

**THE UNITED STATES' INTEREST ON
THE NEW GUIDELINES FOR JAPAN-U.S. DEFENSE COOPERATION IN 2015**

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Abstract

Since 1978, The United States and Japan had 'Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation'. The 1978 Guidelines focused on Japan's self-defense. The collapse of the Soviet Union made strong the U.S.-Japan relationship. The 1978 Guidelines were revised in 1997. The United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for the Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015 because the United States wanted to strengthen the alliance, prepare Japan with increased Japan's arms defense to balance the power, the rise of China and development of nuclear and missile North Korea, and cut the cost of the U.S. defense development. The main purpose of this study was to find out and describe the reasons of the United States decide to create 'The New Guidelines for the Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015. This research was a casual explanation research. It explained the cause of the phenomenon which will be observed. The research method used the qualitative method which used the content analysis toward some books, e-journal, document, and news.

Keywords: The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, armed-transfer, United States, Japan, national interest, balance of power

Background

The United States started to build strong relationship to Japan with establishment the 'Guidelines on Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' on November 21, 1978. In 1969, the Prime Minister Sato Eisaku stated that Japan and the United States negotiated 'The New Guidelines on Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' after the end of the Vietnam War. The United States tried to focus on the contingencies in Korean Peninsula and Taiwan. The direct threat of the Soviet Union toward East Asia since 1970 to 1980 made the United States focused on the fact of regional defense planning. The 1978 guidelines focused for deterring aggression, actions in response to an armed attack against Japan, and the U.S.-Japan cooperation in the case of situations in the FarEast outside of Japan which will have an important influence on the security of Japan. (Defense, The Guidelines For Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation (November 27, 1978), 1978) The 1978 Guidelines only focused on defense cooperation. The 1978 guidelines referred to the policy of the United States toward Japan for total ban on arms export. Japan only used military only for self-defense. In 1980s, the Japanese defense budget was increased. The defense budget is in the average of 6%. The U.S.-Japan forces increased joint training and exercise. The United States and Japan shared the roles and mission. Japanese forces became shield and the United States forces became spear. (Green, 2000)

Clinton and Hashimoto Ryutaro agreed to review the 1978 guidelines on April, 1996. The United States and Japan had 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 1997. The 1997 guidelines had seven important parts. The first was 'the aim of the guidelines'. The aim of the old guidelines in 1978 was strengthening the U.S.-Japan cooperation under the normal circumstance. The second was the basic principles and premises. The third was cooperation under normal circumstances. The United States had the responsibility to preserve its nuclear deterrent power, its direct deployed forces to the Asia-Pacific region. The fourth was the response action to an armed attack against Japan. The United States and Japanese government would intensify information and intelligence sharing and policy consultation. The

fifth was about cooperation in situations in areas surrounding Japan that would have an important influence on Japan's peace and security (situations in areas surrounding Japan). The sixth was about bilateral programs for effective defense cooperation under the guidelines. The United States and Japanese governments would improve their bilateral planning in the comprehensive mechanism. The last principle in the guidelines was about timely and appropriate review of the guidelines. The both governments would review and change the guidelines base on the United State-Japan relationship. (Defense, 1997)

The United States increased its relationship toward Japan. It was proven on April, 1st 2014, Shinzo Abe announced that Japan left ban on arms export. It means Japan will come back to be strong state in Asia-Pacific. The announcement of Shinzo Abe got a lot of responds from other states. One respond came from People's Republic of China. People's Republic of China criticized the outline of Japan's defense policy. (NEWS, 2013) People's Republic of China (PRC) thought that the Japanese decision left ban on arms export will never make stability in Asia, but it will make new problem in Asia. On April, 1st 2014, Japan also adopted the implementation guidelines for the Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology. The decision of Japan was inseparable of United States agreement to let Japan develop its capability in defense development. The decision of Japan made international communities including People's Republic of China and North Korea confused of the decision from the United States gave permission to Japan on defense development. While, in the U.S.-Japan history was so sensitive about defense. The United States disabled Japanese defense.

Theoretical Framework

Mohtar Mas'ood in his book *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi* stated that concept is an abstraction which represents the object, characteristic of object, or phenomenon. He stated that the concept is a word to represent the idea in social science. This research used two concepts of national interest and balance of power to analyze the purpose of

the United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for the Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015. Balance of power becomes a reason of the U.S. security interest.

