

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku dan Jurnal

- Akimoto, Daisuke. "The Abe Government and the Right to Collective Self-Defense ." Essay. In *The Abe Doctrine: Japan's Proactive Pacifism and Security Strategy*, 65–91. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Ayson, Robert. "Stability and Complexity in Asia-Pacific Security Affairs." *Asian Perspective* 30, no. 2 (2006): 179–192.
- Bremmer, Ian, and preston Keat. "Geopolitics." Essay. In *The Fat Tail: The Power of Political Knowledge in an Uncertain World*, 37–38. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Brewster, David. "Japan's Plans to Build a 'Free and Open' Indian Ocean." *Lowy Institute*. The Interpreter, May 31, 2018. Last modified May 31, 2018. Accessed May 31, 2021. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/japan-plans-build-free-and-open-indian-ocean>.
- Easley, Leif-Eric, Tetsuo Kotani, and Aki Mori. "Electing a New Japanese Security Policy? Examining Foreign Policy Visions within the Democratic Party of Japan." *Asian Policy* 9 (January 2010): 45–66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctt1ckphqj?refreqid=search-gateway>.
- Green, Michael J. "Japan Is Back: Unbundling Abe's Grand Strategy." *Lowy Institute*. Lowy Institute, February 27, 2017. Last modified February 27, 2017. Accessed October 20, 2021.

https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/japan-back-unbundling-abe-s-grand-strategy#section_26606.

Hughes, Christopher W. Essay. In *Japan's Foreign and Security Policy under the 'Abe Doctrine' New Dynamism or New Dead End?*, 73–105. Introduction: From 'Yoshida Doctrine' to 'Abe Doctrine'? Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot, 2015.

Jain, Purnendra, and Inoguchi Takashi. Essay. In *Japanese Foreign Policy Today: A Reader*, 3–44. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.

Li, Hansong. "The "Indo-Pacific": Intellectual Origins and International Visions in Global Contexts." *Modern Intellectual History*, 2021, 1-27.
doi:10.1017/S1479244321000214.

Lobell, Steven E., Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro. Essay. In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, 25–291. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Mochizuki, Mike. "Political Realignment ." Essay. In *Japan: Domestic Change and Foreign Policy*, 3–11. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1995.

Morin Jean-Frédéric, and Jonathan Paquin. "What Is Foreign Policy Analysis?" Essay. In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, 1–16. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Morin Jean-Frédéric, and Jonathan Paquin. "How to Identify and Assess a Foreign Policy." Essay. In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, 19–32. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

- Pevehouse, Jon C., and Joshua S. Goldstein. "Aktors and Influence." Essay. In *International Relations*, 11–17. Boston: Pearson, 2017.
- Ripsman, Norrin M., Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell. Essay. In *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*, 2–96. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (1998): 144–172.
- Rothacher, Albrecht. "The Formulation of Japanese Foreign Policy." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10, no. 1 (1981): 1–13.
- Sahashi, Ryo. "The Indo-Pacific in Japan's Foreign Policy." *CSIS*. Accessed October 20, 2021. https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/FINAL_Working%20Paper_Ryo%20Sahashi.pdf.
- Zakowski, Karol, Beata Bochorodycz, and Marcin Socha. Essay. In *Japan's Foreign Policy Making: Central Government Reforms, Decision-Making Processes, and Diplomacy*, 1–31. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018.

Dokumen dan Website Pemerintah

- "Chapter Three: A Stable and Prosperous Indo–Pacific." *Foreign Policy White Paper*. Foreign Policy White Paper, November 22, 2017. Last modified November 22, 2017. Accessed January 29, 2022.
- <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/minisite/static/4ca0813c-585e-4fe1-86eb-de665e65001a/fpwhitepaper/foreign-policy-white-paper/chapter-three-stable-and-prosperous-indo-pacific.html>.

“Chapter 3 Japan’s Foreign Policy to Promote National and Worldwide Interests.”

Last modified 2014. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000055802.pdf>.

“‘Confluence of the Two Seas’ Speech by H.E.Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of

Japan at the Parliament of the Republic of India.” *MOFA*. Accessed

December 16, 2021. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0708/speech-2.html>.

“Diplomatic Bluebook.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed

December 16, 2021.

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2016/html/chapter1/c0101.html>.

“Diplomatic Bluebook.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed

December 16, 2021.

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2017/html/chapter1/c0101.html>.

“Diplomatic Bluebook.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed

December 16, 2021.

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2018/html/chapter1/c0102.html#sf01>.

“Diplomatic Bluebook.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed

December 16, 2021.

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2019/html/chapter1/c0102.html#sf01>.

“Diplomatic Bluebook.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed December 16, 2021.

<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2020/html/chapter1/c0102.html>.

