

## REFERENCES

### Books

- Afadlal, Mariana, A. F., Inayati, R. S., Akbar, R. T., & Sungkar, & Y. (2011). *Ekonomi Politik Kemitraan ASEAN: Sebuah Potret Kerja sama*. (R. T. Akbar, Ed.) Celeban Timur, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar.
- Bardes, B. A., Mack C. Shelley, I., & Schmidt, & S. (2008). *American Government and Politics Today, 2007-08*. Natorp Boulevard, Ohio, USA: Cengage Learning.
- Budiardjo, M. (1977). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Dixon, H. D. (2001). *Surfing Economics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan Publishing.
- Hook, G. D., Gilson, J., Dobson, H., & Hughes, C. W. (2001). *Japan's International Relations : Politics, Economy and Security*. London: Routledge Publishing.
- Kauppi, P. R. (2012). *International Relations Theory* (fifth ed.). Lake Ave, Glenview, IL, USA: Pearson Education.
- Mas'oeed, M. (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Mochizuki, M., Berger, T. U., & Tsuchiyama, & J. (2007). *Japan in International Politics: The Foreign Policies of An Adaptive State*. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1985). *POLITICS AMONG NATIONS: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: McGraw Hill. Inc.

- Morgenthau, H. J., & Thompson, K. W. (1985). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (sixth ed.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Morgenthau, H. J., Thompson, K. W., & Clinton, W. D. (2005). *POLITICS AMONG NATIONS: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (Seventh ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Plano, J. C., & Olton, R. (1999). *Kamus Hubungan Internasional*. (Wawan, Ed., & D. W. Juanda, Trans.) Bandung: CV Putra A. Bardin.
- Sugai, H. (2016). *Japan's Future Defense Equipment Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence: Brookings Institution.

#### **Online Source (Website)**

- BBC NEWS*. (2014, April 1). Retrieved from Japan to relax arms export ban: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-26830504>
- Cabinet Secretariat*. (2013, 12 17). Retrieved 4 20, 2019, from National Security Strategy: <http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryuu/131217anzenhoshou/ns-s-e.pdf>
- Cabinet, P. M. (1946, 11 3). *The Constitution of Japan*. Retrieved April 18, 2019, from Chapter II : RENUNCIATION OF WAR (Article 9): [https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution\\_and\\_government\\_of\\_japan/constitution\\_e.html](https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html)
- Cost for the Stationing USFJ, Japanese Share is 86%, Ministry of Defense Calculations*. (2017, 1 31). Retrieved from Japan Times: [https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXLASFS26H64\\_W7A120C1PP8000](https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXLASFS26H64_W7A120C1PP8000)

- Defense, J. M. (1978, 11 23). *The Guidelines For Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation (November 27, 1978)*. Retrieved 10 30, 2019, from Japan Defense Focus:  
[http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/anpo/19781127.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo/19781127.html)
- Defense, J. M. (1997, 9 23). *The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation (1997.9.23)*. Retrieved from Japan Ministry of Defense:  
[https://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/anpo/19970923.html](https://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo/19970923.html)
- Defense, J. M. (2015, 4 27). *The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation*. Retrieved 12 19, 2019, from Japan Defense Focus:  
[http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/anpo.shishin\\_20150427e.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo.shishin_20150427e.html)
- Delaney, R. (2017, 8 16). *Let Japan Develop Nuclear Weapons to Lessen North Korea Threat, former US Navy Commander Says*. Retrieved from South China Morning Post:  
<https://www.google.co.id/amp/s/amp.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defense/article/2106952/let-japan-develop-nuclear-weapons-lessen-north-korea>
- Fackler, M. (2014, April 1). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from Japan Ends Decades-Long Ban on Export of Weapons:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/world/asia/japan-ends-half-century-ban-on-weapons-exports.html>
- Grevatt, J. (2019, 1 20). *Japan Steps Back from F-35 Assembly*. Retrieved 12 24, 2019, from Jane's Defence Industry: <https://www.janes.com/article/85838/japan-steps-back-f-35-assembly>
- Hirose, T. (2014, 10 14). *Japan's New Arms Export Principles: Strengthening U.S.-Japan Relations*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from CSIS:

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/japan-s-new-arms-export-principles-strengthening-us-japan-relations>

Japan, M. o. (2019, 2 17). *Japan's Security / Peace & Stability of the International Community*. Retrieved from Japan's Security Policy:  
<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/security/index.html>

Katsuya Okada, T. K. (2010, 1 19). *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Retrieved from JOINT STATEMENT Of The U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Signing of The U.S.-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/joint1001.html>

Maizland, L., & Xu, & B. (2019, 8 22). *The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance*. Retrieved 12 16, 2019, from Council on Foreign Relations:  
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-japan-security-alliance>

