

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

India sebagai salah satu negara yang meratifikasi *Outer Space Treaty* terindikasi melanggar perjanjian tersebut. Indikasi pelanggaran dilakukan India setelah 37 tahun mematuhi perjanjian yang ada melalui uji coba peluncuran senjata anti satelit Misi Shakti. Atas tindakan tersebut, India terindikasi melanggar tiga pasal yang terkandung dalam *Outer Space Treaty*, yaitu pasal satu yang menyebutkan penggunaan luar angkasa harus digunakan untuk kepentingan bersama negara-negara di dunia, pasal empat mengenai luar angkasa yang harus bebas dari persenjataan militer, dan pasal sembilan terkait penggunaan luar angkasa oleh negara tidak boleh menyebabkan kontaminasi.

Teori *deterrence* umum digunakan untuk menganalisis anomali dari tindakan India tersebut. Didapatkan bahwa India meluncurkan senjata anti satelit melalui Misi Shakti dikarenakan adanya persepsi ancaman yang datang dari Tiongkok. Terdapat beberapa syarat atau indikasi bahwa tindakan India tersebut merupakan sebuah tindakan *deterrence* umum. Syarat-syarat agar sebuah tindakan termasuk sebuah tindakan *deterrence* adalah negara yang melakukan tindakan tersebut harus memiliki kekuatan militer yang efektif, tindakan yang dilakukan dapat memberikan kerugian yang berarti pada pihak lawan, dan ancaman yang diberikan dapat benar dilakukan pada saat negara menerima penyerangan. Tindakan *deterrence* pula harus memiliki minimal dua pihak, yaitu pihak penantang dan bertahan. Kemudian, agar sebuah tindakan *deterrence* termasuk

menjadi *deterrence* umum harus memiliki beberapa indikasi, yaitu kondisi yang ada tidak dalam situasi krisis, tindakan dilakukan dalam jangka panjang, serta tindakan bertujuan untuk menyampaikan sebuah komitmen ancaman pada pihak lawan. Tindakan *deterrence* umum untuk menjaga status quo dianalisis pula menggunakan teori ini dan melihat tindakan apa yang dilakukan oleh pihak penantang, sehingga pihak bertahan melakukan tindakan *deterrence*. Melalui teori ini, motivasi dan latar belakang India melakukan tindakan indikasi pelanggaran *Outer Space Treaty* dapat ditemukan dan menjawab pertanyaan penelitian, yaitu “Mengapa India meluncurkan senjata anti satelit melalui Misi Shakti yang terindikasi melanggar *Outer Space Treaty*?”.

Tindakan India terbukti merupakan sebuah tindakan *deterrence* dikarenakan sesuai dengan syarat-syarat yang disebutkan di atas. Pertama, senjata anti satelit India merupakan kekuatan yang efektif dikarenakan senjata tersebut telah berhasil diujicobakan dan mengenai sasaran yang diinginkan. Kedua, senjata tersebut dapat memberikan kerugian yang berarti, karena ketika bertabrakan dengan target, maka akan menghancurkan sasaran hingga berkeping-keping. Terakhir, senjata tersebut akan benar digunakan ketika India menerima tindakan penyerangan yang dilihat oleh pernyataan pejabat pemerintahan bahwa India tidak akan ragu menggunakan senjata tersebut ketika terjadi penyerangan dari pihak lawan.

Dalam isu ini pula dapat ditemukannya dua pihak, yaitu India sebagai pihak bertahan yang melakukan tindakan *deterrence* dan Tiongkok yang berusaha untuk melakukan penentangan terhadap status quo yang ada. Hal tersebut dapat

terlihat dari adanya upaya militerisasi serta komersialisasi luar angkasa yang menyebabkan India merasa terancam. Tiongkok lebih dulu berhasil untuk melakukan uji coba senjata anti satelitnya pada tahun 2007 yang memperlihatkan kapabilitas negara tersebut untuk melumpuhkan, menghancurkan, serta menghalangi aset dari negara lainnya. Komersialisasi luar angkasa yang dilakukan oleh Tiongkok mengancam India pula karena adanya kerjasama antara Tiongkok dengan Pakistan untuk meluncurkan satelit yang dapat memata-matai India.

