# Protectionism Policy of The United States under Trump's Administration toward Japan

# Abimata Anriet Iswarajati Grace Lestariana W.

### **Abstract**

This Study aims to find out the reason of protectionism policy of the United States under Trumps administration able to impacts to Japan. In the protectionism that Trump did there are several actions conducted such as withdrawal from TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), a limiting the number of immigrants that entering in the United States and applying Border Tax that taxes on imported products from other countries in order to protect similar product made by local companies. United States-Japan alliance established for a long time. In which both parties depend on each other. Japan depends on the military and economic aspects of the United States and United States is one of the trading partners of Japan in which many goods from Japan enter the United States. In order explain the relation between United States and Japan, this researcher uses the interdependency to prove the relation on military and economy between two parties. Methodology applied in this research is qualitative method by collecting data from various sources such as book, journal and website. The result of this research show the intertwined between US and Japan in military and economy sector

**Keywords:** Protectionism, Trump, United States, Japan, Intertwined

### INTRODUCTION

Protectionism policy is one policy established in Trump Administration after he has been elected as the President of the United States in 2017. In accordance to his campaign "to make America Great Again", Trump wants improve the economics of United States by using Protectionism policy because in 2016 America's deficit reached US \$ 500 billion, so the United States tried to reduce the deficit (Thief Petersen, et al, 2018). Protectionism policy means that government intentionally implements policies with the aim of controlling imports or exports by overcoming various trade barriers, such as tariff quota with the aim of protecting the industry or the domestic business from the competition of foreign industries (Sumadji P., et al, 2006). In Trump Administration, there are several actions conducted such as withdrawal from TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), a limiting the number of immigrants that entering in the United States and applying Border Tax that taxes on imported products from other countries in order to protect similar product made by local companies. Border Tax also intended as a penalty for companies that had factories abroad. Trump also called for a 20% tax on any countries that export goods to the United States (Rogoff, 2017).

Japan's relations with the United States can also worsen if this protectionist policy is conducted to Japan. The relation that has been started since the 1930s and emerged advantages and also challenges between the US and Japan. When seen from the relationship between the two parties, Japan and the US do not only cooperate in the economic sector but also Military. In the military sector, according to the treaty of San Francisco, the agreement at the end of WW II, Japan country is under the supervision of the United States (Takashi, 2013).

Japan criticized the protectionisms policy in overcoming The United States deficits and unilateral actions by the United States would harm Japan. Higher import tariffs will be excluded, but in the Trump era the campaign on the "America first" made protectionist policies increasingly made Japan worried because President Trump may resort to tariffs or other protectionist measures to fix trade imbalances with Japan under his "America first" policy and also warned that it must be vigilant if there are any Sino-U.S. trade frictions could have on the global economy, which would effect on export in which Japan reliant on it (Kajimoto, 2018).

The United States has implemented Protectionism policy to some countries such as China, Canada and Mexico. It can be denied if United States took this policy leads to Japan. It will influence Japan in bad way because The Trump administration's tax reform plan includes the introduction of a 20% border tax on imports and also President Trump signed an executive order to withdrawal the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership. in which, President Trump attacks on individual companies like Toyota also raise concerns about the trade course he intends to chart (Motoshige, 2017). Therefore, this research is to analyze the reason of protectionism policy of the United States under Trumps administration have able impacts to Japan

### METHODS OF RESEARCH

The research uses descriptive writing, in which the delivery of information is conducted by presenting pictures is with certain situations. The source of data used in this thesis is secondary data obtained indirectly from documents or written data, books, journals, and other sources obtained from the internet or printed materials from media. The data collection technique used are a literature study and documentation on how to read and analyze various related literature which can then be applying in this thesis. In this description, the data are presented in the form of tables and narratives. Through the tables and narratives, in this thesis about the reason of the protectionism of the US on the Japanese, especially toward the military

and economic sector. Will be explained clearly and structurally based on the topic of knowledge

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Interdependency is defined as a dependency that results from the types of international transactions such as the flow of money, goods, services, people, communication and others. Interdependency arises when there is a reciprocal effect, although it is not always symmetrical between actors or actors in various countries. In other words, if something happens in country B, then it comes from country A (Paul R. V and Mark V. K., 2012). Thus, interdependency is not only related to goods and services but also the relations between the two countries if the dependence of a country with other countries is functional, the relations between the two countries will also be good, and vice versa. As we know if the trade of some state decrease it can make several countries that experience the deficit have conflict because of this policy.

