

BAB V

KESIMPULAN

Dilatarbelakangi oleh meningkatnya kebutuhan Uni Eropa akan gas alam, ketersediaan dan reliabilitas suplai gas menjadi esensi yang penting bagi keamanan energi Uni Eropa guna mencapai ambisinya untuk mengurangi emisi karbon sesuai yang tertuang dalam *Green Deals*. Rusia menyuplai gas alam dengan persentase *market share* sekitar 40% dalam pasar energi Uni Eropa. Hal ini menjadikan Rusia sebagai aktor penting dalam ketercapaian keamanan energi Uni Eropa. Meski memiliki histori yang panjang dalam bermitra khususnya dalam perdagangan komoditi gas, sentimen-sentimen non-ekonomi membawa hubungan Uni Eropa-Rusia menjadi dinamis.

Hal ini dapat dilihat dari peristiwa Aneksasi Krimea yang dilakukan oleh Rusia pada Ukraina tahun 2014 lalu. Tindakan Rusia mengundang respon negatif dari Uni Eropa dengan memberikan sanksi yang menasar sektor-sektor strategis Rusia, meski gas tidak termasuk ke dalam daftar sanksi yang diberikan oleh Uni Eropa, namun salah satu bentuk sanksi diplomatik yang dikeluarkan UE adalah dibatalkannya pertemuan rutin Uni Eropa dan Russia *EU-Russia Summit* pada tahun 2014. Pertemuan bilateral ini merupakan forum bagi kedua pihak untuk mendiskusikan isu-isu strategis termasuk energi. Melalui *Energy Roadmap* yang dipublikasikan tahun 2013, Rusia dan Uni Eropa telah membagikan visi bersama untuk dapat tergabung dalam pasar energi bersama atau “*Pan European Energy Space*” di tahun 2050 dimana dalam pencapaiannya dibutuhkan proses koordinasi regulasi dan standar secara bertahap. Tingginya permintaan pasar Uni Eropa terhadap gas alam serta melimpahnya suplai gas dalam teritori Rusia menjadikan keduanya memiliki motif interdependensi yang menjadi landasan terciptanya hubungan kerjasama internasional diantara keduanya.

Sebelum Aneksasi Krimea tahun 2014, Uni Eropa dan Rusia telah dinamika hubungan yang baik – didukung dengan telah adanya kerangka kerjasama *Partnership Cooperation Agreement* (PCA) tahun 1997. Dengan adanya visi yang dibagikan bersama antara Rusia dan Uni Eropa melalui terbentuknya *Pan European Energy Space*, seharusnya pembentukan pasar energi tunggal melalui kebijakan *Third Energy Package* menjadi poin aktualisasi yang signifikan. Liberalisasi pasar energi yang dilakukan oleh Uni Eropa melalui TEP ini dilakukan untuk membentuk ekosistem pasar yang kompetitif, sebagaimana diharapkan dalam *Pan European Energy Space*. Namun, liberalisasi pasar energi Uni Eropa dapat memperkecil

market share Rusia dan bahkan dapat menggeser posisi kunci Rusia dalam pasar energi Uni Eropa. Hal ini terjadi karena dengan memastikan unsur *fairness* dalam pasar, Rusia harus melakukan penyesuaian dari berbagai kontrak yang ditawarkan kepada konsumen Uni Eropa.

Menggunakan konsep kerjasama internasional, keamanan energi, neomerkantilisme, *new multilateralism*, geopolitik klasik, *balance of power*, *asymmetric trade relation*, *supply chain* dan *buffer system theory* – penelitian ini menemukan bahwa preferensi Rusia dalam melakukan negosiasi bilateral terhadap negara-negara Uni Eropa dapat dilihat dari dimensi politik dan ekonomi. Motivasi strategi politik energi Rusia berasal dari objektif strategis Rusia untuk menjadi *great power* atau aktor penting dalam politik global. Kekuatan ekonomi dan politik menjadi modalitas bagi Rusia untuk mencapai kepentingannya. Sementara gas merupakan instrumen efektif bagi Rusia untuk menjalankan strategi tersebut.

Negosiasi energi bilateral mempermudah Rusia untuk memperluas *leverage* dalam menyebarkan pengaruhnya pada konstelasi politik Uni Eropa. Kontinen Eropa merupakan wilayah yang penting bagi Rusia untuk mempraktekan kepemimpinannya dalam Eurasia. Dengan menggunakan *divide-and-rule*, Rusia berhasil mengikat hubungan politik dan ekonomi yang baik dengan Jerman dan Perancis, dua negara penting dalam Uni Eropa. Rusia juga dapat melancarkan '*pipeline politics*' dengan terbentangnya pipa Nord Stream dan Nord Stream II. Sementara dari perspektif ekonomi, kesepakatan bilateral lebih menguntungkan Rusia selaku produsen dari sisi *pricing*. Dengan kontrak bilateral, Rusia juga dapat lebih leluasa menentukan provisi lain yang lebih menguntungkan Rusia, seperti keterjaminan *demand* melalui kontrak ToP – dalam konteks lebih luas, gas memberi pendapatan tahunan yang signifikan dan kontributif terhadap anggaran belanja tahunan yang menyokong pembangunan nasional sekaligus menguatkan atribut ekonomi sebagai salah satu modalitas untuk menjadi *great power*.

TEP tidak hanya membatasi keuntungan ekonomi, namun juga membatasi upaya nasionalisasi energi Rusia. Akibatnya, agenda politik Rusia yang dipastikan Pemerintah melalui Gazprom harus terbendung oleh berbagai aturan Uni Eropa. Kemandirian energi Uni Eropa merupakan hambatan bagi Rusia. Model *energy governance* Rusia yang vertikal jelas berlawanan dengan pasar energi liberal Uni Eropa. Sebagaimana dinyatakan oleh Kepala Pemerintahan Rusia, energi adalah modalitas Rusia dalam ekonomi global. Pemerintah Rusia berupaya penuh untuk memaksimalkan daya saing energi Rusia – sebagai alat pemenuh kesejahteraan Rusia, juga sebagai instrumen dalam ranah politik global.

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