Atas ancaman tersebut, India melakukan tindakan yang termasuk ke dalam *deterrence* umum karena memenuhi beberapa indikasi. Pengembangan senjata anti satelit tidak dilakukan oleh India dalam kondisi krisis, dimana pihak lawan tidak dalam waktu dekat akan melakukan sebuah tindakan penyerangan. India melakukan tindakan tersebut pula dalam jangka waktu yang panjang. Komitmen ancaman melalui tindakan tersebut disampaikan oleh India melalui pernyataan pejabat pemerintahannya yang menyatakan peluncuran Misi Shakti memang ditujukan untuk mencegah Tiongkok mengarahkan senjata anti satelitnya pada India.

Tindakan *deterrence* umum yang dilakukan India tersebut berhasil untuk dilakukan. Hal tersebut dikarenakan status quo yang ingin dipertahankan oleh India, yaitu keamanan aset luar angkasanya tetap terjaga. Tidak adanya peningkatan tindakan dari *deterrence* umum menjadi *deterrence* secara langsung pun menjadi indikasi lain keberhasilan tindakan India tersebut.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Bongers, Anelí, and José L. Torres. “Star Wars: Anti-Satellite Weapons and Orbital Debris.” *Defence and Peace Economics*, April 27, 2023, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2023.2208020>.
- Bower, Adam. “Orbital Uncertainty and the Governance of Outer Space Activities.” In *Uncertainty in Global Politics*, edited by Miriam Matejova and Anastasia Shesterinina, 198. New York: Routledge, 2023.
- Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance. “Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies.” U.S. Department of State, 2009. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/isn/5181.htm>.
- Caminiti, Matt. “Sputnik.” Macalester College, 2009. <https://www.macalester.edu/russian/about/resources/miscellany/sputnik/>.
- Campbell, Charlie. “From Satellites to the Moon and Mars, China Is Quickly Becoming a Space Superpower.” Time, 2019. <https://time.com/5623537/china-space/>.
- Cowan, Christopher. “Anti-Satellite Weapons: Warfare in the Final Frontier.” NAOC, September 28, 2014. <https://natoassociation.ca/anti-satellite-weapons-warfare-in-the-final-frontier/>.
- Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches*. 6th ed. Los Angeles: Sage, 2022.
- Dhananjayan, Arvind. “India’s Military Satellites: The Armed Forces’ Bulwarks for Communication & Surveillance!” Chanakya Forum, 2023. <https://chanakyaforum.com/indiass-military-satellites-the-armed-forces-bulwarks-for-communication-surveillance/>.
- Duvall, Raymond, and Jonathan Havercroft. “Taking Sovereignty out of This World: Space Weapons and Empire of the Future.” *Review of International*

- Studies* 34, no. 4 (October 2008): 761–62.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210508008267>.
- Fallon, Stephen. “The Ongoing Militarisation of Space.” Parliament of Australia, n.d.
https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BriefingBook47p/OngoingMilitarisationSpace.
- Freedman, Lawrence. “General Deterrence and the Balance of Power.” *Review of International Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): 203.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210500113002>.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. “India Successfully Tests Prithvi Defense Vehicle, a New Missile Killer System.” *The Diplomat*, 2017.
<https://thediplomat.com/2017/02/india-successfully-tests-prithvi-defense-vehicle-a-new-missile-killer-system/>.
- Goswami, Namrata. “China in Space: Ambitions and Possible Conflict.” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (2018): 76.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26333878>.
- Gottfried, Kurt, and Richard Ned Lebow. “Anti-Satellite Weapons: Weighing the Risks.” *Daedalus* 114, no. 2 (1985): 147.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20024983>.
- Handberg, Roger, and Zhen Li. *Chinese Space Policy*. Routledge, 2006.
- Harrison, Todd, Kaitlyn Johnson, Thomas G. Roberts, Tyler Way, Makena Young, and Martin C. Faga. “India: Space Threat Assessment 2020.” JSTOR, 2020. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep24236.10>.
- Harrison, Todd, Kaitlyn Johnson, and Makena Young. *Defense against the Dark Arts in Space*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2021.
- Hui, Zhang. “Space Weaponization and Space Security: A Chinese Perspective.” *China Security* 2, no. 1 (2006): 24–36.
- Hutto, J. Wesley. “Space Entanglements: The India-Pakistan Rivalry and a US-China Security Dilemma.” *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs* 3, no. 4 (2020): 233.

