

“BABEȘ-BOLYAI” UNIVERSITY, CLUJ-NAPOCA
FACULTY OF EUROPEAN STUDIES
“INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EUROPEAN STUDIES” DOCTORAL SCHOOL

Politica Externă Regională a Japoniei după 2012: Realiniere Strategică și Extinderea Parteneriatelor în Indo- Pacific

-Rezumat-

Doctoral Supervisor:
Prof. Dr. Valentin Naumescu

Graduate:
Claudiu-Bogdan Aldea

Cluj-
Napoca
2025

Cuprins

Cuprins	4
Listă de abrevieri	6
1. Introducere	11
2. Politica Internă Japoneză și Articularea Politicii Externe	23
1.1. Ocupația Americană: 1945-1952	23
1.2. Perioada Marii Creșteri – Miracolul Economic Japonez: 1952-1980	27
1.3. Epoca Post-Miracol Economic: Transformări Geopolitice: 1980-2000	37
1.4. Japonia în Lumea Globalizată: 2000-2012	44
1.5. Japonia în Vremuri Recente: 2012-2024	48
3. Perspective Teoretice	52
3.1. Realismul și Căutare Puterii: Acțiunile Statului în Politica Internațională	52
3.2. Liberalismul și Viziunea Cooperării: Interdependența pe Scena Globală	57
3.3. Constructivismul-Social și Țesătura Politicii Internaționale: De ce Factorii non-Materiali Contează	61
4. Japonia Post-2012	73
4.1. Un Moment de Cotitură în Politica (Externă) Japoneză	73
4.2. Țara Puterii-Răsare	76
5. Rolul Japoniei în Asia: Diplomatie și Influență Regională	102
5.1. Direcțiile Politicii Externe Japoneze după 2012	104
5.2. Conceptul „The Free and Open Indo-Pacific”	107
6. China: Între Cooperare și Competiție	118
6.1. Înainte de Furtună: Relațiile Japonia-China înainte de 2012	118
6.2. Post-2012: Ape Tulburi?	121
6.3. Componenta Economică Dezvoltată	127
6.4. Legătura Umană: Oameni și Cultură	132
6.5. Alunecarea Strategică: Competiție Intensă, Cooperare Limitată	135
7. Coreea de Sud: Rivali, Prieteni, Ambele?	141
7.1. Problemele Istoriei – Puterea Ideilor	141
7.2. 2012 și după – Relații Bilaterale Volatile	143
7.3. Dimensiunea de Securitate: Depășirea Provocărilor Constante	149
7.4. Latura Economică și cea Umarnă: Oportunități și Schimbări	155
8. ASEAN: Construirea de Punți în Asia de Sud-Est	163

8.1.	De la Legături Economice la Extinderea Parteneriatului.....	163
8.2.	Post-2012: Aprofundarea Cooperării într-un Climat Complicat.....	166
8.3.	Cooperarea în Securitate: Minilateralism în Cadrul ASEAN.....	171
8.4.	Cooperarea Comprehensivă: Dincolo de Economie și Securitate Clasică.....	175
9.	India: Duo-ul Stratgeic	183
9.1.	Fundamentele Parteneriatului.....	183
9.2.	După 2012: Relații Privilegiate.....	186
9.3.	Colaborarea în Domeniul Apărării și Securității	192
9.4.	Cooperare Civilă în Domeniul Nuclear și Economic.....	196
10.	Statele Unite ale Americii: Cel mai Important Aliat al Tōkyō	201
10.1.	Era Obama: Pivotalul către Asia	201
10.2.	Era Trump: America First și Ambiguitatea Normativă	206
10.3.	Era Biden: S-a Întors America? Continuitate prin Schimbare	211
11.	Anul Alegerilor: 2024 – La Marginea Schimbării?	217
12.	Concluzii	230
	Bibliografie	238

Politica Externă Regională a Japoniei după 2012: Realiniere Strategică și Extinderea Parteneriatelor în Indo-Pacific

În linii mari, această lucrare analizează evoluția politicii externe regionale a Japoniei, concentrându-se pe perioada cuprinsă între decembrie 2012 și decembrie 2024. În concordanță cu acest obiectiv general, cercetarea încearcă să răspundă unor întrebări specifice, fiecare corespunzând capitolelor relevante. Pentru a atinge obiectivul de cercetare propus, lucrarea adoptă preponderent o metodologie calitativă, cu scopul de a oferi o interpretare nuanțată a subiectului. În ceea ce privește datele, cercetarea combină sursele primare (sub forma documentelor de politică publică și declarațiilor oficiale) cu surse secundare (în special cărți și articole din jurnale academice). Ca limitare metodologică, accentul este pus pe analiza calitativă în detrimentul instrumentelor cantitative, deși anumiți indicatori cantitativi sunt utilizați pentru a susține argumente interpretative. Totodată, pe baza structurii lucrării, sunt utilizate trei strategii majore de cercetare: în primul rând, evoluția istorică a sistemului politic japonez este analizată prin contextualizare istorică. Apoi, analiza de conținut este folosită pentru a urmări transformările în

politica externă și postura de securitate a Japoniei. În cele din urmă, o abordare de tip studiu de caz comparativ este adoptată pentru a analiza relațiile Japoniei cu cinci parteneri, studiile fiind structurate în jurul unor parametri analitici similari. Per ansamblu, cercetarea este delimitată de mai multe restricții în domeniul de cercetare. După cum s-a menționat anterior, metodologic, s-a acordat prioritate metodelor calitative în detrimentul celor cantitative. Din punct de vedere temporal, analiza vizează perioada post-2012, chiar dacă atât capitolul istoric cât și studiile de caz fac referire și la evenimente anterioare acestui an. Din punct de vedere geografic, cercetarea este limitată de un cadru general (Indo-Pacific) și unul specific (cei cinci actori analizați prin studiile de caz). Alte regiuni și actori relevanți sunt doar menționați, fără a intra în sfera de analiză detaliată.

Primele două capitole oferă un context istoric și o fundamentare teoretică. Partea istorică explorează transformările structurale și normative care au modelat Japonia postbelică și modul în care s-a articulat politica sa externă. În acest sens, capitolul este împărțit în cinci perioade istorice definitorii. Printre reperele esențiale din perioada Războiului Rece se numără adoptarea Constituției Păcii (1947), formularea Doctrinei Yoshida (caracterizată de o profundă dependență de alianța cu SUA pentru securitate) și rolul Japoniei ca lider în acordarea de ajutor pentru dezvoltare prin programul „Official Development Assistance” (ODA). Aceste repere au devenit piloni normativi ai politicii externe și de securitate nipone. Sfârșitul Războiului Rece, însă, a adus noi provocări, amplificate de o scenă politică internă fragmentată. Revenirea lui Shinzō Abe în 2012 a oferit direcția și impulsul necesare pentru re-evaluarea rolului de securitate al Japoniei, deschizând calea pentru dezvoltarea viziunii „Free and Open Indo-Pacific” (FOIP). Demisia lui Abe în contextul pandemiei de Coronavirus a dus la un scurt mandat al guvernului Suga (2020–2021), urmat de administrația Kishida (2021–2024), percepută în general ca o continuatoare a direcției trasate de Abe. Mergând mai departe, capitolul teoretic are două funcții fundamentale: pe de o parte, oferă repere conceptuale pentru înțelegerea teoriilor consacrate ale relațiilor internaționale (realism, liberalism și socio-constructivism), iar pe de altă parte, definește metodologia și cadrul analitic bazat pe socio-constructivism. Concepte-cheie precum identitatea și normele sunt operaționalizate prin exemple practice pentru a facilita o analiză pragmatică. În plus, lucrarea abordează, printr-o perspectivă constructivistă, concepte asociate în mod tradițional teoriilor materialiste, precum puterea și interesul.

Capitolul 3 explică de ce anul 2012 este considerat un punct de cotitură în politica japoneză și justifică alegerea acestuia ca punct de plecare al analizei. Importanța acestui an poate fi împărțită

în două, bazat pe natura factorilor: interni și internaționali. Din punct de vedere intern, Japonia pre-2012 a fost definită de instabilitate politică prelungită din perioada pre-și-post-Koizumi. La aceasta se adaugă și culoarea politică prin faptul că Partidul Liberal Democrat Japoniez (LDP) a pierdut puterea în 2009 în fața Partidului Democrat Japoniez (DPJ). Odată cu revenirea lui Abe, Japonia a cunoscut cea mai stabilă conducere din istoria sa modernă, punând bazele pentru reformele ulterioare. Această coerență a devenit esențială pentru implementarea reformelor de securitate inițiate de administrațiile DPJ. Pe plan internațional, scena regională a fost complicată de venirea la putere a lui Kim Jong-Un și Xi Jinping. Testele militare nord-coreene și agresivitatea maritimă a Chinei au intensificat anxietățile și îngrijorările de securitate ale Japoniei, puternic dependentă de SUA pentru securitate. În acest sens, re-alegerea lui Obama și accentul pus pe „Pivotul către Asia” ca element esențial al relației au consolidat alianța americano-japoneză, culminând cu revizuirea Ghidului pentru Cooperare în Securitate în 2015. Capitolul 3 s-a axat și pe modul în care Japonia și-a sporit capacitățile asociate cu puterea, atât într-un sens mai diluat (soft) cât și într-unul tradițional (hard). În termeni de putere soft, înființarea Fondului Cool Japan în 2013 a marcat o inițiativă importantă pentru promovarea culturii japoneze la nivel global. În plus, accentul pus de Japonia pe cooperarea pentru dezvoltare durabilă a fost strâns legat de inițiative mai largi de securitate. Astfel, pentru Tōkyō, dezvoltarea regională devine esențială pentru stabilitate. În termeni de hard power, Japonia post-2012 a trecut printr-o serie de schimbări de politică și recalibrări ale orizontului de securitate pentru a adresa mai eficient realitățile regionale. Acest lucru poate fi observat prin adoptarea inițiativei de contribuție proactivă la pace (2014) și legislația privind apărarea colectivă (2015), cea din urmă oferindu-i Japoniei dreptul la autoapărare colectivă. În plus, schimbările legislative au fost oglindite de transformări practice, precum depășirea plafonului informal de 1% din PIB pentru apărare și modernizarea echipamentului militar (incluzând achiziționarea de avioane F-35). În această linie, capitolul se încheie cu o reflecție asupra statutului Japoniei ca Mare Putere – dintr-un punct de vedere socio-constructivist. În baza normelor istorice la care a aderat (cum ar fi ne-implicare), a legitimității și a cum a fost receptată de alți actori, Japonia e mai degrabă o putere mijlocie comprehenzivă, care excelează în domeniile mai subtile ale puterii (cum ar fi focusul economic și cooperarea în termeni generali).

Capitolul 4 s-a concentrat pe înțelegerea generală a modului în care politica externă regională a Japoniei (din perspectiva direcțiilor generale) s-a modificat începând cu anul 2012. În

ansamblu, aceasta a presupus un sprijin consolidat pentru Statele Unite, un accent crescut pe dimensiunea economică și dezvoltarea unor relații constructive cu vecinii regionali. În plus, securitatea maritimă a devenit un concept central în cercurile de decizie politică japoneze, în special pe fondul intensificării incursiunilor chineze în Marea Chinei de Est și de Sud. Totodată, Japonia și-a asumat un rol regional mai proeminent, urmărind să contribuie activ la stabilitatea regiunii. Începând cu anul 2016, Japonia a dezvoltat o abordare mai structurată, cunoscută sub denumirea de „Free and Open Indo-Pacific” (FOIP), axată pe promovarea normelor internaționale, încurajarea dezvoltării economice și asigurarea păcii. În cadrul FOIP, Japonia a consolidat cooperarea în formatul Quad (Dialogul de Securitate Cvadrilateral cu SUA, India și Australia), cu scopul de a promova cooperarea maritimă și dezvoltarea infrastructurii. În plus, acest format a fost replicat și în cadrul exercițiului naval Malabar, conceput pentru a spori interoperabilitatea între cei patru parteneri. De asemenea, FOIP a sprijinit platformele Vientiane și Vientiane 2.0, axate pe întărirea capacităților militare ale statelor ASEAN. În mod fundamental, FOIP a vizat și îmbunătățirea calității vieții în regiune, prin investiții în infrastructură (precum „Expanded Partnership for Quality Infrastructure”) și printr-o cooperare extinsă în domeniul securității umane (inclusiv Inițiativa Japonia-Mekong). Per total, FOIP a devenit un concept-umbrelă utilizat de Tōkyō pentru a promova relații regionale mutual benefice și a încuraja aderarea la normele internaționale.

Capitolele 5 până la 9 reprezintă studiile de caz esențiale analizate în cadrul lucrării. În mod specific, acestea urmează o structură similară și explorează relațiile Japoniei cu actori-cheie din Indo-Pacific: China, Coreea de Sud, ASEAN, India și Statele Unite. Capitolul 5 s-a concentrat pe relațiile Tōkyō-Beijing. Înainte de 2012, relațiile erau relativ stabile, însă acțiunile din anii 2012 și 2013 (disputa teritorială exacerbată de naționalizarea de către Japonia a unor insule din arhipelagul Senkaku/Diaoyu, instituirea de către China a unei zone de identificare a apărării aeriene – ADIZ – și incursiunile maritime repetate) au conturat China ca un competitor strategic pentru Japonia. Aceste acțiuni au influențat, de altfel, și recalibrările de securitate discutate în Capitolul 3. Dialogurile la nivel înalt au arătat că, în ciuda unor domenii de cooperare precum cel economic sau diplomatic tensiunile cauzate de problemele de securitate au rămas persistente și nerezolvate. Cu toate acestea, dimensiunea economică a relației bilaterale a rămas un pilon central și rezilient în fața șocurilor politice. Acorduri comerciale precum „Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership” (RCEP) au contribuit la consolidarea cooperării economice. Cooperarea

diplomatică post-2012 a pus accent și pe relațiile interumane și pe schimburile culturale, deși acestea au rămas inegale și adesea influențate de climatul politic și de percepțiile publice. Sondajele de opinie publică din Japonia indică faptul că majoritatea respondenților au o percepție negativă asupra Chinei, în principal din cauza agresivității Beijingului în contextul regional. Poate cel mai transformator element al relațiilor Japonia–China după 2012 este intensificarea rivalității strategice, în special în noile domenii de securitate, precum provocările din zona gri („gray-zone challenges”). Având în vedere aceste divergențe structurale în materie de securitate, este de așteptat ca relațiile dintre Japonia și China să rămână competitiv-structurale pe termen lung.