As one of the allies of the United States, it can not be denied if Japan relation with the US has been established for a long time. In which both parties depend on each other. Japan depends on the military and economic aspects of the US. When Japan did Revitalization of the Japanese Economy in the 1980s, the United States did a direct stake in economy to strengthen Japan because of many American thought that the weakness of Japan economy could be the threat to the US and global prosperity (Kim, 1999). US is one of the trading partners of Japan in which many goods from Japan enter the US, especially Automotive goods and raw materials. Japanese factory outputs fell due to the slowing exports of cars and steel. Steel output also fell because the US imposed tariffs on Japanese imports and other trading partners. This added confirmed that president Donald Trump took a specific step to reduce his trade deficit with Japan. In which according to the trade relations is unfair to the US economy and workers

# RESULT AND ANALYSES (Research Articles) / ANALYSES (Opinion Articles)

### A. United States and Japan Security Alliance

The history of United States and Japan alliance was started when Japan's defeat to the US on August 15, 1945 which also marked the end of World War II. Japan signed a security agreement with the US-Japan Security Treaty on September 8, 1951. Whereas, Japan's national

security have been guaranteed and under the control of the United States military. This agreement allows the United States to maintain Japan's domestic security and this alliance has become a strong security partnership and a pillar for regional stability. After signing the U.S-Japan Security Treaty, the Mutual Security Pact was formed in 1952, the alliance was later updated to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (1960), where Japan agreed to provide U.S. forces with basing rights on its territory in exchange for the provision of security against external threats (John Allen and Benjamin Sugg, 2016).

The alliance is majority non-mutual, which means that Japan was legally unable to provide defense capabilities for the United States if being attacked, but new guidelines for security agreements under the administration of Shinzo Abe and Barack Obama had been made. This new guideline allowed Japan to be present in the defense of other countries, even with certain legal restrictions in mind, including the requirement for approval by the Japanese diet (Dell'Era, 2016). The Japanese government had also conducted various overseas operations that directly contributed to U.S. operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. These included a long-term naval refueling mission in the Indian Ocean supporting U.S. operations in Afghanistan (Chanlett, 2016)

This alliance continued to grow stronger. Both countries had increased bilateral communication and coordination, and increased attention to Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), and Cyber Security. BMD under the alliance of Japan and the United States produced several benefits. In Cyber security the two governments will also share relevant information quickly and precisely. If there are cyber incidents that affect Japanese security, the two governments will take cooperative action and consult closely to respond to threat (Ministry of Defense, 2015). The bilateral Joint Operations Command Center in Yokota Air Base was a clear example of the extent of integration where both parties shared information to improve identification, target search and signal interceptors. In addition, the United States and Japan had participated in various multilateral exercises with other partner countries in the region, including Australia and the Philippines (John Allen and Benjamin Sugg, 2016).

The Japan-United States Alliance has experienced several geopolitical transitions, and experienced various dynamics. This partnership received political challenges in the 2000s due to the softening of US policy towards North Korea by the George W. Bush Administration, which disappointed Japan, and the cessation of the relocation of defense bases. From 2007 to

2012, unstable leadership and political paralysis in Tokyo slowed down several bilateral security cooperation measures, but finally the turmoil that engulfed Japanese politics was seen to have strengthened Japan's commitment to this alliance. In the end, both the left-wing party Democratic Party Japan (DPJ) and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) reaffirmed the centrality of the partnership with the United States. The revision of the Defense Guidelines, which provide a framework for bilateral defense cooperation in 2015, shows how strong this alliance is and this revision contains a goal in increasing future cooperation (Chanlett, 2016).

This alliance contained a broad and strategic agreement, but the two countries still faced several obstacles in increasing the alliance. For example, the fiscal conditions that have caused an emphasis on the defense budget and Japanese people who feel pressured by the presence of US forces, especially in Okinawa. Although Prime Minister Abe encouraged to improve Japan's security capabilities, there were still doubts as to whether Japanese people wanted to shift post-Cold War military posture to Japan to become more active (CNN, 2019)

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe ordered the Japanese Ministry of Defense at the end of 2012 to update or revise the cooperation framework in the New Guidelines for Japan-U.S Defense Cooperation. For the first time, the renewal of this guideline was initiated by the Japanese Government since the Guidelines were formed, namely in 1997. The two parties ratified the new Guidelines on April 27,2015. The Guidelines renewed the framework of cooperation in general and the direction of policy for the mission and role of the two countries and specifically emphasize security and defense cooperation but the goals and objectives of the Guidelines maintain and are in line with the 1997 Guidelines. The new guidelines explain the development of military technology, increased interoperability of Japanese and US military, and complex security threats in the 21st century. For example, the revision discussed bilateral cooperation on cyberspace security, use of air for defense purposes, and ballistic missile defense, which were not mentioned in the 1997 Guidelines (Chanlett, 2017).