- [https://media.defense.gov/2020/Nov/23/2002540357/-1/-1/1/DO_HUTTO.PDF.](https://media.defense.gov/2020/Nov/23/2002540357/-1/-1/1/DO_HUTTO.PDF)
- Indian Space Research Organisation. “The Indian Space Programme.” *ISRO*, 2008.
- [https://www.isro.gov.in/media_isro/pdf/ResourcesPdf/SpaceIndia/publication\(6\).pdf](https://www.isro.gov.in/media_isro/pdf/ResourcesPdf/SpaceIndia/publication(6).pdf).
- Jones, Andrew. “Chinese Satellite in near Miss with Russian ASAT Test Debris.” SpaceNews, January 20, 2022. <https://spacenews.com/chinese-satellite-in-near-miss-with-russian-asat-test-debris/>.
- Kaiser, Stefan A. “Viewpoint: Chinese Anti-Satellite Weapons: New Power Geometry and New Legal Policy.” *Astropolitics* 6, no. 3 (November 4, 2008): 313–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14777620802347507>.
- Kan, Shirley. “China’s Anti-Satellite Weapon Test.” Defense Technical Information Center, 2007. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA468025>.
- Kelso, T.S. “Analysis of the 2007 Chinese ASAT Test and the Impact of Its Debris on the Space Environment.” ResearchGate, 2007. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242460823_Analysis_of_the_2007_Chinese_ASAT_Test_and_the_Impact_of_its_Debris_on_the_Space_Environment.
- Krebs, Gunter D. “Military Spacecraft - China.” Gunter’s Space Page, n.d. https://space.skyrocket.de/directories/sat_mil_china.htm.
- Krepon, Michael. “Space Assurance or Space Weapons?” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (2004): 3–10. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43134282>.
- Krepon, Michael, and Julia Thompson. “Anti-Satellite Weapons, Deterrence and Sino-American Space Relations.” Stimson, 2013. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA587431.pdf>.
- Kulacki, Gregory, and Jeffrey G. Lewis. “Understanding China’s Antisatellite Test.” *The Nonproliferation Review* 15, no. 2 (July 2008): 335. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700802117346>.

- Kumar, Sanjay. *India China Space Capabilities: A Comparison*. Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd, 2018.
- Lambakis, Steven. "Space Cops: Reviving Space Arms Control." *Astropolitics* 1, no. 2 (October 2003): 75–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14777620312331269959>.
- Lauer, Ritu S. "When States Test Their Anti-Satellite Weapons." *Astropolitics* 20, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14777622.2022.2078194>.
- Legislative Department. "Constitution of India." Ministry of Law and Justice, Government of India, 2022. <https://legislative.gov.in/constitution-of-india/>.
- Lele, Ajey. "Space Security Dilemma: India and China." *Astropolitics* 17, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 23–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14777622.2019.1578932>.
- Mazarr, Michael J. *Understanding Deterrence*. RAND Corporation, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.7249/pe295>.
- Milowicki, Gene V., and Joan Johnson-Freese. "Strategic Choices: Examining the United States Military Response to the Chinese Anti-Satellite Test." *Astropolitics* 6, no. 1 (March 4, 2008): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14777620801907913>.
- Ministry of External Affairs. "Frequently Asked Questions on Mission Shakti, India's Anti-Satellite Missile Test Conducted on 27 March, 2019." Ministry of External Affairs, 2019. https://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/31179/Frequently_Asked_Questions_on_Mission_Shakti_Indias_AntiSatellite_Missile_test_conducted_on_27_March_2019.
- Ministry of Finance. "Economic Survey 2020-21." Ministry of Finance, 2021. https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/economicsurvey/ebook_es2021/index.html#p=695.
- Moltz, James Clay. *Asia's Space Race: National Motivations, Regional Rivalries, and International Risks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