Capitolul 6 a explorat dinamica relațiilor Japonia-Coreea de Sud, evidențiind importanța fundamentală a disputelor istorice în modelarea atât a cooperării mai generale, cât și a celei mai specifice. Din punct de vedere istoric, Japonia și Coreea de Sud și-au normalizat relațiile politice în 1965, o perioadă urmată de un grad ridicat de pragmatism în cooperarea bilaterală. Aceasta a fost percepută în mare parte ca o necesitate strategică pentru construirea relației. Totuși, subiectele sensibile legate de memoria istorică (în special din perioada de colonizare) au rămas în mare parte neadresate și ignorate. După 2012, profunzimea relațiilor poate fi împărțită în 4 etape: 2012 – 2014 – deteriorare lentă, 2015 – 2017 – apropiere relativă, 2018 – 2021 – cel mai scăzut punct al relațiilor, 2022 – 2024 – consolidare a relațiilor sub îndrumarea SUA. Printre reperele esențiale se numără Acordul Istoric din 2015 (care a încercat să rezolve o dată pentru totdeauna problemele legate de trecut), hotărârile judecătorești din Coreea de Sud din 2018 împotriva companiilor japoneze (care le obligau să plătească despăgubiri pentru abuzurile din timpul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial) și Summitul Trilateral JAROKUS de la Camp David din 2023 (care a consolidat viziunea partenerilor asupra cooperării în domeniul securității), toate evidențiind evoluțiile inconsistente din cadrul celor 4 etape istorice menționate mai sus. În 2024, două domenii rămân esențiale pentru relațiile Tōkyō-Seul: cooperarea consolidată în industrii emergente (precum tehnologia și inteligența artificială) și accentul sporit pe rezolvarea constructivă a dificultăților istorice. În prezent, alinierea strategică rămâne condiționată de problemele istorice, deoarece memoria continuă să influențeze percepțiile și să limiteze încrederea profundă. Deși trilateralismul sprijinit de SUA a contribuit la instituționalizarea cooperării, volatilitatea politică internă din ambele țări și posibilele schimbări în politica americană ar putea afecta progresul.

Capitolul 7 a explorat modul în care s-a extins abordarea Japoniei față de ASEAN ca ansamblu și nu față de un stat specific. Istoric, cooperarea a fost condusă în principal de interese

economice, cu accent pe schimburi comerciale, asistență oficială pentru dezvoltare (ODA) și diplomație regională. Doctrina Fukuda din 1977 a introdus ideea unei cooperări pașnice și a unui respect reciproc, contribuind la diminuarea scepticismului regional față de Japonia. Pe fondul intensificării dinamicilor de securitate și al schimbărilor din politica internă, angajamentul Japoniei post-2012 a cunoscut o extindere, combinând relațiile economice cu cooperarea în domeniul securității și conectivitatea regională. Prin intermediul FOIP, Japonia a formalizat practic rolul central al ASEAN în regiunea Indo-Pacific în calitate de partener strategic pentru factorii de decizie de la Tōkyō. Însă, în contrast cu o abordare multilaterală și instituționalizată, Japonia a priorizat în special angajamentele bilaterale practice în materie de securitate. Totuși, în ceea ce privește dialogul diplomatic, temele de securitate sunt abordate constant în cadrul platformelor multilaterale, fiind completate de introducerea programului de „Official Security Assistance” (OSA) în 2022. Acest lucru pune în contrast inițiativele bilaterale (precum „Maritime Safety Capability Improvement Project towards the Philippines Coast Guard”) cu forurile multilaterale (precum „ASEAN Defense Ministers’ Meeting – Plus”). Totuși, se poate afirma că gradul și spectrul de cooperare al Japoniei s-au extins cel mai mult în relația cu ASEAN, în comparație cu ceilalți actori analizați în lucrare. Cooperarea umană a trecut în prim-plan prin numeroase inițiative interumane între parteneri. În acest sens, Japonia a ajuns să fie percepută drept cel mai de încredere partener de dezvoltare al ASEAN. Mai mult, pornind de la nevoile de infrastructură ale ASEAN, accentul pus de Japonia pe infrastructură de calitate și dezvoltare a securității umane a intrat în contrast cu inițiativele chineze, inclusiv „Belt and Road Initiative” (BRI). Aceasta a generat o situație problematică pentru Tōkyō – unele state membre ASEAN au priorizat considerentele practice în detrimentul dezvoltării condiționate de norme. ASEAN va rămâne o zonă esențială de investiții diplomatice pentru Japonia, însă apelurile subtile ale ASEAN la neutralitate strategică ar putea împiedica o cooperare mai profundă, cum ar fi extinderea angajamentelor bilaterale în domeniul securității la o cooperare instituționalizată de securitate.

Capitolul 8 a urmărit să exploreze principalii factori determinanți și provocările care au influențat evoluția parteneriatului Japonia-India. După depășirea mai multor obstacole politice apărute în anii '90, în special testele nucleare efectuate de India în 1998, anii 2000 au marcat o creștere a importanței geopolitice a Indiei pentru spațiul Indo-Pacific. Acest lucru a fost perceput în mod adecvat de către Tōkyō, conducând la transformarea relației bilaterale la nivelul de Parteneriat Strategic și Global. După 2012, revenirea lui Abe a adus cu sine un climat diplomatic

relativ personalizat alături de Modi, ceea ce a facilitat și aprofundat cooperarea. Aceasta a fost oglindită de strategia FOIP a Japoniei din 2016 și de „revitalizarea” formatului Quad în 2017. În ceea ce privește securitatea, cercetarea a urmărit să evidențieze faptul că India a devenit, probabil, cel mai important partener al Japoniei (cu excepția aliatului tradițional – SUA). Această consolidare a relației a implicat o formalizare a cooperării (prin platforme multilaterale și exerciții practice) împreună cu sprijin și colaborare logistică. Deși cooperarea economică nu a cunoscut o dezvoltare comparabilă, aceasta a generat un tip de angajament istoric fără precedent pentru Japonia: Pactul Civil Nuclear, semnat în 2016 – primul acord de acest tip încheiat de Japonia cu un stat care nu este semnatar al Tratatului de Neproliferare Nucleară (NPT). Chiar dacă impactul său economic și practic este dificil de cuantificat, semnificația simbolică a fost considerabilă. Totuși, invazia Rusiei în Ucraina a evidențiat divergențele normative persistente dintre cei doi parteneri, deoarece poziția nealiniată a Indiei a contrastat puternic cu poziția intens pro-Ucraina și pro-norme asumată de Japonia. Similar cazului ASEAN, este esențial de observat cum va reuși Tōkyō să gestioneze ambiguitatea strategică a Indiei.

Capitolul 9 a urmărit cooperarea Japonia-SUA în timpul președințiilor Obama, Trump și Biden. Cercetarea a fost ghidată de trei direcții politice enunțate de fiecare președinte pe parcursul mandatului său. Statele Unite au rămas cel mai important partener strategic al Japoniei în perioada postbelică, iar această legătură s-a consolidat și mai mult începând cu anul 2012. Sub administrația Obama, „Pivotul către Asia” s-a aliniat cu diplomația proactivă a lui Abe, deși mai mult la nivel declarativ decât în practică. Cooperarea a culminat cu revizuirea din 2015 a Ghidurilor pentru Cooperare în Securitate, care au extins domeniul inter-operațional, inclusiv prin posibilitatea de a participa la autoapărarea colectivă (CSD). În ciuda așteptărilor privind o posibilă fragmentare, prima eră Trump a fost caracterizată, în mare măsură, de continuitate strategică, cooperarea în domeniul apărării rămânând solidă (prin exerciții comune și o aliniere mai strânsă în termeni de securitate). Valoarea geopolitică a Japoniei și abordarea personalizată a lui Abe au atenuat orice schimbări radicale de traiectorie în cadrul alianței, deși anumite practici discursive sau simbolice au evidențiat un grad de imprevizibilitate. Discursul „America is Back” promovat de Biden a avut o narațiune opusă, punând accentul pe angajamentul comun față de multilateralism, în special în domeniile cu atenție scăzută în mandatele precedente, precum schimbările climatice și cooperarea digitală. Totuși, aceste angajamente globale s-au confruntat cu crize multiple. Per ansamblu, sub conducerea americană, cooperarea în domeniul securității s-a extins prin intermediul formatului

Quad și a inițiativelor trilaterale, inclusiv alături de Coreea de Sud. Până în 2024, o eventuală revenire a lui Trump („Trump 2.0”) ar putea genera perturbări noi în cadrul alianței, întrucât este dificil de anticipat dacă impactul celui de-al doilea mandat va fi similar cu cel al primului, caracterizat prin aceeași incertitudine, specifică administrațiilor sale.

În final, Capitolul 10 reprezintă în sine o concluzie analitică a traiectoriei politicii externe japoneze în 2024, reflectând atât schimbările din plan politic intern, precum și transformările internaționale mai largi. Volatilitatea politică (marcată de pierderea majorității de către Partidul Liberal Democrat) și conducerea contestată a lui Ishiba semnalează un moment de incertitudine. Cercetarea a analizat abordările lui Ishiba față de politica regională, concluzionând că esența politicii externe a Japoniei va rămâne în mare măsură consistentă. Totuși, există încă mai multe nuanțe care trebuie menționate: de la rezistența politică (în condițiile în care Ishiba conduce un guvern minoritar) până la aspecte specifice legate de implementarea politicilor. În privința Chinei, o abordare excesiv de pasivă față de pretențiile Chinei ar putea agrava tensiunile maritime. În plus, Beijing este foarte sensibil la ideea unui NATO asiatic, reacții de reticență venind și din partea Indiei și ASEAN. Coreea de Sud ar putea beneficia semnificativ de o abordare mai conciliatoare din partea lui Ishiba, însă evoluția relațiilor este puternic influențată de factori interne (atât politice, cât și la nivelul opiniei publice). Alianța cu SUA rămâne pilonul cel mai important al politicii externe japoneze, însă ar putea suferi un impact dublu: abordarea lui Trump față de alianță se poate schimba, având în vedere că elementele care au conturat traiectoria în primul său mandat s-au modificat. Totodată, percepția lui Ishiba față de o alianță mai egală și față de Japonia ca un partener de apărare mai autonom ar putea recalibra această relație. Anul 2025 se anunță a fi, cel mai probabil, unul dificil pentru perspectivele politicii externe a Japoniei. În cazul alianței cu SUA, discrepanța normativă, în special în ceea ce privește valorile liberale, ar putea constitui o barieră semnificativă, mai ales în contextul incertitudinii politice. Mai mult, e la fel de important pentru Tōkyō ca creșterea rolului său regional să nu se realizeze în detrimentul coeziunii interne. Pentru a evita o posibilă perioadă de diluare strategică, situația politică actuală a Japoniei ar trebui să se contureze ca o fază de tranziție, nu ca o stare permanentă. O stare prelungită de fragmentare politică ar putea risca să semene cu perioada post-Koizumi – pre-Abe II, în care lipsa unei conduceri coerente a complicat implementarea obiectivelor strategice pe termen lung.

Bibliografie

Cărți și Capitole de Cărți

- Adler, Emanuel. "Constructivism in International Relations: Sources, Contributions, and Debates" in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd ed., London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2013, pp. 112-144.
- Akimoto, Daisuke, *Japanese Prime Ministers and Their Peace Philosophy: 1945 to the Present*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- Aldea, Claudiu-Bogdan, "From Trump to War: Normative Implications of Japan's Crisis Management" in Delia Pop-Flanța and Laura-Maria Herța (eds.), *Communication Dynamics in Global Affairs: Navigating Conflict and Diplomacy*, Cluj:Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023, pp. 81–97.
- , "Japonia în Era Globalizării: Navigând prin Provocările unui Sistem Internațional în Criză" in Melania-Gabriela Ciot (ed.), *Criza Globalizării sau Criza Sistemului Internațional?*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023, pp. 259–277.
- Andressen, Curtis, *A Short History of Japan: From Samurai to Sony*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2002.
- Ashley, Richard K., "The Poverty of Neorealism" in Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, pp. 255-300.
- Ayhan, Kadir (ed.), *Korea's Public Diplomacy*, Hangang Network: Seoul, 2016.
- Bader, Jeffrey A., *Obama and China's Rise: An Insider's Account of America's Asia Strategy*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2012.
- Barnett, Michael, "Social Constructivism" in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 8th edition, pp. 192–206, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Baylis, John; Smith, Steve and Owens, Patricia (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 8th edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas, *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Penguin Books, 1991.

- Berger, Thomas U., “Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan” in Peter J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 317–356.
- Brown, Michael E. *et al.* (eds), *Theories of War and Peace: An International Security Reader*, London: The MIT Press, 1998.
- Burchill, Scott *et al.* (eds), *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd ed., Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Burchill, Scott, “Liberalism” in Scott Burchill *et al.* (eds), *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd ed., Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 36-59.
- Buzan, Barry; Wæver, Ole and de Wilde, Jaap, *Security. A New Framework for Analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.
- Carlsnaes, Walter; Risse, Thomas and Simmons, Beth A. (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd ed., London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2013.
- Carr, E. H., *The Twenty Years’ Crisis: 1919-1939*, 2nd ed., London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1946.
- Chie, Yamanaka “Manga Hyōgen Keishiki no Ekkyō: Kankoku ni okeru Mohō Kaizokuban Manga wo Jirei toshite” in Shōji Yamada (ed.), *Komonzu to Bunka: Bunka ha Dare no Monoka*, Tōkyō: Tokyo dō, 2010.
- Cioculescu, Șerban Filip, “Understanding the Foreign Policy of the People’s Republic of China: Historical Facts, Main trends, Actors and Decision-Making Bodies” in Valentin Naumescu (ed.), *Great Powers’ Foreign Policy: Approaching the Global Competition and the Russian War against the West*, Leiden: Brill, 2023, pp 95-144.
- Ciot, Melania-Gabriela (ed.), *Criza Globalizării sau Criza Sistemului Internațional?*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023.
- Connors, Michael K., “Between a Doctrine and Hard Place: Japan’s Emerging Role” in Michael K. Connors, Rémy Davison and Jörn Dosch, *The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific. Conflict and Co-Operation in the Asian Century*, 3rd ed., New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 79–105.
- , *The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific. Conflict and Co-Operation in the Asian Century*, 3rd ed., New York: Routledge, 2018.

- Damuri, Yose Rizal, “How Might the Trans-Pacific Partnership Affect the Game?” in Jane Drake-Brockman and Patrick Messerlin (eds), *Potential Benefits of an Australia-EU Free Trade Agreement: Key Issues and Options*, Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2018, pp. 75-94.
- Davison, Rémy, “Asia’s ‘Great Game’?” in Michael K. Connors, Rémy Davison and Jörn Dosch (eds.), *The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific. Conflict and Co-Operation in the Asian Century*, 3rd edition, 2018, New York: Routledge, pp. 1 – 28.
- Dower, John W., *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954*, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1979.
- Drake-Brockman, Jane and Messerlin, Patrick (eds), *Potential Benefits of an Australia-EU Free Trade Agreement: Key Issues and Options*, Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2018.
- Dunne, Tim and Schmidt, Brian C., “Realism” in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 8th edition, pp. 130-144, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Finnemore, Martha, *National Interests in International Society*, London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Gibney, Frank, *The Pacific Century: America and Asia in a Changing World*, New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992.
- Giddens, Anthony, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985.
- Gilley, Bruce and O’Neil, Andrew (eds.), *Middle Powers and the Rise of China*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014.
- , “China’s Rise through the Prism of Middle Powers” in Bruce Gilley and Andrew O’Neil (eds.), *Middle Powers and the Rise of China*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014, pp: 1–22.
- Gordon, Andrew, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Gowans, Stephen, *Patriots, Traitors and Empires: The Story of Korea’s Struggle for Freedom*, Quebec: Baraka Books of Montreal, 2018.
- Green, Michael J., *By More Than Providence. Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific since 1783*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

- , *Line of Advantage. Japan's Grand Strategy in the Era of Abe Shinzō*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2022.
- Haas, Ernst B., *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.
- Hammarlund, Per A., *Liberal Internationalism and the Decline of the State: The Thought of Richard Cobden, David Mitrany, and Kenichi Ohmae*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Harris, Tobias, *The Iconoclast. Shinzō Abe and the New Japan*, London: C. Hurst & Company, 2020.
- Henshall, Kenneth G., *O Istorie a Japoniei: De La Epoca De Piatra La Superputere*, București: Artemis, 1999.
- Herța, Laura Maria, *De la relațiile româno-sârbe la relațiile româno-iugoslave. Interpretări constructiviste*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene (EFES), 2012.
- Hilpert, Hanns Günther and Haak, René (eds.), *Japan and China. Cooperation, Competition and Conflict*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Huffman, James L., *Japan in World History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Jepperson, Ronald L; Wendt, Alexander and Katzenstein, Peter J., “Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security,” in Peter J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 33–75.
- Jervis, Robert, et al. (eds.), *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.
- Jimbo, Ken, “Japan-Southeast Asia Relations: Implication of US Rebalance to the Asia-Pacific Region” in Yuki Tatsumi (ed.), *Japan's Foreign Policy Challenges in East Asia: Views from the Next Generation*, Washington DC: Stimson, 2014, pp. 53–60.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- , “Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security” in Peter J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 1–32.

