

Referensi

- A global oral history of PEPFAR.* (n.d.). Dedman College of Humanities and Sciences SMU. <https://www.smu.edu/dedman/research/institutes-and-centers/center-for-presidential-history/cmp/a-global-oral-history-of-pepfar>
- Aulia, L. (2025, January 25). Demi "America First", AS Stop Bantuan Asing di Seluruh Dunia. *KOMPAS*. <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/demi-america-first-as-stop-program-bantuan-asing-di-seluruh-dunia>
- Bendor, J., & Moe, T. M. (1985). An adaptive model of bureaucratic politics. *American Political Science Review*, 79(3), 755-774.
- Barot, S., & Cohen, S. A. (2015). The Global Gag Rule and Fights over Funding UNFPA: The Issues That Won't Go Away. *Guttmacher Policy Review*, 18(2), 27. https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/article_files/gpr1802715.pdf
- Bowen, G. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Glenn-Bowen/publication/240807798_Document_Analysis_as_a_Qualitative_Research_Method/links/59d807d0a6fdcc2aad065377/Document-Analysis-as-a-Qualitative-Research-Method.pdf?origin=publication_detail&tp=eyJjb250ZXh0Ijp7ImZpcnN0UGFnZSI6InB1YmxpY2F0aW9uIiwicGFnZSI6InB1YmxpY2F0aW9uRG93bmxyYWQiLCJwcmV2aW91c1BhZ2UiOiJwdWJsaWNhdGlvbiJ9fQ
- Brussels. (2025, January 30). *EATG Statement: America First, Global Health Last! What does Trump's agenda mean for global health and the HIV/AIDS response?* | EATG. EATG. <https://www.eatg.org/press-releases-and-statements/eatg-statement-america-first-global-health-last-what-does-trumps-agenda-mean-for-global-health-and-the-hiv-aids-response/>
- Buse, K., & McKee, M. (2024). Trump 2.0: what implications for global health? *British Medical Journal*. <https://www.bmjjournals.org/content/bmj/387/bmj.q2607.full.pdf>

- Campos, P. A., & Reich, M. R. (2019). Political Analysis for Health Policy Implementation. *Taylor&Francis*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23288604.2019.1625251>
- Chattu, V. K., Knight, A., Reddy, K. S., & Aginam, O. (2019). Corrected and Republished: Global Health Diplomacy Fingerprints on Human Security. *International Journal of Preventive Medicine*.
<https://scispace.com/pdf/corrected-and-republished-global-health-diplomacy-4mtzyc73ap.pdf>
- Christensen, E. J., & Redd, S. B. (2004). Bureaucrats versus the ballot box in foreign policy decision making: An experimental analysis of the bureaucratic politics model and the poliheuristic theory. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(1), 69-90.
- Chun, H. M., Dirlikov, E., Cox, M. H., Sherlock, M. W., Aduasare, Y. O., Sato, K., Voetsch, A. C., Ater, A. D., Romano, E. R., Tomlinson, H., Modi, S., Acherekar, A., Nkengasong, J., & CDC Global HIV Working Group. (2023). Vital Signs: Progress Toward Eliminating HIV as a Global Public Health Threat Through Scale-Up of Antiretroviral Therapy and Health System Strengthening Supported by the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief — Worldwide, 2004–2022. In *Scispace*. US Department of Health and Human Service/Centers for Disease and prevention. <https://scispace.com/pdf/vital-signs-progress-toward-eliminating-hiv-as-a-global-210d14hf.pdf>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (5th ed.). SAGE.
https://spada.uns.ac.id/pluginfile.php/510378/mod_resource/content/1/creswell.pdf#page123
- Diamond, D. (2019, February 5). Trump strengthens protections for religious health workers. *POLITICO*. <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/trump-health-care-workers-religion-1298657?>

