

**STRATEGI MASYARAKAT SIPIL GLOBAL DALAM
MEMENGARUHI POSISI TIONGKOK DI PEMBANGUNAN
THREE GORGES DAM TAHUN 2000**

SKRIPSI



Disusun oleh:

MASITOH NUR ROHMA

071112023

**PROGRAM STUDI SARJANA HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL
DEPARTEMEN HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL
FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK
UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA
SURABAYA**

Semester Genap 2014/2015

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MEMENGARUHI POSISI TIONGKOK DI PEMBANGUNAN
THREE GORGES DAM TAHUN 2000**

SKRIPSI

Diajukan sebagai Salah Satu Syarat untuk Menyelesaikan Studi S-1
di Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik
Universitas Airlangga



Disusun oleh:
Masitoh Nur Rohma
NIM 071112023

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Semester Genap 2014/2015

LAMPIRAN

Lampiran 1 Daftar Anggota Forum WCD⁵⁹⁵

Affected Peoples' Groups

Coordination for the Senegal River Basin (CODESEN), Senegal
 Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA), Philippines
 Federación de Indígenas del Estado Bolívar (COICA), Venezuela
 Grand Council of the Cree (GCCEI), Canada
 Movimento dos Antigos por Barragens (MAB), Brazil
 Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), India
 SUNGI Development Foundation, Pakistan

Bilateral Agencies / Export Credit Guarantee Agencies

Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Germany
 Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Japan
 Norwegian Agency for International Cooperation (NORAD), Norway
 Swedish International Development Agency (Sida), Sweden
 Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Switzerland
 United States Export/Import Bank, United States

Government Agencies

Bureau of Reclamation, United States
 Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP), Lesotho
 Ministry of Mahaweli Development, Sri Lanka
 Ministry of Water Resources, China
 Ministry of Water Resources, India
 National Water Commission, Mexico

International Associations

International Association for Impact Assessments (IAIA)
 International Commission for Irrigation and Drainage (ICID)
 International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD)
 International Energy Agency (IEA)
 International Hydropower Association (IHA)

Multilateral Agencies

African Development Bank (AfDB), Abidjan
 Asian Development Bank (ADB), Manila
 Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Washington
 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), New York
 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Nairobi
 United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Rome
 World Bank (WB), Washington

NGOs

Berne Declaration, Switzerland
 Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Fiji
 Environmental Development Action (ENDA), Senegal
 Help the Volga River, Russia
 International Rivers Network (IRN), United States
 Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG), United Kingdom
 Sobrevivencia-Friends of the Earth, Paraguay
 Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC), Sweden
 The World Conservation Union (IUCN), Switzerland
 Transparency International (TI), Germany
 Wetlands International, Japan
 World Economy, Ecology & Development (WEED), Germany
 World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Switzerland

Private Sector Firms

Asea Brown Boveri (ABB), Switzerland
 Electric Power Development Corporation (EPDC), Japan
 Enron, United States
 Harza Engineering Firm, United States
 Hopewell Holdings, Hong Kong
 Saman Engineering Consultants, Korea
 Siemens, Germany

Research Institutes/Resource Persons

Centro EULA, Ciudad Universitaria Concepcion, Chile
 Focus on the Global South, Thailand
 Institute of Hydroelectric Studies and Design (ISPH), Romania
 International Water Management Institute (IWMI), Sri Lanka
 Tropical Environmental Consultants, Ltd., Senegal
 Water Research Institute (WRI), Israel Institute of Technology
 Winrock International, Nepal
 World Resources Institute (WRI), United States
 Worldwatch Institute, United States
 Wuppertal Institute, Germany

River Basin Authorities

Confederación Hidrográfica del Ebro (CHE), Spain
 Jordan Valley Authority (JVA), Jordan
 Mekong River Commission (MRC), Cambodia
 Volta River Authority (VRA), Ghana

Utilities

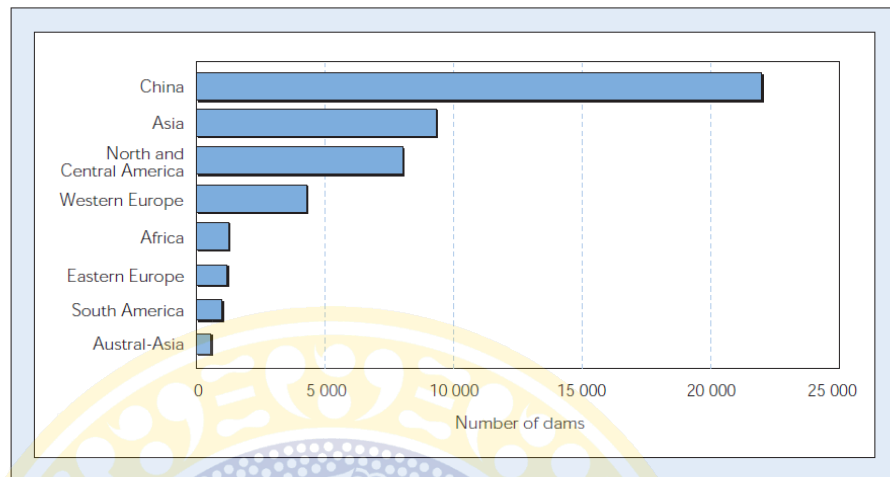
Electricité de France, France
 Electrobras, Brazil
 Hydro-Québec, Canada
 Mini Hydro Division (MHD), Philippines
 Nepal Electricity Authority (NEA), Nepal

⁵⁹⁵ World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development*.

Lampiran 2

Diagram Distribusi Proyek Bendungan di Dunia pada Akhir Abad ke-20.²⁹⁹

Figure 1.5:
Regional
distribution of
large dams at the
end of the 20th
century



Source: WCD estimates based on ICOLD, 1998 and other sources (See Annex V).

