

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

IV.1 Kesimpulan

Penelitian mengenai keluarnya Amerika Serikat dari perjanjian INF dengan berpegang pada *Offense-Defense Theory* menghasilkan tiga temuan utama. Pertama, didukung oleh pernyataan dan tindakan Presiden, Sekretaris Negara, Menteri Pertahanan, Kementrian Pertahanan serta individu maupun lembaga lainnya yang bersangkutan, diketahui bahwa Amerika Serikat mempersepsikan dirinya berada dalam *security dilemma* terkait adanya pelanggaran yang dilakukan Rusia terhadap perjanjian INF, yang dilakukan dengan mengembangkan misil jelajah *intermediate-range* 9M729 hingga menyebabkan kontestasi antar kedua negara tersebut. Kedua, *security dilemma* yang dipersepsikan Amerika Serikat mencapai intensitas tertinggi karena adanya dua variabel utama. Variabel pertama adalah pelanggaran yang dilakukan Rusia secara tersembunyi tanpa keinginan untuk keluar dari perjanjian, yang menyebabkan Amerika Serikat tidak dapat memperhitungkan intensi Rusia terkait *offense-defense differentiation*. Variabel kedua adalah adanya keuntungan ofensif bagi Rusia terkait *offense-defense balance*, yang didapat dengan menggunakan persenjataan *intermediate-range*. Terakhir, Amerika Serikat tidak berhasil dalam usahanya untuk membawa Rusia

kembali kepada kepatuhan terhadap perjanjian, sehingga harus mempertimbangkan untuk merespon *security dilemma* yang dipersepsikan tersebut dengan opsi militer.

Dengan adanya temuan-temuan utama tersebut, pertanyaan penelitian yang telah diajukan di awal dapat dijawab. Keluarnya Amerika Serikat dari perjanjian INF disebabkan oleh adanya keperluan untuk merespon *security dilemma* dengan intensitas tertinggi yang dialaminya terhadap Rusia. Kemunculan *security dilemma* tersebut disebabkan oleh dua variabel utama, dimana Amerika Serikat tidak dapat memperhitungkan intensi Rusia dalam pembedaan postur ofensif atau defensif dari segi *offense-defense differentiation* dan adanya keuntungan ofensif dalam sistem persenjataan yang dikembangkan Rusia dari segi *offense-defense balance*. Untuk merespon *security dilemma* yang dipersepsikan tersebut, Amerika Serikat harus membangun kapabilitas militer yang setara dengan Rusia, dan hal ini hanya dapat dilakukan apabila Amerika Serikat keluar dari perjanjian.

Dapat diperkirakan bahwa setelah keluar dari perjanjian INF, Amerika Serikat akan segera memulai kembali pengembangan, produksi serta penempatan sistem persenjataan *intermediate-range* di kawasan Eropa untuk menyaingi militer Rusia yang telah menempatkan 9M729. Alur pembuatan persenjataan *intermediate-range* oleh Amerika Serikat memiliki tiga kemungkinan, yaitu pengembangan dari misil jelajah *sea-based* atau *air-based* yang sudah ada untuk kemudian diluncurkan dari darat, adaptasi dari sistem misil *ground-launched* yang jarak jangkauannya ditambah setelah restriksi jarak antara 500 km hingga 1,500 km dari perjanjian INF dihilangkan, hingga pengembangan persenjataan *intermediate-range* yang sepenuhnya baru. Di masa depan, dapat diantisipasi bahwa bangkitnya kemampuan

serang *intermediate-range* militer Amerika Serikat akan berpusat pada alur-alur potensial tersebut.

Penelitian yang dilakukan telah menjelaskan bagaimana Rusia menjadi faktor prima yang menyebabkan Amerika Serikat keluar dari perjanjian INF. Namun karena adanya keterbatasan dalam segi waktu maupun sumber daya dari sisi peneliti, terdapat topik terkait yang belum disinggung yaitu peran China sebagai faktor yang turut membuat Amerika Serikat keluar dari perjanjian tersebut. China tidak terikat oleh perjanjian INF dan bebas mengembangkan sistem misil *intermediate-range* seperti DF-26. Misil-misil *intermediate-range* yang dimiliki China menjadi ancaman tersendiri bagi Amerika Serikat di kawasan Asia-Pasifik, terutama mengingat Laut China Selatan berpotensi menjadi *hotspot* konflik di masa depan terkait dengan kontestasi wilayah perairan beberapa negara. Tidak hanya Amerika Serikat dengan kepentingannya di Laut China Selatan, namun banyak negara-negara di Asia yang dapat dijangkau China dengan persenjataan *intermediate-range*. Hal ini berpotensi menjadi topik pembahasan dalam penelitian-penelitian yang akan dilaksanakan di masa mendatang.

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Lampiran 1

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles

Signed at Washington December 8, 1987

Ratification advised by U.S. Senate May 27, 1988

Instruments of ratification exchanged June 1, 1988

Entered into force June 1, 1988

Proclaimed by U.S. President December 27, 1988

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,