

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Admojo, Tri, et al. First Billionaire President Donald Trump: Sukses, Bangkrut, Bangkit, Jadi Presiden. Yogyakarta: Media Pressindo, 2017.
- Al Jazeera. "US Begins Formal Process of Withdrawing from WHO." 7 Juli 2020. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/7/7/us-begins-formal-process-of-withdrawing-from-who>.
- American Journal of International Law. "Trump Administration Submits Notice of U.S. Withdrawal from the World Health Organization Amid COVID-19 Pandemic." 114, no. 4 (2020): 765-772. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ajil.2020.76>.
- Aremu, Stephen Olaide, Akyala Ishaku Adamu, Odinaka Kingsley Obeta, Donald Ofili Ibe, Solomon Ambina Mairiga, Mojisola Ashiat Otukoya, and Abdillahi Abdi Barkhadle. "The United States Withdrawal from the World Health Organization (WHO), Its Implications for Global Health Governance." *Globalization and Health* 21, no. 1 (2025): article 48. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-025-01137-0>.
- Associated Press. "U.S. Tells World Health Organization That It Is Withdrawing Because of Coronavirus Response." *The Seattle Times*, 7 Juli 2020. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/trump-administration-sends-letter-withdrawing-u-s-from-world-health-organization-over-coronavirus-response/>.
- BBC News Indonesia. "AS Henggang dari WHO, Apa Imbasnya bagi Dunia?" 27 Januari 2025. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cj65r3pjy2yo>.
- Berty, Teddy Tri Setio. "AS Tarik Diri dari 66 Organisasi Internasional, Termasuk Lembaga PBB dan Badan Iklim." *Liputan6.com*, 8 Januari 2026. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/6253269/as-tarik-diri-dari-66-organisasi-internasional-termasuk-lembaga-pbb-dan-badan-iklim>.
- Biden, Joseph R., Jr. "Letter to His Excellency António Guterres." 20 Januari 2021. The White House. Biden White House Archives. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/01/20/letter-his-excellency-antonio-guterres/>.
- Blanchfield, Luisa, and Matthew C. Weed. *The World Health Organization (WHO): Background and U.S. Withdrawal*. CRS Insight IN12496. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 29 Januari 2025.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, William G. Howell, and David E. Lewis. "Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis." *The Journal of Politics* 70, no. 1 (Januari 2008): 1-16.
- Carati, Andrea, and Andrea Locatelli. "All the President's Men: Leadership Style, Advisory System and Donald Trump's Mixed Record in Foreign Policy." *Global Policy* 14, no. 1 (2023): 95-106. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13151>.

- Çifci, Yusuf. "Child, Family, and Narcissistic Political Leadership: A Comparison of Hitler, Putin, and Trump." *Frontiers in Psychology* 16 (2025): article 1579958. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2025.1579958>.
- Cohen, Steve. "Congressman Cohen Leads Letter Opposing U.S. Withdrawal from the World Health Organization." Press release, 31 Januari 2025. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://cohen.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/congressman-cohen-leads-letter-opposing-us-withdrawal-world-health>.
- Comer, James. Quoted in "Trump Administration Sends Letter Withdrawing US from World Health Organization." Office of Congressman James Comer, Juli 2020. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://comer.house.gov/2020/7/trump-administration-sends-letter-withdrawing-us-world-health-organization-over>.
- Congressional Research Service. Section 301 and China: The U.S.-China Phase One Trade Deal. CRS In Focus IF12125. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2026.
- Congressional Research Service. Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974. CRS In Focus IF11346. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2026.
- Congressional Research Service. The Economic Effects of the 2017 Tax Revision: Preliminary Observations. CRS Report No. R45736. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2019.
- Council on Foreign Relations. "U.S. Foreign Policy: Multilateralism or Unilateralism?" CFR Education. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://education.cfr.org/teach/mini-simulation/us-foreign-policy-multilateralism-or-unilateralism>.
- Diniar, Mellyna Putri. "Penarikan AS dari WHO Mengguncang Tata Kelola Kesehatan Global dan Memperkuat Peran Tiongkok." *Jawapos.com*, 2 Februari 2026. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.jawapos.com/internasional/2602020317/penarikan-as-dari-who-mengguncang-tata-kelola-kesehatan-global-dan-menguatkan-peran-tiongkok>.
- Edwards, Christian. "What Is the World Health Organization and Why Does Trump Want to Leave It?" *CNN*, 21 Januari 2025. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://www.cnn.com/2025/01/21/world/world-health-organization-trump-withdraw-explainer-intl/index.html>.
- Faber, Sabine. "Amerika Lagi-Lagi Keluar dari UNESCO." *DW.com*, 23 Juli 2025. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.dw.com/id/amerika-serikat-lagi-lagi-angkat-kaki-dari-unesco/a-73379255>.
- "Federal Register, Volume 90, Issue 18 (Rabu, 29 Januari 2025)." *Govinfo.gov*, 2025. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2025-01-29/html/2025-01957.htm>.
- Frayer, Lauren. "Trump Is Making a State Visit to the U.K., the Homeland of His Immigrant Mother." *NPR*, 14 September 2025. Diakses 25 Juni 2026.

