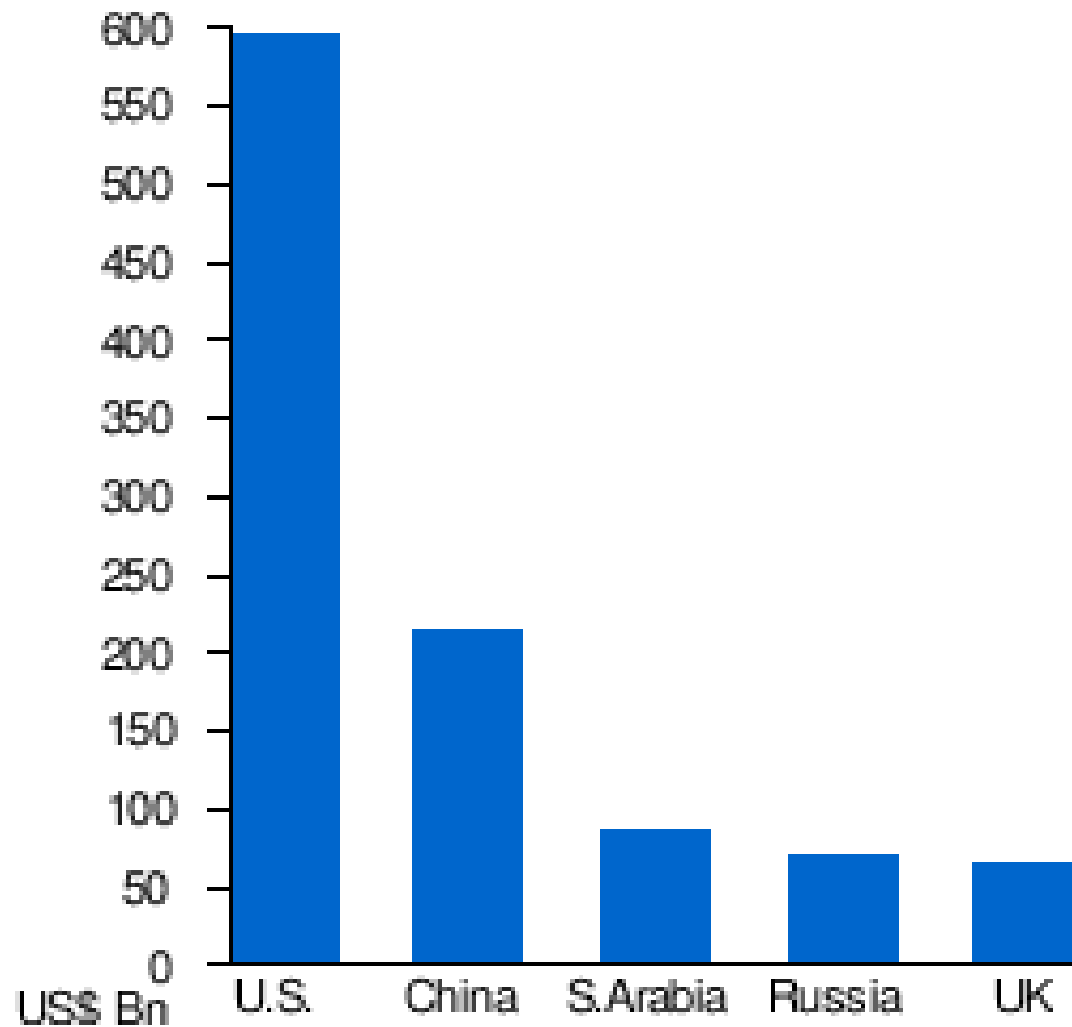
↑ 名目GDP上位国(IMFによる2017年予想値、兆米ドル)

世界全体に占める各国名目GDP比
(2017年、IMF予想)



↑ 世界全体に占める各国名目GDP比(2017年、IMF予想)

Military expenditure (2015)