Shinzo Abe has readjusted constitutional interpretation to enable the implementation of self-defense collective rights, developed a package of security laws that provide a legal framework for new interpretations, increased Japan's defense budget, untied arms export ban regulations, and established the National Security Council. The National Security Council aims to facilitate decision making on foreign policy, forming a draft law that allows sharing intelligence information with the United States (Storch, 2016).

The United States-Japan alliance is a guranteer of Japanese security. Likewise for the United States, the alliance has connected networks of alliances with countries in the Asian region. In this context, the Japan-United States alliance has become a strategic basis for the United States in playing its role in the Asia Pacific region. The alliance relationship is supported by a variety of factors including the similarity of strategic interests and universal values such as freedom, democracy, respect for the basic human rights, and the rule of law. Furthermore, the importance of geostrategic Japan in supporting the involvement of the United States in the region became a basis for the alliance. Therefore, as the fundamentals of the allies of the two countries are so close, the two countries cooperate in a variety of sectors and levels including at high-level meetings, and at the ranks of ministries. The two countries not only talked about bilateral, but also the situation of the Asia Pacific region.

In bilateral relation, Japan contributed financially and in the non-military and US fields to contribute militarily. Japan's dependence on United States, Japan in fulfilling defense equipment needs, namely through the purchase of defense equipment produced by the United States. Japan has become a major buyer and has more defense equipment compared to other United States alliances. In the development Japan has produced several more sophisticated defense equipment systems prepared by companies from the United States (Yoda, 2006). On the other hand, from military technology used to make Japanese warplanes, in the manufacture of these aircraft the technology used is protected by United States, where if there is damage the right to repair is a technician from the United States. Japan may not imitate, improve and even make military technology for itself without the approval of the United States.

Japan has more defense equipment compared to other United States alliance countries. Japan has also produced several defense systems with advanced systems, such as the F-15fighter aircraft, and other equipment prepared by US companies. Furthermore, some defense equipment is the production of cooperation between Japan and the US where Japan is the coproducer. While FSX is a product that starts using its own Japanese technology (indigenous systems). The Patriot is the first air-defense missile system owned by the US. For Japan, The Patriot is the answer to the weakness of its air defense and its need for technology. The F-15 is a growing form of US-Japan cooperation due to its increasingly sophisticated technological equipments.

The election of Donald Trump in 2016 create the fears that the expansion of the alliance could slow. As a candidate, Trump questioned the value of U.S. alliances and criticized Japan saying that it failed to compensate the United States for protection. Trump argues that Japan has to pay more Host-Nation Support facing a lack of U.S. defense commitment. In response, Japanese officials maintained a Host-Nation Support system that had been negotiated and renegotiated for years. Host-Nation Support is One component of Japan's contribution with Japanese government payments of nearly \$ 2 billion per year to offset the costs of placing U.S. forces in Japan. All of these contributions are given in the form of goods such as fuel, barracks, etc. Japanese host country support consists of two funding sources: The Special Action Agreement (SMA) and the Facility Improvement Program (FIP). Each SMA is a bilateral agreement, generally covering five years, which requires Japan to pay a certain amount of utility and labor costs from the US base and to move training exercises far from populated areas (Chanlett, 2019).

In early 2018, when the Trump Administration abruptly adjusted course and pursued negotiations with North Korea, many in Tokyo grew concerned about the possible marginalization of Japan's interests. In addition to Korean peninsula dynamics, the return of trade frictions to the forefront of the U.S.-Japan relationship since 2017 has raised concerns that the alliance could face challenges in the years ahead. However, The leaders of Japan and the United States emphasize the importance of the two countries' in summit talks in Tokyo on May 27, 2019. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe during the beginning of talks with US President Donald Trump hope this visit by them something befitting the opening of a new era, Reiwa. Trump wants to make this an opportunity to clearly demonstrate that the bonds of the Japan-US alliance continue to be firm in the Reiwa era (Xinhua, 2019). The two leaders shared the view that the Japan-U.S. Alliance is stronger than ever before and is now the closest alliance in the world, thanks to the recent measures to strengthen the Alliance including Japan's Legislation for Peace and Security as well as the strong personal relationship between the two leaders. The two leaders also confirmed their determination to continue to further strengthen the unwavering bond between Japan and the U.S. and to lead the peace and prosperity of the region and international community as true global partners in the new era (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2019).