- , *Cultural Norms and National Security. Police and Military in Postwar Japan*, London: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Keohane, Robert O. (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S., *Power and Interdependence*, 4th ed., New York: Longman, 2012.
- Kitaoka, Shinichi, *The Political History of Modern Japan: Foreign Relations and Domestic Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Lind, Jennifer, “The Art of the Bluff: The US-Japan Alliance Under the Trump Administration,” in Robert Jervis, *et al.* (eds.), *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2018, pp. 235–250.
- Long, David and Ashworth, Lucian M. (eds), *New Perspectives on International Functionalism*, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999.
- , “Working for Peace: The Functional Approach, Functionalism and Beyond” in David Long and Lucian M. Ashworth (eds), *New Perspectives on International Functionalism*, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999, pp. 1–26.
- Lynch, Thomas F. and Przystup, James J., *India-Japan Strategic Cooperation and Implications for U.S. Strategy in the Indo-Asia-Pacific Region*, Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 2017.
- Mearsheimer, John J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001.
- Mitrany, David, *A Working Peace System*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1943.
- Morgenthau, Hans J., *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.
- Nakagane, Katsuji, “Japanese Direct Investment in China: Its Effects on China’s Economic Development” in Hanns Günther Hilpert and René Haak (eds.), *Japan and China. Cooperation, Competition and Conflict*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 52–71.
- Naumescu, Valentin (ed.), *Great Powers’ Foreign Policy: Approaching the Global Competition and the Russian War against the West*, Leiden: Brill, 2023

- Oh, Seungyun, “Hallyu (Korean Wave) as Korea’s Cultural Public Diplomacy in China and Japan” in Kadir Ayhan (ed.), *Korea’s Public Diplomacy*, Hangang Network: Seoul, 2016, pp. 167–196.
- Oros, Andrew L., *Japan’s Security Renaissance*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.
- Otmazgin, Nissim Kadosh, *Regionalizing Culture. The Political Economy of Japanese Popular Culture in Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014.
- Pop-Flanja, Delia and Herța, Laura-Maria (eds.), *Communication Dynamics in Global Affairs: Navigating Conflict and Diplomacy*, Cluj:Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023.
- Reus-Smit, Christian, “Constructivism” in Scott Burchill *et al.* (eds), *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd ed., Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 188-206.
- Shibusawa, Masahide, *Japan and the Asian Pacific Region: Profile of Change*, New York: Routledge, 1984.
- Sims, Richard, *Japanese Political History since the Meiji Renovation: 1868-2000*, New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Soeya, Yoshihide; Tadokoro, Masayuki and Welch, David A. (eds.), *Japan as a ‘Normal Country’? A Nation in Search of Its Place in the World*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Stockwin, J. A. A., *Governing Japan: Divided Politics in a Resurgent Economy*, 4th ed., Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- Tanaka, Kakuei, *Building a New Japan: A Plan for Remodeling the Japanese Archipelago*, Tōkyō: Simul Press Inc., 1973.
- Tatsumi, Yuki (ed.), *Japan’s Foreign Policy Challenges in East Asia: Views from the Next Generation*, Washington DC: Stimson, 2014.
- Tilly, Charles, *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005.
- Tsuzuki, Chushichi, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan: 1825-1995*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Waltz, Kenneth N., “Reflections on Theory of International Politics. A Response to My Critics” in Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, pp. 322–345.
- , *Theory of International Politics*, Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979.

Wendt, Alexander, “Constructing International Politics” in Michael E. Brown *et al.* (eds), *Theories of War and Peace: An International Security Reader*, London: The MIT Press, 1998 pp. 416-426.

———, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Yamada, Shōji (ed.), *Komonzu to Bunka: Bunka ha Dare no Monoka*, Tōkyō: Tokyo dō, 2010.

Yoshimatsu, Hidetaka, *Japan’s Asian Diplomacy. Power Transition, Domestic Politics, and Diffusion of Ideas*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Articole în Jurnale Științifice

Anderson, Nicholas D. and Cha, Victor D., “The Case of the Pivot to Asia: System Effects and the Origins of Strategy” in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 132, no. 4, 2017, pp. 595–617.

Aoyama, Rumi, “Stability and Fragility in Japan-China Relations: China’s Pivotal Power and Japan’ Strategic Leverage” in *China Review* vol. 23, no. 1, February 2023, pp. 187–211.

Berger, Thomas U., “Japan in Asia: A Hard Case for Soft Power” in *Orbis* 54, no. 4, 2010, pp. 565–582, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2010.07.005>.

Berkofsky, Axel, “Japanese Foreign and Security Policies under Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama - Some Changes, A Lot of Continuity” in *Il Politico* 76, no. 2, 2011, pp. 183–197.

Bhatt, Pooja, “Emerging Pillars of India-Japan Relations in the Indo-Pacific” in *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, vol. 16, no.2, April-June 2021, pp. 134–152.

Chiang, Min-Hua, “Contemporary China-Japan Relations: The Politically Driven Economic Linkage” in *East Asia* 36, no. 4, November 16, 2019, pp. 271–290, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-019-09321-x>.

Cho, E. J. and Shin, Ki-young, “South Korean Views on Japan’s Constitutional Reform under the Abe Government” in *The Pacific Review* 31, no. 2, November 14, 2017, pp. 256–266, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2017.1397731>.

Dalio-Bul, Michal, “Japan Brand Strategy: The Taming of 'Cool Japan' and the Challenges of Cultural Planning in a Postmodern Age” in *Social Science Japan Journal* 12, no. 2, 2009, pp. 247–266.

DiCicco, Jonathan M. and Onea, Tudor A., “Great-Power Competition” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, January 31, 2023, pp. 1–36, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.756>.

- Finnemore, Martha and Sikkink, Kathryn, “Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics” in *Annual Review of Political Science* 4, no. 1, June 2001, pp. 391–416. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.4.1.391>.
- Fukuda, Madoka, “The Koizumi Years, A Time of Lost Opportunities” in *East Asia Forum Quarterly* vol. 7, no. 3, July-September 2015, pp. 10–12.
- Fukuyama, Francis, “The End of History?” in *The National Interest*, no. 16, Summer 1989, pp. 3–18.
- Gao, Haikuan, “The China–Japan Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests and East Asian Peace and Stability” in *Asia-Pacific Review* 15, no. 2, November 2008, pp. 36–51, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13439000802571483>.
- Ghasiya, Piyush, “India-Japan Civil Nuclear Cooperation: The Journey and Its Future” in *Air Power Journal*, vol. 13, no. 2, April-June 2018, pp. 93–118.
- Ghosh, Madhuchanda, “India and Japan’s Growing Synergy: From a Political to a Strategic Focus” in *Asian Survey*, vol. 48, no. 2, March/April 2008, pp. 282–302.
- Hatakeyama, Kyoko, “A Middle Power’s Roles in Shaping East Asian Security Order: Analysis of Japan’s Engagement from a Normative Perspective” in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 65, no. 3, September 2019, pp. 466–481, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajph.12592>.
- Hein, Patrick, “Realpolitik versus Principled Politics: Nitobe, Shidehara, Shirasu and the Hollowing out of the Japanese Peace Constitution” in *East Asia* 26, no. 4, 2009, pp. 285–304, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-009-9093-0>.
- Heng, Yee-Kuang, “Three Faces of Japan’s Soft Power” in *Asian International Studies Review* 18, no. 1, 2017, pp. 171–88. <https://doi.org/10.16934/isr.18.1.201706.171>.
- Hurley, John; Morris, Scott and Portelance, Gailyn, “Examining the Debt Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative from a Policy Perspective” in *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development* 3, no. 1, 2019: pp. 139–175, <https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd.v3i1.1123>.
- Inoguchi, Takashi and Bacon, Paul, “Japan's Emerging Role as a 'Global Ordinary Power'” in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 6, no. 1, 2006, pp. 1–21.
- Inoguchi, Takashi, “Japan in 2013: Abenomics and Abegeopolitics” in *Asian Survey* 54, no. 1, 2014, pp. 101–12.
- Iqbal, Badar Alam, “Indo-Japanese Economic Relations in the 90s,” *India Quarterly*, vol. 52, no. 1/2, January-June 1996, pp. 39–72.

- Iriye, Akira, “Chinese-Japanese Relations, 1945–90” in *The China Quarterly* 124, 1990, pp. 624–638, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0305741000031428>.
- Ito, Asei, “China’s Belt and Road Initiative and Japan’s Response: From Non-Participation to Conditional Engagement” in *East Asia* 36, no. 2, June 2019, pp. 115–128, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-019-09311-z>.
- Jo, Eun A., “Memory, Institutions, and the Domestic Politics of South Korean–Japanese Relations” in *International Organization* 76, no. 4, 2022, pp. 767–98, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818322000194>.
- Johnson, Chalmers A., “‘Low Posture’ Politics in Japan” in *Asian Survey* 3, no. 1, 1963, pp. 17–30, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3024647>.
- , “Tanaka Kakuei, Structural Corruption, and the Advent of Machine Politics in Japan” in *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12, no. 1, 1986.
- Kang, Jang Woo *et al.*, “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: Overview and Economic Impact” in *ADB Briefs No. 164*, December 2020, <https://doi.org/10.22617/brf200422-2>.
- Katz, Richard and Ennis, Peter, “How Able Is Abe?” in *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 2, 2007, pp. 75–91.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. and Okawara, Nobuo, “Japan’s Security Policy: Political, Economic and Military Dimensions” in *The International Spectator* 26, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 103–118, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729108457947>.
- Kaura, Vinay, “India-Japan Relations and Asia’s Emerging Geopolitics” in *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs*, vol. 29, No. 1/2, June-December 2016, pp. 17–38.
- Kennan, George F. (X), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” in *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 4, July 1947, pp. 566–82, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20030065>.
- Keohane, Robert O., “International Institutions: Two Approaches,” *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4, December 1988, pp. 379–396, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600589>.
- Kim, Ji Young, “Escaping the Vicious Cycle: Symbolic Politics and History Disputes between South Korea and Japan” in *Asian Perspective* 38, no. 1, 2014, pp. 31–60, <https://doi.org/10.1353/apr.2014.0001>.
- , “Rethinking the Role of Identity Factors: The History Problem and the Japan–South Korea Security Relationship in the Post-Cold War Period” in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 15, no. 3, April 21, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcv007>.

- Kolmaš, Michal and Kolmašová, Šárka, “A ‘Pivot’ That Never Existed: America’s Asian Strategy Under Obama and Trump” in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 1, January 24, 2019, pp. 61–79.
- Kumar, Pavan, “India-Japan Relations under Modi 1.0: Exploring Political, Economic and Security Cooperation” in *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, vol. 24, no. 3, July-September 2020, pp. 42–53.
- Limaye, Satu P., “Tokyo’s Dynamic Diplomacy: Japan and the Subcontinent’s Nuclear Tests” in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol. 22, no.2, August 2000, pp. 322–339.
- Liu, Chien, “Obama’s Pivot to Asia and Its Failed Japan-South Korea Historical Reconciliation” in *East Asia* 35, 2018, pp. 293–303, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-018-9304-7>.
- Lux, Gillianne, “Cool Japan and the Hallyu Wave: The Effect of Popular Culture Exports on National Image and Soft Power” in *East Asian Studies Honors Papers* 3, May 14, 2021.
- Matsui, Takeshi, “Nation Branding Through Stigmatized Popular Culture: The ‘Cool Japan’ Craze Among Central Ministries in Japan” in *Hitotsubashi Journal of Commerce and Management* 48, no. 1, 2014, pp. 81–97.
- Mearsheimer, John J., “The False Promise of International Institutions” in *International Security* 19, no. 3, 1994, pp. 5–49, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539078>.
- Miller, Simon, “Japan’s Pacificism as National Identity and a ‘Normal’ Security Option” in *The University of Queensland Law Journal* 42, no. 3, November 29, 2023, pp. 469–486, <https://doi.org/10.38127/uqlj.v42i3.8551>.
- Mishima, Ko, “Grading Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi’s Revolution: How Far Has the LDP’s Policymaking Changed?” in *Asian Survey* 47, no. 5, 2007, pp. 727–748, <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2007.47.5.727>.
- Moerland, Roland, “The 2015 South Korea – Japan ‘Comfort Women’ Agreement: Acknowledging Wartime Sexual Slavery or Denying It?” in *SSRN*, April 15, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4767732>.
- Nester, William, “Japan’s Recruit Scandal: Government and Business for Sale” in *Third World Quarterly* 12, no. 2, 1990, pp. 91–109, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436599008420236>.
- Nye, Joseph S., “Soft Power” in *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990), pp. 153–71, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1148580>.

- O'Shea, Paul and Maslow, Sebastian, "'Making the Alliance Even Greater': (Mis-)Managing U.S.-Japan Relations in the Age of Trump" in *Asian Security* 17, no. 2, November 5, 2020, pp. 195–215, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2020.1838486>.
- Palit, Amitendu, "India's Act East Policy and Implications for Southeast Asia" in *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2016, pp. 81–92, <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814695671-009>.
- Pyle, Kenneth B., "Japan's Return to Great Power Politics: Abe's Restoration" in *Asia Policy* vol. 13, no. 2, April 18, pp. 69–90.
- Qiu, Jin, "The Politics of History and Historical Memory in China-Japan Relations" in *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 11, no. 1, March 2006, pp. 25–53, <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02877032>.
- Ramaj, Klea, "The 2015 South Korean–Japanese Agreement on 'Comfort Women': A Critical Analysis" in *International Criminal Law Review* 22, no. 3, February 4, 2022, pp. 475–509, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718123-bja10127>.
- Reus-Smit, Christian, "The Strange Death of Liberal International Theory" in *European Journal of International Law* 12, no. 3, June 1, 2001, pp. 573–593, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/12.3.573>.
- Riichi, Maeda, "Yoshida-san to Kankoku" in *KK 295:16*, September 1970, Shinobu, IV, 1151.
- Ruggie, John Gerard *et al.*, "Transformations in World Politics: The Intellectual Contributions of Ernst B. Haas" in *Annual Review of Political Science* 8, no. 1, June 15, 2005, pp. 271–296, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104843>.
- Sahashi, Ryo, "Japan's Strategy amid US–China Confrontation" in *China International Strategy Review* 2, no. 2, November 18, 2020, pp. 232–45, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42533-020-00061-9>.
- Satake, Tomohiko, "Japan's 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy' and Its Implication for ASEAN" in *Southeast Asian Affairs*, December 31, 2019, pp. 69–82, <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814843164-007>.
- Schlichtmann, Klaus, "The Ethics of Peace: Shidehara Kijūrō and Article 9 of the Constitution" in *Japan Forum* 7, no. 1, 1995, pp. 43–67, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09555809508721527>.
- Schweller, Randall L., "A Tale of Two Realisms: Expanding the Institutions Debate" in *Mershon International Studies Review* 41, 1997.

