

## **BAB IV**

### **KESIMPULAN**

Amerika Serikat dibawah kepemimpinan Presiden Donald Trump pada tahun 2017 diawali dengan berbagai tindakan yang dirasa proteksionis, seperti kemunduran dari NAFTA dan TPP. Salah satunya adalah tindakan Amerika Serikat untuk mengancam mengundurkan diri dari KORUS FTA apabila Korea Selatan enggan melakukan renegotiasi. Hal ini dikarenakan Amerika Serikat melihat perjanjian KORUS FTA tidak membawa keuntungan yang sebelumnya dijanjikan pada tahun 2012. Pernyataan ini pun menimbulkan berbagai pandangan dengan adanya ahli yang melihat bahwa ini merupakan kesempatan Amerika Serikat untuk memperluas manfaat perdagangan. Disisi lain, ada pula pandangan yang melihat ini sebagai langkah yang gegabah dan tidak perlu dilakukan. Sesuai Keohane, situasi kedua negara akhirnya berada antara kerjasama dan perselisihan. Untuk menjembatannya, penelitian ini berusaha menganalisa alasan dibaliknya dengan mengangkat pertanyaan penelitian “Mengapa Amerika Serikat Melakukan Renegosiasi Perjanjian Dagang dalam U.S-Korea Free Trade Agreement Tahun 2017-2018”. Menggunakan teori neo-merkantilisme, konsep keamanan nasional, teori kerjasama internasional, dan teori negosiasi, peneliti membagi jawaban atas pertanyaan tersebut berdasarkan tiga alasan negara menentukan tindakan dalam teori neo-merkantilisme, yaitu perubahan internal dan eksternal, kondisi rezim internasional, dan hubungan antara negara-negara pemimpin.

Pertama, perubahan internal dan eksternal. Secara faktor internal, Amerika Serikat melakukan renegotiasi akibat adanya reposisi orientasi dagang Amerika Serikat dari masa kepemimpinan Obama menuju Presiden Donald Trump. Presiden Obama sebelumnya yang berorientasi pada kerjasama internasional nyatanya bertolak belakang dengan pandangan Presiden Donald Trump yang melihat bahwa kerjasama internasional selama ini telah membawa banyak kerugian. Maka, Presiden Donald Trump berkomitmen hanya untuk melakukan kerjasama internasional yang menguntungkan ekonomi atau mengarah pada tindakan yang lebih proteksionis. Walau demikian, ini bukanlah langkah yang baru ditandai dengan Amerika Serikat yang sejak merumuskan perjanjian perdagangan internasional masa GATT dan WTO sudah menjalankan tindakan proteksionisme seperti mengusulkan klausa *anti-dumping*, *countervailing duty*, dan *safeguards*. Melalui kejadian ini, dapat dilihat bahwa Amerika Serikat mengutamakan kepentingan nasionalnya dalam sektor ekonomi, yang menurut *National Security Strategy* merupakan keamanan nasional. Sesuai dengan Morgenthau, hal ini dilakukan negara untuk memastikan keselamatan penduduknya. Dengan dilihatnya ekonomi sebagai bagian dari keamanan nasional, maka kepentingan ini berada di tingkat vital, dibanding keterbukaan ekonomi dalam tingkat penting. Maka, negara akan melakukan tindakan proteksionis apabila manfaat ekonomi tidak terpenuhi.

Berdasarkan penelitian dari faktor eksternal, dapat dilihat bahwa KORUS FTA belum memenuhi ekspektasi keuntungan, bahkan justru menimbulkan kerugian. Dari empat sektor andalan, hanya agrikultur sektor yang mengalami kemajuan, sedangkan sektor otomotif, baja, dan farmasi mengalami kerugian dan

belum mencapai potensi keuntungan maksimal akibat adanya hambatan dagang. Amerika Serikat harus menanggung kerugian di 34 dari 57 sektor, kehilangan 100,000 lapangan pekerjaan, dan potensi kerugian sebesar USD 142.700.000. Di sisi lain, Korea Selatan justru mengalami peningkatan keuntungan mencapai USD 323.000.000. Teori neo-merkantilisme Balaam dan Dillman melihat bahwa kerjasama internasional bersifat *zero sum game* sehingga kerugian yang dialami Amerika Serikat membawa keuntungan bagi Korea Selatan. Berdasarkan kedua faktor tersebut, perlu ada penyesuaian ke arah proteksionis untuk melindungi negara yang saat ini rentan akibat kerugian ekonomi. Perubahan dalam perjanjian pun diperbolehkan dalam klausa perjanjian KORUS FTA sehingga mungkin dilakukan.