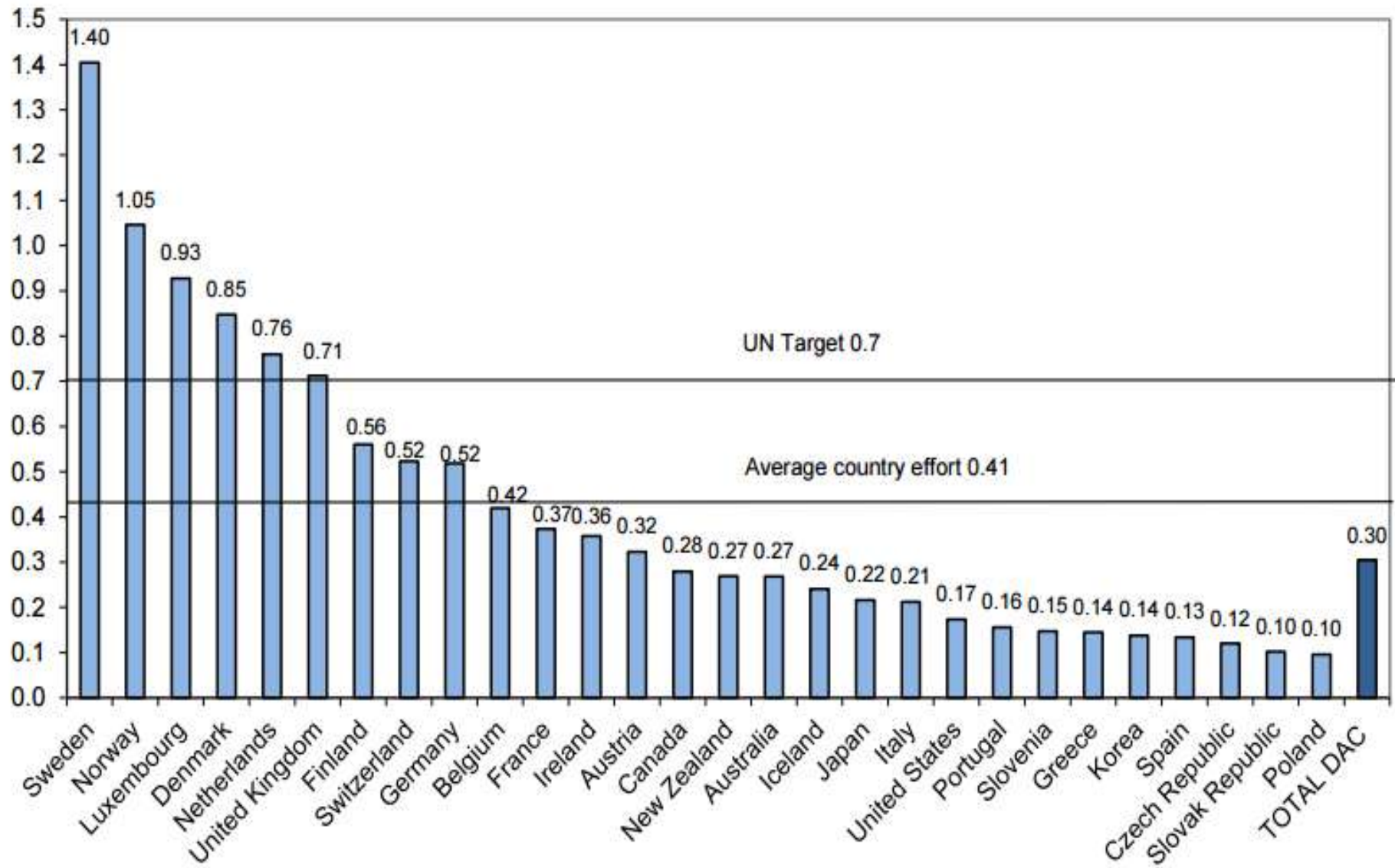
Top five countries by military expenditure in 2015.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.