- Ditmore, M. H., & Allman, D. (2013). An analysis of the implementation of PEPFAR's anti-prostitution pledge and its implications for successful HIV prevention among organizations working with sex workers. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*. <https://scispace.com/pdf/an-analysis-of-the-implementation-of-pepfar-s-anti-17dnjjofyv.pdf>
- Dixon, S., McDonald, S., & Roberts, J. (2002). The impact of HIV and AIDS on Africa's economic development. *British Medical Journal*, 324, 232–234. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC1122139/pdf/232.pdf>
- Douek, D. C., Roederer, M., & Koup, R. A. (2009). Emerging Concepts in the Immunopathogenesis of AIDS. *The Annual Review of Medicine*. <https://inmunojmvucv.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/emerging-concepts-in-the-immunopathogenesis-of-aids-arm-2009.pdf>
- Evain, C. (2018). How is the United States's international HIV prevention programme evolving? *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 5(9). <https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.59.5072>.
- FAST-TRACK: ENDING THE AIDS EPIDEMIC BY 2030.* (2014, September 25). UNAIDS. https://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/UNAIDS_FastTrack_highlights_en.pdf
- Fidler, D. P. (2003). Disease and Globalized Anarchy: Theoretical Perspectives on the Pursuit of Global Health. *Palgrave Journal*. <https://scispace.com/pdf/disease-and-globalized-anarchy-theoretical-perspectives-on-91whiwv62o.pdf>
- Fidler, D. P. (2020). The collapse of global health leadership under America First. *Journal of Global Health*, 10(2), 020302. <https://doi.org/10.7189/jogh.10.020302>
- Girard, F. (n.d.). Implications of the Trump Administration for sexual and reproductive rights globally. *An International Journal on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09688080.2017.1301028>

- Hagy, J. (2014). Exporting Sexual and Reproductive Values A study on the existence of U.S. SRHR politics in international AIDS relief and prevention aid in Africa. *Lund University Department of Gender Studies.* <https://scispace.com/pdf/exporting-sexual-and-reproductive-values-a-study-on-the-oaf6qm2keh.pdf>
- Hameiri, S., & Scarpello, F. (2018). International development aid and the politics of scale. *Sussex Research Online.* <https://scispace.com/pdf/international-development-aid-and-the-politics-of-scale-5fgtaoszsg.pdf>
- Hardani, Andriana, H., Ustiawaty, J., Utami, E. F., Istiqomah, R. R., Fardani, R. A., Sukmana, D. J., & Nur Hikmatul, Auliya. (2020). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif.* Pustaka Ilmu Group. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Assoc-Prof-Msi/publication/340021548_Buku_Metode_Penelitian_Kualitatif_Kuantitatif/links/5e72e011299bf1571848ba20/Buku-Metode-Penelitian-Kualitatif-Kuantitatif.pdf
- Hein, N. A., Danstan Bagenda, & Luo, J. (2020). The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief and Adult Mortality: A Replication Study of HIV Development Assistance Effects in Sub-Saharan African Countries. *Anesthesiology.* <https://scispace.com/pdf/the-president-s-emergency-plan-for-aids-relief-and-adult-hxjda4o0o1.pdf>
- Hellmann, G. (2009). IR/foreign policy theory and German foreign policy. *Journal of International Relations and Development.* <https://scispace.com/pdf/ir-foreign-policy-theory-and-german-foreign-policy-r9hufge57x.pdf>
- Henefeld, J., & Musheke, M. (2009). What impact do Global Health Initiatives have on human resources for antiretroviral treatment roll-out? A qualitative policy analysis of implementation processes in Zambia. *BioMed Central.* <https://doi.org/10.1186/1478-4491-7-8>
- Honermann, B., Bass, E., & Millet, G. (2023). Failing to learn the lessons: the U.S. response on global health security ignores 20 years of PEPFAR. *Journal of the*