Kedua, secara rezim internasional, Amerika Serikat pun sudah bergeser kekuatannya ke arah oligopoli sehingga tidak mudah untuk mencapai kepentingan nasionalnya. Tiongkok yang maju sebagai negara pemimpin dengan program AIIB, BRI, dan *Made in China 2025* telah menggait banyak aliansi dari Eropa, Asia, Afrika, bahkan organisasi internasional. Dalam faktor ketiga, hubungan kedua negara pemimpin yaitu Amerika Serikat dan Tiongkok juga tidak dapat dikatakan baik. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari bagaimana kepemimpinan Presiden Donald Trump menjadi era pertama yang menyatakan Tiongkok sebagai ancaman dan melancarkan perang dagang. Selain itu, Tiongkok juga seringkali menggunakan kekuatan ekonomi untuk mencapai kepentingannya seperti kasus THAAD dan Laut Cina Selatan. Bahkan Amerika Serikat pun meluncurkan strategi khusus untuk menghalau dominasi Tiongkok yang dilihat agresif. Maka, dapat dilihat bahwa

hubungan antar kedua negara pemimpin tidak baik dan memunculkan urgensi bagi Amerika Serikat untuk meningkatkan kekuatan demi menghalau Tiongkok.

Berdasarkan faktor-faktor tersebut, maka Amerika Serikat perlu melakukan tindakan proteksionisme untuk menghalau dampak negatif perjanjian dagang yang saat ini terjadi. Meyakini sistem internasional yang *zero-sum-game*, strategi ini perlu dilakukan agar Amerika Serikat tidak terus dirugikan dan hanya menguntungkan Korea Selatan, serta memiliki kekuatan yang cukup untuk menghalau Tiongkok. Kepentingan ekonomi dan politis yang ingin dicapai dapat dikategorikan sebagai keamanan nasional dalam tingkat kepentingan nasional vital sehingga keterbukaan ekonomi dapat dikorbankan.

Walau demikian, Amerika Serikat tidak menjadi isolasionis, namun lebih selektif seperti teori neo-merkantilisme. Amerika Serikat dalam rencana kerjasamanya menyatakan bahwa kerjasama bilateral tetap diutamakan karena membawa keuntungan lebih dibanding bilateral, yang sesuai dengan Blum. Maka, Amerika Serikat melihat bahwa satu-satunya cara adalah untuk melakukan renegotiasi dengan Korea Selatan.

Tindakan Amerika Serikat yang berani untuk melakukan renegotiasi dapat dianalisa dengan teori negosiasi oleh Korobkin. Amerika Serikat akhirnya memutuskan untuk mengancam melakukan renegotiasi walau ada kemungkinan akan batal dan membawa kerugian bagi Amerika Serikat dikarenakan Amerika Serikat memiliki kekuatan lebih untuk memenuhi BATNA. Amerika Serikat memenuhi dua syarat yaitu memberikan ancaman eksplisit dengan pernyataan pengunduran diri, dan implisit dengan kekhawatiran penarikan tantara ditengah

ketegangan dengan Korea Utara. Ancaman ini sesuai dengan cara negosiasi Rapoport untuk melimitasi cara dengan menunjukkan adanya dampak negatif apabila tidak dipenuhi, yaitu secara keuntungan dagang dan keamanan. Amerika Serikat pun memenuhi syarat kedua dengan menunjukkan Amerika Serikat betul-betul mundur dari TPP, merengosiasi NAFTA, dan melakukan perang dagang. Selain itu, Amerika Serikat pun menunjukkan bukti penarikan tantara di berbagai negara Timur Tengah. Maka, hal ini menjadi ancaman yang membuat Korea Selatan percaya bahwa dampak buruk akan terjadi apabila tidak menuruti keinginan Amerika Serikat, dan akhirnya memutuskan untuk setuju. Berdasarkan IkleFred Charles, negosiasi ini berhasil mencapai tiga tujuan yaitu memperpanjang kesepakatan, redistribusi perjanjian dan inovasi.

Dengan demikian, dapat disimpulkan bahwa tindakan Amerika Serikat merupakan tindakan yang didasari oleh kepentingan nasional dengan skala prioritas kepentingan nasional yang diutamakan. Hal ini sejalan dengan teori neo-merkantilisme yang menjunjung kepentingan nasional, terlebih dalam kondisi dunia yang *zero-sum-game*. Amerika Serikat pun melakukan negosiasi tetap didasari pada kepentingan nasional, dan dilakukan karena memiliki kekuatan untuk mendorong kepentingannya. Maka, tindakan Amerika Serikat adalah tindakan yang diperhitungkan untuk melindungi kepentingan nasional.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

Balaam, David N. dan Bradford Dillman. 2014. *Introduction to International Political Economy*. New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc.