- Shinoda, Tomohito, “Japan’s Failed Experiment: The DPJ and Institutional Change for Political Leadership” in *Asian Survey* 52, no. 5, September 2012, pp. 799–821, <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2012.52.5.799>.
- Smith, Paul J., “The Senkaku/Diaoyu Island Controversy: A Crisis Postponed” in *Naval War College Review* 66, no. 2, 2013, pp. 27–44.
- Sumikura, Ichiro, “A Brief History of Japanese Environmental Administration: A Qualified Success Story?” in *Journal of Environmental Law* 10, no. 2, 1998, pp. 241–256.
- Tamaki, Taku, “Repackaging National Identity: Cool Japan and the Resilience of Japanese Identity Narratives” in *Asian Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 1, 2019, pp. 108–126, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2019.1594323>.
- Thornton, Songok Han and Thornton, William H., “South Korea’s Trilateral Imperative: Facing Up to the New Cold War in Northeast Asia,” *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues* 24, no. 3, 2020, pp. 72–97.
- Tokuchi, Hideshi, “The Role of Japan in Sustaining Regional Order in East Asia” in *Asia Policy* 13, no. 2, April 2018, pp. 32–38, <https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2018.0020>.
- Tsuruta, Hiromi and Miyasaka, Jackie, “The Bubble Economy and Financial Crisis in Japan: Financial Deregulation, Globalization, and Financial Administration” in *International Journal of Political Economy* 29, no. 1, 1999, pp. 26–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08911916.1999.11643984>.
- Tsurutani, Taketsugu, “Old Habits, New Times: Challenges to Japanese-American Security Relations” in *International Security* 7, no. 2, 1982, pp. 175–187, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538437>.
- Ueki, Kawakatsu, “Japan’s China Strategy: The End of Liberal Deterrence” in *Security Challenges* vol 16, no. 3, 2020, pp. 58–63.
- van Ham, Peter, “The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation” in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 5, 2001, pp. 2–6.
- Vyas, Utpal, “Cool, Warm, Soft and Sharp: Paradigms of Cultural Exchange in Japan–China Relations” in *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 26, no. 7, April 16, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2020.1752683>.
- Walker, Christopher, “What Is ‘Sharp Power’?” in *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3, 2018, pp. 9–23, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0041>.

- Wang, Chenyun, “Study on the Prospects for the Development of China, Japan and Korea Economic and Trade Cooperation under RCEP” in *SHS Web of Conferences* 163, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202316303035>.
- Watanabe, Hiroaki Richard, “Japanese Politics under the Hatoyama Administration” in *Il Politico* 76, no. 2, 2011, pp. 180–182.
- Wendt, Alexander, “Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics” in *International Organization* 46, no. 2, 1992, pp. 391–425, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818300027764>.
- Yang, Florence Wen-Ting, “Asymmetrical Interdependence and Sanction: China’s Economic Retaliation over South Korea’s THAAD Deployment” in *Issues & Studies: A Social Science Quarterly on China, Taiwan, and East Asian Affairs* 55, no. 04, December 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1142/s1013251119400083>.
- Yoshimatsu, Hidetaka, “Identity, Policy Ideas, and Asian Diplomacy: Japan’s Response to the Rise of China” in *International Area Studies Review* 15, no. 4, 2012, pp. 359–376, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2233865912467181>.

Documente Oficiale

- Acquisition, Technology & Logistics Agency (ATLA), *Medium-to Long-Term Technology Outlook*, August 2016, <https://www.mod.go.jp/atla/en/policy/pdf/outlook.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025
- , *Missions of ATLA*, https://www.mod.go.jp/atla/en/soubichou_gaiyou.html. Accessed August 5, 2024.
- AHA Centre, *DELSA-Disaster Emergency Logistics System for ASEAN*, 2018, <https://ahacentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/DIGITAL-Version-FACTSHEETS-DELSA.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Asean Defense Ministers’ Meeting (ADMM), *About the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus*, January 11, 2024, <https://admm.asean.org/index.php/about-admm/about-admm-plus.html>. Accessed September 14, 2024.
- ASEAN Indonesia 2023, *Three Pillars of ASEAN Community*, April 18, 2023, <https://asean2023.id/en/news/three-pillars-of-asean-community>. Accessed November 3, 2024.

- ASEAN Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism, *ASEAN-Japan at a Glance*, <https://www.asean.or.jp/en/asean-japan-information/>. Accessed November 16, 2024.
- ASEAN Regional Forum, *The First ASEAN Regional Forum*, July 25, 1994, p. 3., <https://aseanregionalforum.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/First-ARF-Bangkok-25-July-1994.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- ASEAN Secretariat, *Overview of ASEAN-Japan Dialogue Relations*, August 16, 2018, <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Overview-ASEAN-Japan-Relations-As-of-16-August-2018-rev.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The ASEAN-Japan Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat Terrorism and Transnational Crime*, November 2014, <https://asean.org/the-asean-japan-joint-declaration-for-cooperation-to-combat-terrorism-and-transnational-crime/>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Asō, Tarō, *On the ‘Arc of Freedom and Prosperity’*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, March 12, 2007, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/pillar/address0703.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Cabinet Secretariat, *Cool Japan Strategy Public–Private Partnership Initiative*, Cool Japan Strategy Promotion Council, 2015, https://www.cao.go.jp/cool_japan/english/pdf/published_document1.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Cool Japan Strategy*, https://www.cao.go.jp/cool_japan/english/index-e.html. Accessed July 12, 2024.
- , *The Cool Japan Public-Private Partnership Platform*, https://www.cao.go.jp/cool_japan/english/platform_en/platform_en.html. Accessed July 13, 2024.
- , *National Security Strategy of Japan*, December 2022, <https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryoku/221216anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *National Security Strategy of Japan*, December 2022, p. 23, <https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryoku/221216anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *National Security Strategy*, December 17, 2013, <https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryou/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, *Fact Sheet: North Korea Missile Test Activity*, November 14, 2023, <https://armscontrolcenter.org/fact-sheet-north-korea-missile-test-activity/>. Accessed July 5, 2024.
- Confederation of Indian Industry, *India-Japan. Economic Synergies*, 2024, p. 24, https://www.cii.in/International_ResearchPDF/India_Japan_Partnership_Report%202024_Web.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Cool Japan Fund Inc., *What Is Cool Japan Fund?*, <https://www.cj-fund.co.jp/en/about/cjfund.html>. Accessed July 13, 2024.
- Defense Security Cooperation Agency, *Japan – E2D Advanced Hawkeye Airborne Early Warning and Control Aircraft*, June 1, 2015. <https://www.dsca.mil/press-media/major-arms-sales/japan-e-2d-advanced-hawkeye-airborne-early-warning-and-control>. Accessed August 14, 2024.
- East Asia Institute, *[The Tenth Korea-Japan Future Dialogue] ‘The Future of South Korea-Japan Relations in the Context of the U.S.-China Conflicts’*, September 3, 2022, https://www.eai.or.kr/new/en/project/view.asp?code=104&intSeq=21429&board=eng_ev&keyword_option=&keyword=&more=. Accessed October 27, 2024.
- , *2024 EAI Public Opinion Poll on International Affairs: Japan and the ROK-Japan Relations*, 2024.
- Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency, *Sentinel Asia*, <https://earth.jaxa.jp/en/application/disaster/sentinel-asia/index.html>. Accessed November 15, 2024.
- Japan Association for Smart Cities in ASEAN, *Overview*, <https://www.jasca2021.jp/about/>. Accessed November 8, 2024.
- Japan Association of Overseas Studies, *JAOS 2023 Statistical Report on Japanese Studying Abroad*, May 22, 2024, https://www.jaos.or.jp/newsrelease_eng. Accessed October 03, 2024.
- Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), *JBIC Launches Global Facility to Promote Quality Infrastructure Investment for Environmental Preservation and Sustainable Growth*,

- June 28, 2018, <https://www.jbic.go.jp/en/information/news/news-2018/0628-011154.html>. Accessed September 14, 2024.
- Japan Cabinet Office, 「自衛隊・防衛問題に関する世論調査」の概要 令和 5 年 3 月
[Overview of ‘Public Opinion Poll on Self- Defense Forces and Defense Issues – March 2022], 2022.
- , 「自衛隊・防衛問題に関する世論調査」の概要 平成 30 年 3 月[Overview of ‘Public Opinion Poll on Self-Defense Forces and Defense Issues – March 2018], 2018.
- Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), *JICA inks new agreement with the Philippine Government for Maritime Safety Capability Improvement*, June 14, 2024, https://www.jica.go.jp/english/overseas/philippine/information/press/2024/1542369_53492.html. Accessed November 10, 2024.
- , *Signing of Japanese ODA Loan Agreement with Viet Nam: Strengthening the maritime security and safety capability of the Vietnam Coast Guard*, July 30, 2020, https://www.jica.go.jp/english/information/press/2020/20200730_31_en.html. Accessed November 10, 2024.
- Japan Student Services Organization, *Result of International Student Survey in Japan, 2023*, May 2024, <https://www.studyinJapan.go.jp/en/statistics/enrollment/data/2405241100.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF), *JENESYS Programme*, <https://jaif.asean.org/jaif-component/jenesys-programme/>. Accessed November 16, 2024.
- Japan-China Economic Association, *About JCEA*, <https://www.jc-web.or.jp/pages/673/>. Accessed September 29, 2024.
- Japanese Ministry of the Environment, *ASEAN-Japan Climate Change Action Agenda*, <https://www.env.go.jp/content/900512472.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Launch of the Strategic Program for Japan Climate and Environment (SPACE) and Results of the ASEAN-Japan Environment Week to Commemorate 50th Anniversary*, August 31, 2023, https://www.env.go.jp/en/press/press_01857.html. Accessed November 15, 2024.
- Keizai Koho Center, *Japan-Korea and Korea-Japan Future Partnership Funds*, <https://en.kkc.or.jp/programs/ktp/>. Accessed October 27, 2024.

