

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Achmad, Fandi. "ASEAN Under Pressure: Export Exposure and the Implications of U.S. Reciprocal Tariffs." Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. <https://s3-csis-web.s3.ap-southeast-1.amazonaws.com/doc/CSISCOM00525.pdf?download=1>.
- Angela Riry, Welly. "Ratifikasi Perjanjian Internasional Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Politik Hukum Nasional." *Jurnal Syntax Transformation* 2, no. 02 (23 Februari 2021): 244–50. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jst.v2i2.228>.
- Anggraeni, Rika. "RI Siapkan 4 Langkah Strategis Hadapi Kebijakan Tarif Trump." Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia (Kemendag), 2025. <https://www.kemendag.go.id/berita/pojok-media/ri-siapkan-4-langkah-strategis-hadapi-kebijakan-tarif-trump>.
- ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM). "Joint Statement of the ASEAN Economic Ministers on the Introduction of Unilateral Tariffs of the United States." Video Conference, 2025. <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/04-Special-AEM-Joint-Statement-Unilateral-Tariffs-Adopted.pdf>.
- Asosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia (APINDO). "Respon APINDO Atas Agreement on Reciprocal Trade (ART) & Dinamika Perkembangannya." Asosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia (APINDO), 2026. <https://apindo.or.id/media/respon-apindo-atas-agreement-on-reciprocal-trade-art-dinamika-perkembangannya>.
- Azhar, Danial. "US tariffs may cut Indonesia growth by up to 0.5 percentage points, minister says." *Reuters*. 10 April 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/us-tariffs-may-cut-indonesia-growth-by-up-05-percentage-points-minister-says-2025-04-10/>.
- Badan Pusat Statistik. "Buletin Statistik Perdagangan Luar Negeri Ekspor Menurut HS, Desember 2024." Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2025/02/28/940d4b1b63231ab02ae0a031/buletin-statistik-perdagangan-luar-negeri-ekspor-menurut-hs--desember-2024.html>.
- . "Proporsi Tenaga Kerja pada Sektor Industri Manufaktur (Persen)." BPS Indonesia, 2024. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/MTIxNyMy/proporsi-tenaga-kerja-pada-sektor-industri-manufaktur--persen-.html>.
- . "Statistik Perdagangan Luar Negeri Indonesia Ekspor 2024, Buku I." Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2025/07/07/6de51ef555c018f6ba7168d1/statistik-perdagangan-luar-negeri-indonesia-ekspor-2024-buku-i.html>.
- Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS). "Statistik Perdagangan Luar Negeri Indonesia Impor 2024 Buku II." Vol. II. Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2025/07/07/7f63c3f56a347c6b9b15ab66/statistik-perdagangan-luar-negeri-indonesia-impor-2024-buku-ii.html>.
- Biro Hubungan Masyarakat Kementerian Perdagangan RI. "Wamendag Roro:

Indonesia Kedepankan Diplomasi Perdagangan, Solidaritas Regional ASEAN, dan Diversifikasi Pasar Hadapi Trump 2.0.” Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025.
<https://www.kemendag.go.id/public/news/d3u6kRjEAmjv4xf4bp7aTJSon35MS6W7ANkvV7bN.pdf>.

Biro Pers, Media, dan Informasi Sekretariat Presiden (BPMI Setpres). “Indonesia—AS Sepakati Penurunan Tarif, Presiden Prabowo: Kita Lindungi Pekerja dan Kepentingan Rakyat.” Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2025.
https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/indonesia_as_sepakati_penurunan_tarif_presiden_prabowo_kita_lindungi_pekerja_dan_kepentingan_rakyat.

Brown, Adam R. “Tsebelis: Veto Players.” *Political Science Notes*, 2002.
https://adambrown.info/p/notes/tsebelis_veto_players.

Carnevale, Peter J. “Strategic Time in Negotiation.” *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2018.12.017>.

Chu, Mei Mei, Ethan Wang, Shi Bu, dan Xiuhao Chen. “China strikes back at Trump with own tariffs, export curbs.” Reuters, 4 April 2025.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/china-impose-tariffs-34-all-us-goods-april-10-2025-04-04/>.