### **B.** The Relationship in Economic Sector

The United States and Japan are two of the world's largest economic powers their economies are deeply intertwined through trade and investment. This deep economic integration has been an extraordinarily positive force for job creation, wage growth, innovation, and enhanced prosperity for both countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2015)

US and Japan account for over 30% of world domestic product, for a significant portion of international trade in goods and services, and for a major portion of international investment. This economic clout makes the United States and Japan potentially powerful actors in the world economy. Economic conditions in the United States and Japan have a significant impact on the rest of the world (Cooper, 2016). The U.S.-Japan bilateral economic relationship based on enormous flows of trade, investment, and finance is strong, mature, and increasingly interdependent. Further, it is firmly rooted in the shared interest and responsibility of the United States and Japan to promote global growth, open markets, and a vital world trading system. In addition to bilateral economic ties, the U.S. and Japan cooperate closely in multilateral fora such as the WTO, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, and regionally in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) (International Business Publication, 2015).

Table 1 Top Five United States Trading Partners in 2018 (Billion)

No	Country	Exports	Imports	Total Trade
1	China	\$ 120.3	\$ 539.5	\$ 659.8
2	Canada	\$ 298.7	\$ 318.5	\$617.2
3	Mexico	\$ 265	\$ 346.5	\$ 611.5
4	Japan	\$ 75	\$ 142.6	\$ 217.6
5	Germany	\$ 57.7	\$ 125.9	\$ 183.6

(Source: United States Census Bureau)

Through the table above, it can be seen that Japan occupies the fourth position of U.S. trading partners with export reaching \$ 75 billion and Import \$ 142.6 billion with total trade reaching \$ 217.6 billion. Futhermore. In the first position is China with a total trade of \$ 659.8 billion. Canada was in second place with total trade reaching \$ 617.2. Third place is Mexico

with a total trade of \$ 611.5 billion and The fifth place is Germany with the total trade is \$ 183.6 billion (United States Census Bureau, 2018).

From the table it also can be seen that in 2018 US still deficit to Japan that happen because the value of imports from japan is higher than the value of exports. U.S. economic policy toward Japan seeks to address this trade deficit through free, fair, and reciprocal trade. In particular, the United States aims to expand access to Japan's markets, increase two-way investment, stimulate domestic demand-led economic growth, improve the climate for U.S. investors, raise the standard of living in both countries, and promote economic restructuring (Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2019). In the trading relation between US and Japan, there are some commidity that dominate the export and import of both countries that can be seen through this table

Although hiighest export commodity of United States is mineral fuels, the total exports are not as much as imported from the United States to Japan. This is because many US citizens use products from Japan, one of them is vehicles that dominate by car. The vehicle Industry become the top import commodity of United states from Japan. The top import categories in 2018 were vehicles (\$52 billion), machinery (\$33 billion), electrical machinery (\$18 billion), optical and medical instruments (\$7.2 billion), and aircraft (\$4.1 billion).

In the investment sector, began due to US concerns over the Japanese economy around the 1970s, with the support of lower-skilled skilled labor, as well as imported machinery and technology, Japanese companies are slowly starting to produce goods that make Japan the largest exporter in the US, starting from the Honda Motor automotive factory in Ohio, Japanese automotive factories began to integrate into the economy and society throughout the US, through this directly and indirectly created 1.5 million jobs in the US (The Government of Japan, 2019)

Over the last two decades Japan has been one of the biggest foreign investors in the U.S., its biggest buyer of government debt, the top job-creator in the local automotive sector outside of American brands, and a key ally in energy (both fossil, renewable, and nuclear. Furthermore, according to data from USTR, US direct investment in Japan in the form of stock reached \$ 129.06 billion in 2017. The investment came from finance, insurance, manufacturing and information services. Whereas Japanese FDI in the United States in the form of stock reached \$ 469 billion in 2017. Japanese Direct Investment in the United States is the same as

the United States which comes from finance and others (Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2018).

The economic relations between Japan and U.S relationship reveal the substantial trade and investment flows. while, the deficit trade Japan and US is the third-largest one in the world, and to resolve this trade deficit by through of free, fair, and reciprocal trade as U.S economic policy. Otherwise, U.S wants to expand access to Japan's markets, increase two-way investment, stimulate domestic demand-led economic growth, improve the climate for U.S. investors, promote economic restructuring, and raise the standard of living in both countries (Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2018).

