

**KOMPETISI AMERIKA SERIKAT-TIONGKOK UNTUK
HEGEMONI LAUT & PENGARUHNYA TERHADAP
GEOPOLITIK ASIA TENGGARA**

SKRIPSI

**Diajukan Untuk Memenuhi Sebagian Persyaratan Memperoleh Gelar Sarjana (S1) Dalam
Hubungan Internasional**



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HALAMAN PERSETUJUAN UJIAN SKRIPSI

“Kompetisi Amerika Serikat-Tiongkok untuk Hegemoni Laut & Pengaruhnya Terhadap Geopolitik Asia Tenggara”

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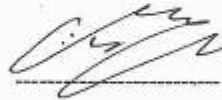
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Demikianlah pernyataan ini dibuat dengan sebenar-benarnya dan apabila di kemudian hari ditemukan bukti ketidak benaran dalam pernyataan ini, maka saya bersedia menerima sanksi akademis berupa pembatalan gelar yang saya peroleh melalui pengajuan karya ilmiah ini.

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ABSTRAK

Untuk waktu yang panjang Tiongkok sebagai negara selalu berfokus terhadap masalah kontinental. Fokus terhadap masalah kontinental membuat Tiongkok tidak mempedulikan area maritim di sekitar Tiongkok. Pada abad ke-19 Tiongkok jatuh ke bawah pengaruh negara-negara Eropa dikarenakan itu. Sejak 1980-an, Tiongkok mencoba untuk merubah fokus tersebut dan mengembangkan angkatan laut-nya. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk menganalisis efek dari kompetisi yang terjadi antara Tiongkok & Amerika Serikat untuk mendapatkan dominasi maritim terhadap sekuriti Asia Tenggara secara menyeluruh. Metode yang digunakan di dalam penelitian ini adalah metode kualitatif dengan menggunakan teori *Seapower* sebagai basis-nya. Dalam beberapa tahun belakang, dapat terlihat progres ekspansi yang dilakukan oleh Tiongkok. Angkatan laut Tiongkok mempunyai lebih dari 370 unit kapal dalam 2023. Tiongkok juga membuat beberapa *naval base* di Laut Tiongkok Selatan & Asia Selatan untuk mempunyai kontrol terhadap Selat Melaka. Secara natural, Amerika Serikat juga melakukan ekspansi juga. Kompetisi tersebut mempunyai dampak yang besar terhadap sekuriti Asia Tenggara. Selat Malaka mempunyai nilai signifikan untuk strategi pertahanan Tiongkok & Amerika Serikat dan kedua negara tersebut mulai melibatkan negara-negara Asia Tenggara ke dalam kompetisi mereka.

Kata Kunci: Amerika Serikat, Tiongkok, Angkatan laut, *Seapower*, Asia Tenggara

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ABSTRACT

For a long time China as a state had always set its focus towards continental affairs. The focus on continental affairs made China paid lack of care towards its maritime area surrounding it. In the 19th century China fell under European influences due to said lack of care. Since 1980s, China tries to remedy that focus and expand its navy. This research was conducted with a purpose to analyze the effect of competition that happened between China & United States to gain maritime domination towards Southeast Asian security as a whole. The method that was used in this reserch was qualitative method using Seapower theory as its basis. In the past few years, China has made progress in its expansion. China's navy has a total of more than 370 ships by 2023. China also made some naval bases in the South China Sea & South Asia in order to gain control of the Malaccan Strait. Naturally, United States also do expansion of its own. That competition has a tremendous effect on Southeast Asian security. The Malaccan strait holds a significant value for the defense strategies of both China & United States and said nations started to involves more Southeast Asian nations into their competition.

