

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

Penelitian ini berusaha untuk menjawab pertanyaan mengenai “Bagaimana proses pembentukan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Tiongkok terkait *Air Defense Identification Zone* dalam sengketa kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu dengan Jepang?” Berdasarkan data-data yang ditemukan dan kerangka pemikiran yang sudah dideskripsikan, penelitian ini mencapai beberapa kesimpulan yang akan dibahas dalam dua bagian. Pertama, penulis menyimpulkan bahwa persengketaan Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu antara Jepang dan Tiongkok lahir dari ketidaksepakatan terhadap garis batas teritorial, yang kemudian menghasilkan klaim tumpang tindih atas kepulauan. Dalam ketidakpastian ini, Tiongkok menegaskan klaimnya berdasar bukti sejarah, sedangkan Jepang meneguhkan klaimnya berdasarkan berbagai perjanjian pada abad ke-19 dan 20, meskipun perjanjian-perjanjian yang diacu bukan merupakan titik referensi umum penentuan batas teritorial kedua belah pihak. Selain itu, persengketaan Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu semakin memanas akibat dua tindakan yang dilakukan oleh Jepang, yakni: tindakan penangkapan kapten dan awak kapal ikan Tiongkok yang bertabrakan dengan JCG pada tahun 2010 dan pembelian tiga dari delapan pulau di Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu oleh Jepang pada tahun 2012. Kedua insiden tersebut berperan sebagai katalis dalam eskalasi ketegangan antara Jepang dan Tiongkok, sebab tindakan-tindakan tersebut memiringkan *status quo* yang telah ada.

Kedua, penulis juga menyimpulkan bahwa pembentukan kebijakan luar negeri Tiongkok terkait penetapan ADIZ terhadap Jepang melewati suatu proses yang kompleks, yang terjadi dalam tiga tahapan yang berbeda. Pada tahapan input, keputusan yang diambil terjadi di lingkungan operasional dan psikologis. Dalam lingkungan operasional, tindakan nasionalisasi Jepang melalui pembelian tiga dari delapan pulau di Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu merupakan input yang dipertimbangkan Tiongkok pada lingkungan operasional eksternal, secara spesifik pada tingkatan subsistem berdasar letak geografi. Selanjutnya, atribut negara yang dimaksud dalam lingkungan operasional internal mengacu pada PKT sebagai partai kuasa tunggal di Tiongkok dan PLA sebagai kelompok kepentingan di dalamnya. Berbasis keahliannya dalam bidang militer dan peran pentingnya dalam pengendalian PKT terhadap negara, PLA berhasil mendorong PKT untuk memberikan suara yang lebih besar dalam pengambilan keputusan kebijakan luar negeri ADIZ. Adapun, *elite images* yang dimaksud dalam lingkungan psikologis merupakan interpretasi yang dimiliki oleh Menteri Luar Negeri Yang Jiechi, Wakil Menteri Luar Negeri Fu Ying, Perdana Menteri Wen Jiabao, dan Partai Komunis Tiongkok terhadap tindakan nasionalisasi Jepang di Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu. Secara garis besar, Yang Jiechi, Fu Ying, dan Wen Jiabao menyerukan hal yang serupa, yakni penegasan terhadap klaim sah Tiongkok atas kepulauan berdasarkan dokumen historis dan pengecaman terhadap tindakan nasionalisasi kepulauan oleh Jepang. Adapun bagi PKT, persengketaan terhadap kepulauan sangat berhubungan dengan legitimasinya. Sehingga dalam mengatasi masalah ini, PKT memandang bahwa perlu suatu kerja sama dengan PLA dan PLAAF dalam merumuskan

kebijakan luar negeri yang dapat mempertahankan integritas wilayah dan mengamankan legitimasi partai. Komponen terakhir, yakni *altitudinal prism*, merujuk pada demonstrasi dan tuntutan dari masyarakat Tiongkok yang mengecam tindakan pembelian pulau oleh Jepang atas dasar pengalaman historis terhadap pendudukan Jepang atas Tiongkok. Seruan masyarakat pada akhirnya mendorong pemerintah untuk bertindak melalui kebijakan penerapan ADIZ terhadap Jepang.

Pada tahapan formulasi, penulis menyimpulkan bahwa perumusan keputusan terlihat dari pengumuman penetapan ADIZ oleh Kementerian Pertahanan Tiongkok. Selain itu, penulis juga menemukan bahwa berbagai kerugian yang dialami Tiongkok, terutama pada bidang keamanan, politik-diplomatik, dan budaya turut berkontribusi terhadap pengambilan keputusan kebijakan. Terakhir merupakan tahapan implementasi dari kebijakan penetapan ADIZ. Penulis menemukan bahwa penerapan kebijakan ini merupakan sebuah kesuksesan bagi Tiongkok dalam mengamankan integritas teritorialnya. Penerapan pada tahapan ini terlihat dari peningkatan aktivitas udara PLAAF di wilayah tersebut, kepatuhan berbagai maskapai penerbangan Jepang terhadap peraturan yang diterapkan di ADIZ, dan berbagai intersepsi PLAAF terhadap berbagai pesawat militer Jepang.

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