<https://www.npr.org/2025/09/14/nx-s1-5496445/trump-uk-state-visit-mother-scotland-outer-hebrides>.

George, Alexander L. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1969): 190-222.

Global News. "Trump Orders U.S. to Halt Funding to WHO over Coronavirus Response." 14 April 2020. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://globalnews.ca/news/6818210/trump-halts-us-funding-who-coronavirus/>.

Gostin, Lawrence O., and Eric A. Friedman. "A Retrospective and Prospective Analysis of the West African Ebola Virus Disease Epidemic: Robust National Health Systems at the Foundation and an Empowered WHO at the Apex." *The Lancet* 385, no. 9980 (2015): 1902-1909.

Gostin, Lawrence O., Harold Hongju Koh, Michelle Williams, Margaret A. Hamburg, Georges Benjamin, William H. Foege, et al. "US Withdrawal from WHO Is Unlawful and Threatens Global and US Health and Security." *The Lancet* 396, no. 10247 (2020): 293-295. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)31527-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)31527-0).

Hamid, Shadi. "Deconstructing Trump's Foreign Policy." Brookings, 5 November 2018. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/deconstructing-trumps-foreign-policy/>.

Hermann, Margaret G. "Assessing Leadership Style: Trait Analysis." In *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, edited by Jerrold M. Post, 178-212. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Hermann, Margaret G. "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders." *International Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1980): 7-46.

Hudson, Valerie M. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, no. 1 (2005): 1-30.

Hudson, Valerie M., and Benjamin S. Day. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Ed. ke-3. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020.

"International Agreements (Part I): Overview and Agreement-Making Process." *Congress.gov*, 2025. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/LSB11048>.

Jones, Lee, and Shahar Hameiri. "Explaining the Failure of Global Health Governance During COVID-19." *International Affairs* 98, no. 6 (2022): 2057-2076. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iia231>.

Kaiser Family Foundation. "The U.S. Congress and Global Health: A Primer." Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/the-u-s-congress-and-global-health-a-primer/>.

