国際問題 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS No. 728, December 2025

Focus: Legal Challenges Surrounding Economic Security (Summary)

Essay: Legal Regulation of "Economic Security" and Its Challenges

Hironobu Sakai (Professor, Faculty of Law, Waseda University)

The Second Trump Administration's reciprocal tariff policy in 2025 has refocused attention on "economic security" — the convergence of economy and security. The United States has tightened import restrictions under such laws as the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) and Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act, for reasons of national security. The push to establish domestic laws pertaining to "economic security" has spread to China, the EU, Japan and other countries that have developed legal frameworks aimed at securing supplies of strategic materials, preventing technology leakage, and protecting critical infrastructure. These measures reflect a common trend of "weaponizing" economies, manifesting internally as industrial policies protecting domestic industries and externally as trade policies involving export controls and foreign investment regulations. However, the extent to which measures invoking "economic security" are permissible within existing legal frameworks remains contentious, though, and it is unclear whether security exceptions under international law can adequately regulate modern "economic security"-related issues. It is therefore essential to curb the arbitrary application of "economic security" by nations and instead to affirm the rule of law within both domestic and international legal systems.

1 The Significance of the Security Exception: Considering the Position of GATT/WTO Within the International Legal Order

Kazumochi Kometani (Attorney at Law, Nishimura & Asahi (Gaikokuho Kyodo Jigyo); Lecturer, Graduate School of Public Policy, The University of Tokyo; RIETI Consulting Fellow)

The GATT has established multilateral economic interdependence in the pursuit of world peace, rather than merely the pursuit of trade gains based on peacetime assumptions. The Security Exception (Article XXI) serves to place trade relations irrelevant to this primary aim outside the scope of regulation. With respect to the wartime exception (Article XXI(b)(iii)), it is precisely when conflicts intensify that compliance with the GATT rules is needed. Precedents that regard "fundamental changes of circumstances" other than "wartime" as exceptions should be reconsidered; exceptions should be limited to "wartime" between disputing countries or to emergencies equivalent to "wartime" for third countries, such as when one of the disputing countries involved in an armed conflict is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. The military trade exception (Article XXI (b) (ii)) clarifies that military goods are not included within the scope of trade liberalization, based on the premise that they are subject to arms control. Since measures conforming to these specific clauses are outside the scope of regulation, the self-judging language in the chapeau of Article XXI(b), concerning the necessity of protecting "essential security interests," negates the panel's authority to review beyond the applicability of the respective clauses. These proposed interpretative changes re-affirm the fundamental nature of GATT norms within the post-war international legal order providing a starting point for revitalizing the WTO.

2 Is Resistance to Economic Coercion Possible?

An Examination Focused on the EU's Anti-Coercion Instrument (ACI)

Tomofumi Kitamura (Professor, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The University of Tokyo)

The "weaponization of economic dependence" — the practice of using economic measures like trade restrictions to pressure foreign countries that depend on one's products, services, technologies, or markets — has been increasingly employed in recent years. This is done to compel policy changes favorable to the pressuring state, and it is raising concerns worldwide. A striking example is the Trump administration's "reciprocal tariffs" announced in April 2025, which caused global shockwaves. While means of reducing reliance on specific countries are being adopted by many nations as responses against the weaponization of economic dependence, a more proactive and, consequently more controversial response has recently garnered particular attention: the Anti-Coercion Instrument (ACI) introduced by the European Union (EU) at the end of 2023. The ACI allows the EU to impose trade restrictions and other retaliatory measures against a coercive state to deter or halt economic coercion directed at the EU or its member states. Its defining feature is the characterization of these retaliatory measures as countermeasures against a violation of the principle of non-interference. This paper examines the legality of measures taken under the ACI. This examination is conducted from two perspectives: the compliance of the measures with the requirements for countermeasures under general international law and their appraisal under WTO agreements.