Balassa, Bela. *The Theory of Economic Integration*. Great Britain: Taylor Garnett Evans & Co Ltd. 1961

Chase, Kerry A. *Trading Blocs: States, Firms, and Regions in the World Economy*. Michigan: The University Michigan Press.  
<https://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/047209906X-ch4.pdf>

Denzin, Norman K. dan Yvonna S. Lincoln. 2017. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. California: Sage Publications. ISBN 978-1-4833-4980-0

Goldstein, Joshua S dan Jon C. Pevehouse. 2006. *International Relations*. New York: Pearson Longman.

Guerrieri, Paolo dan Pier Carlo Padoan. 1998. "Neomercantilism and International Economic Stability". *International Organization* vol. 40 no.1. DOI: 10.1017/S002081830000446X

Irragori, Alexandra Garcia. 2003. "Negotiations in International Relations". *Revista De Derecho Universidad Del Norte* vol. 19. ISSN 0121-8697

Jackson, Robert dan Georg Sorensen. 2013. *Introduction to International Relations Theory and Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-969474-7

- Keohane, Robert. 1984. "Cooperation and International Regimes". *After Hegemony Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Korobkin, Russel. *Negotiation Theory and Strategy*. Aspen Publisher. 129
- Lowenfeld, Andreas F *International Economic Law*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Renshon, Stanley A. dan Peter Suedfeld. "The Trump Doctrine and Conservative American Nationalism". *The Trump Doctrine and the Emerging International System*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Sen, Gautam. "The United States and GATT/WTO System". Oxford Scholarship Online University Press. <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199261431.001.0001/acprof-9780199261437-chapter-6>
- Vartanian, Thomas P. 2010. *Secondary Data Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [https://books.google.co.id/books?id=KKh1Q\\_OuKqIC&lr=&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.co.id/books?id=KKh1Q_OuKqIC&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s)
- Zartman, I William. 2008. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Essay on Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group. ISBN 0-415-42950-1

## Jurnal

- Azza Bimantara. 2018. "Donald Trump's Protectionist Trade Policy from the Perspective of Economic Nationalism", *Jurnal Hubungan internasional* Vol. 7 No.2, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Donald-Trump's-Protectionist-Trade-Policy-from-the-Bimantara/c3a7ec73f77b5ea53f0fee270c535248a8e922cf>
- Backgrounder. "Snapshot of the U.S-China Trade War". *Institute for Security & Development Policy*, January 2020. <https://isdpr.eu/content/uploads/2020/01/Trade-War-backgrounder-January-2020.pdf>
- Barfield, Claude. "The Trump Administration, U.S-Korean Economic Relations and Asian Regionalism". *Joint U.S – Korea Academic Studies*.
- Blum, Gabriella. 2008. "Bilateralism, Multilateralism, and the Architecture of International Law". *Harvard International Law Journal* vol.49 no. 2
- Cetin, Rahmi dan Songul Karadas. 2018. "The Miracle on the Han River: South Korean Economic Development", *Istanbul Journal of Economics* 68 no. 1. <https://cdn.istanbul.edu.tr/file/1CD58DF90A/346D3DCD0FC349F5BF4EEACCD4479B1E?doi=10.26650/ISTJECON405372>
- Chanlett-Avery, Emma. "The Asia Pacific: Challenges and Opportunities for U.S Policy". *Congressional Research Service*. 2018., <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11047.pdf>
- Choi, Inbom dan Jeffrey J. Schott. "Korea-U.S Free Trade Revisited". *Institute for International Economics*.



- Chow, Daniel C.K, Ian Sheldon, dan William McGuire. “How the United States Withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific partnership Benefits China”. *Ohio State Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper Series* No. 451. 2018.  
[https://aede.osu.edu/sites/aede/files/publication\\_files/How%20the%20United%20States%20Withdrawal%20from%20the%20Trans-Pacific%20Partnersh.pdf](https://aede.osu.edu/sites/aede/files/publication_files/How%20the%20United%20States%20Withdrawal%20from%20the%20Trans-Pacific%20Partnersh.pdf)
- Clyde Hufbauer, Gary dan Ben Goodrich. “Steel Policy: The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly”. *International Economic Policy Brief* PBO3-1. Januari 2003.  
<https://www.piie.com/publications/pb/pb03-1.pdf>
- Crowly, Meredith A. “An Introduction to GATT and WTO”, *Economic Perspective Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago*, 2003
- Dür, Andreas dan Gemma Mateo. 2010. “Bargaining Power and Negotiation Tactics: The Negotiations on the EU Financial Perspective, 2007-2013”. *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 48 no. 3. Doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02064.x
- Firoz, A. S. "US Steel Crisis: 'Free Trade' Dumped," *Economic and Political Weekly* 34, no. 32.1999. 2220-222. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4408280>.
- Irwin, Douglas A. “U.S Trade Policy In Historical Perspective”. *U.S Trade Policy in Historical Perspective NBER Working Paper no. 26256*. September 2019.  
[https://www.nber.org/system/files/working\\_papers/w26256/w26256.pdf](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w26256/w26256.pdf)
- Joonhyung, Lee. “Who Benefited from the US Tariffs on the Chinese Tires?”. *Munich Personal RePEc Archives*”. 2011. diakses 20 Juli 2021.

