

PROSES PENGAMBILAN KEPUTUSAN INDONESIA DALAM MEMILIH CHINA SEBAGAI MITRA PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL: STUDI KASUS KERETA CEPAT JAKARTA–BANDUNG

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menganalisis proses pengambilan keputusan politik luar negeri Indonesia dalam memilih China sebagai mitra pembangunan Kereta Cepat Jakarta-Bandung (KCJB) yang ditetapkan sebagai Proyek Strategis Nasional (PSN). Keputusan ini menarik dikaji karena kedua opsi memiliki keunggulannya masing masing, Jepang yang telah lebih dahulu terlibat melalui studi kelayakan JICA, memiliki rekam jejak yang unggul dari tingkat keamanan operasional Shinkansen, sementara China menawarkan skema pembiayaan B2B yang tidak membebani APBN dan tanpa jaminan pemerintah. Penelitian menggunakan dua kerangka yang saling melengkapi, yaitu *New Developmentalism* (Bresser-Pereira) sebagai fondasi untuk menjelaskan peran aktif negara dan mendefinisikan isi kepentingan nasional dalam pembangunan infrastruktur di tengah keterbatasan fiskal, sekaligus melahirkan tiga syarat utama, yaitu menggunakan skema B2B, tanpa APBN, dan tanpa jaminan pemerintah. Kemudian Model Politik Birokratik (Model III Graham Allison) digunakan sebagai mekanisme untuk menjelaskan bagaimana aktor birokrasi menafsirkan kepentingan itu secara berbeda sesuai posisi kelembagaannya. Metode yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus tunggal yang bersifat deskriptif-analitis, melalui studi dokumentasi dan wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan tim perencana Kementerian PPN/Bappenas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keputusan memilih China terbentuk melalui interaksi dan kontestasi preferensi antaraktor birokrasi dengan posisi serta kepentingan yang berbeda, antara lain Presiden Joko Widodo, Kementerian BUMN, Kementerian Perhubungan, dan Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, Kementerian Keuangan, Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian. Dalam proses tersebut, Presiden menjadi dominant player yang menetapkan tiga syarat utama penilaian proposal, namun proses tawar-menawar antar aktor tetap berlangsung secara nyata di dalam ruang kebijakan yang dibentuknya. Keputusan akhir dikukuhkan melalui Peraturan Presiden Nomor 107 Tahun 2015 dengan skema B2B.

Kata Kunci: Pengambilan Keputusan Politik Luar Negeri, Model Politik Birokratik, *New Developmentalism*, Kereta Cepat Jakarta-Bandung, Proyek Strategis Nasional.

INDONESIA'S DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN SELECTING CHINA AS A PARTNER FOR A NATIONAL STRATEGIC PROJECT: A CASE STUDY OF THE JAKARTA–BANDUNG HIGH-SPEED RAILWAY

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ABSTRACT

This research analyzes Indonesia's foreign policy decision-making process in selecting China as the development partner for the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Railway (KCJB), which was designated as a National Strategic Project (PSN). This decision is compelling to examine because both options had their respective advantages. Japan, having been involved earlier through a JICA feasibility study, possessed an outstanding track record in the operational safety of its Shinkansen. Meanwhile, China offered a Business-to-Business (B2B) financing scheme that did not burden the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) and required no government guarantees. The research utilizes two complementary frameworks. First, New Developmentalism (Bresser-Pereira) serves as the foundation to explain the active role of the state and define the substance of national interest in infrastructure development amidst fiscal constraints, which simultaneously produced three main conditions: utilizing a B2B scheme, requiring no State Budget allocation, and requiring no government guarantees. Second, the Bureaucratic Politics Model (Graham Allison's Model III) is employed as a mechanism to explain how bureaucratic actors interpreted this interest differently according to their institutional positions. The method used is qualitative, utilizing a descriptive-analytical single case study approach through documentation study and semi-structured interviews with the planning team at the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas. The results indicate that the decision to select China was formed through the interaction and contestation of preferences among bureaucratic actors with different positions and interests, namely President Joko Widodo, the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, the Ministry of Finance, and the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs. In this process, the President emerged as the dominant player who established the three main conditions for proposal evaluation; however, a tangible bargaining process among actors continued to take place within the policy space he created. The final decision was institutionalized through Presidential Regulation Number 107 of 2015 under a B2B scheme.

Keywords: Foreign Policy Decision-Making, Bureaucratic Politics Model, New Developmentalism, Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Railway, National Strategic Project.