

**Kebijakan Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act
(CAATSA) Amerika Serikat ke Turki Pada Tahun 2020**

SKRIPSI

**Diajukan Untuk Memenuhi Sebagian Persyaratan Guna Memperoleh
Gelar Sarjana (S-1) Dalam Bidang Ilmu Hubungan Internasional**



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Universitas Sriwijaya

2021

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**“Kebijakan Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanctions Act
(CAATSA) Amerika Serikat ke Turki Pada Tahun 2020”**

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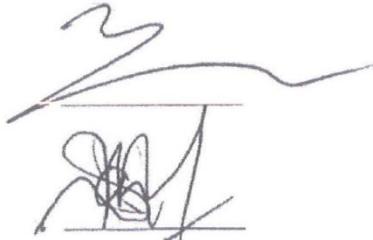
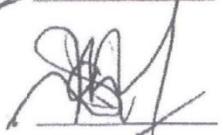
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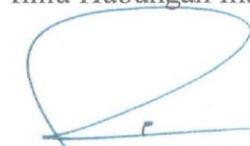
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Menyatakan dengan sungguh-sungguh bahwa skripsi yang berjudul " Kebijakan Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) Amerika Serikat ke Turki Pada Tahun 2020 " ini adalah benar-benar karya saya sendiri dan saya tidak melakukan penjiplakan atau pengutipan dengan cara yang tidak sesuai dengan etika keilmuan yang berlaku sesuai dengan Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia Nomor 17 Tahun 2010 tentang Pencegahan dan Penanggulangan Plagiat di Perguruan Tinggi. Apabila di kemudian hari, ada pelanggaran yang ditemukan dalam skripsi ini dan/atau ada pengaduan dari pihak lain terhadap keaslian karya ini, saya bersedia menanggung sanksi yang dijatuhkan kepada saya.

Demikian pernyataan ini dibuat dengan sungguh-sungguh tanpa pemaksaan dari pihak manapun.

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ABSTRAK

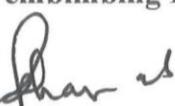
Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis secara mendalam mengenai kebijakan Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) terhadap Turki. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kualitatif-deskriptif untuk menjelaskan fenomena yang ada dengan menceritakan situasi dan kondisi yang terjadi lalu mengkonfirmasinya dengan teori. Konsep yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah konsep kepentingan nasional oleh Donald E. Nuechterlein yang membagi jenis kepentingan menjadi empat dimensi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Amerika Serikat memiliki beberapa kepentingan pada kebijakan CAATSA terhadap Turki sesuai dengan klasifikasi kepentingan nasional Nuechterlein yaitu, Pertahanan, Ekonomi, Tatanan Dunia dan Ideologi. Setelah Perang Dunia II, Amerika Serikat dan Turki menjadi sekutu karena kedua negara melihat Uni Soviet sebagai ancaman. Amerika Serikat juga menerima Turki sebagai anggota NATO untuk melawan ekspansionisme Uni Soviet di Timur Tengah dan Yunani. Ketika Perang Saudara Suriah terjadi, Turki merasa kurangnya sistem pertahanan udara yang efektif. Penarikan dan penolakan sistem Patriot oleh Amerika Serikat dari Turki membuat negaranya mencari alternatif lain. Pada tahun 2017, Turki menandatangani kesepakatan dengan Rusia untuk pembelian S-400. Kesepakatan itu menimbulkan banyak masalah penting mengenai keamanan dan integrasi serta interoperabilitas dalam doktrin yang sudah ada dalam platform militer NATO. Pada akhir 2020, Amerika Serikat akhirnya menatuhkan sanksi CAATSA terhadap Turki.