halaman 1-4.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/50421694\\_Who\\_benefited\\_from\\_the\\_US\\_tariffs\\_on\\_the\\_Chinese\\_tires](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/50421694_Who_benefited_from_the_US_tariffs_on_the_Chinese_tires)

Kim, Min Hyung. "A Real Driver of US-China Trade Conflict The Sino-US Competition for Global Hegemony and Its Implication for the future". *International Trade, Politics, and Development Vol. 3 No 1*. 2019.

<https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/ITPD-02-2019-003/full/pdf?title=a-real-driver-of-uschina-trade-conflict-the-sinous-competition-for-global-hegemony-and-its-implications-for-the-future>

Kusumaningrum, Demeiati Nur dan Septian Nur Yekti. 2020. "Review on South Korea-United States Trade Relations: The Significance of America First Doctrine". *AEGIS* vol. 4 no. 1.

Lawrence, Robert Z. "WTO Trade Rules Benefit the United States, Says New Council Report". Council on Foreign Relations. 2007.  
<https://www.cfr.org/news-releases/wto-trade-rules-benefit-united-states-says-new-council-report>

Lee, Yong Shik, Jaemin Lee, dan Kyung Han Sohn. "The United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement: Path to Common Economic Prosperity or False Promise?". *University of Pennsylvania East Asia Law Review* vol 6. 2011.

Lester, Simon dan Inu Manak. 2019. "Trump's First Trade Deal: The Slightly Revised Korea-U.S Free Trade Agreement". Cato Institute. diakses pada 16 Oktober 2020. <https://www.cato.org/publications/free-trade-bulletin/trumps-first-trade-deal-slightly-revised-korea-us-free-trade>

- Lindsey, Brink Daniel T. Griswold, dan Aaron Lukas. “The Steel “Crisis” and the Cost of Protectionism”. CATO Institute No. 4.  
<https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/tbp-004.pdf>
- Liu, Tao dan Wing Thye Woo. “Understanding the U.S-China Trade War”. *China Economic Journal*. 2018. <http://faculty.econ.ucdavis.edu/faculty/woo/Woo-Articles%20from%202012/2018.Liu-Woo.Understanding%20the%20U%20S%20China%20Trade%20War.pdf>
- Long, Reussel B. “United States Law and International Dumping Code”. *International Lawyer* vol. 3 no. 3. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/216914559.pdf>
- Meick, Ethan dan Nargiza Salidjova. “China’s Response to U.S-South Korea Missile Defense System Deployment and Its Implications”. *U.S-China Economic and Security Review Commission*. 2017. [https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/Report\\_China's%20Response%20to%20THAAD%20Deployment%20and%20its%20Implications.pdf](https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/Report_China's%20Response%20to%20THAAD%20Deployment%20and%20its%20Implications.pdf)
- Monica, Iulia. “United States Pivot Towards Asia-Pacific: Rationale, Goals, and Implications for the Relationship with China”. *Knowledge Horizons Economic* 8 no 1. 2016.
- Opeida, Zvenyslava. “U.S Countervailing Duty Law and the WTO Rules for Subsidies: the Issue of Consistency”. *Lex Portus* no. 1 (15), 2019. DOI: 10.26886/2524-101X.1.2019.1
- Overby, Tami, Scott A. Snyder, Troy Stangarone, dan Ellen Swicord. “Stablizing the U.S – Korea Trade Agenda Under Trump and Moon”. *Council on Foreign*

*Relations*, 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/report/stabilizing-us-korea-trade-agenda-under-trump-and-moon>

Park, Insill. “US-China Competition in Asia-Pacific Region: The AIIB and the New Global Order?”. *CUNY Academic Works*. 2016. [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1597&context=cc\\_etds\\_theses](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1597&context=cc_etds_theses)

Peterson Institute for International Economics. 2010. The US-Korea Trade Pact: Assessing the Impact, Interview on current topic. Jeffery Schott [http://www.lachamber.com/clientuploads/globalinitiatives\\_committee/Research/KORUS%20White%20Paper.pdf](http://www.lachamber.com/clientuploads/globalinitiatives_committee/Research/KORUS%20White%20Paper.pdf)

Qin, Binwu dan Rajesh Sharma. “The 2018 U.S-KOREA FTA Revision: From the US Perspective”. *Journal East Asia & international* vol 12 no. 1. 2019.