²⁹⁹ World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development*, 8. Diagram batang yang menunjukkan Asia merupakan data untuk wilayah Asia yang dihitung tanpa memasukkan Tiongkok.

Lampiran 3

Poin-Poin Hasil Laporan WCD tahun 2000 yang Disetujui Tiongkok³⁰⁰

WCD Strategic Priorities (As Presented in the WCD Report)		Consideration in the TGD Planning Process
1. Gaining Public Acceptance		
	Stakeholder Analysis	Limited
	Negotiated Decision-Making Processes	Limited
	Free, Prior, and Informed Consent	No
2. Comprehensive Options Assessment		
	Strategic Impact Assessment for Environmental, Social, Health, and Cultural Heritage Issues	Limited
	Project-Level Impact Assessment for Environmental, Social, Health and Cultural Heritage Issues	Limited
	Multi-Criteria Analysis	Limited
	Life Cycle Assessment	Limited
	Greenhouse Gas Emissions	No
	Distributional Analysis of Projects	Limited
	Valuation of Social and Environmental Impacts	Limited
	Improving Economic Risk Assessment	Yes
3. Addressing Existing Dams		
	Ensuring Operating Rules Reflect Social and Environmental Concerns	Limited
	Improving Reservoir Operations	N/A
4. Sustaining Rivers and Livelihoods		
	Baseline Ecosystem Surveys	Yes
	Environmental Flow Assessment	Limited
	Maintaining Productive Fisheries	Limited
5. Recognizing Entitlements and Sharing Benefits		
	Baseline Social Conditions	Yes
	Impoverishment Risk Analysis	Limited
	Implementation of the Mitigation, Resettlement and Development Action Plan	Limited
	Project Benefit-Sharing Mechanisms	Limited
6. Ensuring Compliance		
	Compliance Plans	Yes
	Independent Review Panels for Social and Environmental Matters	Limited
	Performance Bonds	Information Not Available
	Trust Funds	Information Not Available
	Integrity Pacts	No
7. Sharing Rivers for Peace, Development, and Security		
	Procedures for Shared Rivers (Across Borders)	N/A

³⁰⁰ Allin, *An Examination of China's Three Gorges Dam*, 35.

Lampiran 4

Partisipan dan Peran Forum WCD³⁰¹

Table 2: Participants in the WCD Partnership

(Source: www.dams.org, *Financial Contributors and Partnerships*, 2000)

Participant	Contributing Role
Environmental Monitoring Group	NGO Assistance
International Association on Impact Assessments	Impact assessment information
International Commission on Large Dams	Large dam technical information
International Energy Agency	Hydropower technologies and program Agreements
International Rivers Network	Communication with NGO networks
IUCN – The World Conservation Union	Environmental policy, WCD fiduciary responsibility, management support
Transparency International	Corruption and integrity of business transactions
The United Nations Environment Programme	Environmental aspects associated with large dams and mechanisms for financing sustainable development projects
The UN Food and Agriculture Organization	Dams and inland fisheries information
The World Archaeological Congress	Dams and cultural heritage information
The World Bank	Technical aspects, fundraising and networks of expertise
The World Health Organization	Health impacts associated with large dams
The World Resources Institute	Relevance of the WCD process as a model for global public policy

³⁰¹ Allin, *An Examination of China's Three Gorges Dam*, 11.

Lampiran 5

Fase Pembangunan TGD³⁰²

Table 1: Planned construction phases of the Three Gorges Dam.

Phase	Year	Construction stage	Water level* (m)
Preparatory Phase	1993		66
Phase I (1994-1997)	1994	Earthmoving starts; inauguration ceremony.	66
	1995	Concrete longitudinal cofferdam building starts; resettlement program is launched.	66
	1996	Xiling bridge, four-line highway from Yichang, and Yichang airport are into service; transverse cofferdams building starts.	66
	1997	Closure and diversion of the river; about 100,000 people have been resettled.	66
Phase II (1998-2003)	1998	Temporary ship-lock is put into operation	66
	1999	Excavation of the double-lane ship-lock is finished; about 230,000 people have been resettled.	66
	2000	About 295,000 people have been resettled.	66
	2001	About 325,000 people have been resettled.	66
	2002	The diversion channel is closed; left bank concrete pouring completed, about 640,000 people resettled.	66
	2003	The reservoir is filled up to 135 m pool level; first trials with the double-lane ship-lock; the four first generators are connected to the grid.	135 (139)
Phase III (2004-2009)	2004	The double-lane ship-lock is put into operation, ten turbines are already connected to the grid.	139
	2005	Left bank powerhouse completed (14 turbines in operation); about 1,000,000 people have been resettled.	139
	2006	Concrete pouring on the right bank is finished; the reservoir is filled up to 156 m; about 1,200,000 people relocated.	156
	2007	The ship-lift building starts (expected); original plan to fill the reservoir up to 156 m.	156
	2008	The reservoir will be filled up to 175 m pool level (expected); 26 turbines fully operational (expected)	175
	2009	1997 target for completion of the whole project; ship-lift will put into operation (expected).	175
	2011	The underground power plant will be connected to the grid (expected).	175
2013	Water level should be risen to 175 m according to the original plans.	175	