“Final ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific I. Background and ...” Accessed January 29, 2022. https://asean.org/asean2020/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ASEAN-Outlook-on-the-Indo-Pacific_FINAL_22062019.pdf.

“Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy.” Accessed January 29, 2022. <https://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/files/000352880.pdf>.

“Japan Is Back.” *MOFA*. Accessed December 16, 2021. https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/abe/us_20130222en.html.

“Japan-U.s. Joint Declaration on Security, Alliance for the 21st Century.” *Japan Ministry of Defense*. Accessed October 5, 2021. <https://www.mod.go.jp/en/j-us-alliance/joint-declaration/21century/index.html>.

“Japan's Proactive Contribution to Peace / the Government of Japan - Japangov -.” *The Government of Japan - JapanGov -*. Accessed December 15, 2021. https://www.japan.go.jp/tomodachi/2014/spring-summer2014/japans_roactive_contribution_to_peace.html.

“National Security Strategy (NSS).” *Japan Ministry of Defense*. Accessed December 14, 2021.

https://www.mod.go.jp/en/d_policy/basis/strategy/index.html.

“National Security Strategy (NSS).” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed October 20, 2021.

https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page1we_000081.html.

Objectives and Priorities of Japan's Foreign Policy. Accessed December 11, 2021. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/1991/1991-1-2.htm>.

The Constitution of Japan. Accessed December 22, 2021.

https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html.

The Constitution of Japan. Accessed November 25, 2021.

https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html#:~:text=The%20Emperor%20shall%20be%20the,Article%202.

“Towards Free and Open Indo-Pacific - Ministry of Foreign ...” Accessed January 31, 2022. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000407643.pdf>.

“UNCTAD OSG DP 2004 3 - United Nations Conference on Trade ...” Accessed January 29, 2022. https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/osgdp20043_en.pdf.

“Warp.da.ndl.go.jp.” Accessed December 15, 2021.

https://warp.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11591426/www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2015/DOJ2015_2-1-3_web.pdf.

Website

Avdaliani, Emil. "The Rise of the Indo-Pacific." *Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies*. Last modified July 6, 2020. Accessed February 28, 2021.

<https://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/indo-pacific/>.

"American Foreign Policy, 4e StudySpace." *Chapter 1: The Strategic Context: Foreign Policy Strategy and the Essence of Choice | American Foreign Policy, 4e: W. W. Norton StudySpace*. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://wwnorton.com/college/polisci/american-foreign-policy4/ch/01/review.aspx>.

Author, No. "New SDF Mandate in South Sudan." *The Japan Times*. Last modified November 18, 2016. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2016/11/18/editorials/new-sdf-mandate-south-sudan/>.

Boundless. "Boundless Political Science." *Lumen*. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-politicalscience/chapter/foreign-policy/>.

Boundless. "Boundless US History." *Lumen*. Accessed October 6, 2021.

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-ushistory/chapter/the-early-war-in-the-pacific/>.

Flying Geese Model. Accessed January 29, 2022.

<https://www.grips.ac.jp/forum/module/prsp/FGeese.htm>.

Gargeyas, Arjun. "Climate Change Is the Biggest Threat to Indian Ocean Security." – *The Diplomat*. for *The Diplomat*, August 31, 2021. Last

modified August 31, 2021. Accessed January 29, 2022.

[https://thediplomat.com/2021/08/climate-change-is-the-biggest-threat-to-indian-ocean-](https://thediplomat.com/2021/08/climate-change-is-the-biggest-threat-to-indian-ocean-security/#:~:text=Increased%20pollution%20levels%2C%20combined%20with,implications%20for%20the%20fishing%20community.)

[security/#:~:text=Increased%20pollution%20levels%2C%20combined%20with,implications%20for%20the%20fishing%20community.](https://thediplomat.com/2021/08/climate-change-is-the-biggest-threat-to-indian-ocean-security/#:~:text=Increased%20pollution%20levels%2C%20combined%20with,implications%20for%20the%20fishing%20community.)

“Gross Domestic Product 2020 - Databank | The World Bank.” *Gross Domestic Product 2020*. Accessed December 20, 2021.

<https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>.

Harris, Peter. “LDP Hegemony and the Future of Japanese Foreign Policy.” Last modified December 28, 2014. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://thediplomat.com/2014/12/ldp-hegemony-and-the-future-of-japanese-foreign-policy/>.

History.com Editors. “Hirohito.” *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, November 9, 2009. Last modified November 9, 2009. Accessed October 20, 2021. https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/hirohito-1#section_3.

Hudson, Valerie M. “Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations.” Blackwell Publishing, 2005. Last modified 2005. Accessed December 20, 2021.

https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/331946/mod_resource/content/1/Hudson-2005-Foreign_Policy_Analysis.pdf.