Rahmi Cetin dan Songul Karadas. 2018. “The Miracle on the Han River: South Korean Economic Development”, *Istanbul Journal of Economics* 68 no. 1. halaman 94-95 <https://cdn.istanbul.edu.tr/file/1CD58DF90A/346D3DCD0FC349F5BF4EEACCD4479B1E?doi=10.26650/ISTJECON405372>

Rarick, Charles A. “American Tire Tariff against China: What We Can Learn From Poor Policy”. *American Journal of Trade and Policy* 3 No.1, 2016. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311903767\\_American\\_Tire\\_Tariffs\\_against\\_China\\_What\\_We\\_can\\_Learn\\_from\\_Poor\\_Policy](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311903767_American_Tire_Tariffs_against_China_What_We_can_Learn_from_Poor_Policy)

Seungho, Jeon. “An Assessment of Corporate Average Fuel Economy Standards for Passenger Cars in South Korea”. *Energies MDPI Journal* 13, 4533, 2020.

- Schott, Jeffrey J. "The U.S-Korea Free Trade Agreement: A Summary Assessment". *Peterson Institute of International Economics* PB07-7. 2007.
- Schott, Jeffrey J. dan Euijin Jung. "18-22 Korus Amandments: Minot Adjustment Fixed What Trump Called Horrible Trade Deal". *Peterson Institute for International Economics*. 2018.
- Tellis, Ashley J. "Strategy Asia 2020 U.S China Competition for Global Influence". *The National Bureau of Asian Research*. Januari 2020.  
[https://carnegieendowment.org/files/SA\\_20\\_Tellis.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/SA_20_Tellis.pdf)
- Tuerck, David G. dan Paul Bachman. "U.S-KSouth Korea Trade". *National Foundation for American Policy*
- Villareal, M. Angeles dan Ian F. Fergusson. 2017. "NAFTA Renegotiation and Modernization" *Congressional Research Service*.  
<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=805023>
- Vuving, Alexander L. "The Future of China's Rise: How China's Economic Growth Will Shift the. Sino-US Balance of Power, 2010-2040". *Asian Politics and Policy* 4 no 3,
- Wang, Dong. "China's Trade Relations with the United States in Perspective". *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* No.3. 2010.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/186810261003900307>
- Wei, Dan, Zhenhua Chen, dan Adam Rose. 2019. "Estimating Economic Impacts of the US-South Korea Free Trade Agreement". *Economic System Research* vol. 31.

Williams, Brock R. dan Keigh E. Hammond. “Escalating U.S Tariffs: Timeline”,  
*Congressional Research Service*, 2020.

<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IN10943.pdf>

Williams, Brock R., Mark E. Manyin, Remy Jurenas, Michaela D. Platzer. 2014.  
“The U.S-Korea Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA): Provisions and  
Implementation”. *Congressional Research Service*,

<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34330.pdf>

Williams, Nancy. “The Resilience of Protectionism in U.S Trade Policy”. *Boston  
University Law Review* vol 99:683.

<https://www.bu.edu/bulawreview/files/2019/03/WILLIAMS.pdf>

“America’s Global Economic Leadership A Strategic Return on U.S Investments”,  
*U.S Global Leadership Coalition*,

<https://www.usglc.org/downloads/2017/07/USGLC-Americas-Global-Economic-Leadership-July-2017.pdf>

“NAFTA Renegotiation and the Proposed United States-Mexico-Canada Trade  
Agreement (USMCA)”. *Congressional Research Service* R44981. 2019.

halaman I, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44981/14>

### Website dan Dokumen Negara

Abdullah, Khaled. "What a Trade Deficit Means". World101. 2016. diakses 14 April 2021. <https://world101.cfr.org/global-era-issues/trade/what-trade-deficit-means>

Ambassador Michael Froman. "Trade, Growth, and Jobs U.S Trade Policy in the Obama Administration". *Executive Office of the President of the United States*. 2017. <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/USTR-Exit-Memo.pdf>