1. National Interest

Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton stated that national interest is the fundamental purpose and also the important factors to determine the foreign policy, national interest also means general conception and an element which becomes a vital requirement for the state including the survival of nation and state, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic prosperity. (Plano & Olton, 1999) The concept of national interest has five general categories which become the purpose of state. The first is preservation, the right of survive which the state has right to self-defense from any threats which disturb the stability of state. The second is independence, state has right to be independence and has right to not obey other countries. The third is territorial integrity, state has the right to maintain territorial integrity. The last is military security, there is not military interference from other states; and (5) economic wellbeing, it is also called economic prosperity, the government has to guarantee economic stability to create economic prosperity for state.

The general explanation of the national interest is a purpose of the state to be achieved with concerning the needs of that state with the aspired aspects. In this case, the relative equal and fixed the national interests of all countries are its security (covering the survival and needs of nation and state) and welfare. The simple definition of national interest is goal of state. The national interest of state can be seen from internal condition, such as politics, economic, military, and social-culture conditions. The security and economic interests created a new foreign policy of the United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperatio' in 2015. The security interest reasons of the United States were strengthened alliance coordinator, increased Japan's arms defense to balance of power the rise-up of China and the development nuclear and missile North Korea. The economic interest of the United States was cutting cost on the U.S. defense development. Japanese companies would

supply components or parts to the U.S. Companies, and they will assemble and export them to Japan and the security partners of both countries. (Platform, 2014)

2. **Balance of Power**

The concept balance of power comes from two words which are balance and power. The concept of equilibrium is a synonym of balance which means stability within the system composed with number of autonomous forces. (Morgenthau & Thompson, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 1985) Balance means stability of system due to the existence several composition forces in which the sum or of the forces would resulted to be zero such as the balance of supply and demand in economics. (Dixon, 2001) Power means the ability of person or a group to make other groups or actor to do something according the holder of power. (Budiardjo, 1977) Hans J. Morgenthau stated that international politics likes all politics, is a struggle for power. (Kauppi, 2012) Power is essential and important to states.

Balance of power is a policy of forming defensive alliances to prevent coalition from having a dominant position. (Mas'oed, 1990) Hans J. Morgenthau also state that the term of balance of power can be contextualized on four ways. The first, balance of power is a policy aimed at particular relations to a state. The second, balance of power is an actual description of a state relationship. The third, balance of power is a general equal distribution of power. The last, balance of power is any power distribution. (Morgenthau, 1985) Hans J. Morgenthau stated that alliances become a necessary function of the balance of power operating with the multiple-states system. (Morgenthau, Thompson, & Clinton, 2005)

Balance of power concept is a part of national interest concept. Balance of power concept explained more the United State' security interest with the balance of power to Asia-Pacific, especially the rise-up China and the development nuclear and missile of North Korea. (Wyne, 2015) The United want Japan increased its armed-defense to balance of power the rise up China and the development nuclear and missile of North Korea

Research Methods

1. Research type

This research was casual explanation research. It explained the cause of phenomenon which will be observed. The researcher tried to explain the causes of United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation in 2015.

2. Source and type of research

In this research, the researcher used the secondary data. The data which were used in this research came from books, e-journals, documents, and internet.

3. Data collection technique

Collecting data technique in this research used library research. These data came from some books and e-journals. Researcher also visited some website to get online sources, included documents from official web.

Data analysis technique

Researcher used qualitative method to do verification on the hypothesis set by the researcher.

The researcher used content analysis toward some documents and news.

Analysis

A. Strengthened Alliance Coordination

The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty was signed in 1951. It gave outlines to Japan in pacific constitution that allowed the U.S. forces for remaining on its soil after Japan had regained the sovereignty. It was renewed with 'Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security' in 1960. Japan agreed to provide the U.S. forces with the right to build base on the archipelago with provision that the United States needed to protect Japan from external threat. Those bases became the permanent foothold for the U.S. military in Asia. In 1967, Japan had depended on the U.S. nuclear umbrella to prevent the potential aggressors. (Maizland & Xu, 2019) The

collapsed of Soviet Union made a strong relationship between Japan and the United States. The United States agreed of establishment the 1997 guidelines. The 2000s became a period of improved defense cooperation. The similar interest between the United States and Japan made both countries increased its cooperation and alliance coordination.

The United States military bases in Okinawa made easier the United States to prevent the aggression from People's Republic of China and North Korea within cost saving by having its military forward deployed in Japan. Alliance had balanced power, such as Japan increased its defense capabilities and integrated more with the U.S. forces. The U.S. service members that had been deployed in 2017 were more than 50.000 troops. Since 2000, the relationship between the United States and Japan increased. Japan had high capability to protect the U.S. interest in Asia Pacific. Japan also supported the United States in military and economic cooperation with the United States as alliance.