Kata Kunci: CAATSA, Amerika Serikat, Turki, NATO, S-400

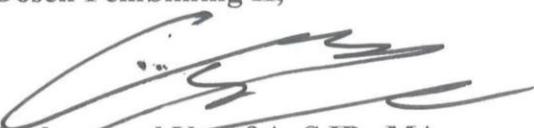
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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze in-depth about Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) policy towards Turkey. The research method used is a qualitative-descriptive approach to explain existing phenomena by telling the situations and conditions that occur and then confirming them with theory. The concept used in this research is the concept of national interests by Donald E. Nuechterlein which divides the types of interests into four dimensions. The results of this research indicate that the United States has several interests in the CAATSA policy towards Turkey according to the classification of Nuechterlein's national interests namely, Defense, Economy, World Order, and Ideology. After World War II, the United States and Turkey became allies because both countries saw the Soviet Union as a threat. The United States also accepted Turkey as a member of NATO to counter the Soviet Union's expansionism in the Middle East. When the Syrian Civil War broke out, Turkey felt a lack of an effective air defense system. Turkish defense planners have long seen missile defense as a strategic shortcoming. Withdrawal and rejection of the Patriot system by the United States from Turkey made the country look for other alternatives. In 2017, Turkey finalized a deal with Russia for the purchase of the S-400. The agreement raises many important issues regarding security and the integration and interoperability of weapons in existing doctrines within NATO's military platforms. In late 2020, the United States finally imposed CAATSA sanctions against Turkey.

Keywords: CAATSA, United States, Turkey, NATO, S-400

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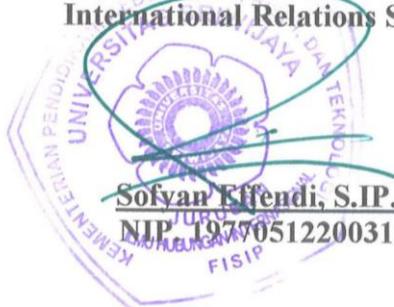
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| NATO | : North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| CAATSA | : Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanction Acts |
| MoA | : Memorandum of Agreement |
| DECA | : Defence and Economic Cooperation Agreement |
| AKP | : Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi |
| SSM | : Savunma Sanayii Mustesarligi |
| SaGeB | : Savunma Sanayii Gelistirme ve Destekleme Idaresi Baskanligi |
| SSB | : Savunma Sanayii Baskanligi |
| KT | : Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi |
| JSF | : Joint Strike Fighter |
| CTOL | : Conventional takeoff and landing |
| STOVL | : Short Takeoff-vertical landing |
| CV | : Carrier Variant |
| IFF | : Identification Friend or Foe |
| NIAMD | : NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defence |
| BMD | : Ballistic Missile Defence |
| CFI | : Connected Forces Initiative |
| ALTBMD | : Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defence |
| TBMD | : Theatre Ballistic Missle Defence |
| BMDOC | : Ballistic Missile Defence Operations Cell |
| PBB | : Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa |
| IMF | : Internasional Monetary Fund |
| GATT | : General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |

Turki dan populasi Turki yang cukup besar, Siprus menjadi perhatian keamanan bagi Turki dalam kasus aneksasi pulau tersebut oleh Yunani, dengan demikian menjadi faktor pendorong dalam kebijakan luar negeri Turki selama Perang Dingin (Atmaca A. O., 2014). Namun pasca Revolusi Iran pada tahun 1979 yang menumbangkan sekutu dekat Amerika Serikat, Shah Pahlevi, posisi Turki menjadi sangat penting bagi Amerika Serikat sebagai pengganti Iran dalam konteks strategis Amerika Serikat di kawasan era Perang Dingin (Taufiq, 2018).

Pada tahun 1980, Amerika Serikat dan Turki membuat kesepakatan bersama kembali dalam *Memorandum of Agreement* (MoA) untuk menjalin kerjasama *The Defence And Economic Cooperation Agreement* (DECA), dalam MoA tersebut Amerika Serikat menempatkan pasukan militernya di wilayah Turki yang tersebar di beberapa kota seperti Sinop dan Pirinclk serta peningkatan markas militer Amerika Serikat di kota Erzurum, Batman, dan Mus dengan tujuan untuk memperluas hegemoni Amerika Serikat disekitar kawasan Timur Tengah (Wijarnako, 2019). Sesuai dengan namanya, DECA juga hadir untuk membantu perekonomian Turki yang sempat mengalami krisis finansial pada tahun 1994. Pada tahun 1996, Pemerintah Turki mencatat Amerika Serikat menjadi mitra dagang terbesar kedua setelah Jerman dan Amerika Serikat mencatat Turki sebagai 10 pasar tercepat bagi Amerika Serikat sehingga membuat perdagangan bilateral antar negara meningkat pesat hingga 50% (Hadi, 2019).