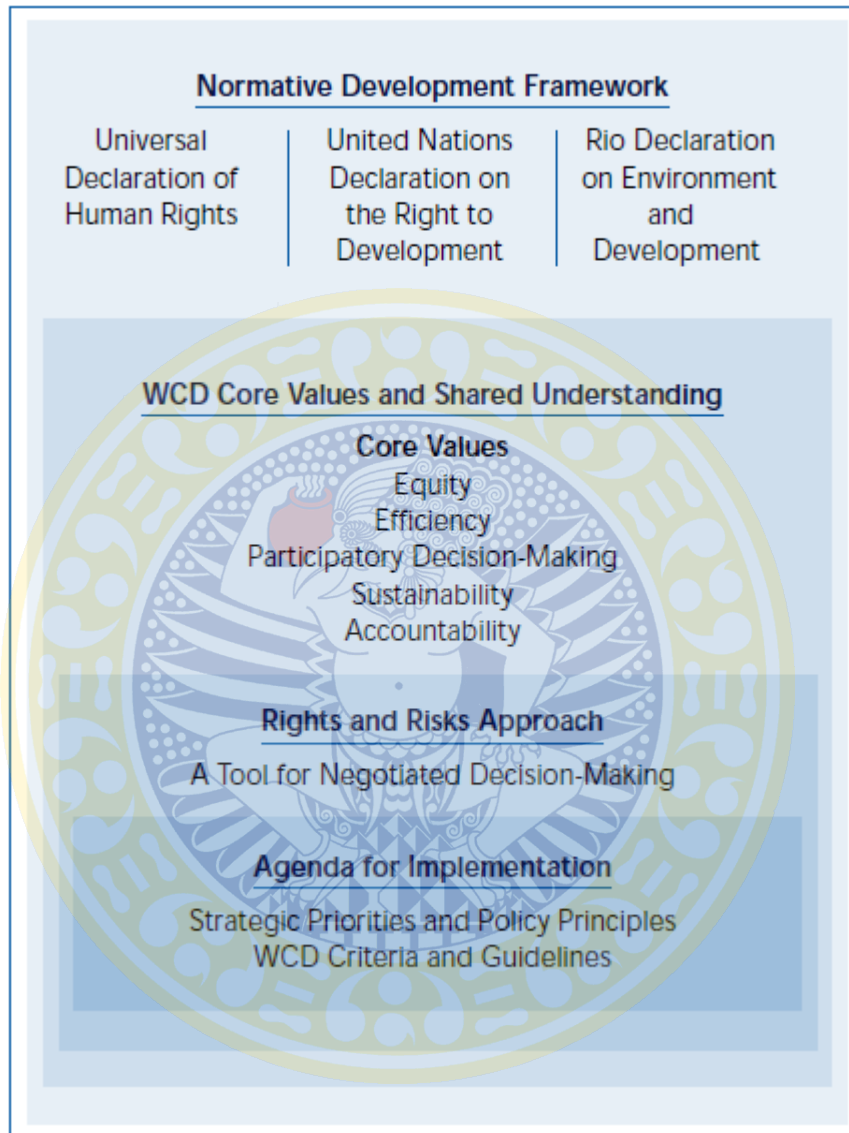
*Water level corresponds to the dam site, in Sandouping.

³⁰² Ponseti and López-Pujol, *Orientats*, 158.

Lampiran 6

The WCD Policy Framework ³⁰³

Figure 7.1 The WCD policy framework



³⁰³ World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development*, 202.

Lampiran 7**Surat Terbuka Berne Declaration³⁰⁴**

Three Gorges project: open letter to Jiang Zemin

Date: Wed, 31 Mar 1999 12:41:17

From: Peter Bosshard <finance@evb.ch>

Press release : Three Gorges project: open letter to Jiang Zemin

The Berne Declaration is opposed to any further involvement of Swiss companies or banks in China's Three Gorges dam. This is the message of an open letter of the Swiss advocacy group to China's President Jiang Zemin. Jiang's recent visit to Switzerland was attended by constant NGO activities.

* * *

The Three Gorges dam on China's Yangtze river is plagued by wide-spread corruption. As a consequence, "the social, environmental and technical problems of the project appear to be even more serious than predicted". This is the conclusion of an open letter of the Berne Declaration, a Swiss advocacy group, to China's President Jiang Zemin. Jiang Zemin visited Switzerland on 25-27 March, meeting with the country's government, representatives of international organizations, and private sector companies such as ABB.

ABB is supplying eight giant generators to the Three Gorges hydropower plant, and is interested in follow-up contracts. In 1997, Credit Suisse First Boston contributed \$ 66 million to a Yankee bond which partly finances the Yangtze dam. ABB's contract is covered by an official Swiss export risk guarantee of SF 211 million. In its letter to the Chinese President, the Berne Declaration expressed strong opposition to any further involvement of Swiss companies, banks, or government agencies in the Three Gorges dam. It recommended that the Chinese President initiate a "comprehensive independent evaluation" of the mega project.

Jiang Zemin's visit to Switzerland was the focus of constant NGO activities. Amnesty International, the Berne Declaration and other human rights groups organized a mass rally before the President arrived in Berne. Tibetan protesters held up the official state reception and prompted the Chinese President to complain that the Swiss government did not manage to control its own people. Berne Declaration activists staged a protest before Jiang Zemin visited the ABB plant where the Three Gorges generators are manufactured. Alois Sonnenmoser, CEO of ABB Switzerland, remained unimpressed. He presented a golden model of the controversial Three Gorges dam as a gift to the Chinese President.

For further information: Peter Bosshard, Berne Declaration, phone +41 1 271 64 25, finance@evb.ch, www.access.ch/evb/bd

The Berne Declaration is a Swiss non-governmental organization with 16,000 members. Since 1968, it has promoted more equitable and sustainable North-South relations through research, public education, and advocacy work. The Berne Declaration has opposed Swiss involvement in the Three Gorges project since 1993.

