

## BAB 4

### KESIMPULAN

Secara keseluruhan, terdapat tiga penemuan utama dari proses meneliti pertimbangan pengambilan keputusan pemimpin China dalam memformulasikan strateginya di Sub-Kawasan Mekong menggunakan teori *balance-of-risk*. Pertama, penelitian ini membuktikan bahwa motivasi di balik pembentukan kebijakan luar negeri lebih banyak didorong oleh prospek kerugian daripada prospek keuntungan. LMC menunjukkan bahwa China ingin mencegah antisipasi penurunan kekuatan relatif China menjadi kerugian di masa depan dengan cara membentuk kerangka kerja sama yang dapat mengamankan kepemimpinan China di Sub-Kawasan Mekong, memperdalam hubungan dengan negara-negara hilir, dan mengeluarkan aktor eksternal dari masalah internal sub-kawasan. Kedua, persepsi pemimpin negara berperan penting dalam formulasi kebijakan luar negeri sebuah *great power*. Dalam penelitian ini, ambisi Xi Jinping untuk naik di panggung internasional dengan cara *peaceful rise* mendorong China untuk menggunakan pendekatan multilateralisme di Sub-Kawasan Mekong. Hal ini mendasari tujuan LMC untuk mengamankan wilayah *periphery* yang menjadi target perluasan pengaruhnya dan menunjukkan kepemimpinan di level regional. Pada akhirnya, penelitian ini juga membuktikan bahwa formulasi kebijakan luar negeri adalah proses yang tidak sempurna. Hal ini ditunjukkan oleh bagaimana LMC dapat dikategorikan sebagai

kebijakan beresiko karena arah kebijakannya berpotensi membuka keuntungan dan juga kerugian bagi China di masa depan.

Penulis berargumentasi bahwa China mengubah pendekatannya menjadi multilateral melalui pembentukan LMC karena berusaha menghindari prospek kerugian yang ada jika tetap mempertahankan pendekatan unilateral. Perubahan pendekatan ini muncul sebagai respon terhadap antisipasi penurunan kekuatan relatif China di Sub-Kawasan Mekong karena semakin aktifnya peran negara-negara lain dalam perpolitikan Mekong, baik dari antara sesama negara Mekong maupun aktor ekstraregional yang ingin memperluas pengaruh internasionalnya. Hal ini tidak sesuai dengan level ekspektasi China untuk tetap mempertahankan posisi negara tersebut sebagai *great power* dan *hydro-hegemon* di Sub-Kawasan Mekong melalui pendekatan unilateral. Ketidakcocokan antara ekspektasi dan realitas dunia internasional mendorong China untuk meninggalkan *status quo* dan membentuk institusi multilateral bernama LMC untuk mengatasi prospek-prospek kerugian dari antisipasi penurunan kekuatan relatif yang ada. Tiga prospek kerugian yang digarisbawahi oleh penulis pada penelitian ini adalah meningkatnya solidaritas negara hilir Mekong melawan China, diperkuatnya pengaruh aktor ekstraregional di Sub-Kawasan Mekong, dan kurangnya kekuatan China sebagai *rule-maker* dalam menentukan agenda seputar Sungai Mekong. Namun, tujuan China untuk mencegah prospek kerugian juga membuat LMC terbuka pada resiko memperparah kecurigaan negara-negara hilir maupun *great power* lainnya mengenai intensi China di Sub-Kawasan Mekong dan Asia Tenggara.

Menurut penulis, membentuk LMC adalah tindakan yang strategis bagi China untuk meningkatkan pengaruhnya di Sub-Kawasan Mekong. Namun, penulis berargumentasi bahwa saat ini LMC telah berubah fokus dari tujuan awalnya sebagai kerangka multilateral di bidang manajemen sumber daya air dan pembangunan berkelanjutan Sungai Mekong. Seiring berjalannya waktu, proyek-proyek LMC semakin menyerupai BRI dalam usahanya memperluas aktivitas ekonomi China dengan investasi infrastruktur di negara-negara berkembang. Hal ini menyebabkan LMC hanya terlihat sebagai perpanjangan BRI saja, yang fungsinya sedikit tumpang tindih dengan kebijakan-kebijakan ekonomi China lainnya. Oleh karena itu, sulit untuk mengatakan bahwa LMC menandakan munculnya kepedulian China terhadap pembangunan berkelanjutan di Sungai Mekong atau membawa dampak positif terhadap manajemen sumber daya air di sub-kawasan tersebut. Maka, penulis melihat LMC sebagai sebuah kebijakan yang dibentuk hanya untuk merespon ancaman dari sistem internasional tanpa benar-benar menjadi bagian dari kepentingan China. Fleksibilitas LMC sebagai institusi multilateral pun didesain agar pemimpin China dapat mengikutsertakan LMC dalam kebijakan-kebijakan lainnya jika diperlukan, sehingga kurang memiliki tujuan yang jelas dalam fungsinya.

Namun, masih terdapat beberapa keterbatasan yang ditemukan dalam penulisan ini. Pertama, teori ini mereduksi pengambilan keputusan di level domestik kepada perspektif Xi sebagai pemimpin negara, sehingga tidak menjelaskan peran aktor-aktor dalam negeri lainnya yang mungkin memiliki kepentingan lain dalam memformulasikan LMC. Keterbatasan pencarian daya

mengenai persepsi Xi juga menyebabkan keterbatasan penulis untuk menganalisis peran pemimpin sebagai individu dalam penelitian ini sehingga hanya dapat melihat aspirasi kebijakan luar negeri China dari luar. Kedua, periode pembatasan waktu untuk melihat pertimbangan pembuatan kebijakan luar negeri pemimpin China dari perspektif *balance-of-risk* terbatas pada masa sebelum terbentuknya LMC pada 2015, sehingga sulit untuk menganalisis resiko yang mungkin muncul setelah kebijakan tersebut diimplementasikan, terutama karena LMC masih berjalan hingga saat ini. Terakhir, proses pengumpulan data pada penelitian ini terbatas oleh kemampuan penulis untuk menemukan publikasi dokumen-dokumen resmi dari pemerintah China atau negara-negara lainnya yang terlibat sehingga masih harus menggunakan banyak data sekunder dalam menganalisis tujuan Xi membentuk LMC. Terlebih lagi, pertimbangan prospek kerugian dan kelebihan dalam penelitian ini dilakukan dari perspektif penulis sebagai pengamat, sehingga tidak dapat sepenuhnya menggambarkan pandangan Xi dalam isu Mekong.

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