Japan need to pay \$1.7 billion to \$2.1 billion every year depending on the exchange rate to offset the direct cost of stationing the U.S. forces in Japan. There are two funding sources in Japanese host-nation support: The Facilities Improvement Program (FIP) and Special Measures Agreements (SMAs). SMAs generally covered five years. It has obligation for Japan needs to pay some money for labor and the utility costs of the U.S. bases and to relocate the exercise training away from populated areas. Japan paid ¥189 billion per year under the SMAs and at least ¥20.6 billion per year for FIP. (Chanlett-Avery, Campbell, & Williams, 2019)

B. Increased Japan's Arms Defense to Balance of Power toward China and North Korea

1. China as the Central Focus of the U.S. and its Alliances

The strategic partnership of the United States and Japan had increasingly focused on People's Republic of China (PRC). The rise-up of China disturbed the mission of the United States toward Asia-Pacific. The United States and Japan focused on PRC as the main of regional

military power after decades from the armed-force modernization fueled by a large economic and fast-expanding defense budget. The rise-up of China on economic aspect and the perception of the United States decline, Beijing had increased its diplomatic and military forces. The United States and Japan felt the rise-up of China in Asia-Pacific areas, especially East Asia and Southeast Asia. The rise-up of China become a direct challenge of Japan's territorial disputes to the Senkaku Islands administration. Beijing was so ambitious to claim Senkaku Island for its multi-continent programs of infrastructure which stretched across Asia into Africa and seek tie those regions more firmly to China's economically and politically. (Chanlett-Avery, Campbell, & Williams, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance*, 2019) In the early 2010s, Washington's attention changed direction toward Asia-Pacific regions through expended diplomatic, economic, and security engagement with Asia-Pacific. Japan also supported Washington's goal of the curtailing China's growing influence in Asia-Pacific areas. (Wu, 2018) The National Defense Program Guidelines released in late 2013s took a purpose that Beijing had not clearly stated about China's goals and purposes of its military build-up. Tokyo hoped to maintain good relations with peaceful and responsible People's Republic of China. Japan refrained from taking initiative which could be excessively provocative by People's Republic of China even the territorial claims and historical problems in East China Sea. The triangle relation of the Japan-U.S.-China was stable from Japan's perspective because the uncertainty intention of China was offset by the sufficient trust in the United States security commitments.

PRC lobbied Japan to obviate Taiwan from the area of the U.S.-Japan alliance. (Mochizuki, Berger, & Tsuchiyama, 2007) The future cooperation of China-Japan will give impact to the mission of the United States in Asia-Pacific, especially ASEAN. PRC also wanted to spread its power in ASEAN. PRC and ASEAN started formal relationship since 1991. (Afadlal, Mariana, Inayati, Akbar, & Sungkar, 2011) The Chinese economic growth also supported the ASEAN's economic growth. ASEAN also pretended the conflict of South China Sea. The United States and Japan took the South China Sea conflict as the tool to build strong

relationship toward ASEAN. PRC has engaged the giant infrastructure buildings project and reclamation works in South China Sea since 2014. PRC also had positioned military equipment on some of the islands it controls since 2014. Japan had been overshadowed by rise-up of China with number of submarines, ships and aircrafts. PRC had a lot of advantage in the over Japan. PRC increased ships, submarines, and aircraft since the establishment of the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation in 1997.

Table 1: China Naval Weaponries

Year	Ship	Submarines
1995	62	56
2000	60	64
2005	67	61
2010	78	56
Ordered in 2015	91	69

Table 2: China Aircraft Weaponries

Year	≤3G Fighters	≥4G Fighters	AEW&C	Tankers
1995	5.500	26	0	0
2000	3.138	125	0	6
2005	1.513	334	2	13
2010	1.098	507	9	13
Ordered in 2015	864	913	9	13

Source: Chang, F. (2013). A Salutation to Arms: Asia's Military Buildup, Its Reasons, and Its Implications. Retrieved December 20, 2019, from Foreign Policy Research Institute: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2013/09a-salutation-to-arms-asias-military-buildup-its-reasons-and-its-implications/>

2. North Korea as the Second Focused of the New Guidelines

On October, 2006, North Korea conducted an underground nuclear explosive test. The United States, United Nations, and European Union prevented Iran becoming nuclear power. Bill Clinton presented Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to Senate for ratification in 1996. The treaty was ratified by ninety-three nations. (Bardes, Mack C. Shelley, & Schmidt, 2008) The United State agreed the expansion program of nuclear weapon capability in Asia-Pacific toward Japan to curtail the threat of the development nuclear and weapon North Korea. North Korea would never give up for its development nuclear and weapon capabilities. The development nuclear and missile of North Korea became a serious threat of United States and its allies, especially Japan and ROK. The new geopolitical reality that North Korea has boosted its leverage against the United States and other countries foes, ROK and Japan. North Korea also becomes the real threat of all nations. (Delaney, 2017)

1. Japan Increased Arms Defense to Balance of Power to China and North Korea

The United State prepared Japan to be strong alliance in Asia-Pacific to balance of power the rise-up of China and development nuclear and missile of North Korea. The establishment of ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’ in 2015 prepared defensive alliance of the United States. Japan increased its order on armed-defense since 2015 to respond the rise-up of China and the development nuclear and missile of North Korea.