- Lancang-Mekong Cooperation China Secretariat, *Lancang-Mekong Cooperation*, <http://www.lmcchina.org/eng/>. Accessed September 15, 2024.
- Li Wei (ed), *Japan Should Learn Lessons from History and Avoid Beggar-Thy-Neighbor Path: Defense Spokesperson*, Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China, December 29, 2022, http://eng.mod.gov.cn/xb/News_213114/NewsRelease/4929444.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Ministère des Armées et des Anciens combattants, *Mission JEANNE D'ARC 23 – exercice LAPEROUSE pour la sécurité maritime de la zone Indopacifique*, March 16, 2023, <https://www.defense.gouv.fr/marine/actualites/mission-jeanne-darc-23-exercice-laperouse-securite-maritime-zone-indopacifique>. Accessed December 22, 2024.
- Ministry of Defence of India, *First Japan-India Maritime Exercise (JIMEX) in Indian Waters From 19-22 Dec, December 17, 2013*, <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=101825>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *India-Japan Joint Exercise 'Dharma Guardian' Commences in Rajasthan*, February 25, 2024, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=2008775>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Memorandum of Implementation Signed With Government of Japan for Co-Development of UNICORN Masts for the Indian Navy*, November 16, 2024, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=2073843>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Ministry of Defense of Japan, *Defense of Japan 2019*, 2019, https://www.mod.go.jp/en/publ/w_paper/wp2019/pdf/DOJ2019_Full.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Defense of Japan 2021*, 2021, https://www.mod.go.jp/en/publ/w_paper/wp2021/DOJ2021_EN_Full.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Defense of Japan 2023*, 2023, https://www.mod.go.jp/en/publ/w_paper/wp2023/DOJ2023_EN_Full.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Defense of Japan* 2024, 2024, https://www.mod.go.jp/en/publ/w_paper/wp2024/DOJ2024_EN_Full.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Defense Technology Guideline 2023. To Defend Our Nation at All Times with Technologies*, June 2023, <https://www.mod.go.jp/atla/guideline2023/en/>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Establishment of the Hotline Between Japan-China Defense Authorities*, March 31, 2023, <https://www.mod.go.jp/en/article/2023/03/dd1ddd1e633fe6b16f982cf5fd6762ec152934e7.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S.-India-Australia Multilateral Exercise (MALABAR 2023)*, August 8, 2023, <https://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/en/release/202308/20230808en.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Press Statement by Minister of Defense of Japan and Minister of National Defense of the Republic of Korea*, June 1, 2024, <https://www.mod.go.jp/en/article/2024/06/379fa1b91bfff2ace8a35e60413b555b96bbe6b.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee. Toward a More Robust Alliance and Greater Shared Responsibilities*, October 3, 2013, https://warp.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11591426/www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/us/anpo/pdf/js20131003_e.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2019 and Beyond*, December 18, 2018, https://warp.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11591426/www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/agenda/guideline/2019/pdf/20181218_e.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *National Defense Program Guidelines*, December 17, 2013, https://warp.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11591426/www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/agenda/guideline/2014/pdf/20131217_e2.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *National Defense Strategy*, December 16, 2022, https://www.mod.go.jp/j/policy/agenda/guideline/strategy/pdf/strategy_en.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation*, September 23, 1997, https://warp.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11591426/www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/us/anpo/pdf/19970923.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Updating the 'Vientiane Vision: Japan's Defense Cooperation Initiative with ASEAN'*, November 2019, https://www.mod.go.jp/en/d_act/exc/admm/06/vv2_en.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Vientiane Vision: Japan's Defense Cooperation Initiative with ASEAN*, https://www.mod.go.jp/en/d_act/exc/vientianevision/index.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, *13th Japan-China Security Dialogue*, March 20, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_ml/page3e_000315.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *17th Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting*, November 12, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000260.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *23rd Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting*, November 12, 2020, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_001075.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement Between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines Concerning the Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology*, April 2016, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000152490.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement Between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Concerning the Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology*, September 2021, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100232888.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement Between the Government of Japan and the Government of Malaysia Concerning the Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology*, April 2018, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000360291.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of India Concerning Reciprocal Provision of Supplies and Services between the Self-Defense Forces of Japan and the Indian Armed Forces*, September 9, 2020, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100091751.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement Between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of India Concerning the Transfer of Defence Equipment and Technology*, December 2015, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000117470.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Agreement between the Government of Japan and the Government of India for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy*, November 11, 2016, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000202920.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement Between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of India for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy*, November 11, 2016, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000202920.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion*, December 28, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page4e_000364.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *ASEAN-Japan Climate Change Action Agenda 2.0*, 2021, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100252719.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *ASEAN-Japan Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, August 4, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page1e_000432.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan's Survival and Protect its People*, July 1, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page23e_000273.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Comprehensive Partnership Agreement Between Japan and the Republic of India*, February 16, 2011, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/epa201102/pdfs/ijcepa_ba_e.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Development Cooperation Charter*, February 2015, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000067701.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Development Cooperation Charter*, June 2023, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100514705.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Diplomatic Bluebook 2013*, November 11, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/page22e_000013.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Diplomatic Bluebook 2015*, October 27, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/pp/page24e_000100.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Diplomatic Bluebook 2017*, September 15, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/pp/page22e_000817.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Diplomatic Bluebook for 1977: Review of Recent Developments in Japan's Foreign Relations*, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/1977/1977-contents.htm>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Eighth Japan-India Foreign Ministers' Strategic Dialogue*, January 18, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/page3e_000295.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Exchange of Notes for the grant of patrol vessels and for the Grant Aid to Malaysia*, November 16, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001355.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Exemption of Visa (Short-Term Stay)*, December 10, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/j_info/visit/visa/short/novisa.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Extention of the Agreement between Japan and the US on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology*, April 23, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press22e_000015.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Facing Nuclear Dangers: An Action Plan for the 21st Century*, July 25, 1999, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/disarmament/forum/tokyo9907/>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Fact Sheet: Major Examples of Japan's COVID-19 related Support towards ASEAN*, October 27, 2021, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100252718.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Factsheet on Japan-ASEAN Relations*, February 2013, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/factsheet.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Fifth Japan-China High-Level Economic Dialogue*, April 14, 2019, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m2/ch/page4e_001005.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *First Japan-China High-Level People-to-People and Cultural Exchange Dialogue*, November 25, 2019, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page3e_001135.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Free and Open Indo-Pacific*, April 28, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/page25e_000278.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *G7 Ise-Shima Principles for Promoting Quality Infrastructure Investment*, May 2016, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000160272.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *History of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to China*, July 6, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/region/e_asia/china/index.html. Accessed on September 29, 2024.
- , *India Becomes a Subscribing State to the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC)*, June 3, 2016, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001168.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF) Ministerial*, September 10, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press3e_000449.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan's Effort for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific*, March 2021, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100056243.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan's Legislation for Peace and Security. Seamless Responses for Peace and Security of Japan and the International Community*, March 2016, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000143304.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan's Security Policy*, April 05, 2023, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page1we_000079.html. Accessed July 27, 2024.
- , *Japan-ASEAN Connectivity Initiative*, November, 2020, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100114591.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, August 9, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000222.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting*, November 13, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000791.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-Australia-India-U.S. Ministerial*, September 26, 2019, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page3e_001112.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-Australia-India-U.S. (Quad) Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, July 29, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/pageite_000001_00770.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, November 8, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page3e_000262.html. Accessed. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, January 28, 2018, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page3e_000817.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Japan-China Foreign Ministers' Meeting and Working Dinner*, November 24, 2020, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page3e_001084.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Joint Press Statement*, October 8, 2006, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint0610.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Summit Meeting and Working Lunch*, December 25, 2019, https://www.mofa.go.jp/page6e_000242.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Summit Meeting*, November 10, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page4e_000151.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Summit Meeting*, September 5, 2016, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page3e_000558.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-China Summit Meeting*, November 17, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page1e_000550.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration*, September 17, 2002, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/pmv0209/pyongyang.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Joint Declaration*, December 10, 2001, <https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/joint0112.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Joint Statement*, November 11, 2016, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000202950.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Joint Statement*, September 14, 2017, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100002878.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Partnership in a New Asian Era: Strategic Orientation of Japan-India Global Partnership*, April 28, 2005, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/partner0504.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Relations (Basic Data)*, November 12, 2024, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/data.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Summit Joint Statement. Partnership for a Peaceful, Stable and Prosperous Post-COVID World*, March 19, 2022, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100319162.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Japan-India Summit Meeting*, January 25, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/page3e_000138.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Summit Meeting*, November 29, 2004, <https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/meet0411.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Summit Meeting*, August 23, 2000, https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0008/india_s.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Summit Meeting*, September 23, 2021, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/page4e_001170.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Summit Meeting*, October 29, 2018, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/page3_002603.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-India Summit Meeting*, October 10, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/pageite_000001_00566.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-Malaysia Summit Meeting*, December 16, 2023, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sea2/my/pageite_000001_00049.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-Mekong Cooperation*, July 26, 2024, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/mekong/cooperation.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-Philippines Summit Meeting*, September 6, 2016, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sea2/ph/page3e_000568.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-Republic of Korea Joint Declaration. A New Japan-Republic of Korea Partnership towards the Twenty-first Century*, October 8, 1998, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/korea/joint9810.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ROK Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, March 23, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page22e_000664.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ROK Summit Meeting*, February 9, 2018, https://www.mofa.go.jp/page4e_000829.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Japan-ROK Summit Meeting*, May 26, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/pageite_000001_00372.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ROK Summit Meeting*, March 16, 2023, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page1e_000593.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ROK Summit Meeting*, November 13, 2022, Japan-ROK Summit Meeting. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ROK Summit Meeting*, October 10, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na1/pageite_000001_00001.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-ROK Summit Meeting*, September 7, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page3e_000760.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S. Joint Leaders' Statement: Strengthening the Free and Open International Order*, May 23, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page4e_001260.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee (Japan-U.S. "2+2")*, August 17, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/na/st/page3e_000714.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S. Summit Meeting*, February 22, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/pmv_1302/index.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S.-ROK Summit Meeting*, November 15, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/pageite_000001_00646.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S.-ROK Trilateral Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, July 1, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/page6e_000098.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S.-ROK Trilateral Summit Meeting (Outline)*, March 25, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/page3e_000171.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-U.S.-ROK Trilateral Summit Meeting*, July 6, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/page3e_000703.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Japan-US Summit Meeting*, April 16, 2021, https://www.mofa.go.jp/page4e_001123.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Japan-Viet Nam Summit Meeting*, October 11, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sea1/vn/pageite_000001_00611.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Declaration for Enhancing ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership for Prospering Together*, November 18, 2011, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/conference/pdfs/bali_declaration_en_1111.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Japan and India*, October 22, 2008, https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/pmv0810/joint_d.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Press Release from Vice President Mike Pence and Deputy Prime Minister Taro Aso on the U.S.-Japan Economic Dialogue*, April 18, 2017 <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000248229.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Press Release Second Japan-India Cyber Dialogue*, August 18, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001698.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement of the 22nd ASEAN-Japan Summit on Connectivity*, November 4, 2019, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000534745.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement of the Meeting of Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN and the Prime Minister of Japan*, December 16, 1997, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/pmv9712/statement_1.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement of the Ninth ASEAN-Japan Summit. Deepening and Broadening of ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership*, December 13, 2005, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/conference/joint0512.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee (2+2)*, March 16, 2021, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100161035.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement on the Establishment of the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Strategic Partnership*, September 6, 2023, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100560221.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Joint Statement Towards Japan-India Strategic and Global Partnership*, December 2006, <https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/pdfs/joint0612.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement*, February 10, 2017, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000227768.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement. First Japan-India 2+2 Foreign and Defence Ministerial Meeting*, November 30, 2019, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000544338.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement. Japan-U.S. Cyber Dialogue*, May 10, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/page22e_000001.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement. Third Japan-India 2+2 Foreign and Defence Ministerial Meeting*, August 20, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/in/pageite_000001_00002.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Keynote Address by H.E. Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan at the 13th IISS Asian Security Summit 'Shangri-La Dialogue'*, May 30, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page18e_000087.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Moscow Declaration on Establishing a Creative Partnership between Japan and the Russian Federation*, November 13, 1998, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition01/moscow.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *New Tōkyō Strategy 2015 for Mekong-Japan Cooperation (MJC2015)*, July 4, 2015, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000088538.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Official Security Assistance (OSA). Programme in implementation*, January 23, 2025, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/ipc/pagewe_001067_00001.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Partnership for Quality Infrastructure. Investment for Asia's Future*, May 21, 2015, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000081298.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Press Conference by Foreign Minister Kamikawa Yoko*, August 27, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/kaiken/kaikenwe_000001_00089.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Press Conference by the Press Secretary*, May 15, 1998, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/1998/5/515.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Prime Minister Abe Visits China*, October 26, 2018, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page3e_000958.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Prime Minister Ishiba Attends ASEAN-related Summit Meetings*, October 11, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_orp/pageite_000001_00604.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi Attends the EAS, ASEAN+3, and Japan-ASEAN Summit Meetings*, December 2005, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/eas/summary0512.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Prime Minister Suga Receives a Courtesy Call from State Councilor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, November 25, 2020, https://www.mofa.go.jp/page3e_001083.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Regarding Discussions toward Improving Japan-China Relations*, November 7, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/c_m1/cn/page4e_000150.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Regarding the Decision by the Supreme Court of the Republic of Korea, Confirming the Existing Judgments on the Japanese Company*, October 30, 2018, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_002204.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Relaxation of Visa Requirements for Chinese Citizens*, January 6, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_000576.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Seminar on Capacity Building in Maritime Security and Disaster Relief*, September 26, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page23e_000328.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Signing of the Japan-Philippines Reciprocal Access Agreement*, July 8, 2024, https://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sea2/ph/pageite_000001_00432.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama – ‘On The Occasion of The 50th Anniversary of The War's End’*, August 15, 1995, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/pm/murayama/9508.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Statement by the Chief Cabinet Secretary*, August 4, 1993, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_orp/page25e_000343.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the announcement on the ‘East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone’ by the Ministry of National Defense of the People's*

- Republic of China, November 24, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_000098.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Summary Report. Japan-India Science and Technology Initiative Meeting*, October 17, 2006, https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/policy/s_tech/summary0610.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Telephone Talks between Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and India Prime Minister Manmohan Singh*, December 28, 2012, https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/121228_01.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The 18th Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting*, November 22, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000422.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and Japan's Implementation*, March 2017, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000252817.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The 5th Meeting of the Trilateral Dialogue*, November 15, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_000083.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Announcement of the Results of the Assessment by the Taskforce to Review the Agreement on Comfort Women Issue reached between the Governments of Japan and the ROK*, December 27, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001857.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Commemorative Summit for the 50th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation*, December 20, 2023, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/pageite_000001_00029.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Eighth East Asia Summit 2013*, October 10, 2013, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/page3e_000110.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Eighth Japan-China-ROK Trilateral Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, August 24, 2016, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000539.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The First Japan-U.S. Development Dialogue (senior level)*, February 21, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/ic/dapc/page3e_000148.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The First Meeting of Japanese Executive Committee for Japan-India Friendship and Exchange Year*, June 1, 2006,

- <https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8896781/www.mofa.go.jp/announce/event/2006/6/0601.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The First Meeting of the Japan-U.S. Partnership on Trade*, March 1, 2022, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_003088.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Second Japan-Australia-India-U.S. Foreign Ministers' Meeting*, October 6, 2020, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press6e_000244.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Signing of the Japan-ASEAN Technical Cooperation Agreement*, May 13, 2019, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_002444.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The Spirit of Camp David: Joint Statement of Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the United States*, August 18, 2023, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100541826.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Tōkyō Declaration for Japan-India Special Strategic and Global Partnership*, September 1, 2014, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000050532.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Tōkyō Strategy 2018 for Mekong-Japan Cooperation*, October 9, 2018, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000406731.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *U.S.-Japan Joint Statement: The United States and Japan: Shaping the Future of the Asia-Pacific and Beyond*, April 25, 2014, https://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page24e_000045.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *U.S.-Japan Joint Vision Statement*, April 28, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page4e_000250.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Vision Statement on ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation*, January 18, 2013, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000022449.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *White Paper on Development Cooperation 2022*, December 2023, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/pagewe_000001_00014.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *White Paper on Development Cooperation 2018*, January 15, 2020, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/page24e_000261.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *White Paper on Development Cooperation 2016*, March 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/page22e_000815.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *White Papers on Development Cooperation*, January 23, 2025, https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/page_000017.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- Ministry of Justice of Japan, *The First Civil Code in Laos Entered into Force*, May 27, 2020, https://www.moj.go.jp/EN/kokusai/m_kokusai08_00001.html. Accessed July 22, 2024.
- Mission of Japan to ASEAN, *Areas of ASEAN-Japan Cooperation*, October 9, 2024, https://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/11_000001_00077.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- National Security Council, *Implementation Guidelines for Japan's Official Security Assistance*, April 5, 2023, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100487432.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Office of the United States Trade Representative, *Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF)*, <https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/agreements-under-negotiation/indo-pacific-economic-framework-prosperity-ipef>. Accessed January 25, 2025.
- Office of the United States Trade Representative, *Summary of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement*, October 4, 2015, <https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2015/october/summary-trans-pacific-partnership>. Accessed January 6, 2025.
- Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 'The Future of Asia: Be Innovative' - Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the Banquet of the 21st International Conference on the Future of Asia, May 21, 2015, https://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/statement/201505/0521foaspeech.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *National Defense Program Guideline, FY 2005*, December 10, 2004, https://japan.kantei.go.jp/policy/2004/1210taikou_e.html. Accessed September 19, 2024.
- , *Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 183rd Session of the Diet*, January 28, 2013, https://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/statement/201301/28syosin_e.html. Accessed July 20, 2024.
- , *Press Conference by Prime Minister Taro Aso*, March 31, 2009, https://japan.kantei.go.jp/asospeech/2009/03/31kaiken_e.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Press Conference by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe*, December 26, 2012, https://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/statement/201212/26kaiken_e.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- , *Speech by Prime Minister KISHIDA Fumio at the ASEAN-Indo-Pacific Forum*, September 6, 2023, https://japan.kantei.go.jp/101_kishida/statement/202309/06speech.html. Accessed November 15, 2024.
- Republic of Korea – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Unification of the Korean Peninsula*, April 17, 2018, https://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/brd/m_5478/view.do?seq=319130&srchFr=&%3BsrchTo=&%3BsrchWord=&%3BsrchTp=&%3Bmulti_itm_seq=0&%3Bitm_seq_1=0&%3Bitm_seq_2=0&%3Bcompany_cd=&%3Bcompany_nm=&page=1&titleNm. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- The ASEAN Secretariat, *Chairman’s Statement of the 1st ASEAN – U.S. Summit*, October 9, 2013, <https://asean.org/speechandstatement/chairmans-statement-of-the-1st-asean-u-s-summit/>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025*, 2016, https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/8_compressed.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- The Genron NPO, *Japan-China Joint Public Opinion Survey 2023*, October 2023, https://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/docs/Japan-China%20Joint%20Public%20Opinion%20Survey%202023.pdf. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- The Government of Japan, “Strengthening Collaboration Between Japan and the Republic of Korea in Advanced Science and Technology,” February 2, 2024, https://www.japan.go.jp/kizuna/2024/02/collaboration_between_japan_and_the_rok.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *The First Policy Speech by Prime Minister ISHIBA Shigeru*, November 8, 2024, https://www.japan.go.jp/kizuna/2024/11/the_first_policy_speech_by_ishiba.html. Accessed January 30, 2025.
- The Japan Foundation, *Japan-China 21st Century Friendship Program*, <https://www.jpf.go.jp/e/project/intel/exchange/chinacenter/index.html>. Accessed October 4, 2024.
- The National Diet Library, *General Headquarters – Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. APO 500 – 4 January 1946*, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/9885619/1/1>. Accessed February 15, 2025.