CNN Indonesia. “Apindo Ungkap Dampak Ngeri Tarif Trump ke Sektor Padat Karya RI.” CNN Indonesia, 9 Juli 2025.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20250709202212-92-1248902/apindo-ungkap-dampak-ngeri-tarif-trump-ke-sektor-padat-karya-ri>.

Conceição-Heldt, Eugénia da, dan Patrick A. Mello. “Two-Level Games in Foreign Policy Analysis.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2017.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.496>.

Creswell, John W., dan J. David Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 5 ed. SAGE Publications, 2018.

Dewi Kurniawati. “Indonesia says to increase U.S. imports, lower orders from other countries.” Reuters. Jakarta, Indonesia, 18 April 2025.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-says-increase-us-imports-would-divert-orders-elsewhere-2025-04-18/>.

Dinh, Hinh T., dan Cuong Le Van. “The Impact of ‘Reciprocal Tariffs’ on Developing Countries: a Dynamic Analysis.” Rabat, Morocco, 2025.
https://www.policycenter.ma/sites/default/files/2025-08/RP_08-25_v2.pdf.

Direktorat Jenderal Pengembangan Ekspor Nasional. “Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Jenderal Pengembangan Ekspor Nasional Tahun 2024.” Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025.
<https://ditjenpen.kemendag.go.id/storage/laporan/B6QuhIIXKtONpw4Vc7fn oK6lOoDWEfXMiroOIdzA.pdf>.

Dragu, Tiberiu, dan Hannah K. Simpson. "Veto players, policy change, and institutional design." *Research & Politics* 4, no. 3 (9 Juli 2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168017722704>.

Harithas, Barath, Kyle Meng, Evan Brow, dan Catharine Mouradian. "Liberation Day' Tariffs Explained." Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2025. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/liberation-day-tariffs-explained>.

Horas Veryady Purba, Jan. "Assessing the Impact of US Reciprocal Tariffs on Indonesia Trade Balance and Economic Growth." *International Journal of Advanced Research* 13, no. 05 (31 Mei 2025): 656–66. <https://doi.org/10.21474/IJAR01/20942>.

Hudson, Valerie M. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, no. 1 (2005): 1–30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24907278>.

IFG Progress. "Economic Bulletin – US Tariff Impact to Indonesia." Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. https://ifgprogress.id/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Econ.-Bulletin-US-Tariff-Impact-to-Indonesia_vf.pdf.

Ihsan, Nabil. "RI segera kaji langkah strategis tangani dampak negatif tarif impor AS." ANTARA News, 2025. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4750801/ri-segera-kaji-langkah-strategis-tangani-dampak-negatif-tarif-impor-as>.

Investortrust.id. "Tarif Impor Trump ke Indonesia Turun Jadi 19%, Apindo Berharap Lebih Rendah Lagi." *Investortrust.id*. 16 Juli 2025. <https://investortrust.id/business/72713/tarif-impor-trump-ke-indonesia-turun-jadi-19-apindo-berharap-lebih-rendah-lagi>.

Kanatt, Neil J. "Footwear brands including Nike and Adidas ask Trump for tariff exemption." Reuters. New York, 3 Mei 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/business/footwear-brands-including-nike-adidas-ask-trump-tariff-exemption-2025-05-02/>.

Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia. "Diversifikasi Mitra Dagang Menjadi Kunci Resiliensi Ekspor Indonesia." Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia, 2024. <https://www.kemenkeu.go.id/informasi-publik/publikasi/berita-utama/Diversifikasi-Mitra-Dagang>.

———. "Hadapi Dinamika Global, Menkeu Dorong Dialog dan Kerja Sama di Forum Menteri Keuangan dan Gubernur Bank Sentral (12th AFMGM)." Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. <https://fiskal.kemenkeu.go.id/publikasi/siaran-pers-detil/610>.

Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian Republik Indonesia. "Indonesia Terus Mendorong Pertemuan Teknis Lanjutan, Menandatangani Kesepakatan untuk Memulai Pembahasan Substansi dalam Negosiasi Tarif dengan USTR." Washington DC: Sekretariat Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian, 2025. <https://ekon.go.id/unduh/publikasi/6321/indonesia-terus-mendorong-pertemuan-teknis-lanjutan-menandatangani-kesepakatan->

untuk-memulai-pembahasan-substansi-dalam-negosiasi-tarif-dengan-ustr.

Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian Republik Indonesia – Deputi Bidang Koordinasi Kerja Sama Ekonomi dan Investasi. “Laporan Akuntabilitas Kinerja Instansi Pemerintah (LAKIP) Tahun 2025 Deputi Bidang Koordinasi Kerja Sama Ekonomi dan Investasi.” Jakarta, Indonesia, 2025. <https://kinerja.ekon.go.id/perencanaan/download/lakip-1591-2025-zpoKS.pdf>.

Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia. “Perkembangan Ekspor Negara Mitra berdasarkan HS2.” Satu Data Perdagangan Kemendag RI, 2025. <https://satudata.kemendag.go.id/data-informasi/perdagangan-luar-negeri/ekspor-negara-komoditi>.

———. “Perkembangan Impor Negara Mitra berdasarkan HS2.” Satu Data Perdagangan Kemendag RI, 2025. <https://satudata.kemendag.go.id/data-informasi/perdagangan-luar-negeri/impor-negara-komoditi>.

———. “Rapat Koordinasi Penerapan Tarif Perdagangan Baru Amerika Serikat terhadap Negara Mitra.” Kemendag RI (kemendag.go.id), 2025. <https://www.kemendag.go.id/berita/foto/rapat-koordinasi-penerapan-tarif-perdagangan-baru-amerika-serikat-terhadap-negara-mitra>.

———. “Wamendag RI Utamakan Diplomasi hingga Solidaritas ASEAN Hadapi Trump.” Kementerian Perdagangan Republik Indonesia (Pojok Media), 2025. <https://www.kemendag.go.id/berita/pojok-media/wamendag-ri-utamakan-diplomasi-hingga-solidaritas-asean-hadapi-trump>.

Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia. “Indonesia-AS Sepakati Penurunan Tarif, Presiden Prabowo: Kita Lindungi Pekerja dan Kepentingan Rakyat.” Sekretariat Negara (setneg.go.id), 2025. https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/indonesia_as_sepakati_penurunan_tarif_presiden_prabowo_kita_lindungi_pekerja_dan_kepentingan_rakyat.

———. “Perkuat Ekosistem Kemudahan Berusaha dan Tingkatkan Daya Saing, Pemerintah Deregulasi Sejumlah Kebijakan di Sektor Perdagangan.” Sekretariat Negara (setneg.go.id), 2025. https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/perkuat_ekosistem_kemudahan_berusaha_dan_tingkatkan_daya_saing_pemerintah_deregulasi_sejumlah_kebijakan_di_sektor_perdagangan.

———. “Presiden Prabowo Instruksikan Deregulasi untuk Tingkatkan Daya Saing Industri Padat Karya.” Sekretariat Negara (setneg.go.id), 2025. https://setneg.go.id/baca/index/presiden_prabowo_instruksikan_deregulasi_untuk_tingkatkan_daya_saing_industri_padat_karya.

Komite Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan (KSSK). “SSK Tetap Terjaga, KSSK Memperkuat Koordinasi dan Kebijakan di Tengah Meningkatnya Ketidakpastian Global.” *Otoritas Jasa Keuangan (OJK)*. 03/KSSK/Pers/2025. Jakarta, Indonesia, 24 April 2025. <https://ojk.go.id/id/berita-dan-kegiatan/siaran-pers/Pages/SSK-Tetap-Terjaga-KSSK-Memperkuat-Koordinasi-dan-Kebijakan-di-Tengah>

Meningkatnya-Ketidakpastian-Global.aspx.

Kurmala, Azis. "Indonesia optimistic of striking tariff deal with US: official." *ANTARA News*. 9 Juli 2025.
<https://en.antaranews.com/news/365193/indonesia-optimistic-of-striking-tariff-deal-with-us-official>.

———. "Indonesia seeks negotiations over US reciprocal tariffs." *ANTARA News*, 2025. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/350813/indonesia-seeks-negotiations-over-us-reciprocal-tariffs>.