Close trade and security ties binding on the US and Japan in a network of interdependence. The alliance serves mutual interests through an asymmetrical arrangement in which the U.S. guarantees Japanese defense and gains a strategic position in East Asia with U.S. troops based or home-ported in Japan. In return, Japan subsidizes the U.S. troop presence and receives a security guarantee without raising the worries of neighboring countries about possible Japanese rearmament. Since the 1980s, however, several problems have troubled the alliance. U.S. support for the current security arrangements remains strong, although it requests greater burden-sharing from Japan. The U.S. contends that the alliance creates stability in East Asia amid uncertainties about Chinese military buildup and possible crisis in North Korea. Moreover, Japanese subsidies make it cheaper to station troops in Japan than at home (Davis, 1997).

In addition, Japan's other dependence on the United States is that the United States has always been a determinant of Japan's move to determine policies for Japanese defense and security. In accordance with the Japan-US Security Treaty article three, it was explained that the two countries must work together to defend and develop their constitutional provisions. Furthermore, most Japanese people view that the alliance with the United States is important, it is not only intended for Japanese defense interests, but also for regional and international peace and stability (Irsan, 2007). Therefore, to catch up with neighboring countries such as China and North Korea, the only way out to stabilize Japan defense forces must be dependence on the United States as a country that has great military power

The election of Donald Trump as president of the United States has presented a new challenge for US and Japanese cooperation. During his campaign, Trump often expressed his dissatisfaction with the U.S. alliance, questioning their strategic and economic values to the

United States, and emphasizing their costs to the average US citizen. But it was his actions as president of trade policy which had introduced the biggest uncertainty into US-Japan relations. A few days after taking office, Trump fulfilled the promise of his campaign and attracted the United States from the TPP (Funabash, 2018).

Trump administration's decision to withdraw from TPP removed a pillar of U.S. policy toward the Asia-Pacific region and introduced an element of uncertainty in the bilateral economic relationship and more broadly, the future of the regional trade. The U.S. approach to favor bilateral over multilateral trade arrangements appears out of step with the prevailing trends in Asia. To address these concerns, Prime Minster Abe and President Trump emphasized in their Summit Joint Statement in February 2017 that the United States and Japan remained fully committed to strengthening economic relations between their two countries and across the region, based on the rules for free trade and justice. This will include setting high trade and investment standards, reducing market barriers and enhancing opportunities for economic and job growth in the Asia-Pacific (Matake, 2018).

Despite being in a period of tension in US and Japan relations, these pressures and uncertainties have not changed the underlying strong forces that drive strategic convergence between US and Japan. This long-lasting power provides many reasons to be optimistic about the long-term prospects of the US-Japan alliance and economic cooperation, especially in the Indo-Pacific region. the United States has three main interests in the Indo-Pacific region: protecting the security of the United States and its allies, expanding trade and economic opportunities, and supporting the norms of universal democracy. This is in line with Japanese interests. Over the past 70 years, Japan has grown into a developed market economy, with a large stock of unique intellectual property, significant direct investment abroad, and deepening of shared values with the United States. In the end, long-standing strategic and economic interests will likely encourage U.S. administration. to pursue an active economic agenda in the Indo-Pacific region. Japan is a natural partner in this effort (Funabash, 2018).

## **CONCLUSION**

The interdependency between United States and Japan can show by The intertwined between United States and Japan. First is in security alliance and the second is the economy relationship. In the security alliance United States and Japan alliance was started when Japan's defeat to the US on August 15, 1945 which also marked the end of World War II. Japan signed a security agreement with the US-Japan Security Treaty on September 8, 1951 which signifies the formation of an alliance between the two countries. This agreement allows the United States

to maintain Japan's domestic security and this alliance has become a strong security partnership and a pillar for regional stability. The agreement has been revise the cooperation framework in the New Guidelines for Japan-U.S Defense Cooperation (Guidelines). The alliance relationship is supported by a variety of factors including the similarity of strategic interests and universal values such as freedom, democracy, respect for the basic human rights, and the rule of law.

United States and Japan are closer partners in economic terms. In economic relationship between United States and Japan are two of the world's largest economic powers their economies are deeply intertwined through trade and investment. This deep economic integration has been an extraordinarily positive force for job creation, wage growth, innovation, and enhanced prosperity for both countries. The U.S.-Japan bilateral economic relationship based on enormous flows of trade, investment, and finance is strong, mature, and increasingly interdependent responsibility of the United States and Japan to promote global growth, open markets, and a vital world trading system.

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