Enclosure: Open letter to President Jiang Zemin

His Excellency
Mr. Jiang Zemin
President of the People's Republic of China
c/o Embassy of the People's Republic of China

³⁰⁴ RiverNet, *River Pressreleases International*.

Kalcheggweg 10
3006 Berne
Switzerland

19 March 1999

Open letter regarding the Three Gorges project
[Translation from the German original]

His Excellency,

The Berne Declaration (BD) is a Swiss public-interest group which has promoted equitable North-South relations for more than thirty years. In 1993 we had the chance to enjoy the hospitality of the Chinese people as representatives of the BD. We wish you an enjoyable and interesting stay in Switzerland as well.

We take the liberty of addressing the problems of the Three Gorges project on the Yangtze in this open letter at the occasion of your visit. Switzerland has become involved in the world's largest power project in several ways: The ABB corporation is procuring eight of the fourteen generators of the project's phase I. The Swiss Export Risk Guarantee is covering the contract with a guarantee of more than SF 200 million. Credit Suisse is contributing \$ 66 million towards a bond of China's State Development Bank, which will partly finance the construction of the Three Gorges project. Finally, ABB has expressed an interest in securing contracts for the generators of phase II and for the power transmission component of the project.

Many environmental and developmental organizations are opposed to the construction of the Three Gorges project. They are concerned that the dam, and the resettlement of the affected population, will cause unmanageable environmental and social problems. They further believe that the Three Gorges project is not a rational response to the pressing problems of flood management and energy needs. Obviously, whether or not to build the Three Gorges project is for the People's Republic of China to decide. The Berne Declaration supports socially and environmentally sustainable investments in China and other countries. It is however opposed to any involvement of Switzerland in the Three Gorges project. In 1996/97, the organization called on the Swiss government, on ABB and Credit Suisse not to become involved in it. Its appeal to the government was supported by more than 300 personalities of Swiss public life. 25,000 citizens supported the appeal by sending postcards to the government and ABB. The Three Gorges project is also being vigorously debated in the Swiss media and parliament.

Pending problems of the project

The Berne Declaration is monitoring the construction of the Three Gorges project with great concern. Reports from the project area indicate that the social, technical and environmental problems have so far exceeded our expectations:

* Resettlement: The number of people who need to be resettled has originally been estimated at 1.2 million. Since the farmers of the area tend to have more children than expected, this figure had to be revised. Sources within the Chinese authorities now estimate the number of affected people to be 1.98 million. Not enough land is available for these people. 30 percent of the land at the resettlement sites is at an incline of at least 25 degrees, and 80 per cent of the reservoir area is affected by soil erosion. When Prime

Minister Zhu Rongji inspected the project in December 1998, he issued decrees forbidding farming on slopes steeper than 25 degrees, or opening up forested land. The "South China Morning Post" reports that due to these - environmentally sensitive - measures, sufficient land will not be available for the Three Gorges project oustees.

* Colonization: Since land is scarce, project authorities encourage affected families to migrate to remote provinces such as Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia as members of the paramilitary Construction and Production Corps. Such colonization programs are extremely unpopular, both with the affected families and the host populations. In October 1998, severe tensions arose in Kashgar after Three Gorges oustees had been relocated to the area. Eight policemen were killed, and the city had to be placed under curfew.

* Employment: The affected urban population is supposed to be rehabilitated not by land, but by new jobs. Due to the current economic difficulties, the state-owned companies of the region are forced to dismiss 100,000s of employees. They will not be in a position to hire numerous new workers from the Three Gorges area. In 1989, China's Ministry of Agriculture estimated that roughly 70 percent of the country's reservoir oustees were still living in "extreme poverty". We are concerned that most Three Gorges oustees will share the same destiny.

* Corruption: Corruption adds to the problems of the affected people. It is a general practice of project officials to embezzle funds e.g. by placing relatives on the lists of people eligible for compensation. "The central government gives the money to our provincial officials", a farm woman aptly described the practice. "They give it to the county, and the county gives it to the city bosses. But as it goes down the line, each official takes his cut. Who knows what will be left by the time it gets to us?" According to recent reports, many affected people only receive a compensation of 10,000-11,000 Yuan, instead of the 20,000 Yuan originally promised. "Compensation provided to rural residents is woefully insufficient for them to carry out resettlement and establish a new life", a petition to the central government signed by more than 10,000 peasants states (according to the "South China Morning Post"). The "Morning Post" reports that according to the National Audit Office, project officials have so far embezzled 232 million Yuan.

* Construction: Corruption also prejudices the quality and security of construction. Numerous reports confirm that construction budgets have been diminished by embezzlement, or that contractors provide building materials such as concrete of substandard quality. Thus, in 1998 a bridge collapsed near the dam site while still under construction, taking ten lives. Similarly, a newly-built bridge in Sichuan and a dam in Hubei collapsed in recent months, again taking many lives. According to the "South China Morning Post", the new settlements which were supposed to host the population of Zigui and Fengjie were partly built on sand. In the case of Fengjie, construction had to be stopped and recommenced at a different place. The lacking quality of construction creates security risks for the affected people. "Any carelessness will bring disaster to future generations and cause irretrievable losses", Prime Minister Zhu Rongji warned when he visited the project area in December 1998.

* Environment and public health: Environmental experts are concerned that the massive interference with the Yangtze ecosystem and the inflow of large amounts of raw sewage into the reservoir will cause major environmental destruction. E.g. they fear that the dam will lead to the extinction of endangered species such as the river dolphin (baiji). Attempts to raise the baiji in custody have so far failed. The leading medical journal, "The Lancet" further estimated in May 1998 that diseases such as malaria or schistosomiasis might become endemic in the reservoir area. The journal of the British

Medical Association warned that the Three Gorges project might become "the Chernobyl of hydropower".