Amadeo, Kimberly. "Trade Wars and Their Effect on the Economy and You". The Balance. 2021. <https://www.thebalance.com/trade-wars-definition-how-it-affects-you-4159973>

American Geophysical Union. "2017 North Korean Nuclear Test 10 Times Larger Than Previous Tests, New Study Finds". Eureka Alert. 2019. [https://www.eurekaalert.org/pub\\_releases/2019-06/agu-2nk060319.php](https://www.eurekaalert.org/pub_releases/2019-06/agu-2nk060319.php)

Burfisher, Mary E. Frederic Lambert, and Troy Matheson, "NAFTA to USMCA: What is Gained?", *International Monetary Fund Working Paper 19/73*, 2019, diakses 19 Maret 2021

Byung-Gun, Chae. "Don't be Sidelined". The White House the Joint Statement by President Trump and Prime Minister Abe from Japan". Februari 2017.

Daly, Michael dan Sergios Stammas, "Tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade in Korea", *World Trade Organizations*, <https://www.ejei.org/upload/VU33YBFM5LYJFL9G.pdf>

Dollar, David. "A Tale of Two Planets". *Horizons Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development* 4. 2015.

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/China-rise-as-regional-and-global-power.pdf>

Dollar, David. "China's Rise as a Regional and Global Power: The AIIB and the One Belt One Road". 2015. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/chinas-rise-as-a-regional-and-global-power-the-aiib-and-the-one-belt-one-road/>

Floyd, David. "NAFTA's Winner and Loser". Investopedia, 2020. <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/economics/08/north-american-free-trade-agreement.asp>

Froman, Michael. 2017. "Trade, Growth, Jobs: U.S Trade Policy in the Obama Administration". *Cabinet Exit Memo*. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/documents/USTR%20Exit%20Memo.pdf>

Fuchs, Michael dan Haneul Lee. "Bridging the Divide in the U.S-South Korea Alliance". Center for America Progress. November 2020. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2020/11/23/493041/bridging-divide-u-s-south-korea-alliance/>

Gertz, Geoffrey. "What Will Trumps Embrace of Bilateralism Mean for Americas Trade Partners". Brookings.edu. 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2017/02/08/what-will-trumps-embrace-of-bilateralism-mean-for-americas-trade-partners/>

Giles, Christopher. "US Election 2020: Has Trump Kept His Promises on the Military?". BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2020-54060026>



- Kapustina, Larisa, Ludmila Lipkova, Yakov Silin, Andrei Drealev. "US-China Trade War: Causes and Outcomes". *SHS Web Conferences* 73. 2020. [https://www.shs-conferences.org/articles/shsconf/pdf/2020/01/shsconf\\_ies\\_2019\\_01012.pdf](https://www.shs-conferences.org/articles/shsconf/pdf/2020/01/shsconf_ies_2019_01012.pdf)
- Kim, Chulsu. "South Korea Trade Policy and FTAs". *Japan Spotlight*. 2004. [https://www.jef.or.jp/journal/pdf/cover%20story%202\\_0405.pdf](https://www.jef.or.jp/journal/pdf/cover%20story%202_0405.pdf)
- Majaski, Christina. "General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT)". Investopedia. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gatt.asp#citation-1>
- Manyin, Mark E. 2017. "CRS Report for Congress". *Congressional Research Service*, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/documents/USTR%20Exit%20Memo.pdf>
- McBride, James dan Muhammad Aly Sergie, "NAFTA's Economic Impact", *Council on Foreign Policy*, <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/resources/docs/CFR-NAFTA%27s%20Economic%20Impact.pdf>
- Needham, Vicki. "Trump Says He Will Renegotiate or Withdraw from NAFTA". *The Hill*. 2016. <https://thehill.com/policy/finance/285189-trump-says-he-will-renegotiate-or-withdraw-from-nafta-without-changes>
- Pham, Peter. "Why Did Donald Trump Kill This Big Free Trade Deal". *Forbes*. 2017. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/peterpham/2017/12/29/why-did-donald-trump-kill-this-big-free-trade-deal/?sh=4ee8028a4e62>

Rushe, Dominic. "Here are the Reasons for Trump's Economic War with China".

The Guardian. 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/23/trump-china-economic-war-why-reasons>

Shaffer, Leslie. "Trump's Aggressive Drive Against One "Horrible" Trade Deal

May Break Down". CNBC. 2017. <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/08/29/us-south-korea-trade-deal-trumps-drive-against-horrible-korus-may-break-down.html>

Shin, Hyonhee dan Joyce Lee. "Factbox: U.S and South Korea's Security

Arrangement, Cost of Troops". Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-usa-alliance-idUSKBN2AZ0S0>

Solis, Mireya. "The Trump Withdrawing from the Trans Pacific Partnership".

