

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Bakry, U. S. (2023). Metode penelitian hubungan internasional (Cet. ke-4). Pustaka Pelajar.
- Burchill, S. (2005). The national interest in international relations theory. In *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230005778>
- Cha, V. (2012). *the Impossible State: North Korean , Past and Future*. HarperCollins.
- Cho, Y. C. (2009). Collective identity formation on the Korean Peninsula: United States different North Korea policies, Kim Dae-Jung's Sunshine Policy, and United States-South Korea North Korea relations. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 10(1), 93–128. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcp016>
- Choi, L. (2012). *The Foreign Policy of Park Chunghee: 1968- 1979* (Issue June) [The London School of Economics and Political Science]. [http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/506/1/Choi\\_The\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_of\\_Park\\_Chunghee.pdf](http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/506/1/Choi_The_Foreign_Policy_of_Park_Chunghee.pdf)
- Cummings, B. (2005). *Korea's Place in the Sun* (Updated ed). W. W. Norton & Company. [http://scioteca.caf.com/bitstream/handle/123456789/1091/RED2017-Eng-8ene.pdf?sequence=12&isAllowed=y%0Ahttp://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.regsciurbeco.2008.06.005%0Ahttps://www.researchgate.net/publication/305320484\\_SISTEM PEMBETUNGAN TERPUSAT STRATEGI M ELESTARI](http://scioteca.caf.com/bitstream/handle/123456789/1091/RED2017-Eng-8ene.pdf?sequence=12&isAllowed=y%0Ahttp://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.regsciurbeco.2008.06.005%0Ahttps://www.researchgate.net/publication/305320484_SISTEM PEMBETUNGAN TERPUSAT STRATEGI M ELESTARI)
- Creswell, J. W. (2018). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. In *SAGE Publications*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429469237-3>
- Danilovic, V. (2003). The Rational-Cognitive Debate and Poliheuristic Theory. In A. Mintz (Ed.), *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making* (pp. 127–138). Palgrave Macmillan.

Eriza Putri Tarita, 2025

*Komparasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Moon Jae-In dan Yoon Suk Yeol dalam Upaya Normalisasi Hubungan Korea Selatan-Korea Utara*

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik,S1 Hubungan Internasional  
[www.upnvj.ac.id-www.library.upnvj.ac.id-www.repository.ac.id]

- Darussalam, M. F. (2020). The influence of domestic politics of South Korea on its relations with North Korea and the United States. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 23(3), 250–261.  
<https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.48652>
- Frankel, J. (1970). Key Concept in Political Science : National Interest. In *European Journal of International Relations* (Vol. 2, Issue 4).  
<https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.7312/anon14822-004/html>
- Han, D., Lee, S. H., Lee, W., & Kim, E. (2023). *Unification and North Korea Policy of the Yoon Suk Yeol Administration: Implementing Government Tasks* (Y. Lim (ed.)). Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU).  
<https://www.kinu.or.k>
- Holsti, K. J., Monterichard, M., Msabaha, I., Robinson, T. W., Shaw, T., & Zylberberg, J. (2015). Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World. In *Routledge, Taylor & Francis* (Vol. 11, Issue 1).  
<https://www.routledge.com/Why-Nations-Realign-Foreign-Policy-Restructuring-in-the-Postwar-World/Holsti/p/book/9781138940086?srsltid=AfmBOor7PLTFVIZRCjRX6F4XWT8JBYfA8Gwv-VHvOS9iGa1AgmN6xGx6>
- Ikbar, Yanuar. (2014). *Metodologi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional*. Bandung: Refika Aditama.
- Mintz, A. (2003). Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Poliheuristic Perspective. In A. Mintz (Ed.), *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making* (pp. 1–10). Palgrave Macmillan.
- O'Reilly, M., & Parker, N. (2014). Primary and Secondary Data Analysis. In *Doing Mental Health Research with Children and Adolescents: A Guide to Qualitative Methods* (pp. 129–144). SAGE Publications.
- Redd, S. B. (2003). The Poliheuristic Theory of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Experimental Evidence. In A. Mintz (Ed.), *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making* (pp. 101–122). Palgrave Macmillan.

