

**ANALISIS KEPENTINGAN RUSIA ATAS HAK VETONYA
DI DEWAN KEAMANAN PBB TERKAIT KASUS KONFLIK
SIPIL SURIAH**

SKRIPSI

*Diajukan untuk memenuhi sebagian persyaratan guna memperoleh
gelar sarjana (S1) dalam bidang hubungan internasional*



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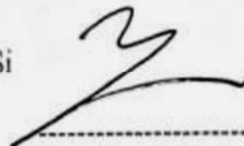
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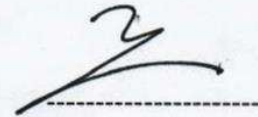
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ABSTRAK

Perang saudara Suriah yang disebabkan oleh pemberontakan *Arab Spring* sekarang telah memasuki tahun kesebelas, dan meskipun terdapat upaya internasional yang signifikan, masih belum ada solusi yang jelas untuk konflik ini. Campur tangan dari negara luar telah membuat perselisihan menjadi lebih kompleks, dan tidak dapat diselesaikan. Konflik ini telah memasuki arena global, dan muncul peluang bagi aktor internasional untuk mengkonsolidasikan pengaruh mereka di wilayah tersebut. Suriah merupakan kunci bagi Rusia dalam mencapai tujuannya setelah membangun kembali dirinya sebagai negara adidaya dunia. Jika rezim Bashar Al-Assad jatuh, maka akan memberikan pengaruh terhadap strategi Rusia untuk mempertahankan statusnya sebagai negara yang berpengaruh. Skripsi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Sumber data yang digunakan bersumber dari data sekunder dan pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui studi kepustakaan. Hasil yang didapat adalah Rusia memiliki kepentingan atas hak vetonya di DK PBB terkait konflik ini, yaitu kepentingan pertahanan, ekonomi, tatanan dunia, dan ideologis. Konsep kepentingan tersebut berdasarkan konsep kepentingan nasional yang dikemukakan oleh Donald E. Nuechterlein.

Kata kunci: Rusia, Suriah, konflik sipil Suriah, veto, kepentingan nasional

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ABSTRACT

The Syrian civil war, caused by the uprising of the Arab Spring, is now in its eleventh year and there is still no clear solution to the conflict despite the significant international efforts. The intervention from foreign countries has made this dispute more complex and could not be resolved. This conflict has entered the global arena and opportunities have emerged for international actors to consolidate their influences in the region. Syria is a key for Russia in achieving its goals after rebuilding itself as a world superpower. If the Bashar Al-Assad's regime falls, it will affect Russia's strategy to maintain its status as an influential country. This bachelor's thesis uses qualitative method. The sources of data used are secondary data and data are collected through literature study. The results are Russia has its national interest in its veto power in the UN Security Council regarding the conflict; these interests are defense interest, economic interest, world order interest, and ideological interest. The concept is based on the concept of national interest proposed by Donald E. Nuechterlein.

Key words: *Russia, Syria, Syrian civil war, veto, national interest*

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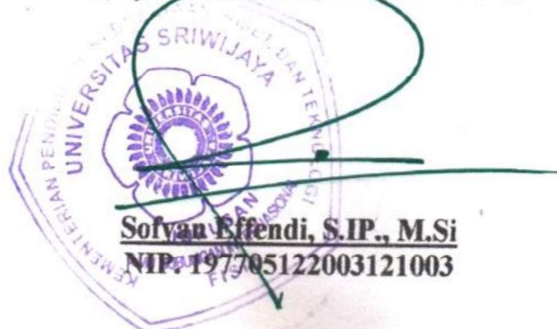


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BAB I

PENDAHULUAN

1.1. Latar Belakang

Konflik sipil Suriah merupakan perang saudara berkelanjutan yang terjadi di Suriah antara Partai Ba'ath Suriah yang dipimpin oleh Presiden Suriah Bashar Al-Assad, bersama dengan sekutu domestik dan asing yang melawan berbagai kekuatan baik dari dalam maupun luar negeri, yang menentang baik pemerintah Suriah dan/atau menentang satu sama lain dalam kombinasi yang berbeda-beda (Al Jazeera, 2018). Kerusuhan yang terjadi di Suriah yang dimulai pada tanggal 15 Maret 2011 merupakan bentuk protes dari Arab Spring 2011 yang tumbuh dari ketidakpuasan masyarakat dengan pemerintah Suriah (BBC News, 2016).