- Kaiser Family Foundation. "The U.S. Government and the World Health Organization." Terakhir disunting 8 April 2026. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/the-u-s-government-and-the-world-health-organization/>.
- Kamradt-Scott, Adam. "WHO's to Blame? The World Health Organization and the 2014 Ebola Outbreak in West Africa." *Third World Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2016): 401-418. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1112232>.
- McEvers, Kelly. "'Village Voice' Reporter Recalls Roy Cohn's Early Influence on Trump." NPR, 4 Agustus 2016. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://www.npr.org/2016/08/04/488722392/village-voice-reporter-recalls-roy-cohns-early-influence-on-trump>.
- Metrotvnews.com. "AS Resmi Keluar dari WHO, Apa Dampaknya bagi Dunia?" 23 Januari 2026. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/NrWC8EDZ-as-resmi-keluar-dari-who-apa-dampaknya-bagi-dunia>.
- Mintz, Alex, and Karl DeRouen. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Moss, Kellie, Josh Michaud, and Jennifer Kates. "The U.S. Government and Multilateral Global Health Engagement: 5 Key Facts." KFF, 2019. Diakses 20 Juli 2026. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/the-u-s-government-and-multilateral-global-health-engagement-5-key-facts/>.
- NBC News. "Trump Administration Gives Formal Notice of Withdrawal from WHO." 7 Juli 2020. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-administration-gives-formal-notice-withdrawal-who-n1233100>.
- Obschonka, Martin, and Christian Fisch. "Entrepreneurial Personalities in Political Leadership." *Small Business Economics* 50, no. 4 (2018): 851-869.
- Parker, Charles F., and Eric K. Stern. "The Trump Administration and the COVID-19 Crisis: Exploring the Warning-Response Problems and Missed Opportunities of a Public Health Emergency." *Public Administration* 100, no. 3 (2022): 616-632.
- Ravelo, Jenny Lei. "On His First Day in Office, Biden Retracts US Withdrawal from WHO." *Devex*, 21 Januari 2021. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.devex.com/news/on-his-first-day-in-office-biden-retracts-us-withdrawal-from-who-98961>.
- "Remarks: Donald Trump Signs Executive Orders in the Oval Office." 20 Januari 2025. Transcript. Factbase. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://rollcall.com/factbase/trump/transcript/donald-trump-remarks-executive-order-signing-oval-office-january-20-2025/>.
- RRI. "Trump Tarik AS dari WHO, Anggaran Terancam Terganggu." *Rri.co.id*, 22 Januari 2025. Diakses 22 Juni 2026. <https://rri.co.id/internasional/1272358/faq.html>.

- Shakira, Fanny, and Eva Rona Sihombing. "Tindakan Penarikan Diri Secara Sepihak (Withdrawal) oleh Amerika Serikat dari Paris Agreement 2015 Berdasarkan Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969." *Jurnal Multidisiplin West Science* 2, no. 7 (Juli 2023): 502-510.
- Snyder, Richard C., H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin. *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*. New York: Free Press, 1962.
- The Hill. "US Officially Leaves World Health Organization after Trump Order." 23 Januari 2026. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://thehill.com/policy/international/5702306-us-officially-withdraws-from-who/>.
- The White House. "Fact Sheet: President Donald J. Trump Is Demanding Accountability from the World Health Organization." 15 April 2020. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-demanding-accountability-world-health-organization/>.
- The White House. "Fact Sheet: President Donald J. Trump Withdraws the United States from International Organizations That Are Contrary to the Interests of the United States." 7 Januari 2026. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/fact-sheets/2026/01/fact-sheet-president-donald-j-trump-withdraws-the-united-states-from-international-organizations-that-are-contrary-to-the-interests-of-the-united-states/>.
- The White House. "Fact Sheet: The U.S. Commitment to the Global Health Security Agenda." 16 November 2015. Obama White House Archives. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/16/fact-sheet-us-commitment-global-health-security-agenda>.
- The White House. "Remarks by President Trump in Press Briefing, 27 September 2020." James S. Brady Press Briefing Room, 2020. Diakses 20 Juli 2026. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-press-briefing-september-27-2020/>.
- The White House. "Remarks by President Trump on Actions Against China." 29 Mei 2020. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-actions-china/>.
- Truman, Harry S. "Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution Providing for U.S. Membership in the World Health Organization." 14 Juni 1948. Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/132/statement-president-upon-signing-resolution-providing-us-membership-world>.
- Trump, Donald J. "Withdrawing the United States from the World Health Organization." Executive Order 14155. 20 Januari 2025. In *Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents*, DCPD-202500122. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-202500122/pdf/DCPD-202500122.pdf>.

