

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

BUKU

- Adolf, Huala, 2019, *Hukum Penyelesaian Sengketa Internasional Edisi Revisi*, Sinar Grafika, Jakarta.
- Barkin, J. Samuel, 2006, *International Organization: Theories and Institutions*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Barros, James, 1972, *The United Nations: Past, Present and Future*, The Free Press, New York.
- Chestermen, Simon, 2002, *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Colomer, Josep M, 2014, *How Global Institutions Rule The World*, Palgrave Macmilan, London.
- Coning, Cedric de, *et al*, 2022, *Adaptive Mediation and Conflict Resolution, Peace-making in Colombia, Mozambique, the Philippines, and Syria*, Palgrave Macmilan, London.
- Couzigou, Irene, "Enforcement of UN Security Council Resolution and of ICJ Judgment "The Unreliability of Political Enforcement Mechanisms", dalam Andras Jakab & Dimitry Kochenov (ed.), 2017, *The Enforcement of EU Law and Values*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Elgebeily, Sherif A., *The Rule of Law in The United Nations Security Council Decision - Making Process*, Routledge, New York.
- Fajar, Mukti & Yulianto Achmad, 2010, *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum Normatif & Empiris*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.
- Galtung, Johan 1976, *Peace, War and Defence*, C. Eljers, Copenhagen.
- Ghali, Boutrous Boutrous, 1992, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace - keeping*, UN Departement of Public Information, New York.

- Gowan, Richard & Tristan Dreisbach, “United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS)”, dalam Joachim A. Koops, *et al* (ed.), 2014, *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Governance, The Commission on Global, 1995, *Our Global Neighbourhood*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Guehenno, Jean - Marie, 2008, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and UN Department of Field Support, New York.
- Ishaq, H, 2020, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Alfabeta, Bandung.
- Istanto, Sugeng F., 1998, *Hukum Internasional*, Universitas Atma Jaya, Yogyakarta.
- Leopard, Brian D., 2002, *Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention: A Fresh Legal Approach Based on Fundamental Ethical Principles in International Law and World Religions*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania.
- Lipsy, Phillip Y, 2017, *Renegotiating the World Order “Institutional Change in International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mahnken, Thomas, *et al.*, 2016, *Arms Races in International Politics: From the Nineteenth to the Twenty – First Century*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Muhaimin, 2020, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, UNRAM Press, Mataram.
- Nations, United, 1990, *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.
- Pugh, Michael, “Peace Enforcement”, dalam Sam Daws & Thomas G. Weiss (ed.), 2008, *Oxford Handbooks on the United Nations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Reinisch, August “Privileges and Immunities”, dalam Jacob Katz (ed.), *et al.*, 2016, *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Roberts, Adam & Dominik Zaum, 2008, *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council since 1945*, Routledge, New York.
- Sofia, Sebastian & Aditi Gorur, 2018, *UN Peacekeeping and Host-State Consent “How Missions Navigate Relationship Between Governments”*, Stimson, Washington DC.
- Stahn, Carsten and Jens Iverson (ed.), 2020, *Just Peace After Conflict: Just Post Bellum and the Justice of Peace*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Sugiyono, 2013, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R & D*, Alfabeta, Bandung.
- Sunggono, Bambang, 2016, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Rajawali Pers, Jakarta.
- Suryokusumo, Sumaryo, 2015, *Hukum Organisasi Intrnasional (Hukum Perserikatan Bangsa – Bangsa) United Nations Law*, Tatanusa, Jakarta.
- Soekanto, Soerjono, 1968, *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum*, UI Press, Jakarta.
- Soekanto, Soerjono & Sri Mamudji, 2004, *Penelitian Hukum Normatif: Suatu Tinjauan Singkat*, Rajawali Pers, Jakarta.
- Triana, Nita, 2019, *Alternative Dispute Resolution (Penyelesaian Sengketa Alternatif dengan Model Mediasi, Arbitrase, Negoisasi, dan Konsiliasi)*, Kaizen Sarana Edukasi, Yogyakarta.
- Wouters, Jan dan Tom Ruys, 2005, *Security Council Reform: A New for A New Century*, Academia Press, Brussels.
- Wilson, Gary 2016, *The United Nations and Collective Security*, Routledge, New York.