Terjadinya Perang Teluk tahun 1990-1991 telah menjadi penentu dalam hubungan Amerika Serikat-Turki. Perang Teluk membuat Turki telah melakukan beberapa upaya untuk mengurangi kerentanannya dalam pertahanan udara dan

BAB I

PENDAHULUAN

1.1 Latar Belakang

Hubungan Internasional merupakan interaksi antar negara dalam sistem internasional untuk melakukan kerjasama dan memenuhi kebutuhan negaranya. Amerika Serikat dan Turki memiliki sejarah yang panjang sejak abad ke-18. Setelah Perang Dunia II berakhir pada tahun 1945, muncul dua negara adidaya yaitu Amerika Serikat dan Uni Soviet. Di tahun yang sama, Uni Soviet menduduki beberapa negara Balkan untuk menyebarkan paham komunismenya sehingga Turki menjadi negara yang penting dalam struktur multilateral Amerika Serikat untuk menyelamatkan kepentingannya (Isyar O. G., 2015). Pada Konferensi Moskow bulan Desember 1945, Presiden Amerika Serikat Truman mengkritik kebijakan luar negeri Uni Soviet di Bulgaria dan Rumania dan mengatakan bahwa Uni Soviet memiliki niat untuk menyerang Turki dan menguasai Selat Bosphorus dan Dardanel. Turki juga memandang Uni Soviet sebagai ancaman karena memiliki kepentingan di Selat tersebut yang merupakan wilayahnya. Dalam kerangka ini, Turki bergabung dengan blok Barat dalam lingkup Doktrin Truman pada tahun 1947. Doktrin Truman adalah titik balik bagi hubungan Turki-Amerika Serikat. Menurut Leffler, para perencana Amerika Serikat sudah sibuk menganalisis Turki bahkan sebelum deklarasi Doktrin Truman karena potensi keuntungan Turki dalam perang melawan Uni Soviet (Ozkan, 2012).

Kebijakan *Marshall Plan* yang dibentuk oleh Amerika Serikat pada tahun 1948 bertujuan untuk membantu keuangan Eropa dalam menyediakan makanan,

tempat tinggal, bahan bakar, dan rekronstruksi fisik pasca Perang Dunia II (Novita Mujiyati, 2016). Turki juga menjadi negara yang mendapat bantuan *Marshall Plan* untuk ekonomi dan militernya (Isyar O. G., 2005). Ketika digabungkan dengan paket bantuan Doktrin Truman, Turki menerima hampir \$2 miliar bantuan militer dan hampir \$1,4 miliar bantuan ekonomi, yang sebagian besar digunakan untuk memodernisasi dan mekanisasi pertanian, meningkatkan proses penambangan, dan membangun jalan raya. Pertanian adalah satu-satunya bidang terpenting yang diuntungkan dari penerimaan bantuan ekonomi Turki dari Marshall Plan (Afacan, 2011). Pada tahun 1949, Perjanjian Atlantik Utara ditandatangani dan NATO didirikan untuk melawan pengaruh Uni Soviet di Uni Eropa. Turki mengajukan anggota NATO pada Mei 1950, namun ditolak. Menurut Amerika Serikat dan Inggris, Turki bukan bagian dari Eropa Barat atau Atlantik dan akibatnya Turki tidak dapat bergabung dengan NATO. Para pembuat kebijakan Turki menekankan pentingnya geopolitik Turki dalam melawan pengaruh Uni Soviet dan menjaga keamanan negaranya. Ketika Perang Korea pecah pada tahun 1950, Turki kembali mendaftar anggota NATO dan mengirimkan 4.500 tentaranya ke Perang Korea pada tanggal 18 Oktober 1950 untuk membantu pasukan Amerika Serikat dan Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB). Perang Korea menjadi bukti jelas bagi Blok Barat bahwa mereka membutuhkan Turki jika terjadi perang dengan Blok Timur. Seiring dengan perubahan kepentingan strategis Amerika Serikat, akhirnya Turki menjadi Anggota NATO pada tanggal 18 Februari 1952. Menurut Amerika Serikat, peran geopolitik Turki dalam aliansi adalah untuk menghentikan ekspansionisme Uni Soviet dengan menjadi bagian sayap selatan NATO (Atmaca A. O., 2014).