- The Sasakawa Peace Foundation, *Japan-China Field Officer Exchange Program*, <https://www.spf.org/en/china/programs/V20180142.html>. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- , *Sasakawa Japan-China Friendship Program*, <https://www.spf.org/en/programs/china/>. Accessed October 4, 2024.
- The State Council of The People's Republic of China, *China's Military Strategy*, May 27, 2015, https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2015/05/27/content_281475115610833.htm. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, December 2017, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Quad Leaders' Summit Fact Sheet*, May 20, 2023, <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/05/20/quad-leaders-summit-fact-sheet/>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Remarks by President Trump at APEC CEO Summit | Da Nang, Vietnam*, November 10, 2017, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-apec-ceo-summit-da-nang-vietnam/>. Accessed January 18, 2025.
- , *Remarks by President Biden on America's Place in the World*, February 4, 2021, <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/02/04/remarks-by-president-biden-on-americas-place-in-the-world/>. Accessed January 24, 2025.
- The White House, *Fact Sheet: In Asia, President Biden and a Dozen Indo-Pacific Partners Launch the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity*, May 23, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/05/23/fact-sheet-in-asia-president-biden-and-a-dozen-indo-pacific-partners-launch-the-indo-pacific-economic-framework-for-prosperity/>. Accessed October 26, 2024.
- The World and Japan Database - Database of Japanese Politics and International Relations, *Joint Declaration by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan*, October 19, 1956, <https://worldjpn.net/documents/texts/docs/19561019.D1E.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Agreement Between the United States of America and Japan Concerning the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands*, 1971,

- <https://worldjpn.net/documents/texts/docs/19710617.T1E.html>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- , *Joint Statement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Comprehensive Promotion of a 'Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests'*, May 10, 2008, <https://worldjpn.net/documents/texts/JPCH/20080510.D1E.html>. Accessed September 19, 2024.
- U.S. Department of Defense, *Joint Statement of the 15th Republic of Korea-United States-Japan Defense Trilateral Talks*, September 9, 2024, <https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/3900255/joint-statement-of-the-15th-republic-of-korea-united-states-japan-defense-trila/>. Accessed October 20, 2024.
- United Nations Treaty Collection, *Japan and Republic of Korea. Treaty on Basic Relations*, 1965, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20583/volume-583-I-8471-English.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- United States Navy, *Australia, India, Japan, Korea, and the U.S. Complete Multilateral Exercise Sea Dragon 2024*, January 31, 2024, <https://www.navy.mil/Press-Office/News-Stories/Article/3662123/australia-india-japan-korea-and-the-us-complete-multilateral-exercise-sea-drango/>. Accessed October 20, 2024.
- US Indo-Pacific Command, *First Execution of Multi-Domain Japan-ROK-U.S. Exercise FREEDOM EDGE*, June 27, 2024, <https://www.pacom.mil/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/3819042/trilateral-statement-first-execution-of-multi-domain-japan-rok-us-exercise-free/>. Accessed October 20, 2024.
- US Indo-Pacific Command, <https://www.pacom.mil/>. Accessed October 20, 2024.

Articole de Știri

- “‘Comfort Women’ Deal Inked with Secret Agreements: Foreign Ministry” in *The Korea Times*, December 27, 2017, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2024/10/113_241540.html. Accessed October 12, 2024.

Akita, Hiroyuki, “Take Trump Seriously When He Bashes Japan-US Security Treaty” in *Nikkei Asia*, July 11, 2019, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Comment/Take-Trump-seriously-when-he-bashes-Japan-US-security-treaty>. Accessed January 11, 2025.

“An Interview with Yasuhiro Nakasone” in *Time Magazine*, August 1, 1983.

Auslin, Michael, “Japan’s New Realism. Abe Gets Tough” in *Foreign Affairs*, February 16, 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/japan/2016-02-16/japans-new-realism>. Accessed July 27, 2024.

Basu, Titli, “Ishiba’s Push for an ‘Asian NATO’ Is a Non-Starter” in *The Diplomat*, October 10, 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/10/ishibas-push-for-an-asian-nato-is-a-non-starter/>. Accessed February 1, 2025.

Birgbauer, Peter, “The US Pivot to Asia Was Dead on Arrival” in *The Diplomat*, March 31, 2022, <https://thediplomat.com/2022/03/the-us-pivot-to-asia-was-dead-on-arrival/>. Accessed January 4, 2025.

Branigan, Tania, “China Cuts Japan Contacts Over Detained Trawler Captain” in *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/sep/19/china-japan-contacts-detained-trawler-captain>. Accessed September 19, 2024.

Cha, Victor, “America’s Asian Partners Are Not Worried Enough About Trump” in *Foreign Affairs*, June 26, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/americas-asian-partners-are-not-worried-enough-about-trump>. Accessed October 27, 2024.

Cherney, Mike, “U.S., Allies Issue Rare Warning on Chinese Hacking Group” in *The Wall Street Journal*, July 9, 2024, <https://www.wsj.com/politics/national-security/u-s-allies-issue-rare-warning-on-chinese-hacking-group-9eebb0ce>. Accessed October 5, 2024.

Davidson, Helen and Borger, Julian, “China Resumes Military Drills Off Taiwan after Shelving US Talks” in *The Guardian*, August 8, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/aug/08/entirely-provoked-china-defends-calling-off-us-military-talks-after-nancy-pelosis-taiwan-visit>. Accessed September 28, 2024.

“Despite Defense Buildup, Japan's Arms Industry Struggles” in *The Asahi Shimbun*, December 29, 2021, <https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14512775>. Accessed December 25, 2024.

- Divya, Aparna, “China-Japan Relations at a Crossroads Amid Strategic Challenges” in *The Diplomat*, August 17, 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/08/china-japan-relations-at-a-crossroads-amid-strategic-challenges/>. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan, “Are 105 Extra F-35s the Best Option for Japan’s Military?” in *The Diplomat*, December 19, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/12/are-105-extra-f-35s-the-best-option-for-japans-military/>. Accessed August 11, 2024.
- Griffiths, James, “Japan Seeking Own North Korea Summit as Abe Risks Being Left Out” in *CNN*, March 29, 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/03/29/asia/japan-north-korea-summit-intl/index.html>. Accessed October 19, 2024.
- Han, Sol and Griffiths, James, “Why this Statue of a Young Girl Caused a Diplomatic Incident” in *CNN*, February 10, 2017, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/05/asia/south-korea-comfort-women-statue/index.html>. Accessed October 13, 2024.
- Heydarian, Richard Javad, “Japan Leads the ‘Middle Powers’ in Shaping Asia’s Future” in *The Japan Times*, May 17, 2021, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2021/05/17/commentary/japan-commentary/japan-a-leader-in-shaping-asias-future/>. Accessed August 27, 2024.
- Hill, John, “US and Japan Procure Nine E-2D Advanced Hawkeye in \$1.5bn Deal” in *Airforce Technology*, July 22, 2024, <https://www.airforce-technology.com/news/us-and-japan-procure-nine-e-2d-advanced-hawkeye-in-1-5bn-deal/>. Accessed August 14, 2024.
- Hurst, Daniel, “Abe Wants ‘New Era’ in China-Japan Relations” in *The Diplomat*, October 26, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/10/abe-wants-new-era-in-china-japan-relations/>. Accessed September 23, 2024.
- Inaba, Yoshihiro, “JMSDF to Put its Latest Aegis Destroyer JS Maya through its Paces” in *Naval News*, May 13, 2020, <https://www.navalnews.com/naval-news/2020/05/jmsdf-to-put-its-latest-aegis-destroyer-js-maya-through-its-paces/>. Accessed August 15, 2024.
- “Ishiba Cabinet Approval Rate Tumbles; 61% Say No Need to Resign” in *The Asahi Shimbun*, November 4, 2024, <https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/15494098>. Accessed on January 26, 2025.
- “Japan PM Seeks Partners after Ruling Bloc Loses Lower House Majority” in *Kyodo News*, October 28, 2024, <https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2024/10/33076ebdd8e3-japan-pm->

- [seeks-partners-after-ruling-bloc-loses-lower-house-majority.html](#). Accessed January 26, 2025.
- “Japan Selects Lockheed Martin F-35 Lightning II” in *Lockheed Martin*, December 19, 2011, <https://news.lockheedmartin.com/2011-12-19-Japan-Selects-Lockheed-Martin-F-35-Lightning-II>. Accessed August 11, 2024.
- “Japan, China Launch Maritime-Aerial Communication Mechanism” in *The Mainichi*, June 8, 2018, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20180608/p2a/00m/0na/002000c>. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- “Japan, China to Resume Currency Swap Agreement” in *The Mainichi*, October 20, 2018, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20181020/p2a/00m/0na/007000c>. Accessed September 29, 2024.
- “Japan’s Ruling Party Hit by Scandal Over Undocumented Political Funds” in *CNN World*, December 19, 2023, <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/12/20/asia/japan-ldp-politics-fund-scandal-intl-hnk/index.html>. Accessed January 26, 2025.
- “Japan-S. Korea Public Opinion Survey: Understanding of Security Cooperation Deepens, But Problems Remain” in *The Japan News – The Yomiuri Shinbun*, June 11, 2024, <https://japannews.yomiuri.co.jp/editorial/yomiuri-editorial/20240611-191291/>. Accessed October 26, 2024.
- Johnson, Jesse, “As Trump Returns, Will Japan Be Able to Weather the Storm?” in *The Japan Times*, January 19, 2025, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2025/01/19/japan/politics/us-japan-relations-trump-ishiba/>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Jozuka, Emiko and Wang, Serenitie, “China and Japan’s Relationship Is Thawing in the Time of Coronavirus” in *CNN World*, February 25, 2024, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/02/25/asia/japan-china-coronavirus-enemies-to-friends-hnk-intl/index.html>. Accessed September 28, 2024.
- Kamata, Jio, “Ishiba Shigeru Wants a Stronger Japan-US Alliance. He Has an Unorthodox Vision For Doing That,” in *The Diplomat*, October 3, 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/10/ishiba-shigeru-wants-a-stronger-japan-us-alliance-he-has-an-unorthodox-vision-for-doing-that/>. Accessed January 2, 2025.

- Katakam, Anand and Chowdhury, Jitesh, “Crowded Skies and Seas. China's Storm of Military Drills Around Taiwan” in *Reuters*, April 14, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/CHINA-TAIWAN/egvbylbywpq/>. Accessed September 28, 2024.
- Kim, Jack, “South Korea Forced Labour Victims Gets ‘Compensation’ from Japan Firm, Lawyer Says” in *Reuters*, February 20, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/skorea-forced-labour-victim-receives-compensation-japanese-firm-family-lawyer-2024-02-20/>. Accessed October 14, 2024.
- Kosuke, Takahashi, “Japan Approves 16.5% Increase in Defense Spending for FY2024” in *The Diplomat*, December 22, 2023, <https://thediplomat.com/2023/12/japan-approves-16-5-increase-in-defense-spending-for-fy2024/>. Accessed April 7, 2024.
- Lentz, Carl, “Japan’s Foreign Policy in the Mekong Region” in *The Diplomat*, November 21, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/11/japans-foreign-policy-in-the-mekong-region/>. Accessed September 15, 2024.
- Linbin, Wang, “How Has the ‘Korean Wave’ Impacted Japan-South Korea Relations?” in *The Diplomat*, January 6, 2023, <https://thediplomat.com/2023/01/how-has-the-korean-wave-impacted-japan-south-korea-relations/>. Accessed October 26, 2024.
- MacAskill, Ewen and Watts, Jonathan, “Japan Bans All Trade with North Korea” in *The Guardian*, October 11, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/oct/12/japan.northkorea1>. Accessed January 24, 2024.
- “Main Opposition Leader Slams Korea-Japan Summit As 'Most Humiliating' Moment in Diplomacy” in *The Korea Times*, March 17, 2023, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2025/02/113_347302.html. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- McCurry, Justin, “Japan Will Become Carbon Neutral by 2050, PM Pledges” in *The Guardian*, October 26, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/oct/26/japan-will-become-carbon-neutral-by-2050-pm-pledges>. Accessed April 7, 2024.
- , “Koizumi Ignores Protests in Final Shrine Visit” in *The Guardian*, August 16, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/aug/16/secondworldwar.japan>. Accessed September 17, 2024.

- McElhinney, David, “Is Japan’s Soft Power at an All-time High?” in *Tokyo Weekender*, December 28, 2023, <https://www.tokyoweekender.com/japan-life/news-and-opinion/japan-soft-power-at-an-all-time-high/>. Accessed July 15, 2024.
- Messenger, Yann, “Japan’s Crisis of Confidence” in *The Diplomat*, January 16, 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/japans-crisis-of-confidence/>. Accessed April 7, 2024.
- Miki, Rieko, “Japan SDF Destroyer Sails through Taiwan Strait for 1st Time” in *NikkeiAsia*, September 26, 2024, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Taiwan-tensions/Japan-SDF-destroyer-sails-through-Taiwan-Strait-for-1st-time>. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- Miller, J. Berkshire, “Battle-Ready Japan? The Real Story Behind Tokyo’s First National Security Strategy” in *Foreign Affairs*, January 10, 2014, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2014-01-10/battle-ready-japan>. Accessed August 5, 2024.
- Nagatomi, Shinnosuke, “Japan’s Defense Spending Climbs to 1.6% of GDP” in *NikkeiAsia*, April 27, 2024. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Defense/Japan-s-defense-spending-climbs-to-1.6-of-GDP>. Accessed August 9, 2024
- Naito, Edo, “Japan Has Nothing to Fear from Trump – Except in Maybe One Area,” in *The Japan Times*, January 17, 2025, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/commentary/2025/01/17/japan/japan-nothing-to-fear-from-trump/>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Needham, Kirsty, “India, Japan, US, Australia Hold First Malabar Naval Exercise off Australia” in *Reuters*, August 10, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/india-japan-us-australia-hold-first-malabar-naval-exercise-off-australia-2023-08-10/>. Accessed September 13, 2023.
- “Noda’s Election as CDPJ Leader: Can New President Build Party Unity with Centrist Approach?” in *The Japan News - Yomiuri Shimbun*, September 24, 2024, <https://japannews.yomiuri.co.jp/editorial/yomiuri-editorial/20240924-213119/>. Accessed January 26, 2025.
- Nye, Joseph S., “Think Again: Soft Power” in *Foreign Policy*, February 23, 2006, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2006/02/23/think-again-soft-power/>. Accessed July 7, 2024.