JURNAL

- Afrilianti, Dewi, *et al.*, Penghapusan Hak Veto Dalam Rangka Reformasi Dewan Keamanan PBB, *Uti Possidetis: Journal of International Law*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021.
- Alvarez, Jose E., “Hegemonic International Law Revisited”, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 97, No. 4, October 2003.

- Aziz, Muhammad Akbar Fauzan, *et al.*, “Urgensi Penerapan Ketentuan Pasal 33 Ayat (1) United Nations Charter (Piagam PBB) dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Taiwan dan China”, *Teras Law Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2 November 2021.
- Benson, Michelle & Colin Tucker, “The Importance of UN Security Council Resolutions in Peacekeeping Operations”, *Sage Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 66, No. 3, 2022.
- Biskultanova, Albina M., *et al.*, “The Right of Veto: International Experience, Problems and Prospects of Application”, *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 42, No. 2, April - June 2021.
- Bode, Ingvild dan John Karlsurd, “Implementation in Practice : The Use of Force to Protect Civilans in United Nations Peacekeeping”, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 25, No. 2, October 2019.
- Bugaric, Max Kuhelj, “The Birth of the Cold War”, *UCLA Historical Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2014.
- Carswell, Andrew J., “Unblocking the UN Security Council: The Uniting for Peace Resolution”, *Journal of Conflict & Security Law*, 2013, Vol. 18, No.3.
- Caesario, Fadhil Rizki, “Intervensi Rusia dalam Konflik Suriah”, *POLITEIA: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Juli 2021.
- Charara, Layan, “The Legal Architecture of United Nations Peacekeeping: A Case Study of UNIFIL”, *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 2019.
- Dinstein, Yoram “The Right to Humanitarian Assistance”, *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Autumn 2000.
- Ezra, Gadi “The UN Security Council and the Saga of “Global Legislation”, *Stockton Center of International Law*, Vol. 99, 2022.
- Fanani, Ahmad Fuad, “The End of The Cold War: Its Dynamics and Critical Factors”, *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional UMY*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Oktober 2014.
- Ford, Christopher M., “Syria: A Case Study in International Law”, *University of Cincinnati Law Review*, Vol. 85, No. 1, 2018, 1 – 57.

- Guimaraes, Fernanda and Patricia Nasser de Carvalho, The United Nations Security Council Action in the Syrian Civil War: Conflict of Interest and Impasses Among the P5 and the Consequent Lack of Resolution for the Question, *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy and International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 12, December 2017.
- Greg, J. Michael & Paul F. Diehl, “The Peacekeeping - Peacemaking Dilemma”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4, December 2005.
- Hadi, Shaummil, “Perserikatan Bangsa - Bangsa: Sistem Pembuatan Keputusan dan Dilema Intervensi Kemanusiaan”, *Jurnal Variasi*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2 Juni 2022.
- Hageboutros, Joelle, “The Evolving Role of the Security Council in the Post – Cold War Period”, *Swarthmore International Relations Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2016.
- Hooghe, Liesbet & Gary Marks, “Delegation and Pooling in International Organizations”, *Springer*, Vol. 10, No. 3, June 2014.
- Hultman, Lisa, *et al.*, “Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 108, No. 4, November 2014.
- Iswardani, Denik dan Witarti dan Anggun Puspitasari, “Analisa Kegagalan *Organization for Prohibited of Chemical Weapon (OPCW)* sebagai Organisasi Perlucutan Senjata pada Konflik Suriah”, *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2018.
- Iyase, Blessing Nneka & Sheriff Folami Folarin, “A Critique of Veto Power System in the United Nations Security Council”, *Relationes Internationales*, Vol. 11, No. 2, March 2018.
- Klabbers, Jan, “The EJIL Foreword: The Transformation of International Organizations Law”, *The European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 26, No. 1, March 2015.
- Klabbers, Jan, “The Emergence of Functionalism in International Institutional Law: Colonial Inspirations”, *The European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Oktober 2014.