Keywords: *United States, China, Navy, Seapower, Southeast Asia.*

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BAB I

PENDAHULUAN

1.1 Latar Belakang

Geografi mempunyai pengaruh yang sangat besar terhadap politik internasional. Bagaimana suatu negara mempengaruhi negara yang lain tentunya akan bergantung terhadap geografi antara masing-masing negara tersebut. Sebagai contoh, jika dua negara bertetangga secara daratan, kedua negara tersebut akan aktif berinteraksi dengan satu sama lain dikarenakan kehadirannya jalur daratan untuk memfasilitasi interaksi antara dua negara. Dan juga sebaliknya, jika salah satu negara terpisah oleh lautan, negara tersebut secara relatif akan lebih isolasionis dikarenakan dibutuhkan nya sebuah fasilitas yang lebih spesifik, seperti kapal, untuk berinteraksi dengan negara tersebut.

Beberapa yang pernah membaca sejarah Asia akan pernah mendengar tentang masa ekspansi Mongolia. Mongolia menguasai banyak kawasan di benua Asia dari 1206 hingga 1368, menguasai sekitar 23 juta km² (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2023). Tetapi walaupun begitu, ekspansi Mongolia tetap mempunyai sebuah limitasi. Ekspansi tersebut terlimitasi hanya ke area-area yang terkoneksi dengan daratan Asia. Di luar dari area tersebut, Mongolia tidak terlalu mempunyai kontrol yang efektif. Mongolia pernah mencoba untuk menginvasi Jepang sebanyak dua kali. Invasi pertama terjadi pada tahun 1274. Pada invasi pertama ini, personil Mongolia pertama mendarat di Tsushima, lalu Iki, sebagai preparasi untuk invasi Kyushu. Tetapi semakin waktu berjalan, invasi Mongolia ini akhirnya gagal dan personil Mongolia tersebut mundur dari Jepang. Mongolia lalu mencoba untuk menginvasi Jepang kembali pada tahun 1281 tetapi sama dengan nasib invasi yang pertama, ekspedisi ini juga gagal. Di kedua fenomena tersebut, sebuah angin topan menghancurkan armada-armada yang di pakai oleh Mongolia untuk menginvasi Jepang. Orang Jepang memanggil fenomena angin topan tersebut sebagai *kamikaze*.

Dari peristiwa tersebut, ada beberapa hal yang dapat di pelajari. Jepang, dikarenakan sifat geografi mereka sebagai negara pulau dapat menikmati keamanan relatif dikarenakan siapapun yang ingin mencoba untuk menginvasi sebuah negara pulau harus mempunyai armada yang cukup untuk memfasilitasi invasi. Menurut *U.S. Geological Survey*, 75% dari bumi ialah air (U.S. Geological Survey, 2019). Dikarenakan air mencakup mayoritas bagian dari dunia, air

mempunyai peran yang unik di dalam geopolitik. Untuk mengerti seberapa penting-nya air di dalam geopolitik, perlu di mengerti mayoritas dari kota-kota di dunia berlokasi dekat dengan air. Tokyo, Paris, London, New York, kota-kota tersebut terletak di samping air, baik itu sungai ataupun lautan. Selain dari itu, *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)* juga menjelaskan bahwa mayoritas dari perdagangan dunia dilakukan dengan transportasi maritim (UNCTAD, 2022). Di era dimana sentralisasi negara belum terwujud dan infrastruktur tidak memadai, transportasi maritim secara umum ialah metode transportasi yang paling efisien, cepat, dan dalam beberapa momen juga metode transportasi yang paling aman. Perdagangan maritim tersebut juga alasan kenapa dunia modern sekarang sangat terkoneksi dengan satu sama yang lain. Suatu negara dapat memproduksi sesuatu dan mengekspor hasil manufaktur-nya kepada negara lain. Tanpa perdagangan maritim mengkoneksikan berbagai bagian dunia, ada kemungkinan dunia ini lebih kurang sejahtera. Selain untuk perdagangan, lautan juga hal yang penting untuk sekuriti. Negara-negara yang bersentuhan dengan lautan harus memasukkan variabel bahaya yang berasal dari laut ke dalam pertahanan nasional.