Sebuah gerakan oposisi melawan pemerintahan otoriter Al-Assad dan Partai Ba'ath di daerah pedesaan yang miskin secara ekonomi menyebar menjadi sebuah fenomena nasional. Otoritas Suriah bereaksi terhadap aksi protes dan demonstrasi, terutama dengan penggunaan kekuatan yang meningkat, disertai dengan janji reformasi yang setengah hati. Selanjutnya, sebagian dari pihak oposisi memilih untuk melakukan perlawanan dan mengakibatkan konflik bersenjata (CSS ETH Zurich, 2012).

Perang saudara Suriah yang disebabkan oleh pemberontakan Arab Spring sekarang telah memasuki tahun kedua belas, dan meskipun terdapat upaya internasional yang signifikan, masih belum ada solusi yang jelas untuk konflik ini.

Banyak senjata kimia yang telah digunakan dalam konflik ini. Konflik ini telah meluluhlantahkan negara dan menyebabkan sekitar kurang lebih setengah juta korban jiwa dan menyebabkan krisis pengungsi terbesar sejak Perang Dunia II (Glass, 2016; SOHR, 2020).

Suriah terbagi menjadi empat faksi utama, yaitu pasukan Al-Assad; kelompok oposisi Al-Assad; ISIS; dan pasukan Kurdi. Selain itu, banyak kekuatan global dan regional yang ikut campur dalam situasi ini, dan mereka semua memiliki kepentingan yang berbeda dan berlawanan. Campur tangan dari negara luar telah membuat perselisihan menjadi lebih kompleks, dan tidak dapat diselesaikan. Konflik ini telah memasuki arena global, dan muncul peluang bagi aktor internasional untuk mengkonsolidasikan pengaruh mereka di wilayah tersebut.

Indikator awal perpecahan dan persaingan internasional yang menyebabkan konflik ini berkelanjutan terjadi pada 4 Oktober 2011, di mana Rusia dan Republik Rakyat Cina memberikan veto pertama dari beberapa veto yang memblokir Resolusi Dewan Keamanan PBB yang mengutuk tindakan keras Bashar Al-Assad (Tesch, et al., 2020). Draft veto tersebut merupakan draft resolusi S/2011/612, yang jika ditarik secara garis besar berisikan (United Nations Security Council, 2011):

- Mengutuk berkelanjutannya pelanggaran berat dan sistematis hak asasi manusia dan penggunaan kekuatan terhadap warga sipil yang dilakukan oleh pihak berwenang Suriah, dan menyatakan penyesalan mendalam atas kematian ribuan orang termasuk wanita dan anak-anak.

- Menyerukan semua negara untuk melakukan penjagaan dan penahanan atas pasokan penjualan atau transfer ke Suriah, baik secara langsung mau pun tidak langsung, terkait persenjataan dan materi terkait lainnya dari semua jenis, serta pelatihan teknis, sumber daya atau layanan keuangan, saran, atau layanan atau bantuan lain yang terkait dengan persenjataan tersebut dan bahan lainnya yang terkait.
- Menyatakan niat untuk meninjau implementasi Suriah dari resolusi ini dalam waktu 30 hari dan untuk mempertimbangkan pilihannya, termasuk langkah-langkah berdasarkan Pasal 41 Piagam PBB.

Pada draft resolusi ini, Vitaly Churkin dan Li Baodong yang masing-masing merupakan Perwakilan Tetap Rusia dan Republik Rakyat Cina untuk PBB mengatakan bahwa:

- Li Baodong: Dewan harus mendorong tujuan tersebut sambil menghormati kedaulatan dan integritas teritorial Suriah. Setiap tindakan yang diambil harus berkontribusi pada perdamaian dan stabilitas dan mematuhi prinsip-prinsip Piagam PBB tentang tidak mencampuri urusan dalam negeri. Posisi negaranya pada prinsip-prinsip tersebut tetap konsisten dan teguh (United Nations, 2011).
- Vitaly Churkin: Federasi Rusia tidak setuju dengan nada tuduhan terhadap Damaskus atau pun ultimatum sanksi terhadap penyelesaian krisis secara damai. Runtuhnya Pemerintahan Presiden Bashar Al-Assad dapat memicu konflik, mengacaukan kawasan, dan

menciptakan dampak destruktif di Timur Tengah (United Nations, 2011).