- Leenders, Reinoud and Kholoud Mansour, “Humanitarianism, State Sovereignty and Authoritarian Regime Maintenance in the Syrian War:”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 133, No. 2, 2018.
- Levine, Daniel, “Peacekeeper Impartiality: Standards, Processes, and Operations”, *CISSM Working Paper*, April 2010.
- Lundgren, Magnus, Peacemaking in Syria: Barriers and Opportunities, *Swedish Institute of International Affairs Brief*, No. 1, 2015.
- Mangku, Dewa Gede Sudika, “Suatu Kajian Tentang Penyelesaian Sengketa Internasional Termasuk Didalam Tubuh ASEAN”, *Jurnal PERSPEKTIF*. Vo. 17, No. 3, September 2012.
- Miller, Lynn H, “The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security”, *Global Governance*, Vol. 5, No. 3, July - September 1999.
- Murtamadji, “Kegagalan Perang Dingin Antar Dua Negara Adidaya: Faktor Penyebab dan Implikasinya, *HUMANIKA*, Vol 9, No. 1, Maret 2009.
- Nurfazlina, Siti, “Kepentingan Tiongkok Mengeluarkan Hak Veto Terhadap Resolusi Dewan Keamanan PBB Tentang Konflik Suriah Tahun 2012, *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa FISIP*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Oktober 2016.
- Phoenna, Riezky Poetra, *et al*, “Peran Nasional Rusia Terhadap Konflik Suriah (2015 – 2020), *Hasanuddin Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Februari 2023.
- Pues, Anni “The UN General Assembly as a Security Actor: Appraising the Investigative Mechanism for Syria”, dalam Erika de Wet and Kathrin Maria Scherr (ed.), 2022, *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law Online*, Brill, Netherlands.
- Ramsden, Michael, “Uniting for Peace in the Age of International Justice”, *The Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 42, September 2016.
- Ramsden, Michael “Uniting for Peace” and Humanitarian Intervention: The Authorising Function of the U.N. General Assembly”, *Washington International Law Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 2, April 2016.

- Ridho, Ar Raffi & Retno Kusniati, “Urgensi Larangan Penggunaan Senjata Kimia di Suriah menurut The Chemical Weapon Convention 1993”, *Uti Possidetis: Journal of International Law*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2022.
- Riyanto, Sigit, “Keamanan Internasional Kolektif dan Peran Organisasi Regional”, *Tanjungpura Law Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Januari 2021.
- Scharf, Michael P., “Power Shift: The Return of the Uniting for Peace Resolution”, *55 Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, Vol. 55, 2023.
- Scherr, Cooper, “Why the United Nations Cannot Stop Genocide, *Historical Perspective: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2019.
- Shraideh, Saleh Al, “The Security Council’s Veto in the Balance”, *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, Vol. 58, 2017.
- Sinha, Dilip “Veto Provision in UN Charter”, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 4, October - December 2019.
- Sugianto, Didik dan Arinto Nugroho, “Pertanggungjawaban Penggunaan Senjata Kimia oleh Suriah pada tahun 2014 – 2015 ditinjau dari Hukum Humaniter Internasional”, *NOVUM: Jurnal Hukum*, Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Talmon, Stefan, “The Security Council as World Legislature, The American” *Journal of International Law*, Vol. 99, No. 1, Januari 2005.
- Trahan, Jennifer “Vetoes and the UN Charter: the obligation to act in accordance with the “Purpose and Principles” of the United Nations”, *Journal on the Use of Force and International Law*, Vol. 9, No. 2.
- Vilmer, Jean - Baptiste Jeangene, The Responsibility Not to Veto: A Genealogy, *Global Governance*, Vol. 24, No. 3.
- Wani, Hilal Ahmad, “Understanding Conflict Resolution”, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Februari 2011.
- Watson, Richard A, “Origins and Early Development of the Veto Power”, *Wiley*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Spring 1987.