Brookings.edu.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/unpacked/2017/03/24/trump-withdrawing-from-the-trans-pacific-partnership/>

Stangarone, Troy. "Was the Korea-U.S FTA Really a Horrible Deal?". The

Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/04/was-the-korea-us-fta-really-a-horrible-deal/>

Taylor, Adam. "A Timeline of Trump's Complicated Relationship with the TPP".

The Washington Post.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/04/13/a-timeline-of-trumps-complicated-relationship-with-the-tpp/>

The Bank of Korea, "The Korean Economy", *Bank of Korea*, May 2015

Trading Economics, "GDP", 2019, <https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/gdp>

U.S Korea Connect. *Free Trade Agreement Between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America* 2012. [https://www.uskoreaconnect.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/fta\\_all.pdf](https://www.uskoreaconnect.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/fta_all.pdf)

Ward, Alex. “Trump’s Just Announced Troop Drawdown from Afghanistan and Iraq Explained”. Vox. November 2020. <https://www.vox.com/21571264/trump-afghanistan-iraq-troop-withdrawal-2500>

Work, Clint. “What Trump’s “Trade Wars are Good” Approach Means for South Korea, The Diplomat, diakses 11 November 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/03/what-trumps-trade-wars-are-good-approach-means-for-south-korea/>

“Bilateral Trade Between United States of America and Korea, Republic of Product: Total All Product”, Trademap.org. [https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral\\_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c842%7c%7c410%7c%7cTOTAL%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1](https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c842%7c%7c410%7c%7cTOTAL%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1)

“Bilateral Trade Between Korea, Republic of and United States of America Product: Total All Product”. Trademap.org, [https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral\\_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c410%7c%7c842%7c%7cTOTAL%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1](https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c410%7c%7c842%7c%7cTOTAL%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1)

“Bilateral Trade Between United States of America and Korea, Republic of Product: Total All Product”. Trademap.org.

[https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral\\_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c842%7c%7c410%7c%7cTOTAL%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1](https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c842%7c%7c410%7c%7cTOTAL%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1)

“Bilateral Trade Between United States of America and Korea, Republic of  
Product: 30 Pharmaceutical Products”. Trademap.org.

[https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral\\_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c410%7c%7c842%7c%7c30%7c%7c%7c4%7c1%7c1%7c3%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1](https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c410%7c%7c842%7c%7c30%7c%7c%7c4%7c1%7c1%7c3%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1)

“Bilateral Trade Between United States of America and Korea, Republic of  
Product: 72 Iron Steel”. Trademap.org.

[https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral\\_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c842%7c%7c410%7c%7c72%7c%7c%7c4%7c1%7c1%7c3%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1](https://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c842%7c%7c410%7c%7c72%7c%7c%7c4%7c1%7c1%7c3%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1%7c1)

“Creating a More Balanced and Reciprocal North American Trade”. *United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement*. <https://ustr.gov/usmca>

“Economy & Trade.” United States Trade Representative. <https://ustr.gov/issue-areas/economy-trade>.

“Five Ways the Trans-Pacific Partnership Will Benefit Agriculture and Rural America”. U.S Department of Agriculture.

<https://www.usda.gov/media/blog/2015/12/11/five-ways-trans-pacific-partnership-will-benefit-agriculture-and-rural>

“Free Trade Agreements”. Office of the United States Trade Representative. <https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements>

“Free Trade Agreement Overview”. International Trade Administration.  
<https://www.trade.gov/free-trade-agreement-overview>

“GDP Growth Annual”. The World Bank.  
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=US>

“General Agreement on Tariff and Trade”. Library of Congress.  
<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0639.pdf>

“Gross Domestic Products”. The World Bank.  
<https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>

“History and Future of International Trade”. *Economic Report of the President*.  
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/ERP-2006/pdf/ERP-2006-chapter7.pdf>

“KORUS FTA Implementation ScoreCard”. *American Chamber of Commerce in Korea*. 2019. <https://www.amchamkorea.org/images/file/report.pdf>

“Members and Observers”. World Trade Organizations. 2016.  
[https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/org6\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/org6_e.htm)

“National Trade Estimates”, *Foreign Trade Barriers Report*. 2006.