———. "US tech giants back Indonesia in tariff negotiations." *ANTARA News (English)*, 2025. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/353393/us-tech-giants-back-indonesia-in-tariff-negotiations>.

Lawder, David, dan Andrea Shalal. "Indonesia to cut tariffs, non-tariff barriers in US trade deal." *Reuters*. Jakarta, Indonesia, 23 Juli 2025.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-cut-tariffs-non-tariff-barriers-us-trade-deal-2025-07-22/>.

Monde with AFP and Reuters, Le. "Indonesia calls Trump a 'tough negotiator' after reaching an agreement with the US." *Le Monde*, 2025.
https://www.lemonde.fr/en/economy/article/2025/07/18/indonesia-calls-trump-a-tough-negotiator-after-reaching-an-agreement-with-the-us_6743472_19.html.

Nurfitra, Tegar. "Indonesia, US target completion of tariff talks within 60 days." *ANTARA News*, 18 April 2025.
<https://en.antaranews.com/news/352165/indonesia-us-target-completion-of-tariff-talks-within-60-days>.

Office of Assistant to Deputy Cabinet Secretary for State Documents & Translation. "Indonesia Offers Win-Win Solution on Tariff Negotiations with US." *Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia*, 28 April 2025.
<https://setkab.go.id/en/indonesia-offers-win-win-solution-on-tariff-negotiations-with-us/>.

———. "Indonesia Strikes Deal to Reduce US Tariff to 19%." *Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia*, 2025. <https://setkab.go.id/en/indonesia-strikes-deal-to-reduce-us-tariff-to-19/>.

Office of the United States Trade Representative. "Ambassador Greer Issues Statement on U.S.-Indonesia Deal." *United States Trade Representative (USTR)*, 2025. <https://ustr.gov/about/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2025/july/ambassador-greer-issues-statement-us-indonesia-deal>.

———. "USTR Releases 2025 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers." *USTR (ustr.gov)*, 2025. <https://ustr.gov/about/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2025/march/ustr-releases-2025-national-trade-estimate-report>.

Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR). "2025 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers." Washington, D.C., 2025.

<https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Reports/2025NTE.pdf>.

———. “Implementation of Reciprocal Tariffs Pursuant to Executive Order 14257: Procedures for the Monitoring and Enforcement of Reciprocal Trade Practices.” United States, 2025. <https://public-inspection.federalregister.gov/2025-06462.pdf>.

Pauwelyn, Joost. “How the US Reciprocal Tariff Plan May Save the Global Trading System.” *World Trade Review* 24, no. 4 (11 Oktober 2025): 509–14. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474745625101055>.

Pemerintah Republik Indonesia. Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 24 Tahun 2000 tentang Perjanjian Internasional, Pub. L. No. 24, Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia (2000). <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/44939/uu-no-24-tahun-2000>.

Poast, Paul. “Issue linkage and international cooperation: An empirical investigation.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30, no. 3 (10 Juli 2013): 286–303. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894213484030>.

Poidevin, Olivia Le. “China files complaint with WTO over new US tariffs.” Reuters, 4 April 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/china-files-complaint-with-wto-over-new-us-tariffs-2025-04-04/>.

Putnam, Robert D. “Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games.” *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (22 Mei 1988): 427–60. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027697>.

Rigi, Hanifteh, dan Jeroen F. Warner. “Two-level games on the trans-boundary river Indus: obstacles to cooperation.” *Water Policy* 22, no. 6 (1 Desember 2020): 972–90. <https://doi.org/10.2166/wp.2020.090>.

Rohman, Ibrahim Kholilul, Mohammad Alvin Prabowosunu, dan Kleovan Nathanael Gunawan. “Trump’s ‘Reciprocal Tariffs’: Global Trade Shock and Implications for Indonesia.” Indonesia Financial Group (IFG) Progress, 2025. <https://ifgprogress.id/pos-jurnal/trumps-reciprocal-tariffs-global-trade-shock-and-implications-for-indonesia/>.

Rotunno, Lorenzo, dan Michele Ruta. “Trade Partners’ Responses to US Tariffs.” *IMF Working Papers* 2025, no. 147 (Juli 2025): 1. <https://doi.org/10.5089/9798229017008.001>.