In summary, the social, environmental and technical problems of the Three Gorges project appear to be even more serious than predicted. "Everywhere the problems are turning out to be much bigger than predicted", the "South China Morning Post" commented on February 14, 1999: "There are more people, more corruption, less land and fewer jobs than anyone - even pessimists - ever imagined." The Beijing-based magazine, "Strategy and Management", warned at the same time that the plight of the affected people "may become an explosive social problem, and the dam region will become a hotbed of sustained upheaval".

Not a rational response to existing problems

At the same time it appears that the project does not provide a rational response to the pressing problems of energy needs and flood management.

* Flood management: Mr. Lu Youmei, Chairman of the Three Gorges Development Corporation, maintained after the catastrophic floods of summer 1998 that the construction of the Three Gorges dam would resolve future flood problems. Many experts do not agree with this view. First, the dam will not check the tributaries of the lower reaches of the Yangtze, which have often caused disastrous floods. Secondly, the means for a decentralized strengthening of the dikes are lacking because all resources are concentrated on the Three Gorges project. The plans by the Ministry of Water Resources of 1980 to reinforce the main dikes along the Yangtze have so far only been implemented to a very modest degree. "With more and more new star dams dazzling people's eyes, the first generation old dams have been forgotten", the "China Youth Daily" warned in February 1998.

* Energy provision: According to the US American Battelle Memorial Institute and the Energy Research Institute of the State Planning Commission, the power produced by the Three Gorges power plant will cost at least 8.4 US Cents per kilowatt-hour. In comparison, combined cycle plants in China could produce power at less than 4 US Cents per kilowatt-hour. If the Three Gorges project were cancelled and the budget were invested in combined cycle plants, China could create 43,000-118,000 megawatt of new power producing capacity instead of 18,000 megawatt, and could substitute two to six times as much coal as with the Yangtze dam. According to the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and the Energy Research Institute, retrofitting one quarter of China's boilers for cogeneration would allow to produce the same amount of power, and at lower cost, than at the Three Gorges. However, public investments in cogeneration have been scaled down considerably in recent years.

Due to the reduced economic growth, power consumption in China is below expectations. The Cambridge Energy Research Associates believe that "there is now an electricity overcapacity problem in China". AES China Generating Co., which operates nine power plants in the People's Republic, can only sell part of the power produced, in spite of valid power purchase agreements. Combined cycle plants and cogeneration would not only be less costly than the Three Gorges project - they could also be built faster, and could be adapted to effective demand more flexibly. The expensive and large power project on the Yangtze on the other hand shares many parallels with the ill-conceived, politically motivated investments which caused the economic crisis in several Southeast Asian countries in 1997.

Conclusion

China's central government and the project authorities are taking energetic measures in order to resolve the problems of the Three Gorges project. After visiting the project area

in late 1998, Prime Minister Zhu Rongji decided to dismiss more than 100 officials. He also hired 200 additional inspectors in order to tackle the rampant corruption. Legal procedures have been taken against 125 project officials. These measures deserve our respect. At the same time we do not believe that they will resolve the deep-rooted social, environmental, technical and economic problems of the project. Prime Minister Zhu Rongji announced in late 1998 that foreign experts should be contracted to evaluate the security of the project. Based on this idea we recommend to His Excellency to initiate a comprehensive, independent evaluation of all aspects of the Three Gorges project (resettlement, ecology, security, economics, flood management).

It is up to China's authorities to decide over the future of the Three Gorges project. In Switzerland we are committed to make the Export Risk Guarantee, ABB and Credit Suisse accountable for the emerging problems, and to prevent that Swiss companies, banks and government agencies participate in the project with further contracts, loans, or guarantees. Above all, we are opposed to further loans or bonds, and to an involvement of ABB and ERG in the construction of phase II. At the same time, we are open for a dialogue with China's government, and with all other institutions involved in the project, in order to look for more sustainable solutions. We will personally have the chance to attend the first meeting of the World Commission on Dams Forum in Prague on 25/26 March, 1999. We look forward to meet with the representatives of the Chinese government and of ABB at this occasion.

We appreciate the interest His Excellency is taking in this matter. In the meantime, we wish to express our highest consideration,

Peter Bosshard Thierry Pellet
Berne Declaration Berne Declaration

cc. Ms. Ruth Dreifuss, President of the Federal Council
Mr. Flavio Cotti, Federal Councillor
Mr. Pascal Couchepin, Federal Councillor
Mr. Göran Lindahl, CEO, ABB Group
Mr. Lukas Mühlemann, CEO, Credit Suisse Group

Lampiran 8

Pemberitaan TGD dalam Media Internasional³⁰⁵

29.03.99, The New York Times

Questioning Three Gorges Dam

Forum

In China, where even a slight relaxation in suppression of debate can indicate a softening of official policy, it is encouraging that some publications have cast an increasingly critical eye on the Three Gorges Dam being built on the Yangtze River. The official line is that there is no turning back on a project that will destroy one of the world's great scenic areas, inundate hundreds of archeological sites and force 1.3 million people to resettle elsewhere when the dam's 400-mile reservoir floods towns and farmlands. But the insoluble social, environmental and technical problems that have plagued the project cannot be wished away, and they may now be getting some consideration.

The dam has been a matter of internal disagreement within the Communist Party for some time. As far back as 1956, a vice minister of electric power, Li Rui, produced a report arguing for smaller dams on tributaries of the Yangtze rather than a 600-foot behemoth at the Three Gorges.

In 1992, when the final vote to approve the Three Gorges project was taken in the National People's Congress, a third of the delegates abstained or voted against it, even though the dam was championed by Li Peng, who was then Prime Minister. But all public debate on the project has been banned since the Tiananmen demonstrations in 1989.