PBB tidak efektif dalam menyelesaikan konflik Suriah sejak dimulainya pada tahun 2011 karena persaingan hak veto pada lima anggota tetap Dewan Keamanan PBB. Sejak dimulainya konflik hingga saat ini, hampir semua draft resolusi yang diproyeksikan terhadap konflik Suriah di bidang-bidang seperti Penggunaan senjata kimia, Gencatan senjata, Deklarasi kejahatan perang, Mengutuk Suriah, Permintaan sanksi, dll. ditekan oleh Rusia (yang bersekutu dengan Cina) yang memveto rancangan resolusi yang berasal dari Amerika Serikat. Sementara di sisi lain, Amerika Serikat yang bersekutu dengan Perancis dan Inggris juga memveto resolusi yang datang dari Rusia.

Penyalahgunaan veto ini meningkat ketika Federasi Rusia (dan Republik Rakyat Cina) secara ekstensif menggunakan hak veto mereka untuk menolak resolusi yang berfokus pada pencegahan krisis Suriah. Bahkan dalam waktu kurang dari sebulan, antara Oktober/November 2017, Rusia telah menggunakan hak vetonya sebanyak tiga kali untuk memblokir draft resolusi tentang penyelidikan senjata kimia, yaitu draft resolusi S/2017/884 (24 Oktober 2017), draft resolusi S/2017/962 (16 November 2017), dan draft resolusi S/2017/970 (17 November 2017).

Suriah merupakan sekutu kepercayaan bagi Rusia di Timur Tengah sejak Perang Dingin. Pada tahun 1960-an, Uni Soviet membantu memodernisasi tentara Suriah sejak saat itu. Suriah merupakan kunci bagi Rusia dalam mencapai tujuannya setelah membangun kembali dirinya sebagai negara adidaya dunia. Hal ini dikarenakan Suriah dianggap sebagai pusat militer di wilayah Timur Tengah

bagi Rusia, terutama jika mengingat pentingnya letak strategis pangkalan Angkatan Lautnya di Tartus.

Sebelum konflik sipil Suriah, diketahui bahwa Suriah, pada tahun 2006-2010 telah mengimpor senjata dari Rusia, dengan jumlah impor sebanyak 48% (Adams, 2015). Dengan ini dapat dikatakan bahwa hubungan antara Rusia dan Suriah cukup erat, jika rezim Bashar Al-Assad jatuh, maka hal ini akan memberikan pengaruh terhadap strategi Rusia untuk mempertahankan statusnya sebagai negara yang berpengaruh.

1.2.Rumusan Masalah

Berdasarkan latar belakang yang telah dijelaskan, dengan ini penulis merumuskan masalah, yaitu:

Bagaimana kepentingan Rusia atas hak vetonya di Dewan Keamanan PBB terkait konflik sipil Suriah?

1.3.Tujuan Penelitian

Adapun beberapa tujuan dalam melakukan penelitian terhadap pembahasan ini, yaitu:

Untuk mengetahui apa kepentingan Rusia atas hak vetonya di Dewan Keamanan PBB dalam konflik sipil Suriah.

1.4. Manfaat Penelitian

1.4.1. Manfaat Teoritis

Penulis berharap penelitian ini dapat menjadi sumber referensi untuk para pembaca, yang dapat digunakan sebagai acuan informasi yang mengangkat tema yang sama untuk dapat menjadi masukan dalam penelitian yang akan datang.

1.4.2. Manfaat Praktis

Penulisingin memberikan pandangan umum mengenai apa kepentingan Rusia dan apa yang melatarbelakangi kepentingannya atas hak vetonya di Dewan Keamanan PBB terkait konflik sipil Suriah. Mengingat bahwa Suriah telah menjadi arena politik, di mana banyak negara yang ikut campur dalam urusan konflik ini dan banyak pula negara yang memiliki kepentingan yang berbeda.

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