Saputra, Bayu. “Airlangga bertolak ke AS melanjutkan negosiasi tarif 32 persen.” *ANTARA News*. 8 Juli 2025. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4951153/airlangga-bertolak-ke-as-melanjutkan-negosiasi-tarif-32-persen>.

———. “Airlangga temui Menkeu AS bahas tindak lanjut tarif resiprokal Trump.” *ANTARA News*, 2025. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4793757/airlangga-temui-menkeu-as-bahas-tindak-lanjut-tarif-resiprokal-trump>.

———. “Indonesia-AS sepakat lanjutkan negosiasi tarif resiprokal.” *ANTARA*

News. 9 Juli 2025. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4956533/indonesia-as-sepakat-lanjutkan-negosiasi-tarif-resiprokal>.

———. “Indonesia-US tariff talks target shock reduction, open doors.” ANTARA News (English), 2025. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/352981/indonesia-us-tariff-talks-target-shock-reduction-open-doors>.

Savitri, Putu Indah. “Wamendag: Revitalisasi TIFA untuk perluas perdagangan AS-Indonesia.” ANTARA News, 2025. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4762749/wamendag-revitalisasi-tifa-untuk-perluas-perdagangan-as-indonesia>.

Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia. “Frequently Asked Questions Perjanjian Perdagangan Resiprokal Indonesia – Amerika Serikat.” Sekretariat Negara (setneg.go.id), 2025. https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/frequently_asked_questions_perjanjian_perdagangan_resiprokal_indonesia_amerika_serikat.

Serrano Oswald, Omar Ramon, dan Jappe Eckhardt. “New champions of preferential trade? Two-level games in China’s and India’s shifting commercial strategies.” *Review of International Political Economy* 30, no. 2 (4 Maret 2023): 654–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2022.2060278>.

Shalal, Andrea. “US trade deal with Indonesia at risk of collapse, US official says.” Reuters. Jakarta, Indonesia, 10 Desember 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/us-trade-deal-with-indonesia-risk-collapse-us-official-says-2025-12-10/>.

Sinaga, Yuni Arisandy. “Indonesia, USTR set 60-day tariff talks.” ANTARA News, 21 April 2025. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/352353/indonesia-ustr-set-60-day-tariff-talks>.

Sugiyono. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2019.

Sulaiman, Stefano. “Indonesia’s top negotiator to visit US ahead of tariff deadline, official says.” Reuters. Jakarta, Indonesia, 7 Juli 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/emerging/indonesias-top-negotiator-visit-us-monday-ahead-tariffs-deadline-official-says-2025-07-07/>.

———. “Indonesia says it will sign \$34 billion pact with US partners ahead of tariff talks deadline.” Reuters. 3 Juli 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/business/finance/indonesia-sign-34-bln-pact-with-us-partners-ahead-tariff-negotiation-deadline-2025-07-03/>.

———. “Indonesia tariff negotiator to meet Lutnick in US, aims to tout natural resources.” Reuters. 9 Juli 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/asia/indonesia-tariff-negotiator-meet-lutnick-us-aims-tout-natural-resources-2025-07-09/>.

———. “Indonesia to ease import restrictions ahead of US tariff deadline.” Reuters. 30 Juni 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-ease-import-restrictions-goods-ahead-us-tariff-deadline-2025-06-30/>.