- Trump, Donald J. (@realDonaldTrump), quoting Janette Nesheiwat. Truth Social post, 18 November 2024. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/113501682012809641>.
- Trump, Donald J. (@realDonaldTrump). Truth Social post, 29 Juli 2026.
- Trump, Donald J. (@realDonaldTrump). Truth Social post, 31 Mei 2022.
- Trump, Donald J. (@realDonaldTrump). Truth Social post, 17 Oktober 2023. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/111251415154485700>.
- Trump, Donald J. (@realDonaldTrump). Twitter post, 10 Mei 2020. In "Tweets of 10 Mei 2020." The American Presidency Project, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Trump, Donald J. Letter to Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. 18 Mei 2020. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Tedros-Letter.pdf>.
- U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of Inspector General. "President's Malaria Initiative in Africa: USAID Did Not Implement Its Strategy to Prioritize High-Burden Countries." Februari 2025. Diakses 20 Juli 2026. <https://oig.usaid.gov/node/7478>.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "Fact Sheet: U.S. Withdrawal from the World Health Organization." Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.cdc.gov/global-health/resources/us-withdrawal-who.html>.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "United States Completes WHO Withdrawal." Press release, 22 Januari 2026. Diakses 29 Juni 2026. <https://www.hhs.gov/press-room/united-states-completes-who-withdrawal.html>.
- U.S. Department of State. "About PEPFAR." Diakses 22 Juni 2026. <https://www.state.gov/about-us-pepfar>.
- U.S. Department of State. "Update on U.S. Withdrawal from the World Health Organization." Press statement, 3 September 2020. Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://2017-2021.state.gov/update-on-u-s-withdrawal-from-the-world-health-organization/>.
- United States Senate. "About Treaties." Senate.gov, 2024. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.senate.gov/about/powers-procedures/treaties.htm>.
- Walker, Stephen G., and Mark Schafer. Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Waterhouse, Benjamin C. "Donald Trump: Campaigns and Elections." Miller Center, University of Virginia. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://millercenter.org/president/trump/campaigns-and-elections>.

- Waterhouse, Benjamin C. "Donald Trump: Domestic Affairs." Miller Center, University of Virginia. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://millercenter.org/president/trump/domestic-affairs>.
- Waterhouse, Benjamin C. "Donald Trump: Family Life." Miller Center, University of Virginia. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://millercenter.org/president/trump/family-life>.
- Waterhouse, Benjamin C. "Donald Trump: Foreign Affairs." Miller Center, University of Virginia. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://millercenter.org/president/trump/foreign-affairs>.
- Waterhouse, Benjamin C. "Donald Trump: Life Before the Presidency." Miller Center, University of Virginia. Diakses 25 Juni 2026. <https://millercenter.org/president/trump/life-presidency>.
- White House Historical Association. "Donald J. Trump." Diakses 6 Juli 2026. <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/donald-j-trump>.
- White, Abigail. "Profiling the President: Explaining Donald Trump's Nationalistic Foreign Policy Decisions Using Leadership Trait Analysis and Operational Code Analysis." *Contemporary Voices: St Andrews Journal of International Relations* (2022).
- Wildavsky, Aaron. "The Two Presidencies." *Trans-action* 4, no. 2 (Desember 1966): 7-14.
- Winter, David G. "Measuring the Motives of Political Actors at a Distance." In *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, edited by Jerrold M. Post, 153-177. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Winter, David G. "Personality and Foreign Policy: Historical Overview of Research." In *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy*, edited by Eric Singer and Valerie M. Hudson. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.
- Winter, David G. "Personality and Political Behavior." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, edited by David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, 110-145. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Winter, David G. "Personality Profiles of Political Elites." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, 2nd ed., edited by Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Winter, David G. "What Does Trump Really Want? A Motive Profile of Donald Trump's 2017 Inaugural Address." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12154>.
- World Health Organization. "Constitution of the World Health Organization." Geneva: World Health Organization, 1948. Diakses 22 Juni 2026. <https://apps.who.int/gb/bd/PDF/bd47/EN/constitution-en.pdf>.

World Health Organization. "History of WHO." www.who.int, 2023. Diakses 3 Agustus 2026. <https://www.who.int/about/history>.

World Health Organization. "How WHO Is Funded." www.who.int, 2022. Diakses 15 Juni 2026. <https://www.who.int/about/funding>.

Yazdi-Feyzabadi, Vahid, Ali Akbar Haghdooost, Martin McKee, Amirhossein Takian, and Mohammad Karamouzian. "The United States Withdrawal from the World Health Organization: Implications and Challenges." *International Journal of Health Policy and Management* (18 Maret 2025): article 9086. Diakses 27 Juli 2026. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/389944246_The_United_States_Withdrawal_From_the_World_H