- Obe, Mitsuru, “Japan's Export Curbs on South Korea: 5 Things to Know” in *NikkeiAsia*, July 9, 2019, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Japan-s-export-curbs-on-South-Korea-5-things-to-know>. Accessed October 14, 2024.
- Panda, Ankit, “Japan-India Maritime Surveillance Aircraft Deal May Come Before the New Year” in *The Diplomat*, November 30, 2015, <https://thediplomat.com/2015/11/japan-india-maritime-surveillance-aircraft-deal-may-come-before-the-new-year/>. Accessed December 25, 2024.
- Panda, Jagannath, “Shinzo Abe’s Infrastructure Diplomacy” in *Asia Times*, July 31, 2020, <https://asiatimes.com/2020/07/shinzo-abes-infrastructure-diplomacy/>. Accessed September 15, 2024.
- Parameswaran, Prashanth, “The Real Importance of Japan’s New Strategy for the Mekong” in *The Diplomat*, July 7, 2015, <https://thediplomat.com/2015/07/the-real-importance-of-japans-new-strategy-for-the-mekong/>. Accessed September 15, 2024.
- Perlez, Jane, “U.S. Allies See Trans-Pacific Partnership as a Check on China” in *New York Times*, October 6, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/07/world/asia/trans-pacific-partnership-china-australia.html>. Accessed January 6, 2025.
- Pham, Sherisse, “South Korea Accuses Japan of Waging ‘Economic War’” in *CNN*, August 2, 2019, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/08/02/business/japan-south-korea-trade-war/index.html>. Accessed October 14, 2024.
- “Quad Setting Itself up as Core of Divisive, Disruptive ‘Asian NATO’” in *China Daily*, March 6, 2023, <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202303/06/WS6405d400a31057c47ebb2941.html>. Accessed September 13, 2024.
- Quigley, J. T., “68 Years After WWII, Japanese Troops Return to the Philippines” in *The Diplomat*, November 28, 2013, <https://thediplomat.com/2013/11/68-years-after-wwii-japanese-troops-return-to-the-philippines/>. Accessed August 5, 2024.
- Rajagopalan, Rajeswari Pillai, “India-Japan ‘Dharma Guardian’ Exercise” in *The Diplomat*, February 29, 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/02/india-japan-dharma-guardian-exercise/>. Accessed December 22, 2024.
- , “Malabar Exercise Brings Quad Navies Together in Australia” in *The Diplomat*, August 22, 2023, <https://thediplomat.com/2023/08/malabar-exercise-brings-quad-navies-together-in-australia/>. Accessed September 13, 2024.

- Rhodes, Ben, “A Foreign Policy for the World as It Is” *Foreign Affairs*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/biden-foreign-policy-world-rhodes>. Accessed January 4, 2025.
- “S. Korea, Japan Hold 1st Meeting of Senior Defense Officials in 9 Years” in *The Korea Times*, July 10, 2024, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2024/10/113_378425.html. Accessed October 20, 2024.
- Shamdasani, Ajay, “China: Foreign Direct Investment Hits 30-Year Low” in *Global Finance*, April 2, 2024, <https://gfmag.com/economics-policy-regulation/china-foreign-direct-investment-hits-30-year-low/>. Accessed September 29, 2024.
- “Survey: Olympic Support up, but Cabinet Approval Rate Drops to 28%” in *The Asahi Shimbun*, August 9, 2021, <https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14414274>. Accessed April 7, 2024.
- Tajima, Yukio, “Japanese, Chinese Defense Officers Revive Exchanges after 4 Years” in *NikkeiAsia*, July 18, 2023, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Defense/Japanese-Chinese-defense-officers-revive-exchanges-after-4-years>. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- Tajitsu, Naomi; Yamazaki, Makiko and Shimizu, Ristuko, “Japan Wants Manufacturing Back from China, but Breaking Up Supply Chains Is Hard To Do” in *Reuters*, June 9, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-japan-production-a-idUSKBN23F2ZO/>. Accessed September 28, 2024.
- Takeuchi, Yusuke, “Japan Eyes Export of Stealth Naval Ship Antennas to India” in *NikkeiAsia*, March 10, 2024, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Aerospace-Defense-Industries/Japan-eyes-export-of-stealth-naval-ship-antennas-to-India>. Accessed December 25, 2024.
- “Trump Says Japan Trade Not Free, Not Reciprocal” in *NikkeiAsia*, November 6, 2017, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/Trump-says-Japan-trade-not-free-not-reciprocal2>. Accessed January 11, 2025.
- “U.S. Warned Japan of China’s Hacking of Official Diplomatic Telegram System; Reinforcing Cybersecurity Key Concern” in *The Japan News - Yomiuri Shimbun*, February 5, 2024, <https://japannews.yomiuri.co.jp/politics/defense-security/20240205-166966/>. Accessed October 5, 2024.
- Walker, Joshua W., “Soft power and Japan’s role in a complex world” in *The Japan Times*, October 24, 2023, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/commentary/2023/10/24/japan/japan-soft-power/>. Accessed July 15, 2024.

- Walt, Stephen M., “Great Powers Are Defined by Their Great Wars” in *Foreign Policy*, September 21, 2017, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/21/great-powers-are-defined-by-their-great-wars/>. Accessed August 20, 2024.
- “What Is The Point of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework?” in *The Economist*, June 9, 2022, <https://www.economist.com/asia/2022/06/09/what-is-the-point-of-the-indo-pacific-economic-framework>. Accessed January 25, 2025.
- Yukihisa, Fujita, “Prime Minister Kishi’s Diplomacy of Reconciliation” in *Japan Echo*, 2006, <https://y-fujita.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/20060728.pdf>. Accessed February 15, 2025.
- Zhou, Laura and Shen, Yijing, “Can China-Japan Youth Exchanges and Goodwill Overcome Their Deep Political Chill?” in *South China Morning Post*, September 8, 2024, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3277600/can-china-japan-youth-exchanges-and-goodwill-overcome-their-deep-political-chill>. Accessed October 3, 2024.
- “自民支持率 16%、自公政権下最低に 裏金問題など直撃 世論調査 [Liberal Democratic Party support rate at 16%, lowest under the LDP-Kōmeitō government due to issues such as slush funds, according to public opinion poll],” *毎日新聞* [Mainichi Shinbun], February 18, 2024, <https://mainichi.jp/articles/20240218/k00/00m/010/111000c>. Accessed April 7, 2024.

Reports, Brief Papers, Research Notes, Policy Analyses

- Abe, Shinzō, “Asia's Democratic Security Diamond” in *Project Syndicate*, December 27, 2012, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/magazine/a-strategic-alliance-for-japan-and-india-by-shinzo-abe>. Accessed September 7, 2024.
- Adachi, Aya, “Ishiba’s Japan: Navigating Diplomacy and Security in the Post-Abe Era” in *Central European Institute of Asian Studies*, October 7, 2024, <https://ceias.eu/ishibas-japan-navigating-diplomacy-and-security-in-the-post-abe-era/>. Accessed February 1, 2025.
- Akrasane, Narongchai and Prasert, Apichart, “The Evolution of ASEAN-Japan Economic Cooperation” in *ASEAN-Japan Cooperation: A Foundation for East Asian Community*, Tōkyō: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2003, pp. 63–74

- Aridati, Indira Zahra, “The Courteous Charmer: A Hard Look at Japan’s Soft Power in Southeast Asia” in *FULCRUM*, October 18, 2023, <https://fulcrum.sg/aseanfocus/the-courteous-charmer-a-hard-look-at-japans-soft-power-in-southeast-asia/>. Accessed July 7, 2024.
- Asano, Takaaki, “Japan-India Relations: Toward a Special Strategic Partnership” in Yuki Tatsumi (ed.), *Japan’s Global Diplomacy: Views from the Next Generation*, Stimson Center, March 1, 2015, pp: 33–41.
- Ashley, Ryan and Su, Joseph, “Mending Historical Memory: Improving People-to-People Ties Between Japan and South Korea” in *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, May 1, 2024, <https://www.fpri.org/article/2024/05/mending-historical-memory-improving-people-to-people-ties-between-japan-and-south-korea/>. Accessed October 27, 2024.
- Atanassova-Cornelis, Elena; Pardo, Ramon Pacheco and Pejsova, Eva, “Pride and Prejudice: Maritime Disputes in Northeast Asia” in *European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)*, March 1, 2015.
- Baldwin, Richard, “China Is the World’s Sole Manufacturing Superpower: A Line Sketch of the Rise” in *Centre for Economic Policy Research*, January 17, 2024, <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/china-worlds-sole-manufacturing-superpower-line-sketch-rise>. Accessed September 29, 2024.
- Berger, Blake H., “ASEAN Connectivity and China-Japan Infrastructure Export Competition” in Tomoo Kikuchi and Masaya Sakuragawa (eds.), *Financial Cooperation in East Asia*, RSIS Monograph, March 1, 2019, pp. 97–105.
- bin Hassan, Mohamed Jawhar, “ASEAN’s Political and Security Relations with Japan” in *ASEAN-Japan Cooperation: A Foundation for East Asian Community*, Tōkyō: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2003, pp. 145–153.
- Borah, Ulupi, “What Shigeru Ishiba’s Leadership Means for India-Japan Partnership” in *Centre for Joint Warfare Studies*, September 30, 2024, <https://cenjows.in/what-shigeru-ishibas-leadership-means-for-india-japan-partnership/>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Cha, Victor; Kim, Ellen and Lim, Andy, “North Korea Tests Missile over Japan” in *Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)*, October 5, 2022, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/north-korea-tests-missile-over-japan-0>. Accessed October 17, 2024.

- Chanlett-Avery, Emma, “Japan, the Indo-Pacific, and the ‘Quad’” in *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs*, February 2018.
- Choong, William and Lin, Joanne, “Japan, the Courteous Power, Bares Some Teeth for Regional Stability,” *ISEAS Perspective* 54, July 18, 2024.
- Chubb, Andrew, “The East China Sea Dispute: China’s and Japan’s Assertiveness from Mao to Xi” in *Asia Society Policy Institute*, November 14, 2024, <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/east-china-sea-dispute-chinas-and-japans-assertiveness-mao-xi>. Accessed February 1, 2025.
- Colnaghi, Walter Brenno, “Japanese Seafood Ban Signals China’s Shady Virtues” in *East Asia Forum*, October 23, 2023, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2023/10/23/japanese-seafood-ban-signals-chinas-shady-virtues/>. Accessed October 1, 2024.
- Crabtree, James; Lipke, Alexander and Pohlkamp, Elli-Katharina, “When East Meets West Meets Trump’s America: European Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific” in *European Council on Foreign Relations*, November 21, 2024, <https://ecfr.eu/article/when-east-meets-west-meets-trumps-america-european-diplomacy-in-the-indo-pacific/>. Accessed December 15, 2024.
- de Soete, François, “Trump, Biden, and U.S. Foreign Policy: Analyzing the Role of the Modern Presidency on America’s Standing in the World” in *Kwansei Gakuin University International Studies*, vol. 11, no.1, March 2022.
- de Vos, Jacques Quass, “Cool Japan, Soft Power, and the Commodification of a National Identity” in *Stellenbosch University Japan Centre*, November 14, 2023, <https://www0.sun.ac.za/japancentre/2023/11/14/cool-japan-soft-power-and-the-commodification-of-a-national-identity/#ref>. Accessed July 13, 2024.
- Easton, Yukari, “Ishiba’s Shaky Ground Further Upset by Tremors of a Trump Presidency” in *East Asia Forum*, December 12, 2024, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2024/12/12/ishibas-shaky-ground-further-upset-by-tremors-of-a-trump-presidency/>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Eunmi, Choi, “South Korea-Japan Relations: Navigating the ‘Minority Party’ Ishiba’s Second Cabinet and the Post-Sado Mine Memorial Ceremony Disruption” in *The Asan Institute for Policy Studies*, December 12, 2024.
- Evenett, Simon and Fritz, Johannes, “Revisiting the China-Japan Rare Earths dispute of 2010” in *Centre for Economic Policy Research*, July 19, 2023,

- <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/revisiting-china-japan-rare-earths-dispute-2010>. Accessed September 19, 2024.
- Ford, Lindsey, “The Trump Administration and the ‘Free and Open Indo-Pacific’” in *Brookings Institute*, May 2020.
- Fujishige, Atsuhiko, “New Japan Self-Defense Force Missions under the ‘Proactive Contribution to Peace’ Policy: Significance of the 2015 Legislation for Peace and Security” in *Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)*, July 21, 2016, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/new-japan-self-defense-force-missions-under-proactive-contribution-peace-policy>. Accessed August 04, 2024.
- Gyu-Pan, Kim, “Korea’s Economic Relations with Japan” in Troy Stangarone (ed.), *Korea’s Economy Volume 31*, The Korea Economic Institute of America, August 3, 2017, pp. 23–29.
- Ha, Hoang Thi, “Japan-ASEAN Cooperation as Security Partners” in *Japan Up Close*, May 10, 2024, https://japanupclose.web-japan.org/policy/p20240510_1.html. Accessed November 10, 2024.
- Hanada, Ryosuke, “ASEAN’s Role in the Indo-Pacific: Rules-Based Order and Regional Integrity” in Sharon Stirling (ed.), *Mind the Gap: National Views of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific*, Germany Marshall Fund of the United States, 2019, pp. 7–12.
- Han-koo, Yeo, “Economic Cooperation by Korea-Japan-China Trilateral Could Ease Tensions” in *Peterson Institute for International Economics*, June 13, 2014, <https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/2024/economic-cooperation-korea-japan-china-trilateral-could-ease-tensions>. Accessed October 26, 2024.
- Harris, Tobias, “The Idealist. Ishiba Shigeru and the Deep Roots of Conflict in Japanese Politics” in *Observing Japan – Substack*, September 24, 2024, <https://observingjapan.substack.com/p/the-idealist>. Accessed January 29, 2025.
- , “Japan and the Ukraine question” in *Observing Japan – Substack*, February 18, 2025, <https://observingjapan.substack.com/p/japan-and-the-ukraine-question>. Accessed February 24, 2025.
- Heng, Yee-Kuang, “Shaping the Indo-Pacific? Japan and Europeanisation” in *LSE Ideas* 2021.
- Hong, Young June, “What Are the Effects of the Korea-Japan Trade Dispute on Korean and Japanese Hydrogen-Fluoride and Semiconductor Industries?” in *University College London*, 2022

- Honma, Masayoshi, “Japanese Agricultural Policy in Disarray” in *East Asia Forum*, November 15, 2013, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2023/11/15/japanese-agricultural-policy-in-disarray/>. Accessed January 6, 2025.
- Hoshino, Toshiya, “Japan’s Policies on Conflict Prevention and International Peace Cooperation Activities” in *JIIA Japan and the World*, *Japan Digital Library*, March 2017.
- Huisken, Ron and Brett, Kathryn (eds.), *CSCAP Regional Security Outlook 2021*, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, 2020.
- Ichihara, Maiko, “The Role of Democracy Promotion in Japanese Foreign Policy” in Nicholas Szechenyi (ed.), *Asianism and Universalism: The Evolution of Norms and Power in Modern Asia*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2019, pp. 7–14.
- Ishiba, Shigeru, “The Future of Japan’s Foreign Policy” in *Hudson Institute*, September 25, 2024, <https://www.hudson.org/politics-government/shigeru-ishiba-japans-new-security-era-future-japans-foreign-policy>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Ito, Toru, “Japan and India” in Michito Tsuruoka (ed.), *Japan in an Era of Geopolitics: A New Foreign and Security Policy Direction*, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Japan Office: Tōkyō, pp. 155-164.
- Junya, Nishino, “Managing Relations with South Korea” in *The Asan Forum*, November 12, 2024, <https://theasanforum.org/managing-relations-with-south-korea/>. Accessed February 2, 2025.
- Kaminski, Matthew, “What Japan’s New Prime Minister Means for the US” in *Politico*, September 29, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2024/09/29/japans-prime-minister-ishiba-00181546>. Accessed January 26, 2025.
- Katada, Saori N., “Partnership for Quality Infrastructure: Developmentalism or New Liberal Order,” *Revised Paper - University of Southern California*, February 16, 2020.
- Kato, Yoshikazu, “US-Japan-China Trilateral Relations: How Their Dynamics Will Shape Asia Pacific” in *ASIAGLOBAL Papers – Asia Global Institute*, The University of Hong Kong, June 2019.
- Kawakami, Yasuhiro, “Japan-China Crisis Communications Are Improving but Face Challenges” in *United States Institute of Peace*, October 4, 2023, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/10/japan-china-crisis-communications-are-improving-face-challenges>. Accessed October 5, 2024.