- . “Indonesia vows to provide U.S. tariff preferences before June talks.” Reuters, 3 Juni 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-vows-provide-us-tariff-preferences-before-june-talks-2025-06-03/>.
- . “Indonesia wants ‘fair and square’ trade in U.S. tariff talks.” *Reuters*. 25 April 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/asia/indonesia-is-putting-forward-national-interest-us-tariffs-negotiation-minister-2025-04-25/>.
- . “Indonesia will not retaliate against Trump tariff, official says.” Reuters, 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/indonesia-will-not-retaliate-against-trump-tariff-official-says-2025-04-06/>.
- Sulaiman, Stefano, dan Ananda Teresia. “Indonesia announces trade concessions for US ahead of talks.” *Reuters*. 8 April 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/indonesia-announces-trade-concessions-us-ahead-talks-2025-04-08/>.
- . “Indonesia offers to cut duties on US goods, buy \$500 million of wheat in tariff talks.” Reuters, 4 Juli 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/asia/indonesia-offers-buy-us-aircraft-wheat-tariff-negotiations-2025-07-04/>.
- Sulaiman, Stefano, Ananda Teresia, dan Bernadette Christina. “Indonesia expects to wrap up U.S. tariff talks by year-end.” Reuters. Jakarta, Indonesia, 12 Desember 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-expects-complete-tariff-negotiations-with-us-by-year-end-official-says-2025-12-12/>.
- Suroyo, Stefano Sulaiman; Gayatri. “Indonesia clinches US trade deal, says Trump was a ‘tough negotiator.’” Reuters, 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-says-us-trade-deal-reached-after-extraordinary-struggle-2025-07-16/>.
- Tanuwidjaja, Enrico. “Indonesia: Macro Impact from US Reciprocal Tariffs.” Singapore, 2025. https://www.uobgroup.com/assets/web-resources/research/pdf/MN_250407.pdf.
- Teresia, Ananda. “Indonesia, US eye wider critical minerals partnership after ‘positive’ meeting, top negotiator says.” *Reuters*. 10 Juli 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-us-eye-wider-critical-minerals-partnership-after-positive-meeting-top-2025-07-10/>.
- . “Indonesia issues telco permits for five Apple iPhone 16 models.” Reuters. Jakarta, Indonesia, 14 Maret 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/technology/indonesia-issues-telco-permit-some-apples-iphone-16-series-2025-03-14/>.
- The White House. “Annex I: Reciprocal Tariff, Adjusted.” Washington, D.C., 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Annex-I.pdf>.
- . “Extending the Modification of the Reciprocal Tariff Rates.” The White House, 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential->

actions/2025/07/extending-the-modification-of-the-reciprocal-tariff-rates/.

- . “Fact Sheet: President Donald J. Trump Declares National Emergency to Increase Our Competitive Edge, Protect Our Sovereignty, and Strengthen Our National and Economic Security.” The White House, 2 April 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/fact-sheets/2025/04/fact-sheet-president-donald-j-trump-declares-national-emergency-to-increase-our-competitive-edge-protect-our-sovereignty-and-strengthen-our-national-and-economic-security/>.
- . “Fact Sheet: The United States and Indonesia Reach Historic Trade Deal.” The White House, 22 Juli 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/fact-sheets/2025/07/fact-sheet-the-united-states-and-indonesia-reach-historic-trade-deal/>?
- . “Joint Statement on a Framework for a United States-Thailand Agreement on Reciprocal Trade.” *Executive Office of the President of the United States*. Washington, D.C., United States, 2026. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/2025/10/joint-statement-on-a-framework-for-a-united-states-thailand-agreement-on-reciprocal-trade/>.
- . “Joint Statement on Framework for United States-Indonesia Agreement on Reciprocal Trade.” The White House, 22 Juli 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/2025/07/joint-statement-on-framework-for-united-states-indonesia-agreement-on-reciprocal-trade/>.
- . “Joint Statement on United States-Malaysia Agreement on Reciprocal Trade.” *Executive Office of the President of the United States*. Washington, D.C., United States, 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/2025/10/joint-statement-on-united-states-malaysia-agreement-on-reciprocal-trade/>.
- . “Joint Statement on United States-Vietnam Framework for an Agreement on Reciprocal, Fair, and Balanced Trade.” Washington, D.C., United States, 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/2025/10/joint-statement-on-united-states-vietnam-framework-for-an-agreement-on-reciprocal-fair-and-balanced-trade/>.
- . “Modifying Reciprocal Tariff Rates to Reflect Trading Partner Retaliation and Alignment.” The White House, 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/04/modifying-reciprocal-tariff-rates-to-reflect-trading-partner-retaliation-and-alignment/>.
- . “Reciprocal Trade and Tariffs.” The White House, 13 Februari 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/02/reciprocal-trade-and-tariffs/>.
- . “Regulating Imports with a Reciprocal Tariff to Rectify Trade Practices that Contribute to Large and Persistent Annual United States Goods Trade Deficits.” The White House, 2025. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/04/regulating-imports-with-a-reciprocal-tariff-to-rectify-trade-practices-that-contribute-to-large-and-persistent-annual-united-states-goods-trade-deficits/>.