Table 3: Japan Naval Weaponries

Year	Ship	Submarines
1995	62	16
2000	54	16
2005	54	16
2010	52	16
Ordered in 2015	54	17

Table 4: Japan aircraft Weaponries

Year	≤3G Fighters	≥4G Fighters	AEW&C	Tankers
1995	160	165	10	0
2000	110	160	14	0
2005	110	200	14	0
2010	65	245	14	4
Ordered in 2015	60	240	17	4

Source: Chang, F. (2013). A Salutation to Arms: Asia's Military Buildup, Its Reasons, and Its Implications. Retrieved December 20, 2019, from Foreign Policy Research Institute: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2013/09a-salutation-to-arms-asias-military-buildup-its-reasons-and-its-implications/>

Increased Japan's order on ship, submarines, and aircraft weaponries in 2015 showed the effect of establishment 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' to balance of power in Asia-Pacific, especially from China. After Japan announced that Japan left ban on arms export, North Korea launched three short-range projectiles off its east coast. Japan responded the rise of China and development nuclear and missile of North Korea with increased its military defense budget and bought 105 more advanced F-35 fighter jets. Most of the Japan's defense hardware from the United States came from the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. The United States sold about \$40 billion of equipment every year. FMS provided access to the highest quality defense equipment at the best value. In 2014, the United States chose Japan as one of two countries that will service F-35s in Asia beside Australia. Kawasaki made antitank guided missile only for Japanese market. Kawasaki also showed a scale of model of its P-1 maritime surveillance plane for submarines detector. (Soble, 2015)

Japan had nuclear fuel-cycle programs that produce reactor-grade plutonium. Japan also has M-V and H2-A rockets, which have potential intercontinental capabilities. The United States wanted to develop a nuclear-armed of Japan as a tool to balance force to China and North

Korea from the demand that the United States and Republic of Korea (ROK) dismantled a missile defense shield deployed by the United States Navy in ROK.

C. Cutting Cost on U.S. Defense Development

The year of 2000s became a good miracle of Japan. The establishment of 1997 guidelines on Japan's arms export restriction because of the collapsed Soviet Union. After 1997, Japan can send arms to the U.S.-Japan alliances. Even there was permission for Japan to send arms, but it was still under circumstance. In 2009, the economy of the United States was decline. It was proven when the United States and Japan signed pact that Japan need to pay the Okinawa base maintenance for supporting the U.S. military expanses. Japan needs to pay remilitarization with shoring up the U.S. grand strategy agenda to face the rise up China. (Miere, 2013) The United States thought that Asia has geopolitical assets. (Sugai, 2016) The agenda of Japan on Abenomics programs supported grand strategy of the United States. It helped to support military and defense expenses of United States. The United States also needed to join arms defense cooperation with Japan.

On January, 2017, the Japanese Defense Minister stated that "Japan's portion from the total cost for the U.S. forces stationed in Japan was more than 86%." (Cost for the Stationing USFJ, Japanese Share is 86%, Ministry of Defense Calculations, 2017) The Japanese firms took a key role of development or production of the U.S. companies. In the production process, Japan's firms needed to send parts or components to the U.S. companies. Bilateral cooperative system had shown on that cooperation. Japan needed to supply components to the United States. After that, the United States could do production with the U.S. standard. The final product was sent to Japan and security partners both countries. (Hirose, 2014) The bilateral system on defense joint development between the United States and Japan gave benefit for both countries. It cut the cost and time of production for the United States. The U.S. companies bought components from the Japanese companies which have license from the United States. A lot of

Japanese defense companies got the U.S. license. It showed that companies of both countries can increase cooperation on defense equipment and technology for maintaining their interest.