- Wenaweser, Christian & Sina Alavi, “Innovating to Restrain the Use of the Veto in the United Nations Security Council”, *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 2020.
- Wilson, Gary, 2016, *The United Nations and Collective Security*, Routledge, New York.
- Webb, Philippa, “Deadlock or Restraint? The Security Council Veto and the Use of Force in Syria”, *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Vol. 19, No. 3, September 2014.
- Wet, Erika de, “The Prohibition of Torture as an International Norm of Jus Cogens and Its Implication for National and Customary Law”, *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 15, No. 1, February 2004.
- White, Nigel D., “On the Brink of Lawlessness: The State of Collective Security Law”, *Indiana International and Comparative Law Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Januari 2002.
- Whiting, Alex “An Investigative Mechanism for Syria: The General Assembly Steps Into the Breach”, *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. Issue. 2, May 2017.
- Yiu, Hannah, “Jus Cogens, The Veto and The Responsibility To Protect: A New Perspective”, *New Zealand Year Book of International Law*, Vol. 7, 2009.

SUMBER HUKUM INTERNASIONAL

- Piagam Perserikatan Bangsa – Bangsa 1945.
Konvenan Liga Bangsa – Bangsa 1920.

KONFERENSI

- Eduardo Uziel, “Consensus and Satisfaction in the United Nations Security Council Decision - Making”, 12th Pan - European Conference on International Relations A Palace of Hope? Analysing the Prospects, Fragilities and Legitimacy of The United Nations, United Nations Decision - Making, Prague, 13 September 2018.

Thomas Biersteker, et al., *Un Sanctions and Mediation: Establishing Evidence to Inform Practice, Research*, United Nations University, 18 February 2019.

LAPORAN

Louise Frechette, Deputy Secretary General Describe “Changing Landscape” of Peacekeepers in Ottawa Address”, UN Press Release, 8 June 2000.

INTERNET

Agni Vidya Perdana, Rezim Assad Bertanggungjawab Terhadap 98 Persen Serangan Kimia di Suriah, <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2019/02/18/22000981/rezim-assad-bertanggung-jawab-terhadap-98-persen-serangan-kimia-di?page=all>.

Benjamin Dabler dan Tim Heinkelmann – Wild, 2021, “International Authority, Democracies, and Exit from International Organizations”, https://www.peio.me/wp-content/uploads/2021/papers/PEIOo21_paper_69.pdf.

Emma McClean, “Hard Evidence: who uses veto in the UN Security Council most often – and for what?”, <https://theconversation.com/hard-evidence-who-uses-veto-in-the-un-security-council-most-often-and-for-what-29907>.

Ian Black, Russia and China veto UN Move to refer Syria to International Criminal Court, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/22/russia-china-veto-un-draft-resolution-refer-syria-international-criminal-court>.

Nur Aini, “PBB: Lebih dari 350 Ribu Orang Tewas Dalam Konflik Suriah”, <https://internasional.republika.co.id/berita/r04tgu1728854804/pbb-lebih-dari-350-ribu-orang-tewas-dalam-konflik-suriah?#:~:text=%E2%80%9CKami%20telah%20menyusun%20daftar%20350.209,Dewan%20Hak%20Asasi%20Manusia%20PBB>.

Suci Sekarwati, “OPWC Pastikan Senjata Kimia Digunakan di Suriah”, <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/1089632/opcw-pastikan-senjata-kimia-digunakan-di-suriah>.