- Keola, Souknilanh, “Japan Builds on ASEAN’s Infrastructure Ambitions” in *East Asia Forum*, September 21, 2023, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2023/09/21/japan-builds-on-aseans-infrastructure-ambitions/>. Accessed November 15, 2024.
- Khan, Shamsad Ahmad, “India-Japan Economic Partnership: Potentials, Promises and Prospects” in *Ministry of Finance of Japan, Policy Research Institute*, August 9, 2019.
- Kikuchi, Tomoo and Sakuragawa, Masaya (eds.), *Financial Cooperation in East Asia*, RSIS Monograph, March 1, 2019.
- King, Amy, “China’s Response to Japan’s Constitutional Reinterpretation” in *East Asia Forum*, July 27, 2014, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2014/07/27/china-responds-to-japans-constitutional-reinterpretation/>. Accessed August 5, 2024.
- Koga, Kei, “Japan-ASEAN Study. Alternative Strategic Partner in Southeast Asia? The Role of Japan in the US-China Rivalry” in Koki Shigenoi (ed.), *Japan’s Role for Southeast Asia Amidst the Great Power Competition and its Implications for the EU-Japan Partnership*, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, April 2022, pp. 7–16.
- Kokubun, Ryosei, “From the ‘1972 System’ to ‘Strategic Mutual Benefits’ – Japan’s Foreign Policy toward China” in *Japan and the World, Japan Digital Library*, March 2017.
- Li, Cheng and McElveen, Ryan, “Mask Diplomacy: Coronavirus Upended Generations of China-Japan Antagonism” in *China-US Focus*, March 10, 2020, <https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/mask-diplomacy-how-coronavirus-upended-generations-of-china-japan-antagonism>. Accessed September 28, 2024.
- Liff, Adam P., “Japan: America’s Indispensable Ally” in *The Brookings Institution*, September 16, 2024, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/japan-americas-indispensable-ally/>. Accessed January 18, 2024.
- Masayuki, Tadokoro, “Japanese Diplomacy and the First Gulf War” in *The First Gulf War in Historical Perspectives – 2021 International Forum on War History: Proceedings*, The National Institute of Defense, September 2022, pp. 81–90.
- Maslow, Sebastian, “Japan’s ‘Pivot to Asia’: Tokyo Discovers the Indo-Pacific” in *Policy Forum*, August 1, 2018, <https://www.policyforum.net/japans-pivot-asia/>. Accessed September 14, 2024.

- Men, Jing, “Will the Financial Crisis Make China a Superpower?” in *NATO Review*, July 02, 2009, <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2009/07/02/will-the-financial-crisis-make-china-a-superpower/index.html>. Accessed September 19, 2024.
- Mie, Ōba, “Japan and ASEAN: Partners for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific in an Era of Uncertainty” in *Nippon Communications Foundation*, December 3, 2023, <https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a09401/>. Accessed September 14, 2024.
- Minamiguchi, Naoki and Swe, Zin Aung, “From Response to Resilience: ASEAN-Japan Cooperation in Disaster Management,” in *The ASEAN Magazine*, October 8, 2024, <https://theaseanmagazine.asean.org/article/from-response-to-resilience-asean-japan-cooperation-in-disaster-management-2/>. Accessed November 14, 2024.
- Mun, Tang Siew, “Ishiba’s New Security Proposals: A Bridge Too Far for ASEAN?” in *Fulcrum - ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute*, October 14, 2024, <https://fulcrum.sg/ishibas-new-security-proposals-a-bridge-too-far-for-asean/>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Muñoz-Vieira, Juan Felipe, “Asian Car Brands Continue to Grow in the European Car Market” in *JATO*, April 26, 2024, <https://www.jato.com/resources/news-and-insights/asian-car-brands-continue-to-grow-in-the-european-car-market>. Accessed October 26, 2024.
- Nicholas Szechenyi (ed.), *Asianism and Universalism: The Evolution of Norms and Power in Modern Asia*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2019.
- Noland, Marcus “Alliances under Stress: South Korea, Japan, and the United States” in *East-West Center*, November 19, 2019.
- Oikawa, Keita and Iwasaki, Fusanori (eds.), *ASEAN-Japan Economic Partnership for a Sustainable Future*, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2023.
- , “Chapter 5. The Current ASEAN-Japan Economic Partnership” in Keita Oikawa and Fusanori Iwasaki (eds.), *ASEAN-Japan Economic Partnership for a Sustainable Future*, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2023, pp. 173–210.
- Park, Cheol Hee, “Strategic Estrangement Between South Korea and Japan as a Barrier to Trilateral Cooperation” in *Atlantic Council*, November 1, 2019.
- Park, Sangbo, “Implications of the General Security of Military Information Agreement for South Korea” in *Stimson*, December 16, 2024, <https://www.stimson.org/2016/implications-general-security-military-information-agreement-south-korea/>. Accessed October 20, 2024.

- Pavlicevic, Dragan, “China's Railway Diplomacy on High Speed in Vietnam” in *East Asia Forum*, August 14, 2024, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2024/08/14/chinas-railway-diplomacy-on-high-speed-in-vietnam/>. Accessed November 15, 2024.
- Przystup, James, “The Foreign Policy of Abe Shinzo: Strategic Vision and Policy Implementation” in *The Asan Forum*, February 5, 2015, <https://theasanforum.org/the-foreign-policy-of-abe-shinzo-strategic-vision-and-policy-implementation/>. Accessed July 4, 2024.
- Rinehart, Ian E., “Collective Self-Defense and US-Japan Security Cooperation” in *East-West Center*, October 1, 2013.
- Sahashi, Ryo, “Japan: Strengthening Order and Stability in a Free and Open Indo-Pacific” in Ron Huisken and Kathryn Brett (eds.), *CSCAP Regional Security Outlook 2021*, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, 2020, pp. 17–19.
- , “Japan’s Search for Order and Stability: Navigating Chinese-Japanese-US Triangular Relations” in *International Centre for Defence and Security*, May 15, 2020, <https://icds.ee/en/japans-search-for-order-and-stability-navigating-chinese-japanese-us-triangular-relations/>. Accessed September 13, 2024
- Sakoda, Robin “Sak”, “The 2015 U.S.-Japan Defense Guidelines: End of a New Beginning” in *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative – Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)*, April 30, 2015, <https://amti.csis.org/the-2015-u-s-japan-defense-guidelines-end-of-a-new-beginning/>. Accessed September 13, 2024.
- Sano, Shutaro, “Japan’s Engagement in China’s Belt and Road Initiative” in *Australian Institute of International Affairs*, February 23, 2018, <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/japan-one-belt-one-road/>. Accessed October 1, 2024.
- Satake, Tomohiko, “Japan: The US-Japan Alliance Amid Uncertainty” in Shinji Hyodo (ed.), *East Asian Strategic Review 2018*, The National Institute for Defense Studies Japan: Tōkyō, 2018, pp. 215-241.
- Schöttli, Urs, “A New Era is Dawning in Japan-U.S. Relations” in *Geopolitical Intelligence Services*, January 13, 2025, <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/us-japan-relations/>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Seah, Sharon, *et al.*, “The State of Southeast Asia 2024 Survey Report” in *ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute*, 2024.

- Searight, Amy, “ADMM-Plus: The Promise and Pitfalls of an ASEAN-led Security Forum” in *Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)*, November 1, 2018, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/admm-plus-promise-and-pitfalls-asean-led-security-forum>. Accessed November 2, 2024
- Shigenoi, Koki (ed.), *Japan’s Role for Southeast Asia Amidst the Great Power Competition and its Implications for the EU-Japan Partnership*, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, April 2022.
- Shin, Gi-Wook, “Historical Disputes and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: Can the United States Play a Role?” in *EAI Fellows Program Working Paper Series* No. 16, 2009.
- Shing, Eric Ng and Santana, Roy, “Trade Data Reveal Changing Patterns in Electric Vehicles Market” in *World Trade Organization*, May 14, 2024, https://www.wto.org/english/blogs_e/data_blog_e/blog_dta_14may24_e.htm. Accessed October 26, 2024.
- Smith, Hanscom, “Toward a Universal Japan: Taking a Harder Look at Japanese Soft Power” in *National Bureau of Asian Research - Asia Policy*, no. 15, 2013.
- Smith, Sheila A., “Reinterpreting Japan’s Constitution” in *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 2, 2014, https://www.cfr.org/blog/reinterpreting-japans-constitution?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTEAAAR3D8yh2kIw07I5Qvy9BNtN75CC7jR67IRxeF5bVFcfk6f9NZJHLfsP-r3k_aem_mx3wCRrZcNA93Cea3XHiOw. Accessed August 5, 2024.
- Solankil, Viraj and Togashi, Mariko, “India and Japan enhance cooperation despite their differences” in *The International Institute for Strategic Studies*, May 23, 2022. <https://www.iiss.org/de-DE/online-analysis/online-analysis/2022/05/india-and-japan-enhance-cooperation-despite-their-differences/>. Accessed December 20, 2024.
- Sorica, Laura, “Trends in Anti-Nuclear Demonstrations in Japan: 2018-2020” in *Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED)*, March 10, 2021, <https://acleddata.com/2021/03/10/trends-in-anti-nuclear-demonstrations-in-japan-2018-2020/>. Accessed December 27, 2024.
- Stangarone, Troy (ed.), *Korea’s Economy Volume 31*, The Korea Economic Institute of America, August 3, 2017.
- Stirling, Sharon (ed.), *Mind the Gap: National Views of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific*, Germany Marshall Fund of the United States, 2019.

- Szechenyi, Nicholas; Fraser, Jada and Fodale, Hannah, “The Case for U.S.-Japan-ROK Cooperation on Democracy Support in the Indo-Pacific Region” in *Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)*, November 3, 2021, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/case-us-japan-rok-cooperation-democracy-support-indo-pacific-region>. Accessed July 22, 2024.
- “Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures of Indicted APT40 Actors Associated with China’s MSS Hainan State Security Department” in *Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency*, July 19, 2021.
- Takashi, Tsukamoto, “The Meaning of the Territorial Incorporation of Takeshima (1905)” in *Review of Island Studies – The Sasakawa Peace Foundation*, December 25, 2014.
- Tanaka, Hitoshi, “Japanese Foreign Policy under Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda” in *East Asian Insights - Japan Center for International Exchange* 2, no. 6, October 2007.
- Tatsumi, Yuki (ed.), *Japan’s Global Diplomacy: Views from the Next Generation*, Stimson Center, March 1, 2015.
- Teo, Victor, “Japan’s Weapons Transfers to Southeast Asia: Opportunities and Challenges” in *ISEAS Perspective* 70, May 2021.
- “Transcript: Kissinger’s Remarks at 2009 Makins Lecture” in *Atlantic Council*, January 15, 2009, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/commentary/transcript/transcript-kissinger-s-remarks-at-2009-makins-lecture/>. Accessed January 4, 2025.
- “Trump 2.0, Seen from Asia” in *Italian Institute for International Political Studies*, November 20, 2024, <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/trump-2-0-seen-from-asia-191394>. Accessed February 3, 2025.
- Tsuruoka, Michito (ed.), *Japan in an Era of Geopolitics: A New Foreign and Security Policy Direction*, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Japan Office: Tōkyō.
- Ward, Robert, “Japan’s Long-Term Foreign Policy: Building Resilience” in *The International Institute for Strategic Studies*, June 19, 2020, <https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/online-analysis//2020/06/japan-long-term-foreign-policy>. Accessed September 28, 2024.
- , “Suga’s Premiership: A Short-Lived but Packed Administration” in *The International Institute for Strategic Studies*, September 3, 2021, <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/analysis/2021/09/suga-yoshihide-short-lived-premiership>. Accessed April 7, 2024.

- Wertheim, Eric, “Japan’s Advanced Lithium-Ion Submarines” in *U.S. Naval Institute*, December 2022, <https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2022/december/japans-advanced-lithium-ion-submarines>. Accessed August 15, 2024.
- Wike, Richard, et al., “Trump’s International Ratings Remain Low, Especially Among Key Allies” in *Pew Research Center*, October 1, 2018, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/10/01/trumps-international-ratings-remain-low-especially-among-key-allies/>. Accessed January 15, 2025.
- Yeo, Andrew, “Will South Korea Change Course following Yoon’s Election Loss?” in *The Brookings Institute*, April 17, 2024, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/will-south-korea-change-course-following-yoons-election-loss/>. Accessed February 2, 2025.
- Yoshioka, Shinji and Kawasaki, Hirofumi, “Japan’s High-Growth Postwar Period: The Role of Economic Plans” in *Economic and Social Research Institute - ESRI Research Note No.27*, August 2016.

Online Databases

- GDP, current prices, International Monetary Fund*, <https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDPD@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEOWORLD>. Accessed August 27, 2024.
- GFP 2024 Military Strength Ranking, Global Fire Power*, <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.php>. Accessed August 9, 2024
- Global Soft Power Index 2024, Brand Finance*, <https://brandirectory.com/softpower/map?region=1&metric=1&statement=0&fromRegion=1>. Accessed August 27, 2024.
- India – Yearly Trade, Observer of Economic Complexity (OEC)*, <https://oec.world/en/profile/country/ind>. Accessed December 25, 2024.
- International Trade in Cultural Goods*, The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), <https://data.uis.unesco.org/index.aspx?queryid=3630>. Accessed July 13, 2024.
- Japanese Trade and Investment Statistics*, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), <https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/>. Accessed December 26, 2024.
- Japanese Visitors, Japan National Tourism Organization*, <https://statistics.jnto.go.jp/en/graph/#graph--Japanese--Trends>. Accessed October 3, 2024.

Japan–Yearly Trade, Observer of Economic Complexity (OEC), <https://oec.world/en/profile/country/jpn>. Accessed October 20, 2024.

Korea, Rep. Trade Balance, Exports and Imports, World Integrated Trade Solution, <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/KOR/Year/2005/TradeFlow/EXPI MP#>. Accessed October 6, 2024.

Lowy Institute Asia Power Index 2023 Edition, Lowy Institute, <https://power.lowyinstitute.org/data/military-capability/>. Accessed August 9, 2024.

Real GDP growth, International Monetary Fund, https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDP_RPCH@WEO/SAQ/SEQ. Accessed September 7, 2024.

SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, SIPRI, <https://milex.sipri.org/sipri>. Accessed August 9, 2024.

Tracking Tensions at Second Thomas Shoal, Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, January 30, 2024, <https://amti.csis.org/tracking-tensions-at-second-thomas-shoal/>. Accessed September 28, 2024.

Visitor Arrivals, Japan National Tourism Organization, <https://statistics.jnto.go.jp/en/graph/#graph--inbound--travelers--transition>. Accessed October 1, 2024.

Lucrări de Disertație

Iglesias, Jon Elizagaray, *Japan's Values-Based Diplomacy & The Free and Open Indo-Pacific Vision*, Dissertation, University of the Basque Country, 2020.