

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aaken, A. V., & Kurtz, J. (2019). Beyond Rational Choice: International Trade Law and the Behavioral Political Economy of Protectionism. *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper* , 1-33.
- Alto Analytics;. (2017, 09 29). *The master and the slave: Trump's Twitter strategy for his two official accounts*. Retrieved 1 27, 2020, from [https://www.alto-analytics.com/en\\_US/trumps-communication-strategy-during-unga-potus-vs-realdonaldtrump/](https://www.alto-analytics.com/en_US/trumps-communication-strategy-during-unga-potus-vs-realdonaldtrump/)
- Baker, P. (2018, 6 22). *President Trump, Deal Maker? Not So Fast*. Retrieved 1 9, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/22/us/politics/trump-deal-maker.html>
- Barber, J. D. (2008). *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*. London: Routledge.
- BBC News. (2019, 5 10). *Trade wars, Trump Tariffs and Protectionism Explained*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-43512098>
- Boucher, J.-C., & Thies, C. G. (2019). I Am a Tariff Man”: The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric under President Trump. *The Journal of Politics*.
- Bown, C. (2017). *Steel, Aluminum, Lumber, Solar: Trump's Stealth Trade Protection*. Washington: Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Bown, C. P. (2018). *Trump's Steel and Aluminum Tariffs: How WTO Retaliation Typically Works*. Washington: Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Breuning, M. (2007). *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction* . New York : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Breuninger, K. (2018, 3 7). *107 House Republicans Send Letter to Trump Asking Him Not To Do His Tariff Plan*. Retrieved 12 8, 2019, from <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/07/107-house-republicans-express-opposition-to-broad-tariffs-call-on-trump-to-only-target-bad-actors.html>
- Brewster, R. (2018). The Trump Administration and the Future of the WTO. *Yale Journal of International Law*, 1-10.
- British Geological Survey. (2019). *World Mineral Production 2013-2017*. Nottingham: Institute of UK Research and Innovation .
- Bush, D. (2018, 3 8). *Trump's Tariffs Will Do More Harm Than Good, Experts Say*. Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy/making-sense/trumps-tariffs-will-do-more-harm-than-good-experts-say>



- Chappell, B. (2017, 11 3). *'I'm The Only One That Matters,' Trump Says Of State Dept. Job Vacancies*. Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/11/03/561797675/im-the-only-one-that-matters-trump-says-of-state-dept-job-vacancies>
- Chien, Y., & Morris, P. (2017, 4 11). *Is U.S. Manufacturing Really Declining?* Retrieved 1 8, 2020, from <https://www.stlouisfed.org/on-the-economy/2017/april/us-manufacturing-really-declining>
- Coker, M. (2018, 6 21). *Tarrifs, Tariifs, Tariffs*. Retrieved 12 7, 2019, from <https://www.globaltrademag.com/tariffs-tariffs-tariffs/>
- de Castro, R. (2008). Explaining the Duterte Administration's Appeasement Policy on China: The Power of Fear. *Asian Affairs: American Review*, 165-191.
- Diamond, J. (2018, 3 7). *Top Economic Adviser Gary Cohn Leaves White House in Wake of Tariff Rift*. Retrieved 12 13, 2019, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/03/06/politics/gary-cohn-white-house-tariffs/index.html>
- Dolega, M., & Burleton, D. (2018, 3 12). *Trump Tariffs Traumatize Trade Talks*. TD Economics.
- Francois,, D., Baughman , L. M., & Anthony, D. (2018). *The Estimated Impacts of Tariffs on Steel and Aluminum*. Trade Partnership Worldwide, LLC.
- Fuchs, M. H. (2017, 1 26). *Trump's Doctrine of Unpredictability*. Retrieved 1 8, 2020, from <https://democracyjournal.org/arguments/trumps-doctrine-of-unpredictability/>
- Garcia, C. (2018, 6 21). *Why Alternatives To Tariffs Can Be More Effective*. Retrieved 1 5, 2020, from <https://www.npr.org/2018/06/21/622361914/why-alternatives-to-tariffs-can-be-more-effective>
- Global Steel Trade Monitor. (2018). *Steel Exports Report: Canada*. Washington: Department of Commerce.
- Government of Canada. (2019, 12). *Steel and Aluminum*. Retrieved 12 20, 2019, from [https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-commerce/controls-controles/steel\\_alum-acier\\_alum.aspx?lang=eng](https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-commerce/controls-controles/steel_alum-acier_alum.aspx?lang=eng)
- Hindery, L. (2019, 9 12). *Tariffs are hurting Americans. Here are other ways Trump can punish China*. Retrieved 1 8, 2020, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/09/11/perspectives/tariff-trump-china-trade/index.html>
- Ho, K. K. (2003). Trading Rights and Wrongs: The 2002 Bush Steel Tariffs. *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, 825-847.
- Homolar, A., & Scholz, R. (2019). The power of Trump-speak: populist crisis narratives and ontological security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 344-364.