Berdasarkan kebijakan Amerika Serikat tersebut, Amerika Serikat dan Turki memiliki kepentingan nasional yang fundamental dalam melawan ekspansionisme Uni Soviet. Kepentingan politik, keamanan dan ideologi yang sangat dikedepankan oleh Amerika Serikat membuatnya harus bekerja sama dengan Turki yang berbatasan langsung dengan Uni Soviet. Di sisi lain, Turki juga mendapatkan keamanan nasionalnya serta bantuan ekonomi untuk membantu pertumbuhan negaranya. Selama tahun 1950-an, Turki membuktikan kepentingan geopolitiknya bagi pemerintahan Amerika Serikat dan bekerja sama dengan sekutu Amerika Serikat lainnya di Timur Tengah, termasuk Iran, Israel, dan Yordania, untuk menahan pengaruh sekutu Soviet seperti Mesir, Irak, dan Suriah. Sebagai bukti kesetiaannya, Turki bergabung dengan Pakta Baghdad pada tahun 1955 untuk melawan agresi Uni Soviet, dan mengizinkan Amerika Serikat menggunakan pangkalan militernya di Incirlik dalam Operasi Lebanon untuk tujuan ekstra-NATO setelah revolusi Irak pada tahun 1958, mengizinkan Rudal Jupiter untuk ditempatkan di wilayahnya pada tahun 1959. Setelah Irak menarik diri dari Pakta Baghdad, Pakta tersebut berganti nama menjadi Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), dan bertujuan untuk menjamin militer Amerika Serikat dan bantuan keuangan ke wilayah tersebut. Namun, antara tahun 1960 dan 1975, penurunan ketegangan antara Amerika Serikat dan Uni Soviet, juga menurunkan signifikansi geopolitik Turki bagi Amerika Serikat. Tahun-tahun emas aliansi Amerika Serikat-Turki berakhir dengan krisis Siprus, yang dianggap sebagai masalah paling penting antara kedua negara selama tahun 1960-an dan 1970-an. Siprus dianggap sebagai 'tujuan nasional' untuk Turki dan Yunani karena kedekatan geografisnya dengan

rudal melalui akuisisi asing, produksi bersama, dan akhirnya pengembangan lokal sistem rudal ketinggian rendah hingga menengah, jarak pendek hingga menengah. Pembuat keputusan Turki berpikir bahwa arsitektur pertahanan rudal NATO tidak memenuhi kebutuhan keamanan Turki yang meningkat dan aliansi tersebut tidak sepenuhnya memahami urgensi ancaman yang dihadapi Turki (Goren G. T., 2017).

Invasi Irak pada tahun 2003 yang dilakukan kembali oleh Amerika Serikat menyebabkan stabilitas keamanan Turki terguncang, terutama di wilayah perbatasan Turki dan Irak. Pemerintah Turki mengkhawatirkan tindakan suku Kurdi di Irak utara. Perang ini juga menyebabkan perubahan politik dalam negeri Turki dengan dibentuknya pemerintahan baru Turki yang dipimpin oleh Partai Keadilan dan Pembangunan (AKP). Saat Amerika Serikat menjalankan invasi Irak tahun 2003, Turki menolak untuk membantu Amerika Serikat. Parlemen Turki kala itu menolak proposal Amerika Serikat untuk menempatkan 60.000 pasukannya di pangkalan militer Turki untuk invasi ke Irak. Masyarakat Turki pun saat itu menolak keras tindakan invasi Amerika Serikat ke Irak dan sekitar ratusan ribu warga berdemo di Ankara untuk menolak invasi tersebut. Walaupun Amerika Serikat menawarkan bantuan ekonomi sebesar \$6 miliar Dollar, pemerintah Turki tetap menolak untuk bekerja sama dengan Amerika Serikat (Taufiq, 2018).