Sahir, S. H. (2021). *Metodologi Penelitian* (M. S. Dr. Ir. Try Koryati (ed.)). Penerbit KBM Indonesia.

Wasil, M. (2022). KARAKTERISTIK PENELITIAN KUALITATIF. In *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (pp. 18–27).

### Artikel Ilmiah

- Botto, K. (2020). Moon Jae-in: Putting North Korea at the center. In Korea Economic Institute (Ed.), *JOINT U.S.-KOREA ACADEMIC STUDIES* (Vol. 31, pp. 84–99). Korea Economic Institute. [https://keia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/kei\\_jointus-korea\\_2020\\_final\\_digital\\_0.pdf#page=197](https://keia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/kei_jointus-korea_2020_final_digital_0.pdf#page=197)
- Chang, K., & Lee, C. (2018). North Korea and the East Asian Security order: competing views on what South Korea ought to do. *Pacific Review*, 31(2), 245–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2017.1397733>
- Choi, K. (2020). Window of opportunity for a New Détente: “Tight Link Strategy” of Moon Jae-in Administration and ROK–DPRK–US triangle. *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 9(1), 29–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2020.1760430>
- Eperjesi, J. R. (2018). Gary Pak’s A Ricepaper Airplane: Memories of Mountains in the Korean Diasporic Imagination. *ISLE Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 25(1), 95–114. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isle/lsx049>
- Eviani, A. P. (2024). President Moon Jae in’S Efforts in Bilateral Relations Between South Korea and North Korea in the 2017-2019 Term. *Globalization and Foreign Affairs Journal*, 1(1), 1–14. <https://ejurnal.unisri.ac.id/index.php/gfa/article/view/10118>
- Faturahman, M. F., Studi, P., Hubungan, I., Ilmu, F., Jenderal, U., & Yani, A. (2025). *KEPENTINGAN NASIONAL KOREA SELATAN DALAM MENYEPAKATI DEKLARASI PANMUNJOM PADA TAHUN 2018*. 02(01).

- Go, M.-H. (2017). Reengaging North Korea to Regain Strategic Initiative. *Asan Institute for Policy Studies*. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep08149>
- Grieco, K. A. (2020). Assessing Singapore Summit—Two Years Later. *Air University Press*, 14(3), 12–21. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26937409>
- Foster-Carter, A. (2022). North Korea-South Korea Relations: An Inauspicious Start. *Comparative Connections: A Triannual E-Journal of Bilateral Relations in the Indo-Pacific*, 24(2), 111–128.
- Foster, A. (2022). From Moon To Yoon : End of an Era. *Comparative Connections: A Triannual E-Journal of Bilateral Relations in the Indo-Pacific*, 24(1), 101–115. [https://cc.pacforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/09-NK-SK-Relations\\_05.24.pdf](https://cc.pacforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/09-NK-SK-Relations_05.24.pdf)
- Hahm, S. D., & Heo, U. (2020). President Moon Jae-in at Midterm: What Affects Public Support for Moon Jae-in? *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 55(8), 1128–1142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620911145>
- Han, G. S., & Hundt, D. (2021). Nostalgic nationalists in South Korea: the flag-carriers' struggles. *Critical Asian Studies*, 53(3), 412–431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2021.1901058>
- Herina, S. N., Widhiyoga, G., Wijayati, H., Internasional, H., Slamet, U., Surakarta, R., Panmunjom, D., Nasional, K., Internasional, K., & Korea, S. (2022). Alasan Korea Selatan Meratifikasi Deklarasi Panmunjom tahun 2018. *Jurnal Solidaritas FISIP Unisri*, 3, 7–9. <https://ejurnal.unisri.ac.id/index.php/sldrts/article/view/8108>
- Howell, E. (2020). The juche H-bomb? North Korea, nuclear weapons and regime-state survival. *International Affairs*, 96(4), 1051–1068. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz253>
- Jong-Chul, P. (2022). Tasks of North Korea Policy of the Yoon Suk-yeol Government: Déjà vu or a New Paradigm. *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, 31(1), 1–35.