Net ODA in 2015 - as a percentage of GNI

Source: OECD

As % of GNI



CO2 Emissions by Country

Country	CO ₂ emissions (kt) in 2015 ^[2]	% CO ₂ emissions by country	Emission per capita (t) in 2015 ^[3]
World	36,061,710	100%	
 China	10,641,789	29.51%	7.7
 United States	5,172,338	14.34%	16.1
 European Union	3,469,671	9.62%	6.9
 India	2,454,968	6.81%	1.9
 Russia	1,760,895	4.88%	12.3
 Japan	1,252,890	3.47%	9.9
 Germany	777,905	2.16%	9.6

Data: EC EDGAR

Major Treaties which US is not party to

- 1966 – [International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights](#), signed but not ratified
- 1979 – [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women](#), signed but not ratified
- 1989 – [Convention on the Rights of the Child](#), signed but not ratified
- 1991 – [United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea](#), not signed
- 1992 – [Convention on Biological Diversity](#), signed but not ratified
- 1996 – [Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty](#), signed but not ratified
- 1997 – [Kyoto Protocol](#), signed with no intention to ratify
- 1998 – [Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court](#), unsigned
- 2007 – [Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities](#), signed but not ratified
- 2008 – [Convention on Cluster Munitions](#), not signed
- 2016 – [Trans-Pacific Partnership](#), signed but not yet ratified

Number of staff in UN HQs (as at 30 June 2016)

順位	国名	専門職員	ジェネラル サービス	合計
1	合衆国	1269	1176	2445
2	フランス	806	662	1468
3	イギリス	667	173	840
4	カナダ	486	117	603
5	ドイツ	456	60	516
6	イタリア	423	329	752
7	スペイン	383	118	501
8	ロシア	364	156	520
9	中国	341	131	472
13	日本	212	48	260
27	韓国	112	33	145
	その他	7318	20310	27628
	合計	12837	23313	36150

出典：国連総会A/71/360 Composition of the Secretariat: staff demographics より
 順位は専門職員数の順位

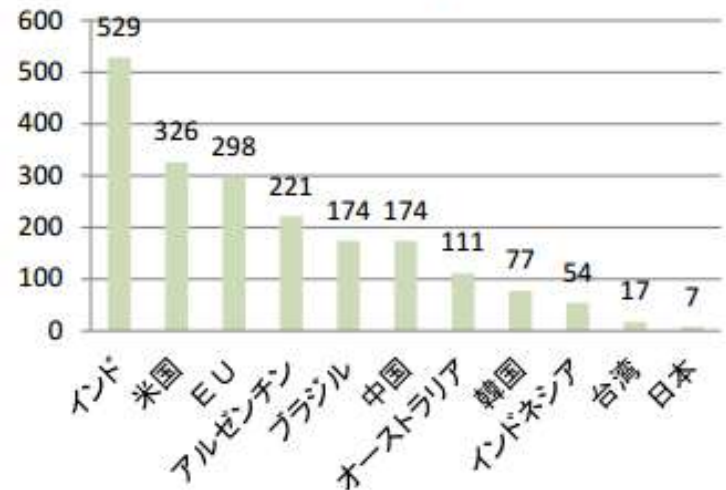
(http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=a%2F71%2F360)

U.S. Is Not Weakened by WTO

The United States has sued China more than 20 times since 2001, and the U.S. won most of those cases, including disputes over Chinese steel and raw materials.

Antidumping and countervailing duty investigations are frequently conducted by the U.S. Government.

Anti-dumping cases
国別発動件数 (1995-2014上半期)



3, Is the U.S. Abandoning Its Global Leadership Role?

The UN system

The name “United Nations”, coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt was first used in the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, during the Second World War, when representatives of 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers.