- Kesavan, K. V. "India's 'Act East' Policy and Regional Cooperation." *ORF*.
Accessed January 29, 2022. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/indias-act-east-policy-and-regional-cooperation-61375/>.
- Kojima, Kiyoshi. "The 'Flying Geese' Model of Asian Economic Development: Origin, Theoretical Extensions, and Regional Policy Implications." *Journal of Asian Economics*. North-Holland, March 13, 2001. Last modified March 13, 2001. Accessed January 29, 2022.
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S1049007800000671>.
- Dee, Liz. "Beginning of a Beautiful Friendship: The 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan." *Association for Diplomatic Studies & Training*. Last modified October 19, 2016. Accessed October 5, 2021.
<https://adst.org/2016/10/japan-world-war-ii-peace-treaty-macarthur/>.
- "The Bounty of the Open Seas: Five New Principles for Japanese Diplomacy." *MOFA*. Accessed October 20, 2021.
https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/abe/abe_0118e.html.
- "Geopolitics, Con and Pro." *Foreign Policy Research Institute*. Accessed October 25, 2021. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2015/03/geopolitics-con-and-pro/>.
- "Geopolitics." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., n.d. Accessed October 25, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/geopolitics>.
- "Japan as a Contributor to the Rules-Based Order in the Indo-Pacific [1]: List of Articles: International Information Network Analysis." *SPF*. Accessed December 16, 2021.
https://www.spf.org/iina/en/articles/thomas_02.html#note27.

“Japan’s Foreign Policy in a Time of ... - Youtube.com.” Accessed October 5, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OIF8hIxNcdY>.

“Japan since 1945.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., n.d. Accessed October 20, 2021.

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/Japan-since-1945>.

“LDP and DPJ Compete to Remove Article 9.” Japan Press, June 10, 2010. Last modified June 10, 2010. Accessed December 22, 2021. https://www.japan-press.co.jp/2009/2626/politics_5.html.

“Liberal-Democratic Party of Japan.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., n.d. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Liberal-Democratic-Party-of-Japan>.

Mark, Craig. “Japan's Australian Sub Bid Fits with Its Strategic and Economic Transformation.” *The Conversation*. Last modified April 24, 2020. Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://theconversation.com/japans-australian-sub-bid-fits-with-its-strategic-and-economic-transformation-48156>.

Mark, Craig. “Japan Debates Changing Its Pacifist Constitution.” *The Diplomat*. Last modified May 18, 2017. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://thediplomat.com/2017/05/japan-debates-changing-its-pacifist-constitution/>.

“Narrative Analysis.” *Sage Research Methods*. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://methods.sagepub.com/reference/the-sage-encyclopedia-of-communication-research-methods/i9374.xml>.

News, Kyodo. "Japan Divided over Revising Constitution Article amid N. Korea Threats: Poll." KYODO NEWS, April 30, 2017. Last modified April 30, 2017. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2017/04/0a59661f0654-corrected-japan-divided-over-revising-article-9-amid-n-korea-threats-poll.html>.

"Northeast Asia's Undercurrents of Conflict." *Crisis Group*. Last modified September 15, 2016. Accessed January 29, 2022.

<https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/north-east-asia/china/north-east-asias-undercurrents-conflict>.

Osaki, Tomohiro. "Abe Says Defining SDF in Revised Constitution Is 'the Responsibility of Our Generation'." *The Japan Times*. Last modified May 9, 2017. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/05/09/national/politics-diplomacy/abe-says-defining-sdf-revised-constitution-responsibility-generation/#.WRK6AtLyUk>.

"Policy and Structure." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., n.d. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Liberal-Democratic-Party-of-Japan/Policy-and-structure>.

"Political Parties in Democratic Japan." *Association for Asian Studies*. Last modified June 28, 2021. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/political-parties-in-democratic-japan/>.

“Policy Speech by Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. Accessed February 28, 2021.

https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/page3e_000291.html.

“‘Confluence of the Two Seas’ Speech by H.E.Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan at the Parliament of the Republic of India.” *MOFA*. Accessed February 28, 2021. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0708/speech-2.html>.

Przystup, James. “The Foreign Policy of Abe Shinzo: Strategic Vision and Policy Implementation.” *The Asan Forum*. Last modified July 20, 2021. Accessed October 20, 2021. <https://theasanforum.org/the-foreign-policy-of-abe-shinzo-strategic-vision-and-policy-implementation/#4>.

“Political Parties.” *Constitutional Revision Research Project*. Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/crrp/accessing-debate/politicalparties>.

Raghavan, T.C.A. “The Changing Seas: Antecedents of the Indo-Pacific.” *Telegraph India*. Telegraph India, July 17, 2019. Last modified July 17, 2019. Accessed December 16, 2021.

<https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/the-changing-seas-antecedents-of-the-indo-pacific/cid/1694598>.

Rich, Motoko. “Why the Governing Party Election Is the Main Event in Japan.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, September 28, 2021. Last modified September 28, 2021. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/world/asia/japan-liberal-democratic-party-election.html>.