So it is noteworthy that the Chinese journal *Strategy and Management*, a publication with some links to the Government, printed an article by a scholar under a pseudonym detailing the failure of resettlement efforts so far, and the extreme problems of relocating hundreds of thousands of people into steep hillsides that are barely habitable. In February, *People's Daily*, the party-controlled paper, ran articles on engineering issues and problems with excavating cultural relics that would be destroyed in the flood zone. Other papers have reported on official corruption connected to the project. Chinese media reports have also noted that existing flood-control systems and older dams are neglected and in danger of collapse as attention is diverted to new projects like Three Gorges.

Last December, Prime Minister Zhu Rongji, who is considered neutral on the project, raised concerns about the project's safety and suggested it may be necessary to bring in international experts to monitor the engineering. Li Peng, who now heads the National People's Congress, is expected to fight any retreat on the project. But the thaw in repression of criticism suggests that altering and even halting the project may yet be possible.

That is why it is crucial for American financial institutions to refrain from underwriting bonds for Chinese entities, like the State Development Bank, that finance construction of the dam. China cannot finance the dam, which is expected to cost well over \$25 billion, without foreign capital. The U.S. Export-Import Bank and the World Bank have refused to support the project because of its disastrous environmental and social consequences.

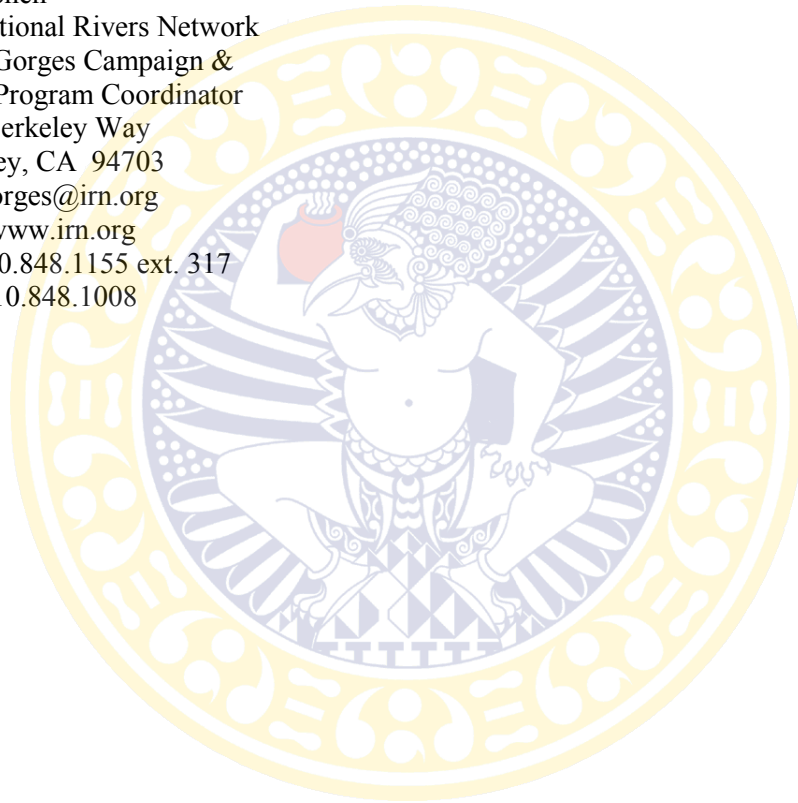
³⁰⁵ RiverNet, *River Pressreleases International*.

The world is beginning to change its views on large dams. The World Bank has sponsored creation of the independent World Commission on Dams to assess the effectiveness of such projects and alternatives, with a report due next year. Major dams have been stopped in mid-construction in Malaysia, India and Eastern Europe when the governments found that the benefits were uncertain and the costs enormous.

The Three Gorges Dam is a throwback to failed development strategies of decades past. This is an important moment to show China's leaders that the international community wants no part of this destructive, gargantuan project.

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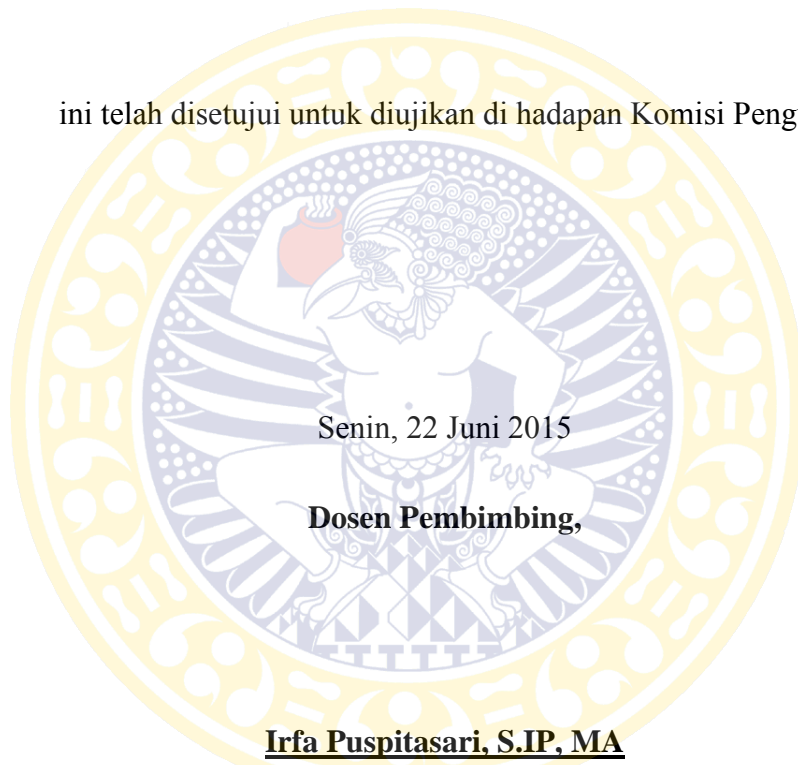