Trump, Donald J. Executive Order 14257: Regulating Imports with a Reciprocal Tariff to Rectify Trade Practices that Contribute to Large and Persistent Annual United States Goods Trade Deficits, Pub. L. No. 2025–06063 (2025). <https://public-inspection.federalregister.gov/2025-06063.pdf>.

———. Executive Order 14257: Regulating Imports with a Reciprocal Tariff to Rectify Trade Practices that Contribute to Large and Persistent Annual United States Goods Trade Deficits, Pub. L. No. 2025–06063 (2025). <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/04/07/2025-06063/regulating-imports-with-a-reciprocal-tariff-to-rectify-trade-practices-that-contribute-to-large-and>.

———. “Executive Order 14266: Modifying Reciprocal Tariff Rates To Reflect Trading Partner Retaliation and Alignment” 90, no. 72 (2025): 15627–15632. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/04/15/2025-06462/modifying-reciprocal-tariff-rates-to-reflect-trading-partner-retaliation-and-alignment>.

———. “Executive Order 14316: Extending the Modification of the Reciprocal Tariff Rates.” *Federal Register* 90, no. 132 (2025): 30823–24. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/07/10/2025-12962/extending-the-modification-of-the-reciprocal-tariff-rates>.

U.S. Census Bureau. “Trade in Goods with Indonesia (Trade in Goods with Country: Indonesia).” Foreign Trade - U.S. Census Bureau, 2025. <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5600.html>.

USTR. “Indonesia.” U.S. Trade Representative, 2025. <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/southeast-asia-pacific/indonesia>.

———. “Trade & Investment Framework Agreements.” Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2025. <https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/trade-investment-framework-agreements>.

Vu, TrVu, T. H. K. (2025, Juli 2). Trump says he will put 20% tariff on Vietnam’s exports. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/trump-says-he-has-struck-trade-deal-with-vietnam-2025-07-02/>evor Hunnicutt; Khanh. “Trump says he will put 20% tariff on Vietnam’s exports.” Reuters. Washington, D.C., United States, 2 Juli 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/trump-says-he-has-struck-trade-deal-with-vietnam-2025-07-02/>.

Vu, Khanh. “Vietnam to cut duties on US imports, approve Starlink as Trump tariff decision looms.” *Reuters*. 26 Maret 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/markets/asia/vietnam-says-cut-tariffs-several-us-products-2025-03-26/>.

Waltz, N. “Three Levels of Analysis” 12, no. 3 (1960): 453–61. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/2009401>.

Wicaksono, Aditya Eko Sigit. “Indonesian delegation meets USTR for tariff negotiation.” ANTARA News, 2025.

<https://en.antaranews.com/news/352237/indonesian-delegation-meets-ustr-for-tariff-negotiation>.

———. “Jakarta advances tariff negotiations with US Treasury Secretary.”

ANTARA News (English), 2025.

<https://en.antaranews.com/news/352849/jakarta-advances-tariff-negotiations-with-us-treasury-secretary>.

Wihardja, Maria Monica, dan Siwage Dharma Negara. “What the Weak Must Suffer: Indonesia’s High-Cost Trade Deal with the US.” FULCRUM (Singapore), 2025. <https://fulcrum.sg/what-the-weak-must-suffer-indonesias-high-cost-trade-deal-with-the-us/>.

World Bank. “Imports, Exports and Mirror Data with UN COMTRADE.” World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS), 2010. https://wits.worldbank.org/wits/wits/witshelp/Content/Data_Retrieval/T/Intro/B2.Imports_Exports_and_Mirror.htm.

World Bank Group. “Indonesia.” World Bank Group, 2025.

<https://www.worldbank.org/ext/en/country/indonesia>.

World Customs Organization. “What is the Harmonized System (HS)?” World Customs Organization (WCO), 2025.

<https://www.wcoomd.org/en/topics/nomenclature/overview/what-is-the-harmonized-system.aspx>.