Kebijakan luar negeri baru Partai Keadilan dan Pembangunan (AKP) yang tegas mencerminkan meningkatnya peran penduduk Turki dalam pembuatan kebijakan luar negeri. Sambil mempertahankan orientasi baratnya, Turki mulai menegaskan dirinya sebagai aktor independen dan percaya diri yang dapat berinvestasi besar-besaran dalam urusan Timur Tengah yang diabaikan Turki untuk

jangka waktu yang lama. Aktivisme dalam kebijakan luar negeri ini merupakan cerminan dari transformasi yang lebih luas dalam persepsi diri Turki sendiri dan definisi kepentingan intinya. Sementara perubahan sistemik dalam sistem internasional sangat berdampak pada kebijakan dalam dan luar negeri Turki (Afacan, 2011).

Kurangnya sistem pertahanan udara yang efektif di Turki sangat terasa ketika Suriah terjerumus ke dalam perang saudara pada Maret 2011 (Kibaroglu, 2019). Perencana pertahanan Turki telah lama memandang pertahanan rudal sebagai kekurangan strategis. Turki berada di bawah payung pertahanan rudal NATO, tetapi karena kedekatan negara Turki dengan daerah-daerah potensial krisis, Ankara telah menghadapi perjuangan berat di NATO untuk memastikan cakupan penuh wilayahnya (Ulgen, 2021). Pada tahun 2017, Turki menandatangani kesepakatan dengan Rusia untuk pembelian S-400. Kesepakatan itu menimbulkan banyak masalah penting mengenai interoperabilitas dan integrasi senjata dan doktrin di dalam yang sudah ada dalam platform militer NATO di masa depan serta masalah kepercayaan mengenai apakah sistem dan platform senjata rahasia NATO akan dikompromikan untuk Turki karena kecenderungan Turki ke Rusia (Beyoghlow, 2020).

Akhirnya, perjuangan untuk menguasai wilayah udara Suriah telah mendorong Turki untuk mengakuisisi sistem pertahanan rudal S-400 Rusia pada Juli 2019 dan niatnya untuk mengoperasionalkan sistem tersebut pada April 2020 (Duzgit, 2020). Pada akhir 2020, Amerika Serikat menjatuhkan sanksi Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA). CAATSA dibentuk

oleh Amerika Serikat pada tahun 2017 untuk negara yang melakukan kerjasama terhadap Iran, Rusia, dan Korea Utara. Amerika Serikat juga menghapus Turki dari Program F-35 Joint Strike Fighter karena kekhawatiran bila S-400 bisa mendeteksi kemampuan siluman F-35. Menurut Sinan Ulgen seorang analisis Turki terkemuka, sanksi yang diberikan Amerika Serikat terhadap Turki dapat menghambat kerjasama Amerika Serikat-Turki dan juga Eropa-Turki terutama untuk mengembangkan senjata yang lebih canggih (Jim Zanotti, 2020).

1.2 Rumusan Masalah

Berdasarkan latar belakang yang telah penulis buat maka rumusan masalah dari penelitian ini yaitu:

“Mengapa Amerika Serikat memberikan sanksi Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) terhadap Turki Pada Tahun 2020?”

1.3 Tujuan Penelitian

Berdasarkan latar belakang dan rumusan masalah yang peneliti buat. Tujuan yang ingin diperoleh dalam penulisan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengkaji faktor-faktor Kebijakan Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) Amerika Serikat ke Turki Pada Tahun 2020.

1.4 Manfaat Penelitian

Penelitian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan kontribusi bagi pengembangan ilmu hubungan internasional khususnya pada kasus sanksi CAATSA Amerika Serikat ke Turki yang sedang terjadi serta untuk sumber informasi bagi peneliti lainnya dalam kasus yang serupa.

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