United Nations General Assembly, 2017, “*Resolution: International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism to Assist in the Investigation and Prosecution of Persons Responsible for the Most Serious Crimes under International Law Committed in the Syrian Arab Republic since March 2011*”, A/Res/71/248

https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/856708/files/A_RES_71_248-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 1948, “*Resolution: calling for a cessation of hostilities in Palestine*”, S/Res/50, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/111999/files/S_RES_50%281948%29-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2012, “*Resolution: on authorization of the deployment of an advance team of up to 30 unarmed military observers to the Syrian Arab Republic*”, S/Res/2042, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/724986/files/S_RES_2042%282012%29-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2012, “*Resolution: on the establishment of a UN Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS)*”, S/Res/2043, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/725492/files/S_RES_2043%282012%29-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2012, “*Resolution: on renewal of the mandate of the UN Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS) for a final period of 30 days*”, S/Res/ 2059, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/731340/files/S_RES_2059%282012%29-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2014, “*Resolution: on humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic*”, S/Res/2139, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/765940/files/S_RES_2139%282014%29-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2014, “*Resolution: on humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic and the establishment of a monitoring*

mechanism”, S/Res/2165,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/774932/files/S_RES_2165%282014%29-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2012, “*Draft Resolution: on cessation of violence and implementation of the six-point plan of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States on the Syrian Arab Republic crisis*”, S/2012/538,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/731938/files/S_2012_538-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2017, “*Draft Resolution: on renewal of the mandate of the OPCW-UN Joint Investigative Mechanism to identify the use of chemical weapons in the Syrian Arab Republic for one additional year*”, S/2017/962, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1318896/files/S_2017_962-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2017, “*Draft Resolution: on renewal of the mandate of the OPCW-UN Joint Investigative Mechanism to identify the use of chemical weapons in the Syrian Arab Republic for a period of 30 days*”, S/2017/970, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1319274/files/S_2017_970-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2019, “*Draft Resolution: on humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic and renewal of authorization of relief delivery and monitoring mechanism for a period of 6 months*”, S/2019/961, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3840524/files/S_2019_961-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 2020, “*Draft Resolution: on humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic and renewal of authorization of relief delivery and monitoring mechanism for a period of 12 months*”, S/2020/654, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3871168/files/S_2020_654-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 6672 Meeting, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/717074/files/S_PV.6672-EN.pdf.

United Nations Security Council, 6810 Meeting, S/PV.6810, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/731940/files/S_PV.6810-EN.pdf.

- United Nations Security Council, 8073 Meeting, S/PV.8073,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1311037/files/S_PV-8073-EN.pdf.
- United Nations Security Council, 8105 Meeting, S/PV.8150,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1319231/files/S_PV-8105-EN.pdf.
- United Nations Security Council, 8107 Meeting, S/PV.8107,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1322755/files/S_PV-8107-EN.pdf.
- United Nations Security Council, 8697 Meeting, S/PV.8697,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3841143/files/S_PV.8697-EN.pdf.
- United Nations Security Council, Letter 8 July 2020 from the President of the Security Council, S/2020/661,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3875926/files/S_2020_661-EN.pdf.
- United Nations Security Council, Letter 10 July 2020 from the President of the Security Council, S/2020/693,
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3875603/files/S_2020_693-EN.pdf.
- United Nations, “History of the United Nations”, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/history-of-the-un>.
- United Nations Meeting Coverage and Press Release, Press Conference by Security Council, 2 April 2004,
<https://press.un.org/en/2004/pleugerpc.DOC.htm>.
- United Nations, “UN Security Council Meetings & Outcomes Tables”,
https://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/resguide/scact_veto_table_en.htm.
- United Nations Peacekeeping, “Data”, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/data>.
- United Nations, “Joint Investigative Mechanism Presents It’s Third Report to Security Council”, <https://press.un.org/en/2016/dc3651.doc.htm>.
- United Nations Security Council, “UN Security Council and The Responsibility to Protect: Voluntary Restraint of The Veto in Situations of Mass Atrocity”,
<https://una.org.uk/sites/default/files/Briefing%20-%20Veto%20code%20of%20conduct.pdf>.
- United Nations Security Council, “Statement by the President of the Security Council”, S/PRST/2011/16, <https://press.un.org/en/2011/sc10352.doc.htm>.

United Nations General Assembly, Note verbale dated 8 February 2017 from the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/859544/files/A_71_793-EN.pdf.