

## BAB 4

### KESIMPULAN

Penelitian ini berfokus terhadap kompleksitas tindakan negara Venezuela terhadap Brazil terutama di dalam anomalnya, seperti walaupun sepaham neososialisme namun keduanya merupakan rival kawasan yang hubungannya diiringi kombinasi kerjasama-konfrontasi disertai pembentukan polarisasi kekuatan aliansi di Amerika Selatan, sehingga penting halnya untuk mengetahui pola pemikiran Venezuela dalam merumuskan anomali kebijakannya. Terkait hal itu, *Theory of Mind* (ToM) berfungsi sebagai induk penelitian yang secara harafiah adalah subjek psikologis dalam mendeskripsikan perilaku negara. Di penelitian ini, ToM ditujukan ke suatu pemahaman psikologi lanjutan bernama *Schizophrenic States* sebagai teori inti penelitian rujukan A.C. Beyer, yaitu suatu analisis keadaan dimana negara gagal untuk memahami intensi negara lain (*socially impaired behaviour*) sehingga menjadi *rogue* atau *near-failed states*.<sup>236</sup> Relevansinya dengan Venezuela di kawasan, maka konsep *Parochial-Interests* karya pemikiran Christopher Darnton difungsikan untuk menjelaskan *decision making process* dan kepentingan internalnya. Hasil kebijakan dari tindakannya tersebut dinamakan pula sebagai *soft balancing concept*, sebuah pemikiran Robert Pape Jr yang menyatakan tindakan Venezuela akan dikategorikan dalam dua *cluster*, antara kebijakannya bersifat konfrontatif (*resistance*) atau kerjasama (akomodatif).

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<sup>236</sup> Beyer, A.C. "Schizophrenic States, Terrorism, and Paranoia in International Relations." *International Political Psychology* 7 (Maret 11, 2017).

Pada bagian kedua, diketahui dalam pengkonstruksian sejarahnya bahwa negara Venezuela selalu diwarnai dengan peristiwa yang tragis seperti represifitas diktatorisme sayap kanan serta kegagalan ekonomi neoliberal, yang kemudian dimanfaatkan oleh Hugo Chavez selaku pemimpin terbaru Venezuela dalam gerakan kebangkitan populisme sayap kiri Amerika Selatan yang dinamakan reformasi *Pink Tide*. Sejalan dengan hengkangnya AS dari kawasan (*Post-Hegemonic Regionalism*) dan peristiwa *2000s Economic Boom*, disaat itu juga Venezuela dan Brazil bersama-sama bangkit sebagai kekuatan regional terbaru di kawasan serta mengimplementasikan sejumlah tindakan kolektif untuk menangkal pengaruh dominasi asing yang dinamakan *Counter-Hegemonic Process* (CHP). Tetapi, tindakan CHP Venezuela jauh lebih radikal dan isolasionis daripada sesama negara kawasan dalam proses implementasinya. Fenomena itu terlihat seperti dimana keduanya mempunyai hubungan cukup hangat pada awal masa *Pink Tide* dengan berbagai inisiasi kerjasama infrastruktur dan perbankan. Namun, pasca tahun 2007 sampai puncaknya tahun 2010, Venezuela bertindak semakin agresif terhadap Brazil dengan menghambat serta membatalkan proyek kerjasama tersebut, hingga membuat proyek tandingan khusus aliansi ALBA nya tersendiri (*counter-alliance*) dalam doktrin radikalnya yang disebut Bolivarianisme-Chavismo.

Dalam teori schizophrenia, maka dapat diketahui bahwa permasalahan historis Venezuela telah diartikulasikan oleh Hugo Chavez menjadi suatu perasaan ketakutan dan trauma kolektif yang haru segera diatasi untuk mengantisipasi terjadinya *future trauma*. Untuk mengatasinya, ia mengembangkan doktrin atau kepercayaan yang fundamental tersendiri, dimana Venezuela lebih kearah *left-*

*leaning* yang militan, sementara Brazil adalah *centre-left* atau moderat (*coping mechanism*). Ia juga telah menggunakan usaha *soft balancing* terhadap Brazil, namun dalam konteks yang hangat. Sesuai teori *parochial-interest*, hubungan yang hangat sebelum tahun 2007 diantara keduanya disebabkan oleh adanya kesamaan kepentingan kolektif (*dual impact*) disertai Venezuela dapat secara jelas menginterpretasikan kebijakan Brazil di kawasan. Namun, pasca 2007 terjadi peristiwa seperti krisis internal, kebangkitan oposisi, sanksi oleh AS, dan perubahan kebijakan Brazil yang membuatnya meningkatkan represivitas serta radikalisme doktrin sebagai usaha untuk mengatasi paranoia akan masa lalunya. Dilusi schizophrenia yang Venezuela hadapi membuatnya gagal memahami intensi Brazil terus-menerus (*mismatch*), menghasilkan tindakan *soft balancing* yang lebih bersifat perlawanan (*resistance*) seperti mengembangkan ALBA, Petrocaribe, melakukan usaha *blackmailing*, hingga *delegitimizing activities*.

Secara jangka panjang, perilaku schizophrenia mengakibatkannya semakin terpuruk dalam jurang kemiskinan disertai penurunan efektivitas pengaruhnya di ALBA-Petrocaribe, praktis membuatnya semakin radikal dan agresif terhadap Brazil. Tentu usaha akomodatif yang dijalankannya seperti inisiatif pembuatan IIRSA-BancoSur hingga UNASUR antara tidak pernah berjalan kembali atau gagal secara total. Sampai akhir 2018, tak hanya aliansi ALBA dan legitimasi pemerintahan Venezuela diambang kehancuran, namun Venezuela praktis terisolasi (*deprivation*) serta berkonfrontasi tidak hanya dengan Brazil, namun hampir dengan seluruh negara di kawasan Amerika Selatan. Dibutuhkan peran sentral dari dunia internasional dalam mempromosikan pemulihan hubungan diplomatik negara

melalui integrasi inklusif (*countering schizophrenic*), apabila tidak maka umumnya negara isolasionis schizophrenia (*extreme exclusion*) akan tetap berkonfrontatif sampai berakhir dalam penggulingan rezim baik secara jalur damai maupun paksaan.

Dapat diartikan bahwa sifat schizophrenics di negara Venezuela yang disebabkan oleh kombinasi turbulensi domestik, *uncertainty* kawasan, perubahan kebijakan Brazil, hingga tekanan internasional telah membuatnya 'buta' atau gagal untuk mempersepsikan intensi Brazil serta meresponnya dengan baik. Ia selalu diundang paranoia dan *overestimate* tindakan Brazil sebagai sesuatu yang buruk, praktis schizophrenia mentransformasikan tindakannya yang semula berusaha melakukan rivalitas (*soft balancing*) dengan seimbang dalam hubungan yang hangat dan akomodatif, menjadi mempunyai aspek konfrontatif dalam doktrin radikal Bolivarian-Chavismo. Perilaku schizophrenia juga mempengaruhi tindakan Venezuela secara jangka panjang, dimana kegagalannya menrestrukturisasi pemerintahan dalam upaya mencapai *evolutionary advantage*, membuatnya terjebak dalam krisis ekonomi-politik berkepanjangan yang melemahkan implementasi rivalitasnya terhadap Brazil di kawasan. Pada akhirnya, kombinasi dari radikalisme ekstrim serta lemahnya kekuatan Venezuela menyebabkan ia diisolasi oleh hampir seluruh negara Amerika Selatan. Praktis Venezuela dalam tahap ini telah menganggap sebagai musuh kolektif kawasan yang lemah dan harus dimusnahkan.

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