- Khalilah Mukarramah. (2023). Sunshine Policy Di Era Moon Jae-in Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Hubungan Antar-Korea. *Indonesian Journal of International Relations*, 7(1), 77–100. <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v7i1.433>
- Kim, H. N. (2006). South-North Korean relations under the Roh Moo-hyun government. *International Journal of Korean Studies*, 10(1), 37–59.
- Kim, I. (2017). No more sunshine: The limits of engagement with North Korea. *Washington Quarterly*, 40(4), 165–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1406716>
- Kim, I. S., & Cho, H. K. (2019). Shutting Down the Kaesong Industrial Complex: A “Coalitional Bargaining” Framework. *Asian Politics and Policy*, 11(1), 80–103. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12434>
- Kunkunrat, K. (2024). *Best Journal of Administration and Management (BEJAM) Korean Cultural Diplomacy: Uniting Society Through Soft Power*. 2(3), 157–162. <https://internationalpublisher.id/journal/index.php/Bejam>
- Kwon, E. (2022). Negotiations on the Denuclearisation of North Korea: A Critical Evaluation of Summit Diplomacy. *Asian Affairs*, 53(3), 742–767. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2022.2076473>
- Kyu, N. K. (2019). The Moon Jae-in administration’s North Korea policy and Korea-US relations. *Global Asia*, 14(2), 34–39. <https://doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-12-2017-0131>
- Lee, C. M., & Botto, K. (2018). Korean Security and Foreign Policy Initiative: President Moon Jae-in and the Politics of Inter-Korean Détente. *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/11/16/president-moon-jae-in-and-politics-of-inter-korean-d-tente-pub-77730>
- Lee, Y. (2018). What Brought Them Together? Comparative Analysis of the Normalization Processes of North Korea-Japan and South Korea-Japan. *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 16(3), 411–433. <https://doi.org/10.14731/kjis.2018.12.16.3.411>

- Meckstroth, T. W. (1975). "Most Different Systems" and "Most Similar Systems" A Study in the Logic of Comparative Inquiry. *Comparative Political Studies*, 8(2), 132–157.  
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/001041407500800202>
- Milani, M., & Fiori, A. (2023). Korean peninsula 2022: Stuck between new leadership and old practices. *Asia Maior*, 2022(XXXIII), 1–77.  
[https://www.asiamaior.org/?p=1704&\\_gl=1\\*wkb6c1\\*\\_up\\*MQ..\\*\\_ga\\*M TUyNDQ4MTAzOS4xNzQ1ODMyMDYy\\*\\_ga\\_EGFYXZ0CKB\\*MTc0NTgzMjA2MS4xLjAuMTc0NTgzMjA2MS4wLjAuMA..](https://www.asiamaior.org/?p=1704&_gl=1*wkb6c1*_up*MQ..*_ga*M TUyNDQ4MTAzOS4xNzQ1ODMyMDYy*_ga_EGFYXZ0CKB*MTc0NTgzMjA2MS4xLjAuMTc0NTgzMjA2MS4wLjAuMA..)
- Min, L. C. (2018). The Prerequisites for Sustained US-South Korean-Japanese Cooperation. In *Atlantic Council*.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-95321-9\\_122](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-95321-9_122)
- Moon, C. (2011). Between Principle and Pragmatism: What Went Wrong with the Lee Myung-bak Government's North Korean Policy? *Journal of International and Area Studies*, 18(2), 1–22.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43111576>
- Moon, C., & Moon, M. J. (2020). Routledge Handbook of Korean Politics and Public Administration. In *Routledge Handbook of Korean Politics and Public Administration*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315660516>
- Mosler, H. (2022). Lessons learned? South Korea's foreign policy toward North Korea under Moon. In *Working Papers on East Asian Studies* (132; Issue February).
- Mulyaman, D. (2018). Lee Myung Bak's Choice on Sunshine Policy: South Korean National Interests and North Korean Threat. *Jurnal Sosial Politik*, 4(2), 169. <https://doi.org/10.22219/sospol.v4i2.5867>
- Park, H. R. (2024). What Made South Korea–Japan Security Cooperation Retreat During the Moon Jae-in Administration? *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 11(1), 94–121.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970241230374>
- Park, J.-C. (2008). Lee Myung-Bak Administration's North Korea Policy: Challenges and Tasks. *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 22(2), 39–61.  
<http://www.jstor.org.usal.idm.oclc.org/stable/23257896>