Sebelumnya telah dijelaskan bagaimana Jepang secara relatif aman dari invasi Mongolia dikarenakan geografi-nya yang bersifat insular, tetapi contoh lain yang dapat dilihat yaitu Perang Opium 1839 yang melihat Tiongkok kalah di dalam perang tersebut. Perang yang terjadi dalam abad ke-19 ini mempunyai peran yang penting terhadap Tiongkok di era modern sekarang. Saat Tiongkok berperang melawan Inggris pada tahun 1839, dikarenakan jarak geografi yang cukup jauh antara Inggris dan Tiongkok, satu-satunya cara untuk Inggris untuk menyerang Tiongkok adalah dengan angkatan laut mereka, *Royal Navy*. Selama perang tersebut, *Royal Navy* selalu mempunyai superioritas di lautan sekitar Tiongkok. Tiongkok yang dimana pada saat itu tidak mempunyai angkatan laut yang komparatif untuk menandingi angkatan laut Inggris, tidak bisa berbuat apa-apa untuk merebut balik kontrol lautan.

Dikarenakan faktor tersebut, angkatan laut Inggris dapat mendaratkan pasukannya ke daratan Tiongkok tanpa hambatan. Pada akhirnya, Inggris dapat mengalahkan Tiongkok. Setelah Tiongkok di kalahkan dan juga Perang Opium 1839 berakhir dengan di tandatangani nya Perjanjian Nanking, Tiongkok harus membayar reparasi kepada Inggris, lalu juga Tiongkok harus memberikan sebuah pulau yang bernama Hong Kong kepada Inggris, membuka beberapa-beberapa pelabuhan sebagai “*treaty port*” yang dimana negara-negara Eropa dapat berdagang, dan juga Tiongkok dipaksa

untuk membuat sebuah legislasi yang dimana warga-warga bernasionalitas Inggris yang berada di Tiongkok tidak dapat di hukum dengan hukum Tiongkok. Melihat Tiongkok dikalahkan oleh Inggris dan juga Inggris mendapatkan beberapa-beberapa teritori seperti Hong Kong & juga beberapa hak spesial, negara-negara Eropa lain juga ikut masuk dan juga memaksakan Tiongkok untuk memberikan beberapa teritori untuk dijadikan sebagai pintu masuk untuk perdagangan Eropa & hak-hak spesial juga. Tiongkok di masa depan akan memanggil periode tersebut sebagai “*Century of Humiliation*”.

Fenomena historikal tersebut ialah alasan kenapa di era sekarang, Tiongkok mempunyai ambisi untuk menjadi sebuah negara yang kuat. Periode pertengahan abad ke-19 memberikan sebuah pelajaran terhadap pemerintahan Tiongkok bahwa jika Tiongkok tidak ingin lagi di kolonisasi dan juga di permalukan oleh dunia luar Tiongkok harus meningkatkan kekuatan nasional mereka. Selain dari itu, Tiongkok juga belajar dari Perang Opium bahwa kawasan-kawasan lautan di sekitar Tiongkok sangat penting untuk keamanan nasional Tiongkok. Pada Kongres Partai ke-18 pada tahun 2012, Presiden Hu Jintao menjelaskan Tiongkok harus menjadi sebuah “*maritime power*” (China Power Team, 2023). Tiongkok mulai melakukan ekspansi signifikan terhadap angkatan laut-nya, *People’s Liberation Army Navy* (PLAN). Selain dari itu, dengan “*Nine-dash lines*” Tiongkok mencoba untuk meng-klaim mayoritas dari Laut Tiongkok Selatan.

Klaim Tiongkok tersebut merupakan klaim yang sangat kontroversial dikarenakan teritori-teritori maritim yang Tiongkok klaim tersebut merebut teritori-teritori maritim yang dimiliki oleh negara-negara seperti Vietnam, Filipina, dan lain-lain. Tentunya, komunitas dunia internasional menolak klaim Tiongkok atas Laut Tiongkok Selatan. *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* (UNCLOS) adalah sebuah hukum internasional yang meregulasikan bagaimana setiap negara-negara membuat klaim atas area lautan. UNCLOS menjelaskan bahwa setiap negara mempunyai hak untuk meng-klaim 12 nautical miles area lautan dari pesisir terdekat sebagai laut teritorial. Banyak dari area lautan yang di klaim oleh Tiongkok jauh dari pesisir terdekat Tiongkok sendiri. Tiongkok bahkan juga meng-klaim kawasan laut yang berdasarkan hukum internasional jatuh di bawah lautan internasional (*high seas*). Walaupun banyak negara-negara yang menolak klaim Tiongkok atas Laut Tiongkok Selatan, Tiongkok tetap mencoba untuk mengontrol wilayah lautan tersebut. Dalam beberapa tahun belakangan, Tiongkok juga mencoba untuk membuat beberapa pulau buatan di Laut Tiongkok Selatan. Pulau buatan tersebut nanti nya dapat digunakan