Maizland, L., & Xu, B. (2019, 8 22). *The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance*. Retrieved 10 11, 2019, from Council on Foreign Relations:  
<https://www.cfr.org/background/us-japan-security-alliance>

McBride, J., & Chatzky, A. (2014, 1 4). *What is The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)*. Retrieved 12 9, 2019, from Council on Foreign Relations:  
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-trans-pacific-partnership-tpp>

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. (2018, 8 8). Retrieved 4 20, 2019, from Fourth Conference of States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty:  
[https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press1e\\_000079.html](https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press1e_000079.html)

- NEWS, B. (2013, 12 17). *Japan Boosts Military Forces to Counter China*. Retrieved 9 20, 2019, from BBC NEWS: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25411653>
- Platform, J. C. (2014, 10 14). *Japan's New Arms Export Principles: Strengthening U.S.-Japan Relations*. Retrieved 10 11, 2019, from Centre for Strategic & International Studies: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/japan's-new-arms-export-principles-strengthening-us-japan-relations>
- Pollmann, M. (2015, 1 15). *Japan's First Steps Into the World of Arms*. Retrieved 9 21, 2019, from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2015/01/japans-first-steps-into-the-world-of-arms-exports/>
- State, U. S. (n.d.). *Occupation and Reconstruction of Japan, 1945–52*. Retrieved 12 7, 2019, from OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/japan-reconstruction>
- Tatsumi, Y. (2015, 4 29). *4 Takeaways From the New US-Japan Defense Guidelines*. Retrieved 12 19, 2019, from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2015/04/4/4/takeaways-from-the-new-us-japan-defense-guidelines/>
- TIV of Arms Exports from Japan, 2014-2018*. (2019, 12 25). Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export\\_values.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php)
- TIV of Arms Exports from United States, 2010-2018*. (2019, 12 25). Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute:

[https://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export\\_value.php](https://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_value.php)

- TIV of Arms Exports to Japan, 2010-2018*. (2019, 12 25). Retrieved from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute:  
[http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export\\_value](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_value)
- Tsuneo, A. (2000). U.S Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era : Ambiguous Adjustment to a Changing Strategic Environment . In & P. Inoguchi Takashi, *Japanese Foreign Policy Today* (pp. 177-193). New York: Palgrave Publishing.
- UNODA. (2013, 4 2). Retrieved from The Arms Trade Treaty:  
<https://un.org/disarmament/convarms/att/>
- Wu, W. (2018, 4 16). *Why China's US Trade Stand-Off is not A Reply of Japan's in the 1980s*. Retrieved 12 9, 2019, from South China Morning Post:  
<https://www.google.co.id/amp/s/amp.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defense/article/2141824/why-chinas-us-trade-stand-not-replay-japans-1980s>
- Wyne, A. (2015, 6 5). *The Balance of Power Between the U.S. and China*. Retrieved from The Washington Post:  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-us-china-rivalry/2015/06/05/6bc7ffb0-e456-11e4-81ea-0649268f729e\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-us-china-rivalry/2015/06/05/6bc7ffb0-e456-11e4-81ea-0649268f729e_story.html)
- Yamaguchi, M. (2017, 6 12). *Japan Seeks to Expand Arms Deals With Southeast Asia*. Retrieved 9 20, 2019, from World Politics Review:  
<https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/22425/japan-seeks-to-expand-arms-deals-with-southeast-asia>

## **E-Journals**

- Chanlett-Avery, E., Campbell, C., & Williams, & J. (2019, 6 13). The U.S.-Japan Alliance. *Congressional Research Service*, 5. Retrieved 12 9, 2019, from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33740.PDF>
- Chanlett-Avery, E., Campbell, C., & Williams, & J. (2019, 6 13). The U.S.-Japan Alliance. *Congressional Research Service*, 37.
- Chanlett-Avery, E., Campbell, C., & Williams, & J. (2019, 6 13). The U.S.-Japan Alliance. *Congressional Research Service*, 22. Retrieved 12 24, 2019
- Green, M. (2000). The Challenges of Managing U.S.-Japan Security Relations after the Cold War. (G. L. Curtis, Ed.) *New Perspectives on U.S.-Japan Relations*, 241-264.
- Hughes, C. (2017). Japan's emerging arms transfer strategy: diversifying to re-centre on the US–Japan alliance. *The Pacific Review*, 1.
- Hughes, C. (2017). Japan's emerging arms transfer strategy: diversifying to re-centre on the US–Japan alliance. 1-2.
- Jitsuo, T. (2000). Ironies in Japanese Defense and Disarmament Policy. In & P. Inoguchi Takashi, *Japanese Foreign Policy Today* (pp. 136-151). New York: Palgrave Publishing.
- Levine, P., & Smith, R. (2000). Arms Export Controls and Proliferation. *Department of Economics University of Survey*, 885.
- Miere, C. L. (2013). Rebalancing the Burden in East Asia. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 31-41.