Overseas defense transfer is based on the provision of services and parts which related to the licensed product of the United States. It ensured a sufficient market. The equipment should be used the United States, Japan, and the U.S.-Japan security partners. The equipment production of the United States should have been reduced or stopped. It made the arms transfer gave beneficial to both the U.S.-Japan industries. On July, 2014, the largest Japanese arms manufacturer, Mitsubishi Heavy Industry supplied high performance sensors for the “PAC-2” surface to air missiles to Raytheon (the U.S. defense company). The Raytheon Company provided the “PAC-2” to Qatar. The Raytheon Company is the major the U.S. defense contractor and industrial cooperation. Qatar is a security partner of the U.S.-Japan. Both companies are big defense companies in the United States and Japan. The United States gave license to Japanese companies, including jets, parts of surface-to-air missiles, helicopters, engines for aircraft and ship, and missiles launchers for ships. Increasing bilateral defense equipment and technology cooperation allowed Japan and the United States enhancing economic interoperability efficiency. The military security cooperation would lead the economic collaboration both countries and tighten industrial cooperation. It strengthened the U.S.-Japan relationship. The new guidelines in 2015 gave clear interest of the United States to share the cost on defense cooperation.

Japan became a main purchaser of the United States on producing the defense equipment. Japan also have the status of a ‘NATO Plus Five’ countries. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institution, “Japan became one of the 10 top recipients from the actual deliveries of major conventional weapons from the United States. Japan spent US\$363.9 million per year.” It was accounted between 83% and 97 % of Japan’s arms export. (Chanlett-Avery, Campbell, & Williams, The U.S.-Japan Alliance, 2019) ‘The Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics Agency’ (ATLA) stated that the Mitsubishi Heavy Industries’

Nagoya Aerospace System Works in Aichi provided maintenance, repair, overhaul, and upgrade (MRO&U) for the F-35 airframe and IHI Corporation's Mizuho plant in Tokyo provided MRO&U support to the aircraft's Pratt & Whitney F135 engine. It focused on 'MRO&U' instead the local assembly and production influenced by the U.S. decision in 2014 to assign Japan as MRO provider for F-35 airframe and engine in the Northern Pacific area. Some equipment of the Japanese companies got the U.S. companies' license, included the sophisticated systems, such as F-15SDJ fighter aircraft, F-15J and the F-35A. (Grevatt, 2019) The United States has authorized high profile purchases of the defense equipment and technology of the United States through the FMS, such as:

1. F-35 Joint Strike Fighters
2. E-2D "Hawkeye" airborne early warning and control aircraft
3. Aegis Weapon System
4. V-22B "Osprey" tilt-rotor aircraft
5. KF-46A "Pegasus" aerial refueling tankers

Conclusion

On November 27, 1978, the United States drafted the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Cooperation. The 1978 guidelines focused on self-defense of Japan. The 1997 guidelines focused on the U.S.-Japan cooperation under normal circumstances in case of armed-attack toward Japan and focused area surrounding Japan. In 2011, Hillary Clinton stated about the new focus on the U.S. foreign policy is 'pivot' in Asia-Pacific area. Shinzo Abe as the Japanese Prime Minister announced that Japan left ban on arms export in 2014. The United States supported Japan left ban on arms export, but still implemented the Three Principles. In 2015, the United States created 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation'. That new guidelines showed the United States support to the development of Japan, especially on the defense equipment and technology development.

This research used national interest and balance of power concepts to answer the question of why the United States decide to create the ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’. Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton stated that national interest is the fundamental purpose and also the important factors to determine the foreign policy, national interest also means general conception and an element which becomes a vital requitment for the state included the survival of nation and state, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic prosperity. The concept of balance of power is a part of national interest in military security. Mohtar Mas’oed stated that balance of power is a policy of forming defensive alliances to prevent coalition from having a dominant position.

The grand strategy policy of the United States on rebalance Asia-Pacific made the economic system of the United States was decline. Japan needed to pay the remilitarization with shoring up the United States grand strategy agenda to face the rise-up China. The grand strategy policy made the United States was getting closer to Japan. ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’ consisted of eight parts. The “strengthened alliance coordination” becomes a new part of ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’. The establishment of the ‘Alliance Coordination Mechanism’ (ACM) part showed the United States wanted to build strong alliance cooperation with Japan to respond any contingency. The ACM was prepared to face the development nuclear and missile of North Korea.

The research concluded the reason of the United States decided to create the ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’ were military security interest and economic prosperity interest. The military security interests were strengthened alliance coordination and made Japan’s to inreased its arms defense to balance of power to the rise of China and development nuclear and missile of North Korea. China and North Korea became strong obstacles of the United States for doing grand strategy toward Asia-Pacific. The economic prosperity interest of the United States was cutting cost on defense development. The United

States also joined defense equipment and technology development with Japan. Japan needed to supply components to the United States. The final product was sent to Japan and security partners both countries.

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