3 Economic Security from the Perspective of Administrative Law

Hiroki Harada (Professor, Graduate School of Law, School of Government, Kyoto University)

This paper analyzes economic security, which emerged as a contrasting approach to the post-World War II free trade regime, from the perspective of domestic administrative law. The most important administrative laws in Japan concerning economic security are the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Act ("Foreign Exchange Act") and the Act on the Promotion of Ensuring National Security through Integrated Implementation of Economic Measures ("Economic Security Promotion Act"), both of which are centered on prior notification systems. The Foreign Exchange Act adopted a prior notification system when transitioning from prohibition in principle to freedom in principle for regulating inward direct investment and similar activities. The Economic Security Promotion Act introduces a similar regulatory method for ensuring the stable supply of critical infrastructure services. A prior notification system by its nature lies between a permit system and a notification system, as it presupposes freedom of action while reviewing notification details and rendering adverse dispositions if problems are identified. In practice, however, a prior notification system operates more like a permit system — requiring pledges from investors and monitoring for violations — leaving doubts about its legal justification. Consequently, the establishment of a statutory authorization for administrative contracts (settlement agreements) could be considered as a means of tailoring the details of regulations (pledges) and clearly conferring legal binding force upon them.

4 Significance and Challenges of the Patent Application Non-Disclosure System

Takashi Sakurai (Adviser, Industrial Property Cooperation Center)

In May 2024, Japan put in place a patent application non-disclosure system allowing patent applications for inventions that should not be made public for national security reasons to remain undisclosed for as long as necessary. Japan once had a secret patent system governing military-related inventions but, after abolishing this system in July 1948, it did not establish another for over 70 years. Japan consequently became a rarity within the international community, possessing cutting-edge technological development capabilities yet lacking a secret patent system. Concerns about this situation were eventually raised, leading to the recent creation of a system for non-disclosure of patent applications entirely different from the earlier secret patent system. This new system also stands out from its counterparts in other countries in that it specifically identifies by law the areas of technology to be kept non-public. This article reviews the former secret patent system and similar systems, presents an overview of the new patent application non-disclosure system, and discusses challenges from the perspective of national security.

国際問題 第728号 2025年12月号

編集人 『国際問題』編集委員会

発行人 佐々江 賢一郎

発行所 公益財団法人日本国際問題研究所 (https://www.jiia.or.jp/)

〒100-0013 東京都千代田区霞が関3-8-1 虎ノ門ダイビルイースト3階

電話 03-3503-7263 (出版担当)

- *本誌掲載の各論文は執筆者個人の見解であり、執筆者の所属する機関、また当研究所の意向を代表するものでは ありません。
- *論文・記事の一部分を引用する場合には必ず出所を明記してください。また長文にわたる場合は事前に当研究所 へご連絡ください。

*最近号

24年2月号 焦点:ウクライナ戦争とロシアのゆくえ

24年4月号 焦点:大国化するインドと「グローバル・サウス」

24年6月号 焦点:米国主導の国際秩序変容と地経学

24年8月号 焦点:「人の移動」がもたらす今日的課題 --- 難民・移民

24年12月号 焦点:イスラエル・パレスチナ紛争に見る国際法の課題

24年10月号 焦点:EUはどこに行くのか――欧州議会選挙後の内政と外交

25年2月号 焦点:中国の外交・安全保障政策の現段階

25年4月号 焦点:第2期トランプ政権の幕開け

25年 6 月号 焦点: アフリカを取り巻く課題の現段階

25年8月号 焦点:不透明さを増す朝鮮半島情勢と日韓関係

25年10月号 焦点:液状化するNATO — トランプ2.0 政権下の大西洋同盟

* * *

- ■『国際問題』配本サービス(実費・完全予約制:年6回/3300円、JIIA会員割引有) 配本サービスおよびバックナンバーの購入をご希望の方は、JIIAウェブサイトもしくは上記電話番号にお申し込み ください。
- ■JIIA ウェブサイト『国際問題』読者アンケート(https://www2.jiia.or.jp/ENQ/) 特集・論文に関するご意見・ご感想や、今後の『国際問題』についてのご要望等をご自由にお寄せください。