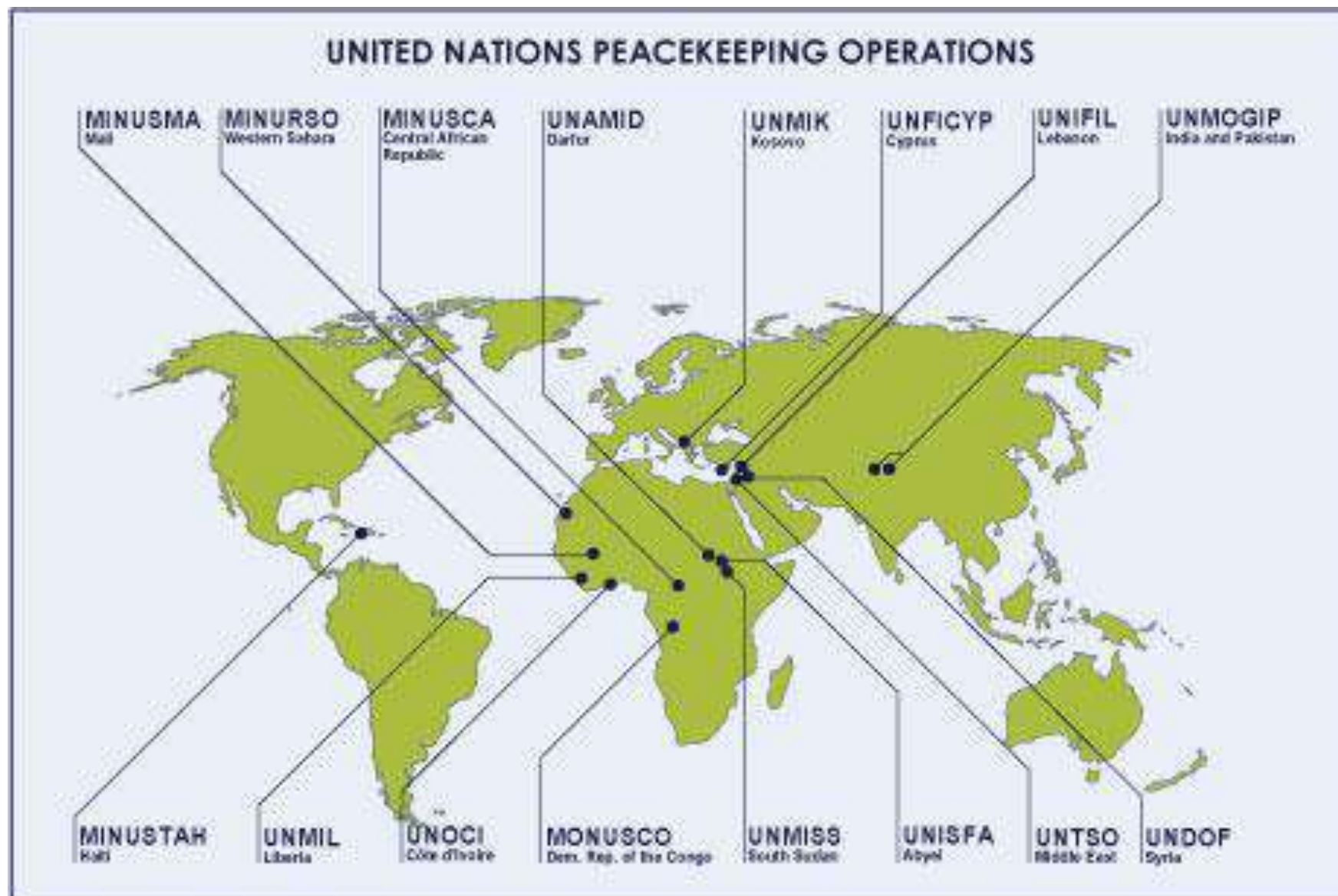
Mounting Global Challenges for the UN

- North Korea
- Rohingya refugees in Myanmar
- Syria and refugees
- IS (Islamic State) and terrorism
- Ukraine
- Middle East peace process
- Peacekeeping operations
- Human rights violation
- Protectionism in trade
- Poverty, widening inequality
- Climate change
- Empowerment of women etc.