untuk keperluan militer untuk menguatkan kontrol Tiongkok disana. Secara natural, aksi-aksi Tiongkok tersebut menarik perhatian dari sebuah *major power* di seberang Samudra Pasifik, Amerika Serikat. Pemerintahan Amerika Serikat telah mengobservasi aksi Tiongkok untuk beberapa tahun. Tentu nya juga, pemerintahan Amerika Serikat juga menolak klaim Tiongkok atas Laut Tiongkok Selatan dikarenakan klaim Tiongkok yang meng-violasi UNCLOS dan juga prinsip *freedom of the high seas* (U.S. Department of State, 2020).

Melihat situasi yang terjadi di Asia, Amerika Serikat mengimplementasikan beberapa langkah untuk menghandang ekspansi Tiongkok. Lebih spesifik-nya, Amerika Serikat ingin melimitasi ekspansi maritim Tiongkok. Pemerintahan Washington membuat kebijakan *Indo-Pacific Strategy* yang dimana fokus utama nya adalah untuk menghandang Tiongkok. Amerika Serikat juga mencoba untuk meningkatkan angkatan laut mereka untuk mencoba mempertahankan dominasi lautan yang mereka punyai. Ini dilakukan dengan harapan Tiongkok akan mundur dari persaingan. Tapi momen-momen yang terjadi menunjukkan bahwa jauh dari harapan pemerintahan Amerika Serikat, Tiongkok tidak menunjukkan sebuah keinginan untuk mundur. Justru sebaliknya, Tiongkok semakin meningkatkan aktifitas-nya di lautan sekitar Tiongkok. PLAN tetap mengganggu nelayan-nelayan Filipina, angkatan udara Tiongkok sering memasuki teritori udara Taiwan dan lain-lain. Saat Nancy Pelosi, seorang politikus Amerika Serikat, mendatangi Taiwan pada Agustus 2022, pemerintahan Beijing melakukan latihan militer sangat dekat dengan Taiwan dengan tujuan mengintimidasi Taiwan. Ini menunjukkan bahwa Tiongkok sangat bersikeras untuk menunjukkan bahwa Tiongkok ialah sebuah *major power* dan ingin mempunyai pengaruh, jika tidak di lautan bebas, setidaknya di lautan sekitar Tiongkok.

1.2 Rumusan Masalah

Bagaimana kompetisi yang terjadi di antara Amerika Serikat dan juga Tiongkok untuk menjadi hegemoni di lautan mempengaruhi geopolitik Asia Tenggara ?

1.3 Tujuan Penelitian

Tujuan dari penelitian terhadap topik ini adalah untuk menganalisis bagaimana kompetisi untuk mendapatkan hegemoni di lautan yang terjadi di antara kedua negara *superpower*, Amerika

Serikat dan juga Tiongkok, dapat mempengaruhi geopolitik di kawasan Asia Tenggara secara lebih detail.

1.4 Manfaat Penelitian

Penelitian ini mempunyai manfaat teoritis dan praktis, yaitu:

1.4.1 Manfaat Teoritis

- a) Berkontribusi terhadap ilmu Hubungan Internasional sebagai sebuah disiplin.
- b) Memberikan kontribusi ilmu terhadap politik internasional meliputi hubungan antara Tiongkok dan Amerika Serikat.
- c) Memberikan perspektif baru terhadap geopolitik di Asia Tenggara.

1.4.2 Manfaat Praktis

Penelitian ini diharapkan dapat menjadi referensi untuk peneliti-peneliti lain tentang hubungan antara kekuatan laut (*sea power*) dengan geopolitik.

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