

BAB IV KESIMPULAN

Penggunaan narasi di Israel di dalam klaim wilayah merupakan salah satu contoh menarik bahwa narasi merupakan alat penting bagi perjuangan ideologis. Kenyataan sering tidak hanya berdasarkan hal-hal objektif tetapi bergantung pada bagaimana kita melihat dan memaknai dunia kita. Pemaknaan tersebut dibentuk oleh naratif dominan yang dipergunakan oleh para pemegang kekuasaan termasuk politisi. Dalam konteks Israel dewasa ini adalah narasi yang dipergunakan oleh Netanyahu sebagai Perdana Menteri di dalam kaitannya dengan klaim ideologis atas Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat.

Kajian atas narasi itu sendiri sangat erat kaitannya dengan sudut pandang Konstruktivisme yang menjadi panduan di dalam penulisan tesis ini. Perilaku Israel yang berkaitan dengan klaim atas Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat tidak hanya berkaitan dengan pertimbangan kekuatan di dalam struktur internasional belaka. Sudut pandang Rasionalis juga sulit menjelaskan perilaku tersebut, karena jika ingin bertindak rasional sudah seharusnya pemerintahan Netanyahu melanjutkan perundingan, berkompromi dan menghentikan pembangunan pemukiman di Tepi Barat.

Tesis ini tidak serta merta mengabaikan sama sekali faktor material, tetapi alasan memilih sudut pandang Konstruktivisme karena dalam kasus Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat ada dimensi yang lebih dalam daripada sekadar hal-hal material, yaitu ideologi. Logika berpikir pemerintah Israel terutama Netanyahu dapat dipahami di dalam kerangka berpikir yang berbeda ini. Logika tersebut bukan sekedar pertimbangan kekuasaan, bertahan hidup maupun untung rugi belaka tetapi bagaimana pilihan kebijakannya harus sejalan dengan

ekspektasi ideologi yang dominan di Israel. Tesis ini mengkaji penggunaan narasi Zionisme oleh Netanyahu untuk memahami ideologi yang mendorong perilaku negara itu.

Pada bagian pertama tesis ini telah dijelaskan secara singkat tentang apa itu Konstruktivisme di dalam studi Hubungan Internasional. Alexander Wendt merupakan pemikir pertama yang dikutip pendapatnya. Pendapat itu khususnya adalah bagaimana interaksi membentuk cara berpikir satu kelompok terhadap kelompok lainnya. Cara berpikir inilah yang kemudian mendorong perilaku kelompok, termasuk negara. Katzenstein juga menjelaskan hal ini terutama mengenai peranan ideologi di dalam membentuk kebijakan suatu negara. Dalam konteks Israel dan Palestina dan lahirnya Zionisme di masa lalu, interaksi konfliktual membentuk kecenderungan ideologi itu terutama sayap kanannya untuk bersikap sulit berkompromi terutama menyangkut kepemilikan Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat. Sudut pandang ini memberikan kerangka bagaimana memahami ide di balik setiap kebijakan yang diambil oleh Israel.

Onuf merupakan pemikir lain yang dikutip terutama berkaitan dengan pendapatnya bagaimana para aktor dibentuk dan membentuk pandangan dunia terutama melalui penggunaan *speech act*. Para aktor yang menggunakan *speech act* tersebut selain membentuk pandangan dunia juga dibentuk oleh pandangan dunia yang telah ada sebelumnya. Proses itu merupakan proses dua arah dan saling membentuk satu sama lain. Pandangan Onuf ini sendiri sejalan dengan pandangan Wendt dan Katzenstein di atas dengan penekanan pada aspek *speech act* nya. Jika Wendt dan Katzenstein fokus pada aspek peran ideologis terhadap kebijakan, maka Onuf fokus pada bagaimana memahami hal tersebut melalui penggunaan narasi dan *speech act* di dalam wacana dominan.

Bagian kedua dari tesis ini menjelaskan bagaimana memahami Zionisme yang menjadi ideologi dominan yang membentuk Israel. Memahami bagaimana ideologi ini muncul dan berevolusi serta ide utamanya penting karena hal tersebut masih menjadi pandangan dunia pemerintahan Netanyahu dalam kaitannya dengan kebijakan di Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat. Pembentukan Zionisme sebagai ideologis nasionalis Yahudi sangat erat kaitannya dengan Herzl sebagai tokoh terpenting ideologi ini. Walaupun dia bukan yang pertama memperkenalkannya tetapi berkat Herzl ideologi ini tersebar luas. Jabotinsky merupakan tokoh kedua terpenting di dalam yang membentuk pandangan dunia Netanyahu. Sikap keras dan tanpa komprominya dibentuk oleh pengalaman interaksi buruk dengan bangsa Arab yang menjadikan ideologi yang dibangunnya cenderung lebih radikal daripada Zionis sayap kiri. Memahami ide kedua pemikir tersebut penting sebelum kita masuk ke dalam narasi yang dipergunakan oleh Netanyahu.

Bagian ketiga fokus pada penggunaan narasi ini oleh Netanyahu. Narasi yang dipilih adalah pidato yang dipergunakan oleh Netanyahu dalam kurun waktu 2009 hingga 2018. Tujuan mengkaji narasi ini adalah untuk menemukan bagaimana Netanyahu memaknai dunia dan posisinya berkaitan dengan permasalahan Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat. Narasi penting karena disinilah kita dapat melihat dunia dari sudut pandang aktor karena pemilihan narasi tidak muncul secara acak tetapi memiliki landasan dan konteks dan dalam hal ini adalah Zionisme. Penggunaan narasi tersebut juga bertujuan untuk membentuk pandangan dunia para pendengar yang pada akhirnya akan memberikan legitimasi pada Israel atas klaim mereka terhadap Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat. Diterimanya narasi Zionisme yang dipergunakan oleh Netanyahu akan mendorong keberhasilan proyek Zionisme di masa depan.

Dengan berpedoman kepada hal di atas, maka penulis dengan ini berusaha memahami bahwa ideologi dan penggunaannya merupakan hal penting di dalam memahami perilaku Israel. Tanpa pemahaman mengenai bagaimana elit di Israel khususnya Netanyahu berpikir, maka banyak sisi dari konflik tersebut yang akan terabaikan. Berdasarkan pemaparan di atas, maka penulis memiliki kesimpulan bahwa kebijakan Netanyahu dibentuk oleh Zionisme Revisionis dan dia menggunakan kembali narasi yang sama dalam melegitimasi kebijakan maupun memperoleh dukungan publik baik internal maupun internasional. Hal ini dipelajari dari pola kebijakan dan narasi yang dipergunakan selama dia berkuasa yang merupakan refleksi dari ide Zionisme sesuai dengan pemahaman Vladimir Jabotinsky, terutama menyangkut status atas Yerusalem dan Tepi Barat.

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