- International AIDS Society.*
- https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/action/oidcCallback?idpCode=connect&error=login_required&error_description>Login+required&state=Dps2IO0LOrpSUAYYguc7KtNDqa48N0uOkiR8QSifxiRn9iOnrlZCkGyC5SJzxLF5Wzcl%2Bw32mW%2BgnFacL8%2BVETfcLBbyBlidh3AjlZTGBJFRdo7DlF1sh%2FTLBI04mrpyh3AjlZTGBJHr%2FPMep7i%2BnrhLA41fxrwth3AjlZTGBJFRdo7DlF1sh36tTk1i%2B%2BI3cd27wSH%2FS6E%2FmmrMc1sHSd2gIcF7LFB0tJk%2Be7ciRcC0hUKOQhPcxidQwYwqBb%2BG7fIBfadKUpvYKKU27UTjGA%3D%3D
- Hout, W. (2016). *Classical approaches to development: Modernisation and dependency.* <https://scispace.com/pdf/classical-approaches-to-development-modernisation-and-4y9dx4gtlk.pdf>
- Hughes, C., & Hutchison, J. (2012). Development Effectiveness and The Politics of Commitment. *Murdoch University.* <https://scispace.com/pdf/development-effectiveness-and-the-politics-of-commitment-kyewyukbc2.pdf>
- Humanitarian Aid. (2025, February 7). *US aid funding cuts put HIV prevention at risk, warns UNAIDS.* UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/02/1159901>
- Humas RSHS. (2013, April 30). *Menelusuri jejak AIDS.* Rumah Sakit Hasan Sadikin. <https://web.rshs.go.id/menelusuri-jejak-aids/>
- Impact of US funding cuts on the global AIDS response Weekly update – 8 April 2025.* (2025). UNAIDS. <https://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/2025-04/20250408-USstop-sitrep.pdf>
- Imray, G. (2025, February 28). Trump's permanent USAID cuts slam humanitarian programs worldwide: 'We are being pushed off a cliff.' *AP News.* <https://apnews.com/article/trump-usaid-aid-cut-doge-musk-dbaf0e89d72938caabee8251f7dfb4a7>
- Jackson, S., Russet, B., Snidal, D., & Sylvan, D. (1979). An Assessment of Empirical Research on Dependencia. *Latin American Research Review, 14(3).*

https://www.jstor.org/stable/2502962?read-now=1&seq=4#page_scan_tab_contents

- Kates, J., Michaud, J., Kirzinger, A., & Muñana, C. (2018, January 29). *A check up on U.S. global health policy, after one year of the Trump administration* | KFF. KFF. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/a-check-up-on-u-s-global-health-policy-after-one-year-of-the-trump-administration/#:~:text=The%20administration's%20request%20to%20significantly,along%20with%20greater%20maternal%20mortality.>
- Kates, J., & Moss, K. (2024, July 17). *Impact of the Mexico City Policy: Literature Review* | KFF. KFF. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/impact-of-the-mexico-city-policy-literature-review/>
- Kavanagh, M. M., Thirrumurthy, H., Ebi, K. L., & Beyrer, C. (2019). Ending Pandemics: US Foreign Policy to Mitigate Today's Major Killers, Tomorrow's Outbreaks, and the Health Impacts of Climate Change. *Journal of International Affairs Online*. <https://scispace.com/pdf/ending-pandemics-us-foreign-policy-to-mitigate-today-s-major-i4fa60mb2w.pdf>
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis An Introduction to its Methodology* (2nd ed.). SAGE. https://www.daneshnamehicsa.ir/userfiles/files/1/9-20Content%20Analysis_%20An%20Introduction%20to%20Its%20Methodology.pdf
- Kvangraven, I. H. (2020). Beyond the Stereotype: Restating the Relevance of the Dependency Research Programme. *Institute of Social Studies the Hague*. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/dech.12593>
- Labonte, R., & Gagnon, M. L. (2010). Framing health and foreign policy: lessons for global health diplomacy. *Globalization and Health*. <https://scispace.com/pdf/framing-health-and-foreign-policy-lessons-for-global-health-maefxg7cto.pdf>
- Lankiewicz, E., Sharp, A., Drake, P., Sherwood, J., Macharia, B., Ighodaro, M., Honermann, B., & Russell, A. (2025). Early impacts of the PEPFAR stop-work