- Podoler, G. (2016). "Who Was Park Chung-hee?" The Memorial Landscape and National Identity Politics in South Korea. *East Asia*, 33(4), 271–288. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-016-9261-y>
- Redd, S. B., & Mintz, A. (2013). Policy Perspectives on National Security and Foreign Policy Decision Making. *Policy Studies Journal*, 41(SUPPL.1), 11–37. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12010>
- Ringen, S. (2017). The Perfect Dictatorship. In *The Perfect Dictatorship*. <https://doi.org/10.5790/hongkong/9789888208937.001.0001>
- Santoso, T. A., Hasymi, A. M., Suhaman, Y., & Kuswardini, S. (2022). Analisis Perbandingan Persepsi dalam Perumusan Kebijakan Luar Negeri antara Moon Jae In dan Yoon Suk Yeol terhadap Aliansi Pertahanan Korea Selatan – Amerika Serikat. *JURNAL ILMIAH HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL FAJAR*.
- Sigal, L. V. (2020). Peace in Korea: A Way Forward. *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, 29(1), 1–23. 10.33728/ijkus.2020.29.1.001
- Sinuraya, B. W. D., & Munabari, F. (2023). The Moonshine Policy: The Idiosyncrasy Factors of President Moon Jae-In in Improving Inter-Korean Relations. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 8(1), 236. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v8n1.12>
- Strating, R. (2023). ASSESSING MILITARY AND NONMILITARY INCIDENTS AT SEA IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC. *VERTIC & ASIA-PACIFIC LEADERSHIP NETWORK*, 13(1), 1–28.
- Turner, M., Kwon, S.-H., & O'Donnell, M. (2018). Making Integrity Institutions Work in South Korea. *Asian Survey*, 58(5), 898–919. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2018.58.5.898>
- Zhu, Z. (2007). Small Power, Big Ambition: South Korea's Role in Northeast Asian Security under President Roh Moo-hyun. *Asian Affairs*, 34(2), 67–86.

## Website

- Anwar, L. A. (2022, October 24). *Dua Korea Berbalas Tembakan Peringatan*. [Kompas.Id.](#)

**Eriza Putri Tarita, 2025**

**Komparasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Moon Jae-In dan Yoon Suk Yeol dalam Upaya Normalisasi Hubungan Korea Selatan-Korea Utara**

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik,S1 Hubungan Internasional  
[www.upnvj.ac.id-www.library.upnvj.ac.id-www.repository.ac.id]

<https://www.kompas.id/baca/internasional/2022/10/24/dua-korea-berbalas-tembak-peringatan>

Bae-ho, H., Young Ick, L., & Hyug-Baeg, I. (2017, May 15). *South Korea - Relations, Divisions, Reunification*. Britannica.

<https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Korea/Relations-with-the-North>

Jung, U.-J. (2018, May 10). *Moon Jae-in's first year as South Korea's president* | Moon Jae-in News | Al Jazeera. Al-Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/5/10/moon-jae-ins-first-year-as-south-koreas-president?utm>

Kim, D. Y. (2022, April 5). *Why South Korea's New President Yoon Seok-yeol Is not a 'K-Trump' but 'K-Clinton'* - Institute for Security and Development Policy. ISDP.Edu. <https://www.isdp.eu/why-south-koreas-new-president-yoon-seok-yeol-is-not-a-k-trump-but-k-clinton/>

Ray, M. (2023, June 6). *Moon Jae-In* | Biography, Policies, & Presidency | Britannica.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Moon-Jae-In>

