

## **BAB IV**

### **KESIMPULAN**

Dua puluh tahun keterlibatan Washington di Kabul yang mana empat presiden AS dengan segala bentuk kebijakan yang dikeluarkan untuk membantu Afghanistan agar dapat terbebas dari teroris akhirnya menemui ujung. Hal tersebut dijustifikasi dengan keputusan Joe Biden selaku presiden keempat AS yang menjadi saksi perjalanan Washington untuk melanjutkan keputusan Trump terkait penarikan penuh pasukan dari Afghanistan. Melalui penggunaan *selective engagement* sebagai pisau analisis, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa terdapat faktor-faktor seperti kepentingan, prinsip, dan aturan main AS dalam penggunaan *use of force* sebagai alasan kepemimpinan Joe Biden melanjutkan keputusan Trump untuk menarik seluruh pasukan AS pasukan dari Afghanistan. Berdasarkan faktor kepentingan, Penulis menemukan bahwa terdapat peralihan kepentingan AS akibat penyebaran dan kemunculan ancaman baru pasca kepemimpinan Obama yang ditandai dengan disrupsi Tiongkok, Rusia, dan *rogue states* seperti Iran serta Korea Utara terhadap sistem internasional menggantikan terorisme dan radikalisme sebagai ancaman terdahulu terhadap *vital interest* dari Washington. Sehingga konstruksi Afghanistan sebagai wilayah prioritas sudah tidak lagi melayani atau memberikan keuntungan terhadap kepentingan dari AS.

Berikutnya berdasarkan prinsip penggunaan *use of force*, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa keterlibatan militer AS di Afghanistan sudah tidak diperlukan.

Hal tersebut dikarenakan bahwa penggunaan *use of force* berlandaskan kepada koridor mempertahankan enam kepentingan AS yang diklasifikasikan ke dalam *vital interests* dan *desirable interests*. Pada kondisi setelah kepemimpinan Obama, penelitian ini tidak menemukan bahwa Afghanistan masih termasuk kedalam *vital interests* atau *desirable interests* mengingat bahwa terdapat peralihan kepentingan, sehingga Washington mulai mengalihkan fokus ke wilayah yang memberikan ancaman lebih besar. Hal tersebut pada masa kepemimpinan Trump dijustifikasi dengan menjadikan Eropa sebagai wilayah prioritas dan mulai merambah ke Indo-Pasifik akibat kemunculan Rusia, Tiongkok, Iran, dan Korea Utara sebagai proyeksi ancaman terbesar terhadap kepentingan AS. Kemudian, Afghanistan semakin dilepas status prioritasnya pada masa kepemimpinan Biden yang mana secara terang-terangan di dalam *Interim National Security Strategic Guidance* mengumumkan bahwa pasukan di Afghanistan dan Timur Tengah akan dialihkan pemusatannya ke Eropa dan Indo-Pasifik untuk meredam ancaman akibat pengaruh kekuatan besar dan *rogue state* di wilayah tersebut. Hal tersebut selaras dengan prinsip berikutnya mengenai menghindari ambisi yang berlebihan guna mencegah terjadinya *imperial overstretch* mengingat bahwa meskipun AS merupakan kekuatan besar dengan kapabilitas militer mumpuni, namun kehadirannya di setiap wilayah berpengaruh terhadap melemahnya kemampuan AS dalam mempertahankan kepentingan karena terbaginya fokus. Kemudian, terdapat penyelewengan terhadap prinsip penggunaan *use of force* melalui tindakan AS yang membungkus kepentingan pribadinya terkait dengan pembangunan bangsa Afghanistan dengan melibatkan sekutu dan mitra mengingat bahwa prinsip terakhir

penggunaan *use of force* yaitu larangan menggunakan *use of force* ketika mengandalkan kepentingan sendiri dalam melakukan aksi kolektif militer.

Melalui aturan main dalam menggunakan *use of force*, penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa AS sudah tidak memiliki alasan untuk mempertahankan militernya di Afghanistan. Hal tersebut merujuk kepada aturan main pertama dalam penggunaan *use of force* yang mana AS hanya diperkenankan untuk berperang jika terdapat serangan terhadap tanah air. Kilas balik selama 20 tahun kebelakang, sudah tidak pernah terjadi serangan terhadap tanah air AS. Selain itu, berdasarkan penemuan dari penelitian ini terkait dengan Indo-Pasifik sebagai wilayah prioritas baru pada masa kepemimpinan Joe Biden. Aturan untuk menggunakan *use of force* di Afghanistan menjadi tidak berlaku. Hal tersebut dikarenakan AS sudah memiliki wilayah prioritas baru dan Afghanistan sudah kurang bahkan tidak melayani kepentingan Washington. Terlepas dari hal tersebut, alasan pengecualian untuk membenarkan tindakan AS di Afghanistan juga tidak dapat divalidasi mengingat bahwa satu dekade ke belakang tidak terjadi aksi penggulingan terhadap demokrasi atau pembunuhan massal di Afghanistan.

Berkaca dari penemuan dalam penelitian ini, dapat disimpulkan bahwa penarikan pasukan AS dari Afghanistan berdasarkan *selective engagement* disebabkan oleh sudah tidak terlayannya kepentingan Washington karena perubahan proyeksi ancaman AS dalam sistem internasional. Permasalahan terorisme di Afghanistan pada masa Joe Biden, bahkan tidak masuk ke dalam fokus utama AS karena eksistensi aktor-aktor negara yang disruptif terhadap kestabilan global diproyeksikan oleh Washington memberikan dampak signifikan terhadap

kepentingan AS di Eropa terutama Indo-Pasifik sebagai wilayah prioritas baru. Selain itu, tidak berlakunya prinsip dan aturan main dalam penggunaan *use of force* dalam *selective engagement* juga menjadi alasan penguat bahwa keterlibatan militer AS di Afghanistan sudah tidak diperlukan karena bertentangan dengan premis utama dalam *selective engagement* yaitu mengurangi penggunaan kekuatan militer.

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