- _____. “The Changing Dynamics of Twenty-First-Century Space Power.” JSTOR, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26623076>.
- Moore, Larry R. “China’s Antisatellite Program: Blocking the Assassin’s Mace.” *Asian Perspective* 38, no. 1 (2014): 163–78. <https://doi.org/10.1353/apr.2014.0006>.
- Murphy, Jeffrey A. “The Cold Vacuum of Arms Control in Outer Space: Can Existing Law Make Some Anti-Satellite Weapons Illegal?” *Cleveland State Law Review* 68, no. 1 (November 26, 2019): 127. <https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/clevstlrev/vol68/iss1/9>.
- Preston, Bob. *Space Weapons: Earth Wars*. Santa Monica: Rand, 2002.
- Quackenbush, Stephen L. *Understanding General Deterrence : Theory and Application*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Rajagopalan, Rajeswari Pillai. “India’s Changing Policy on Space Militarization: The Impact of China’s ASAT Test.” *India Review* 10, no. 4 (October 2011): 354–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736489.2011.624018>.
- _____. “India’s Space Priorities Are Shifting toward National Security.” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2022. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2022/09/01/india-s-space-priorities-are-shifting-toward-national-security-pub-87809>.
- Rao, Radhakrishna. “Is China’s Space Militarization a Threat to India?” Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2009. http://www.ipcs.org/comm_select.php?articleNo=2842.
- Roulette, Joey. “The Space Station Just Dodged Debris from a 2007 Chinese Weapons Test.” *The New York Times*, November 10, 2021, sec. Science. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/science/china-debris-space-station.html>.
- Roy, Indranil. “All You Need to Know about the PDV MK-II: India’s Satellite Killer | Delhi Defence Review.” Delhi Defence Review, April 3, 2019. <https://delhidefencereview.com/2019/04/03/all-you-need-to-know-about-the-pdv-mk-ii-indias-satellite-killer/>.

- Saigal, Kartikeya. "Understanding the International Agreements on the Utilization of Outer Space." National Investment Promotion & Facilitation Agency, 2020.
- <https://www.investindia.gov.in/team-india-blogs/understanding-international-agreements-utilization-outer-space#:~:text=In%201967%2C%20the%20Outer%20Space.>
- Saunders, Phillip Charles, and Charles D Lutes. *China's ASAT Test: Motivations and Implications*. Washington, D.C.: NDU Press, 2007.
- Set, Shounak. "India's Space Power: Revisiting the Anti-Satellite Test." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2019.
- https://carnegieendowment.org/files/7-30-19_Set_India_ASAT_Test.pdf.
- Shukla, Ajai. "India Successfully Tests ASAT Missile, Joins Space Superpower Club." *Business Standard India*, 2019.
- https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/india-successfully-tests-asat-missile-joins-space-superpower-club-119032800048_1.html.
- Siddiqi, Asif. "Another Global History of Science: Making Space for India and China." *BJHS Themes* 1 (2016): 143. <https://doi.org/10.1017/bjt.2016.4>.
- Sprinz, Detlef F, and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias. *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Stroikos, Dimitrios. "Power Transition, Rising China, and the Regime for Outer Space in a US-Hegemonic Space Order." In *Power Transition in the Anarchical Society: Rising Powers, Institutional Change and the New World Order*, edited by Tonny Brems Knudsen and Cornelia Navari, 329–48. Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- _____. "Still Lost in Space? Understanding China and India's Anti-Satellite Tests through an Eclectic Approach." *Astropolitics*, November 8, 2023, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14777622.2023.2277253>.
- United Nations. "United Nations Treaties and Principles on Outer Space." *United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs*, 2002.
- <https://www.unoosa.org/pdf/publications/STSPACE11E.pdf>.

- United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs. “The Outer Space Treaty.” UNOOSA, 1966.
<https://www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/spacelaw/treaties/introouterspacetreaty.html>.
- Vasani, Harsh. “How China Is Weaponizing Outer Space.” The Diplomat, January 19, 2017.
<https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/how-china-is-weaponizing-outer-space/>.
- Weeden, Brian. “Indian Direct Ascent Anti-Satellite Testing.” Secure World Foundation, 2023.
https://swfound.org/media/207606/fs23-03_indian-da-asat-testing_0723.pdf.
- Wilkinson, Freddie. “The History of Space Exploration | National Geographic Society.” National Geographic. National Geographic, October 24, 2022.
<https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/history-space-exploration/>.