Immelman, A. (2017). The Leadership Style of U.S. President Donald J. Trump. *Saint John's University Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics*, 1-17.

Inboden, W. (2012, 5 31). *Two parties, two approaches to multilateralism*. Retrieved 12 3, 2019, from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/05/31/two-parties-two-approaches-to-multilateralism/>

Isidore, C. (2018, 3 7). *Why Steel and Aluminum Tariffs Matter to the US Economy*. Retrieved 6 11, 2019, from <https://money.cnn.com/2018/02/19/news/economy/steel-aluminum-us-economy/index.html>

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1982). *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristic and Biases*. Cambridge University Press: 1124-1131.

Kalleberg, A., & Watcher, T. M. (2017). The U.S. Labor Market During and After the Great Recession: Continuities and Transformations. *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 1-19.

Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate-- The Essential Guide for Progressives*. Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing.

Lester, S., & Zhu, H. (2019). Closing Pandora's Box The Growing Abuse of the National Security Rationale for Restricting Trade. *CATO Institute*, 1-16.

Levy, J. (1992). Prospect Theory and International Relations: Theoretical Applications and Analytical Problems. *Political Psychology*, 282-310.

McAdams, D. (2016, 06). *The Mind of Donald Trump*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/06/the-mind-of-donald-trump/480771/>

McBride, J. (2018, 3 8). *The Risks of U.S. Steel and Aluminum Tariffs*. Retrieved 6 11, 2019, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/risks-us-steel-and-aluminum-tariffs>

McDermott, R. (1998). *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

McFaul, M. (2019, 10 23). *The President's Privatized Foreign Policy Is a Boon for Russia*. Retrieved 01 27, 2020, from Foreign Affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2019-10-23/trumps-gift-putin>

Meyer, T. (2018). Trade, Redistribution, and the Imperial Presidency. *The Yale Journal of International Law*, 21.

Mildner, S.-A., & Schmucker, C. (2019). The US-China Trade War. *CESifo Forum*, 1-50.

Morrison, C. (2018). *Tradition, Trump, and the Future of US Participation in Multilateralism*. Retrieved 11 12, 2019, from The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS):

- Office of the Federal Register. (1986). *Statement on the Revitalization of the Machine Tool Industry*. Retrieved 11 20, 2019, from National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration.
- Petroff, A. (2018, 2 3). *The Global Steel Industry by the Numbers*. Retrieved 2 25, 2020, from CNN Business: <https://money.cnn.com/2018/03/02/news/economy/steel-industry-statistics-us-china-canada/index.html>
- Pramuk, J., Javers, E., & Schoen, J. (2018, 3 2018). *Trump says US will institute tariffs on steel and aluminum imports next week*. Retrieved 2 24, 2020, from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/01/president-trump-will-announce-tariffs-at-meeting-thursday.html>
- Price, A., Weld, C., Sabaawi, L., & Teslik, A. (2016). *Unsustainable: Government Intervention and Overcapacity in the Global Steel Industry*. Washington D.C.: Wiley Rein LLP.
- Rachman, G. (2019, 5 13). *America is the Revisionist Power on Trade*. Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from <https://www.ft.com/content/e9cc014a-755c-11e9-be7d-6d846537acab>
- Rielly, J. (2019). *Can President Donald Trump Destroy the Liberal International Order?* *Cairn International*.
- Rushe, D. (2018, 5 3). *More than 1,000 Economists Warn Trump His Trade Views Echo 1930s Errors*. Retrieved 1 20, 2020, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/03/donald-trump-trade-economists-warning-great-depression>
- Sanger, D., & Haberman, M. (2016, 3 26). *Transcript: Donald Trump Expounds on His Foreign Policy Views*. Retrieved 1 9, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/27/us/politics/donald-trump-transcript.html>
- Saunders, E. (2018, 01 18). *Is Trump a Normal Foreign-Policy President? What We Know After One Year*. Retrieved 01 27, 2020, from Foreign Affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-01-18/trump-normal-foreign-policy-president>
- Schweller, R. (2018, 10). *Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-08-13/three-cheers-trumps-foreign-policy>
- Scott, J., Carter, R., & Drury, A. (2018). *IR: International, Economic, and Human Security in a Changing World*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press.