Rosshiter, Ash. "The 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific' Strategy and Japan's Emerging Security Posture." *Rising Powers in Global Governance - A Global Network for the Study of Rising Powers in Global Governance*. Last modified 2018. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://risingpowersproject.com/the-free-and-open-indo-pacific-strategy-and-japans-emerging-security-posture/>.

Ripsman, Norrin M. "Neoclassical Realism." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Last modified June 13, 2011. Accessed October 24, 2021.

<https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-36#acrefore-9780190846626-e-36-div1-0022>.

Saiidi, Uptin. "Here's Why the South China Sea Is Highly Contested." *CNBC*. CNBC, February 7, 2018. Last modified February 7, 2018. Accessed January 29, 2022. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/07/heres-why-the-south-china-sea-is-highly-contested.html>.

Semiha Karaoğlu Semiha is a Deputy Regional Manager and Japan specialist in the Russia, and Semiha Karaoğlu. "The South China Sea Dispute and Its Challenges to Japan's Economic Interests." *Asia Power Watch*. Last modified September 17, 2021. Accessed January 29, 2022.

<https://asiapowerwatch.com/the-south-china-sea-dispute-and-its-challenges-to-japans-economic-interests/>.

Sinohara, Mamoru. "The Foreign Policy of Japan." United Nations Mandated University for Peace, 2017. Last modified 2017. Accessed December 23, 2021.

<https://www.upeace.org/files/Ideas%20for%20Peace/Ideas%20for%20Peace%20Vol.%2011.pdf>.

Smith, Sheila A, Jeremy Fuller, and Erin Gallagher. "The Politics of Revising Japan's Constitution." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations, n.d. Accessed December 22, 2021. <https://www.cfr.org/japan-constitution/politics-of-revision>.

Saygi, Mustafa K. "The No-War Clause in the Japanese Constitution." *Medium*. History of Yesterday, January 29, 2020. Last modified January 29, 2020. Accessed December 14, 2021. <https://historyofyesterday.com/the-no-war-clause-in-the-japanese-constitution-2d53d10d1013>.

Tanaka, Hitoshi. "Prospects for Japan's Domestic Politics and Implications for Its Foreign Policy." *JCIE*. Japan Center for International Exchange, May 12, 2020. Last modified May 12, 2020. Accessed December 15, 2021. <https://www.jcie.org/>.

"Tensions in the East China Sea | Global Conflict Tracker." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations, n.d. Accessed January 29, 2022. <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/tensions-east-china-sea>.

“Three Basic Points Stated by Supreme Commander to Be ‘Musts’ in Constitutional Revision.” *Three Basic Points Stated by Supreme Commander to Be “Musts” in Constitutional Revision.(Text) | Birth of the Constitution of Japan*. Accessed October 20, 2021.

<https://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/072/072tx.html>.

Tanaka, Hitoshi. “Prospects for Japan’s Domestic Politics and Implications for Its Foreign Policy.” JCIE. Japan Center for International Exchange, May 12, 2020. Last modified May 12, 2020. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://www.jcie.org/>.

Walton, David. “Japan: Article 9 Conundrum Rears Its Head Again.” *The Interpreter*. The Interpreter, February 24, 2020. Last modified February 24, 2020. Accessed December 15, 2021.

<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/japan-article-9-conundrum-rears-its-head-again>.

“What Is Comparative Analysis?” *Teradata*. Accessed December 22, 2021.

<https://www.teradata.com/Glossary/What-is-Comparative-Analysis#:~:text=Comparative%20analysis%20refers%20to%20the,are%20forms%20of%20comparative%20analysis>.

Yamaguchi, Jiro. “LDP Dominance Still Cripples Japanese Democracy.” *East Asia Forum*. Last modified September 22, 2021. Accessed December 15, 2021. <https://www.easiaforum.org/2021/09/22/ldp-dominance-still-cripples-japanese-democracy/>.

Laporan

Konishi, Weston S. Rep. *The Democratic Party of Japan: Its Foreign Policy Position and Implications for U.S. Interests*. Congressional Research Service, n.d. Accessed December 15, 2021.

https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20090812_R40758_18e3da5a76ed5bb6ad05563dfb57cfea53a062df.pdf.

Publikasi

Edström, Bert. Publication. *The Yoshida Doctrine in Unchartered Waters*.

Institute for Security and Development Policy, December 27, 2010.

Accessed 8AD. https://www.isdp.eu/content/uploads/images/stories/isdp-main-pdf/2011_edstrom_japans-foreign-policy.pdf.

Ispi. "The Indo-Pacific Strategy: A Background Analysis." *ISPI*. Last modified June 24, 2021. Accessed December 16, 2021.

<https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/indo-pacific-strategy-background-analysis-20714>.