Maintaining International Peace and Security

30 June 2017






2005 World Summit Outcome on R2P

adopted by the GA(Resolution 60/1)

**Responsibility of state to protect its population from
genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and
crimes against humanity**



**International community to assist
states to meet obligations**



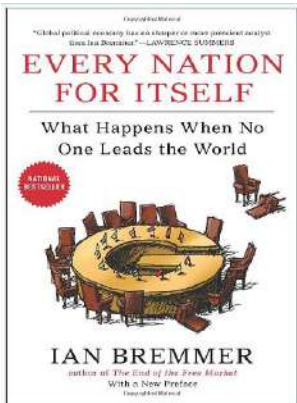
**Responsibility of international
community to respond collectively
in a timely and decisive manner**

The US and the WTO:

The U.S., more than any single country, created the world trading system. The US has never had more riding on the strength of that system. And US leadership is indispensable to the system's success. ...the fiction that there is an alternative to the WTO — or to US leadership — is both naïve and dangerous. Naïve because it fails to recognize that multilateralism has become more — not less — important to advancing US interests. Dangerous because it risks undermining the very objectives the US seeks — freer trade, stronger rules, a more open and secure world economy.

—WTO Director-General SUPACHAI PANITCHPAKDI, 26 February 2004)

4, The Emerging World without a Leader

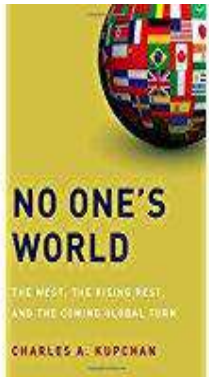


Elites in the West have operated on the ideological conviction that liberal democracy is the only legitimate form of government and that other forms of government are not only illegitimate but transitory.

The West is losing not only its material primacy as new powers rise, but also its ideological dominance.

The emerging landscape is one in which power is diffusing and politics diversifying, not one in which all countries are converging toward the Western way.

It is doubtful that any country, region, or model will dominate their next world. **The twenty-first century will not be America's, China's, Asia's, or anyone else's; it will belong to no one.**



(Charles A. Kupchan, No One's Land – the West, the rising rest, and the coming global turn, 2012)

“The rise and fall of American leadership” by Martin Wolf, the Financial Times, May 31, 2017

“ The western alliance is still the world’s biggest economic bloc and largest repository of scientific and business knowledge. But it is disintegrating. As Angela Merkel admitted, Europe can no longer rely on the US.

“ The west may not be dead. But as a set of countries with shared interests and values, it is moribund. This looks like the end of the US-led world order.

“Disgraceful exit from Paris Pact” NYTimes, June3-4, 2017

Mr. Trump’s policies — the latest of which was his decision to withdraw from the 2015 Paris agreement on climate change — have dismayed America’s allies, defied the wishes of much of the American business community he pretends to help, threatened America’s competitiveness as well as job growth in crucial industries and squandered what was left of America’s claim to leadership on an issue of global importance..

The Choice for Japan and Other Countries

- Tacitly support the U.S. pursuing the “America first” policies;
- Leave the U.S. alone;
- Critically advise the U.S. to play a global role again;
- Build its own strength in security and other areas;
- Build a coalition or alliance with other countries.

Forget sanctions, reining in North Korea will need a whole new approach, February 13, 2017; Updated April 4, 2017

By Lully Miura, Lecturer at Policy Alternatives Research Institute, University of Tokyo

- **Developing nuclear capabilities has long been a taboo both in Japan and South Korea, but it is steadily gathering acceptance and momentum.**
- **These capabilities will be necessary to serve as deterrents on their own right. But, more importantly, they may draw out meaningful action from the US.**
- **Before his election, Trump criticized the US' Northeast Asian allies as “free riders”. The introduction of more hawkish policies towards North Korea from Seoul and Tokyo may regain the confidence of the US and its public.**
- **It's time to move past false promises and programs. What's needed now are not new sanctions but a whole new approach.**

“It’s time to protect the liberal international order”,
by Yoichi Funabashi, July 9, 2017

Japan could treat the new American absence as a historic opportunity to pursue a proactive Asian foreign policy. Rooting the Asian regional order in the principles of liberal international order will be vital to the establishment of long-term strategies for Japan’s trade, national security and its approach to the regional order.

Now is not the time for Japan to compete with China, but to develop a long-term vision for engaging with China. There should be areas in which Japan can cooperate with China for regional development in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan must couple these cooperative efforts with power-balancing measures. What is needed for Japan is a broad-minded and dogged form of diplomacy.