HALAMAN PERSETUJUAN

Skripsi dengan judul:

**Strategi Masyarakat Sipil Global dalam
Memengaruhi Posisi Tiongkok di Pembangunan
Three Gorges Dam Tahun 2000**

ini telah disetujui untuk diujikan di hadapan Komisi Penguji



Senin, 22 Juni 2015

Dosen Pembimbing,

Irfa Puspitasari, S.IP, MA

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**Mengetahui,
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M. Muttaqien, S.IP, MA, Ph.D

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HALAMAN PENGESAHAN

Skripsi dengan judul:

**Strategi Masyarakat Sipil Global dalam
Memengaruhi Posisi Tiongkok di Pembangunan
Three Gorges Dam Tahun 2000**

ini telah dipertahankan di hadapan Komisi Penguji
pada hari Selasa, 30 Juni 2015, pukul 13.00 – 14.30 WIB
di Ruang Sidang Cakra Buana Catur Matra, Gedung C
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

Universitas Airlangga

Komisi Penguji

Ketua,

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Joko Susanto, M.Sc

NIP 19761015 200012 1 002

Citra Hennida, MA

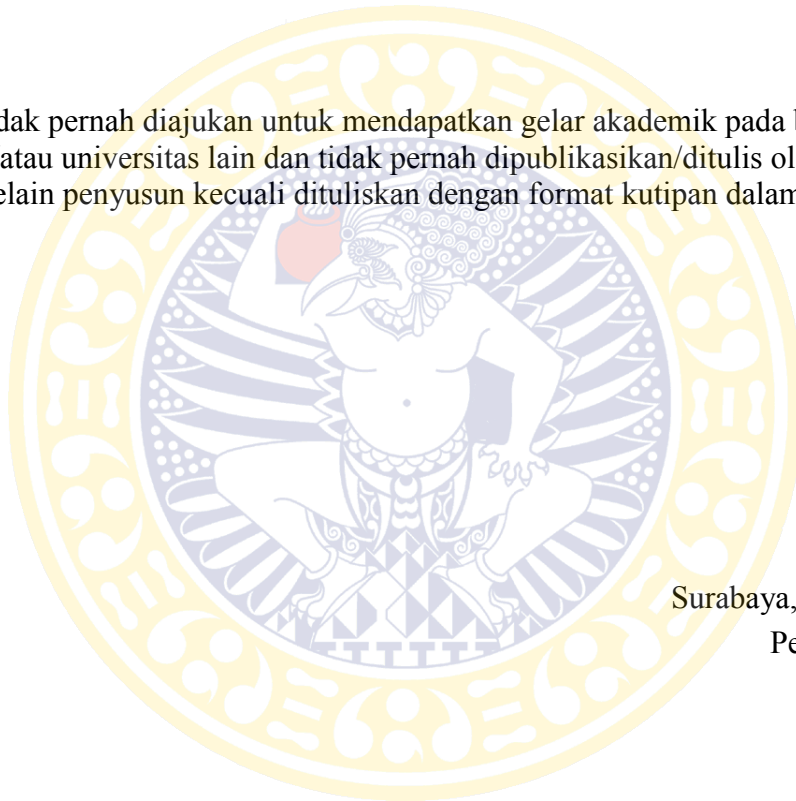
NIP 19791025 200604 2 001

HALAMAN PERNYATAAN TIDAK MELAKUKAN PLAGIAT

Bagian maupun keseluruhan isi dari skripsi dengan judul:

Strategi Masyarakat Sipil Global dalam Memengaruhi Posisi Tiongkok di Pembangunan Three Gorges Dam Tahun 2000

ini tidak pernah diajukan untuk mendapatkan gelar akademik pada bidang studi dan/atau universitas lain dan tidak pernah dipublikasikan/ditulis oleh individu selain penyusun kecuali dituliskan dengan format kutipan dalam skripsi.



Surabaya, 22 Juni 2015
Penulis,

Masitoh Nur Rohma
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HALAMAN PERSEMBAHAN

*Ini adalah bagian dari surat cintaku
yang aku rangkai sejak 22 tahun lalu
Aku masih gagu dan lugu dalam mengeja ilmu
Namun, aku berharap ini akan abadi
dalam hati orang-orang yang tidak lelah untuk mengerti*

*Karya ini aku persembahkan untuk
mereka yang tidak pernah memberi kesempatan pada waktu
dalam membatasi cinta kasih mereka sampai kepadaku.*

*Bapak dan ibuku yang tidak pernah lelah menjadi rumah bagi anak-anaknya,
tempat untuk kembali dan bersandar.*

*Kepada adikku yang tengah memulai pertarungannya di dunia,
mengaumlah dengan keras dan teriakkan kebenaran.*

Dan,

*Kau yang selalu dirahasiakan Tuhan tetapi secara perlahan dan pasti berjalan
mendekat,
aku telah selesai dengan diriku.*

Semoga debar ini terus hadir hingga titik nadir.