- order: A rapid assessment. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 28(2), e26423. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jia2.26423>
- Lomia, E. (2020). Political Realism in International Relations: Classical Realism, Neorealism, and Neo-Classical Realism. *International Journal of Social, Political and Economic Research*, 7(3). <https://scispace.com/pdf/political-realism-in-international-relations-classical-3cd902jmdp.pdf>
- Mark, M., & Schwartz, F. (2025, February 27). US to axe grants to 10,000 aid organisations. *FINANCIAL TIMES*. <https://www.ft.com/content/f005e9cc-2364-4127-94c5-5155899cae6e>
- Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Joseph-Maxwell-3/publication/43220402_Qualitative_Research_Design_An_Interactive_Approach_JA_Maxwell/links/57541fc308ae02ac127ff53d/Qualitative-Research-Design-An-Interactive-Approach-JA-Maxwell.pdf?origin=publication_detail&tp=eyJjb250ZXh0Ijp7ImZpcnN0UGFnZSI6InB1YmxpY2F0aW9uIiwicGFnZSI6InB1YmxpY2F0aW9uRG93bmxvYWQiLCJwcmV2aW91c1BhZ2UiOiJwdWJsaWNhdGlvbiJ9fQ
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (2nd ed.). <https://vivauniversity.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/milesandhuberman1994.pdf>
- Moiana Uetela, D., Tiberi, O., Muleia, R., Ramgi, P., Paulo, Y., Gaspar, I., Scott, N., Martin-Hughes, R., & Martin, N. K. (2025, July). *The impact of the U.S. funding interruption on HIV services and the HIV epidemic in Mozambique* [Oral abstract 6810, 13th International AIDS Society Conference on HIV Science]. International AIDS Society.
- <https://ias.reg.key4events.com/key4register/AbstractList.aspx?e=104&previe w=1&aig=-1&ai=59156>

- Moss, K., & Kates, J. (2025, February 12). The Mexico City Policy: An Explainer. *KFF*. [https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/the-mexico-city-policy-an-explainer/?](https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/issue-brief/the-mexico-city-policy-an-explainer/)
- Neuman, W. L. (2015). *SocialResearchMethods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (7th ed.). PEARSON. <https://letrunghieutvu.yolasite.com/resources/w-lawrence-neuman-social-research-methods -qualitative-and-quantitative-approaches-pearson-education-limited-2013.pdf>
- Octavia, S. A. (2025, January 23). Alasan Donald Trump Putuskan Amerika Serikat Keluar dari WHO. *Tempo*. <https://www.tempo.co/internasional/alasan-donald-trump-putuskan-amerika-serikat-keluar-dari-who-1198066>
- Pilkington, E. (2025, February 27). Trump administration ends funding for UN program fighting HIV/Aids. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/feb/27/trump-un-hiv-aids-funding>
- Powell, A. (2025, January 30). Pemerintahan Trump Bekukan Bantuan Pembangunan Luar Negeri. *VOA*. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/pemerintahan-trump-bekukan-bantuan-pembangunan-luar-negeri/7956020.html>
- Raisa, N. T. R. (2022). Foreign Policy Theories: A Review. *Frequency of International Relations*. <https://scispace.com/pdf/foreign-policy-theories-a-review-1bgy9hc8.pdf>
- Sejarah Penyebaran dan Perkembangan HIV/AIDS – Bagian 1.* (2018, April 19). Saya Berani. <https://sayaberani.org/sejarah-penyebaran-dan-perkembangan-hiv-aids-bagian-1/>
- Storeng, K. T., & Béhague, D. P. (2018). “Lives in the balance”: The politics of integration in the global health field. *Global Public Health*, 13(4), 438–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2017.1356349>
- The Joint United Nations Programme of HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)*. (n.d.). Unevaluation Org. https://www.unevaluation.org/agency_profile/joint-united-nations-programme-hivaids-unaid

UNAIDS. (2025, February 18). *UNAIDS Weekly Update – Impact of US Shifts on the Global HIV Response.*

https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/presscentre/featurestories/2025/february/20250218_weekly-update-impact-us-shift

UNDERSTANDING FAST-TRACK ACCELERATING ACTION TO END THE AIDS.

(2015, June). UNAIDS.

https://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/201506_JC2743_Understanding_FastTrack_en.pdf

Zeng, Q. (2022). A Comparison Analysis of the Realism Theory Development among

United States, Japan and China. *Journal of Political Science Research.*

<https://scispace.com/pdf/a-comparison-analysis-of-the-realism-theory-development-2wa39s1x.pdf>