Section 232 Investigations: Overview and Issues for Congress. (2019, 4). *Congressional Research Service*, p. 4.

Soergel, A. (2016, 10 30). *Businessman in Chief*. Retrieved 12 18, 2019, from <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2016-09-30/does-donald-trumps-business-background-matter>

Steinbock, D. (2018, 9 23). *The Four Steel Men Behind Trump's Trade War*. Retrieved 1 21, 2020, from <http://econintersect.com/pages/opinion/opinion.php?post=201809230135> Econintersect:

Steinbock, D. (2018). U.S.-China Trade War. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies Vol. 4, No. 4*, 515–542.

The Aluminum Association . (2018). *Aluminium excess capacity: time to act*. 2018.

The White House. (2017). *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* . Retrieved 12 18, 2019, from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

Thomas, D. (2015, 1). *How the U.S. Economy Benefits from International Trade & Investment*. Retrieved 1 5, 2020, from Business Roundtable: [https://tradepartnership.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/US\\_State\\_Study.pdf](https://tradepartnership.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/US_State_Study.pdf)

Trump, D. (2015). *Crippled America: How to Make America Great*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Trump, D. (2018, 03 5). *Twitter*. Retrieved 1 12, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/970451373681790978>

Trump, D. (2018, 6 11). *Twitter*. Retrieved 1 12, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1005982266496094209>

Trump, D. (2018, 4 5). *Twitter*. Retrieved 2 23, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/981881669593559040>

Trump, D. (2018, 12 4). *Twitter*. Retrieved 2 25, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1069970500535902208>

Trump, D. (2019, 7 27). *Twitter*. Retrieved 2 25, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1154821023197474817>

Trump, D. J. (2018, 3 5). Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/970451373681790978>

Trump, D. J. (2019, 7 27). Retrieved 12 10, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1154821023197474817>



Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1992). Advances in Prospect Theory: Cumulative Representation of Uncertainty. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, 303.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2019). *Exhibit 3. U.S. Exports of Services by Major Category*. Retrieved 02 25, 2020, from [https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/Press-Release/current\\_press\\_release/exh3.pdf](https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/Press-Release/current_press_release/exh3.pdf)

U.S. Department of Commerce;. (2018). *Section 232 Investigation on the Effect of Imports of Steel on U.S. National Security*. Washington D.C.

United States Trade Representative. (2018, 1). *2017 Report to Congress On China's WTO Complianc*. Retrieved 12 20, 2019, from <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Reports/China%202017%20WTO%20Report.pdf>

US Bureau of Economic Analysis;. (2018). *U.S. International Trade in Goods and Services*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from <http://www.bea.gov/data/intl-trade%20investment/international-trade-goods-and-services>

US Department of Commerce. (2017, April). *Section 232 Investigation on the Effect of Imports of Steel on U.S. National Security*.

US Department of Commerce. (2017, 11 28). *U.S. Department of Commerce Self-Initiates Historic Antidumping and Countervailing Duty Investigations on Common Alloy Aluminum Sheet From China*. Retrieved 12 15, 2019, from <https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2017/11/us-department-commerce-self-initiates-historic-antidumping-and>

Vis, B. (2009). Studying Political Decision-Making Using Prospect Theory . *ECPR General Conference Panel* , (p. 17). Postdam.

Wimberley, A. (2018, 6 28). *Trump Administration's Tariffs on Imported Steel and Aluminum*. Retrieved 06 11, 2019, from <https://www.scipol.org/track/trump-administrations-tariffs-imported-steel-and-aluminum>

World Steel Association. (2017). *World Steel in Figures 2017*. Brussels.

Zengerle, P. (2018, 7 12). *US Senate Backs Non-binding Tariff Measure, Minor Snub of Trump*. Retrieved 12 9, 2019, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-congress-vote/u-s-senate-backs-non-binding-measure-seeking-congressional-tariff-role-idUSKBN1K12IB>