Suastha, R. D. (2017, November 9). *Moon Jae-in, Dulu Anak Pengungsi Korut Kini Presiden Korsel*. CNN. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20171109094213-113-254496/moon-jae-in-dulu-anak-pengungsi-korut-kini-presiden-korsel>

Tobias, H., Abigail, B., & Haneul, L. (2021). *Prospects for Diplomacy With North Korea* - Center for American Progress. Americanprogress.Org. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/prospects-diplomacy-north-korea/>

Volle, A. (2024, June 5). *Yoon Suk-Yeol* | Facts, History, Family, Impeachment, & Presidency | Britannica. Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Yoon-Suk-Yeol#ref371281>

## **Report**

Kelly, R. E. (2019, December 2). *Moon Jae-in's foreign policy reorientation*. Lowy Institute.

<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/moon-jae-s-foreign-policy-reorientation>

- Kim, J. H. (2019). Deterrence, Alliance and Peace-Keeping: An Ambivalent Peace Initiative. *Global Asia*, 14(2), 34–39
- Levkowitz, A. (2017). President Moon Jae-in's Dilemma. *Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies*, 46–49.  
<http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep04532%0AJSTOR>
- Moon, C. (2019). Man in the middle: Moon Jae-in's Korean peace initiative. *Global Asia*, 14(2), 10–17.
- Overby, T., Snyder, S. A., Stangarone, T., & Swicord, E. (2020). *Stabilizing the U.S.-Korea Trade Agenda Under Trump and Moon*. 2020.
- Noland, M. (2019). Alliances under Stress: South Korea, Japan, and the United States. *East-West Wire*, November, 1–2.
- Sangkeun, L., & Chung-in, M. (2016). South Korea's Economic Engagement toward North Korea. *Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies*.  
[https://keia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/joint\\_us-korea\\_2016\\_-\\_sk\\_econ\\_engagment.pdf](https://keia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/joint_us-korea_2016_-_sk_econ_engagment.pdf)
- Sung-Yoon, C., Sang Hyun, L., Woo-Young, L., & Eun-Kyung, K. (2023). *The Challenges of North Korea's Nuclear Program and International Cooperation* (Y. Lim (ed.)). Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU).
- Robertson, J. (2021). *Moon's last hope for reconciliation with North Korea*. 4–7.
- Tønnesson, S. (2019). It Takes Three to Make a Korean Peace. In *Global Asia* (Vol. 14, Issue 2).
- Vershbow, A., Dohner, R., Garlauskas, M., Oh, M., Pavel, B., & Rosenblum, T. (2021). *A Step-by-Step Strategy for Denuclearization and Peace on the Korean Peninsula: The Road Not Taken after Singapore*.
- Zakharova, L. (2019). *Economic Relations between Russia and South Korea in the New Northern Policy*. www.keia.org

## Tesis

Eriza Putri Tarita, 2025

*Komparasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Moon Jae-In dan Yoon Suk Yeol dalam Upaya Normalisasi Hubungan Korea Selatan-Korea Utara*

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, S1 Hubungan Internasional  
[www.upnvj.ac.id-www.library.upnvj.ac.id-www.repository.ac.id]

- García, L. M. (2020). *Degree in International Relations Moon Jae-in's New Paradigm of Korean Politics Student : Laura Moussa García* (Issue April)
- Jaehyon, L. (2019). *Korea's New Southern Policy: Motivations of "Peace Cooperation" and Implications for the Korean Peninsula 2019-07.* <https://about.jstor.org/terms>
- Lee, H. H. (2013). *North Korea'S Choice of the Types of Provocation Against South Korea.* NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY.
- Yongwoo, S. (2020). *Implementation of the possibility of connecting gas pipeline and railroad system between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea through Russia's 'Turn to the East' policy and South Korea's 'Nine-Bridge' strategy.* Saint Petersburg State University.
- Kunz, K. (2021). South Korean Diplomacy on the Korean Peace Process: A Comparative Study of Moon Jae-in and Roh Moo-hyun's Approaches. In *SSRN Electronic Journal.* <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3729001>