

Bab IV

Kesimpulan

Penelitian ini telah mendeskripsikan faktor – faktor yang menyebabkan Yunani meolak *Third Bailout Programme* dari UE dalam upaya mengatasi *Government – Debt Crisis* pada tahun 2015. Faktor politik dan faktor sosial – ekonomi menjadi kedua faktor penyebab penolakan Yunani. Pemenuhan janji kampanye PM Alexis Tsipras menjadi faktor politik penolakan Yunani. Dampak *austerity measures* yang berkepanjangan dan ketergantungan bank Yunani akan ELA menjadi faktor sosial – ekonomi penolakan *Third Bailout Programme*. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah teori *Liberal Intergovernmentalism*. Teori LI merupakan sebuah teori yang mencari penjelasan dari keragaman evolusi integrasi regional di Eropa. LI berargumen bahwa integrasi tidak dapat dijelaskan dengan satu faktor saja, melainkan dengan saling menghubungkan teori – teori dan faktor – faktor lainnya, sehingga menjadi sebuah pendekatan koheren tunggal yang layak untuk mendeskripsikan integrase dari waktu ke waktu. Serta konsep – konsep yang digunakan adalah konsep *national preferences*, konsep *substantive bargain*, dan konsep *regional institution*.

Faktor politik menjadi salah satu faktor penolakan bailout ketiga oleh Yunani. Alexis Tsipras memenangkan kampanye dan dilantik menjadi perdana menteri Yunani pada 25 Januari 2015. Tsipras adalah seorang tokoh politik *anti – austerity* dan berasal dari Partai SYRIZA (Σ YPIZA – *Coalition of the Radical Left*) yang juga *anti –*

austerity. Tsipras semasa kampanye, menyuarakan slogan “*Hope is Coming*”, sesuai dengan situasi para warga negara Yunani yang sudah terkena imbas dari pemotongan anggaran besar – besaran dan kenaikan pajak yang tinggi selama 6 tahun berjalannya krisis Yunani. Pemenuhan janji kampanye Tsipras menjadi salah satu faktor penolakan. Kampanye Tsipras bertentangan dengan para pemimpin Eropa yang berpendapat bahwa Yunani seharusnya menghargai kesepakatan yang telah dinegosiasikan, namun Tsipras berkampanye untuk menegosiasi kembali utang Yunani yang besar. Pemerintah Yunani mengadakan *Third Bailout Referendum* pada 5 Juli 2015, sebelum dilaksanakan, beberapa kritik muncul. Perdebatan legalitas referendum muncul dari beberapa pihak, tetapi *The Council of State* selaku pengadilan administratif Yunani menetapkan referendium tersebut valid. Perdebatan kejanggalan surat suara juga disuarakan oleh Siegfried Muresan, Wakil Ketua *European People’s Party*, kedua permasalahan tersebut tidak menjadi halangan untuk pelaksanaan referendum. Hasil dari *Third Bailout Referendum* menunjukkan lebih dari setengah persen warga Yunani memilih “**TIDAK**”.

Faktor sosial – ekonomi, secara sosial dilihat dari dampak *austerity measures* berkepanjangan mengakibatkan pengangguran meningkat tinggi dan banyaknya rumah tangga terkena dampak. Jumlah total pengangguran yang meningkat dan pengangguran kaum muda menjadi sangat tinggi. Jumlah rumah tangga yang terkena krisis, berdasarkan *Life in Transition Survey* oleh EBRD juga sangat signifikan, hampir seluruh responden survey menjawab terkena dampak baik dari sisi subjektif dan tiga per empat responden menjawab terdampak oleh krisis dari sisi objektif. Secara

ekonomi, dilihat dari ketergantungan bank – bank Yunani terhadap ELA untuk operasional. Pembatasan penarikan uang kas dari €600 menjadi €60 pada bank – bank dan ATM menyulitkan masyarakat Yunani. ELA diberikan kepada bank – bank Yunani agar menghindari kegagalan bank. Sebenarnya, bank – bank Yunani (sebelum SYRIZA naik) memiliki kapitalisasi yang cukup (dalam standar internasional) dan dianggap *solvent*, namun, setelah SYRIZA naik ke pemerintahan pada bulan Januari 2015, penarikan deposito terjadi sangat cepat mengikuti perubahan pemerintahan, hal ini terjadi karena keresahan warga Yunani akan kemungkinan kegagalan bayar utang Yunani dan juga isu keluar dari *Eurozone* dan kembali ke mata uang *Drachma*.

Didalam *national preferences*, pembentukan *preference* negara banyak melibatkan aktor domestik, dari sisi Yunani, pemenuhan janji kampanye PM Alexis Tsipras membentuk *preference* Yunani untuk menolak *Third Bailout Programme*. Kampanye Tsipras sangat sesuai dengan kondisi masyarakat Yunani yang sudah terkena dampak krisis selama 6 tahun. *Preferences* ini membuat Yunani dan UE bertentangan, kampanye dan janji Tsipras yang *anti – austerity* dan berjanji untuk menegosiasi ulang utang Yunani serta para pemimpin UE yang sudah menyiapkan program bailout selanjutnya. *Third Bailout Referendum* telah dilaksanakan dan hasil menyatakan “**TIDAK**” untuk program bailout ketiga. Yunani mengajukan *The Greek Reform Proposal* sebagai *substantive bargaining*. *Bargaining power* Yunani berada dibawah UE, tetapi Yunani dan UE sudah mengetahui *preferences* masing – masing,

serta *cost* negosiasi yang rendah di Eropa, dan penyebaran informasi yang simetris, menghasilkan hasil *bargaining* yang efisien.

UE sebagai *regional institution*, menjadi institusi internasional untuk mencegah terjadinya hal – hal yang tidak diinginkan dan tidak terduga. UE menyetujui pengajuan *The Greek Reform Proposal* oleh Yunani karena untuk mencegah terjadinya permasalahan ekonomi yang lebih besar lagi di Yunani. Yunani mengajukan proposal kepada *decision – making forum* di UE yaitu ECB untuk menerima atau tidak proposal tersebut, agar mengurangi resiko jika Yunani tidak menjalankan perubahan sesuai dengan *The Greek Reform Proposal*.

Peneliti menemukan bahwa penolakan Yunani terhadap *Third Bailout Programme* melalui *Third Bailout Referendum* pada tahun 2015 tidak berarti bahwa Yunani tidak membutuhkan bailout tersebut, Yunani mengetahui bahwa negaranya membutuhkan bailout tersebut. Adanya kepentingan politik pemerintah yang membuat janji – janji saat kampanye. Janji – janji tersebut dibuat bukan berdasarkan krisis ekonomi yang telah dialami Yunani selama 6 tahun terakhir, janji – janji tersebut dibuat saat berkampanye karena adanya kepentingan politik, yaitu untuk memenangkan pemilu.

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