HALAMAN INSPIRASIONAL

*Jadikanlah sabar dan shalat sebagai penolongmu.
Dan sesungguhnya yang demikian itu sungguh berat,
kecuali bagi orang-orang yang khusyu'.
~ Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 45 ~*

*Do you ever feel like a plastic bag drifting through the wind,
wanting to start again?
~ Katy Perry ~*

*Bermimpilah maka Tuhan akan memeluk mimpi-mimpi itu.
~ Andrea Hirata ~*

*Cause i'm only human.
~ Christina Perri ~*

*If you can't stop thinking about it, don't stop working for it.
~ Reza Noormansyah ~*

*Maka nikmat Tuhan kamu yang manakah yang kamu dustakan?
~ Q.S. Ar-Rahman: 13 ~*

*Kehidupan mungkin harus pahit dan getir terlebih dahulu
untuk kita dapat merasakan rasa manis.*

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Puji syukur kehadiran Allah, Tuhan Yang Maha Merajai Segalanya, akhirnya skripsi ini dapat selesai tepat waktu. Skripsi ini hanyalah sebagian kecil ilmu yang terserak di antara mozaik-mozaik bukti kekuasaan Allah yang begitu luas di alam semesta.

Penulisan skripsi ini berawal dari ketertarikan penulis pada isu lingkungan yang menjadi *trending topic* sejak awal tahun 1960-an dalam hubungan internasional. Kejenuhan kajian studi Hubungan Internasional pada tema *hard politics* menjadikan isu-isu *low politics* menjadi bahasan alternatif yang menarik. Berbagai fenomena hubungan internasional seperti *rising China*, terorisme, *climate change*, nuklir, dan sebagainya menjadi contoh bagaimana bahasan *low politics* menjadi krusial dewasa ini. Tidak terkecuali adalah isu tentang pembangunan Three Gorges Dam (TGD) di Tiongkok yang menuai protes dari pihak domestik maupun menuai kontroversi di dunia internasional karena bertentangan dengan norma-norma yang terkandung di dalam pilar-pilar pembangunan berkelanjutan—keseimbangan pilar ekonomi, sosial, dan lingkungan.

Karakteristik pembangunan merah melekat kuat pada pembangunan TGD. Perkembangan masyarakat sipil global (MSG) di Tiongkok dalam memengaruhi kebijakan pemerintah maupun proses pembangunan pun menemui jalan buntu karena negara sangat represif terhadap tindakan-tindakan yang menentang posisi negara. Keikutsertaan Tiongkok dalam rezim-rezim lingkungan internasional sejak tahun 1970-an tidak menjamin bahwa pembangunan Tiongkok kemudian berubah menggunakan strategi pembangunan hijau. Peran masyarakat sipil global mulai terlihat dalam kasus TGD pada tahun 1989 ketika terbit buku berisi penentangan proyek TGD oleh Dai Qing dan Peristiwa Tianamen yang berhasil membawa isu TGD ke hadapan publik. Dai Qing kemudian ditahan karena dianggap membahayakan posisi pemerintah. Berbagai macam demonstrasi, petisi, maupun diskusi publik mengenai TGD pun dilarang. Negara yang melakukan represi terhadap gerakan antidam memicu terbentuknya relasi dengan pihak luar

dalam strategi *boomerang pattern*. Strategi tersebutlah yang kemudian diteliti oleh penulis dalam upaya memengaruhi posisi Tiongkok di pembangunan TGD.

Penulis menyadari bahwa skripsi ini masih jauh dari sempurna. Perlu diteliti lebih lanjut bagaimana interaksi MSG dengan Tiongkok di dalam forum WCD sehingga dapat diperoleh perspektif utama dari Tiongkok dalam melihat MSG ketika menolak pembangunan TGD. Penulis berharap dengan adanya penelitian mendalam mengenai topik tersebut akan semakin memperkaya khasanah ilmu pengetahuan dalam kajian Hubungan Internasional nantinya. Tak lupa, penulis mengucapkan terima kasih kepada seluruh pihak yang telah membantu dalam menyelesaikan pengerjaan skripsi ini.

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DAFTAR GAMBAR, BAGAN, TABEL, DAN LAMPIRAN

GAMBAR

Gambar I.1	Letak Konstruksi TGD	6
Gambar II.1	Buku Karya Dai Qing	31
Gambar II.2	Publikasi oleh Probe International	35

BAGAN

Bagan I.1	<i>Boomerang Pattern</i>	14
Bagan II.1	Strategi <i>Boomerang Pattern</i> MSG	56
Bagan IV.1	Korelasi Strategi MSG terhadap Perubahan Posisi Tiongkok	73

TABEL

Tabel I.1	Komparasi Strategi Pembangunan Hijau dan Merah	2
Tabel I.2	Tingkat Modernisasi Ekologis Lemah dan Kuat	24
Tabel III.1	Perubahan Posisi Tiongkok dalam Pembangunan TGD	70

LAMPIRAN

Lampiran 1	Daftar Anggota Forum WCD	xxiii
Lampiran 2	Diagram Distribusi Proyek Bendungan di Dunia pada Akhir Abad ke-20	xxiv
Lampiran 3	Poin-Poin Hasil Laporan WCD tahun 2000 yang Disetujui Tiongkok	xxv
Lampiran 4	Partisipan dan Peran Forum WCD	xxvi
Lampiran 5	Fase Pembangunan TGD	xxvii
Lampiran 6	The WCD Policy Framework	xxviii
Lampiran 7	Surat Terbuka Berne Declaration	xxix
Lampiran 8	Pemberitaan TGD dalam Media Internasional	xxxv

DAFTAR SINGKATAN

ABB	Asea Brown Boveri
ENGOs	<i>Environmental Government Organizations</i>
IGOs	<i>Intergovernmental Organizations</i>
ILO	International Labour Organization
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MSG	Masyarakat sipil global
NGOs	<i>Non-Governmental Organizations</i>
PRC	People's Republic of China
SD	<i>Sustainable development</i>
TGD	Three Gorges Dam
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WCD	World Commission on Dams
WWF	World Wild Fun