“National Security Strategy of the United States of America”. *Seal of the President of the United States*”. 2017. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

“Outline of Individual Trade Policies and Measures Referred to in Meti Priorities Regarding WTO Consistency of Foreign Trade Policies”, Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry Japan,  
<https://www.meti.go.jp/english/report/downloadfiles/gCT04Referencee.pdf>

- “Pricing and Reimbursement 2020: Korea”. Global Legal Insights. 2020.  
<https://www.globallegalinsights.com/practice-areas/pricing-and-reimbursement-laws-and-regulations/korea>
- “Remarks by President Trump and President Moon of the Republic of Korea at U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement Signing Ceremony”. White House.  
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-moon-republic-korea-u-s-korea-free-trade-agreement-signing-ceremony/>
- “Safeguard Actions”. *Office of the United States Trade Representative*.  
<https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/wto-multilateral-affairs/wto-issues/trade-remedies/safeguard-actions>
- “Safeguards: Section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974”. *Congressional Research Service*. 2021. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/IF10786.pdf>
- “South Korea: Distribution of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Across Economic Sectors from 2009-2019”. Statista.  
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/375580/south-korea-gdp-distribution-across-economic-sectors/>
- “South Korea Imports by Country”. Trading Economics.  
<https://tradingeconomics.com/south-korea/imports-by-country>
- “South Korea: Light-Duty Fuel Economy and GHG”. Transportpolicy.net.  
<https://www.transportpolicy.net/standard/south-korea-light-duty-fuel-economy-and-ghg/>

- “Summary of Objectives for the NAFTA Renegotiation”. *Office of the United States Trade Representative Executive Office of the President*. 2017,. <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Releases/NAFTAObjectives.pdf>
- “Summary of the U.S-Korea FTA”, Office of the United States Trade Representative, <https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2009/april/summary-us-korea-fta>
- “U.S-Korea Free Trade Agreements”. Office of the United States Trade Representative. <https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/korus-fta>
- “The Facts About The Korea-US Free Trade Agreement”, Korea-U.S Partnership Embassy of Korea. 2008. <https://www.uskoreaconnect.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/The-Facts-About-the-Korea-U.S.-Free-Trade-Agreement.pdf>
- “The President’s 2017 Trade Policy Agenda”. *United States Trade Representative*. [.https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/reports/2017/AnnualReport/Chapter%20I%20-%20The%20President%27s%20Trade%20Policy%20Agenda.pdf](https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/reports/2017/AnnualReport/Chapter%20I%20-%20The%20President%27s%20Trade%20Policy%20Agenda.pdf)
- “The President’s 2018 Trade Policy Agenda”. *United States Trade Representative*. <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Reports/2018/AR/2018%20Annual%20Report%20I.pdf>
- “The Trans-Pacific Partnership”. United States Trade Representative. <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/TPP-Strategic-Importance-of-TPP-Fact-Sheet.pdf>

- “The Uruguay Round”. World Trade Organizations.  
[https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/fact5\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact5_e.htm)
- “The United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement Implementing Legislation and Supporting Documentation”. *United States Trade Representative*.  
<https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/Countries%20Regions/africa/agreements/pdfs/FTAs/South%20Korea%20FULL.pdf>
- “Trump Transcript: ‘America First’ Security Speech”. Al Jazeera. 2017.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/18/trump-transcript-america-first-security-speech>
- “Understanding the US-China Trade Relationship”. The U.S-China Business Council. 2017. <https://www.uschina.org/reports/understanding-us-china-trade-relationship>
- “USTR Fact Sheet: Economic Benefit of TPP”. United States Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren. <https://lofgren.house.gov/ustr-fact-sheet-economic-benefits-tpp>
- “USTR Releases NAFTA Negotiating Objectives”. Office of the United States Trade Representative. 2017. <https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2017/july/ustr-releases-nafta-negotiating>
- “U.S Agriculture Reaps Benefit from U.S-Korea Free Trade Agreement”. United States Department of Agriculture Foreign Agricultural Service. 2017.  
<https://www.fas.usda.gov/data/us-agriculture-reaps-benefits-free-trade-agreement-korea>
- “U.S-Canada Trade Fact”, Office of the United States Trade Representative, diakses 19 Maret, <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/americas/canada>



“U.S-Korea Free Trade Agreement: Potential Economy-Wide and Selected Sectorial Effects”. *United States International Trade Commission Investigation no. TA-2104-24*.

“U.S-Mexico Trade Fact”, Office of the United States Trade Representative, diakses 19 Maret 2021, <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/americas/mexico>

“US Strategic Framework for the Indo-Pacific”. Trump White House. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/IPS-Final-Declass.pdf>

“U.S-Mexico-Canada (USMCA) Trade Agreement”. *Congressional Research Service*. 2021. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF10997.pdf>

“What’s in the US-China Phase 1 Trade Deal”. Reuters. 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-details-factbox-idUSKBN1ZE2IF>