

## **BAB IV**

### **KESIMPULAN**

Konflik internal di Kolombia yang disebabkan oleh perbedaan kepentingan antaraktor terlibat – pemerintah Kolombia, paramiliter sayap kanan (AUC), kelompok-kelompok gerilyawan sayap kiri (FARC-EP dan ELN), sindikat kriminal (kartel-kartel narkoba), dan Amerika Serikat – membuat konflik tersebut menjadi salah satu konflik terbesar di regional Amerika Latin. Perbedaan ideologi antara Liberalisme dan Marxisme yang kerap menjadi pertentangan, membuat Kuba sebagai satu-satunya negara dengan ideologi komunis di Amerika Latin akhirnya turut serta ambil bagian dalam konflik secara tidak langsung. Namun, keikutsertaan Kuba ternyata membawa dampak bagi stabilitas politik, ekonomi, dan sosial Kuba. Melihat konsekuensi tersebut, Kuba memutuskan untuk beralih posisi menjadi mediator dalam konflik Kolombia dan menengahi pihak-pihak yang bertikai.

Perjuangan kekuasaan yang dilakukan Kuba melalui dinamika perubahan perannya – sebagai pendukung kelompok insurgen menjadi mediator – dalam konflik di Kolombia juga berakibat pada stabilitas kekuasaan negara tersebut. Simpati Kuba yang awalnya mendukung FARC-EP ternyata melemahkan kekuasaan Kuba yang juga diperkuat dengan masuknya Kuba dalam daftar *State Sponsored Terrorism*. Embargo ekonomi yang diterapkan Amerika Serikat bagi Kuba atas konsekuensi gelar sebagai negara pendukung terorisme membuat Kuba tidak dapat menentukan masa depan bangsanya. Perubahan peran Kuba yang pada akhirnya menjadi mediator konflik di Kolombia adalah salah satu cara Kuba agar

dihapus dari daftar *State Sponsored Terrorism* yang di buat oleh Amerika Serikat untuk menjaga stabilitas politik, ekonomi, dan kesejahteraan sosial di negaranya.

Menurut konsep kepentingan nasional yang dikemukakan Robert J. Art, keputusan politik luar negeri Kuba untuk memediasi pemerintah Kolombia dan FARC-EP dapat dibagi kedalam tiga tingkatan. Pada level *vital*, dampak yang dirasakan Kuba tidak terlalu besar. Walau Amerika Serikat membuka kesempatan bagi Kuba untuk berdaulat secara utuh, masih butuh banyak penyesuaian salah satunya dengan pelepasan Teluk Guantánamo dari penjagaan Amerika Serikat. Ditambah lagi, pada level ini kerugian yang diterima Kuba tidak menimbulkan bencana. Berbeda halnya dengan level *highly important*. Pada level ini, dampak dari peran mediasi Kuba membawa keuntungan yang besar bagi negara tersebut. Kuba dicoret dari daftar *State Sponsored Terrorism* yang kemudian membawa keringanan bagi embargo ekonomi Amerika Serikat. Keuntungan berupa peningkatan di bidang ekonomi dan keamanan diterima Kuba sebagai akibat dari berkurangnya hukuman Amerika Serikat. Dicoretinya Kuba dari daftar *State Sponsored Terrorism* juga membuat citra Kuba berubah di dunia internasional. Pada level *important*, Kuba yang kini memiliki citra positif di mata dunia telah mampu berkontribusi secara umum untuk membuat lingkungan internasional lebih seaoaha dengan tujuannya untuk mencapai perdamaian sosial. Namun, kepentingan pada level *important* tidak dapat tercapai tanpa adanya andil yang besar dari kepentingan level *highly important*. Oleh karena itu, dapat dikatakan bahwa kepentingan nasional Kuba sebagai mediator dalam konflik di Kolombia adalah normalisasi hubungan bilateral dengan Amerika Serikat yang tingkat

kepentingannya berada pada *level highly important* dimana melalui tindakan politik luar negeri Kuba sebagai mediator konflik Kolombia telah memberikan keuntungan besar bagi Kuba karena dapat meningkatkan keamanan, kesejahteraan ekonomi dan sosial di negara tersebut.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### **Sumber Buku:**

- Addison, Michael. *Violent Politics: Strategies of Internal Conflict*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Amnesty International, *The US Embargo Against Cuba*. London: Amnesty International Publications, 2009.
- Art, Robert J. *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- Avilés, William. *Global Capitalism, Democracy, and Civil-Military Relations in Colombia*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Bergquist, Charles. "Waging war and negotiating peace: The contemporary crisis in historical perspective," *Violence in Colombia 1990–2001: Waging war and negotiating peace*, eds. Charles Berquist, Ricardo Penaranda, and Gonzalo Sanchez. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2001.
- Brittain, James J. *Revolutionary Social Change in Colombia: The Origin and Direction of the FARC-EP*. London: Pluto Press, 2010.
- Crahan, Margaret dan Soraya Castro Mariño. eds., *Cuba-US Relations: Normalization and Its Challenges*. New York: Institute of Latin America Studies, 2016.
- Frankel, Joseph. *National Interest*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1970.
- Galtung, Johan. *Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations*. New York: Columbia University, 1958.
- Glanville, Luka. *Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Gomez, Alberto. "Perspectives of The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)." *National Liberation Fronts 1960/1970: Essays, Documents, Interviews*. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1972.
- Hylton, Forrest. *Evil Hour in Colombia*. Brooklyn: Verso, 2006.
- Latell, Brian. *The Cuban Military and Transition Dynamics*. Miami: University of Miami Press. 2003.
- Leech, Garry. *Beyond Bogota: Diary of a Drug War Journalist*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2009.
- LeGrand, Catherine. *Frontier expansion and peasant protest in Colombia 1830–1936*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Livingstone, Grace. *Inside Colombia: drugs, democracy and war*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.

- Mariner, Joanne dan Malcolm Smart. *The Sixth Division: Military-Paramilitary Ties and U.S. Policy in Colombia*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2001.
- Morgenthau, H. J. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1948.
- Palmowski, Jan. *A Dictionary of Twentieth Century World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Pearce, Jenny. *Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth*. London: Latin American Bureau, 1990.
- Raco, J. R. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Jenis, Karakteristik dan Keunggulannya*. Jakarta: Grasindo, 2010.
- Rempel, William. *At the Devil's Table: The Untold Story of the Insider Who Brought Down the Cali Cartel*. New York: Random House Pub, 2011.
- Richani, Nazih. *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Ruiz, Bert. *The Colombian civil war*. London: McFarland & Company, 2001.
- Safford, Frank dan Marco Palacios. *Colombia: Fragmented land, divided society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Scott, J. *Sociological Theory: Contemporary Debates*. Hampshire: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd., 1995.
- Segura, Renata dan Delphine Mechoulan. *Made in Havana: How Colombia and the FARC Decided to End the War*. New York: International Peace Institute, 2017.
- Stokes, Doug. *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia*. London: Zed Books, 2005.
- United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World military expenditures*. Washington: U.S. Government Print Office, 2000.
- United States International Trade Commission, *The Economic Impact of U.S. Sanctions With Respect to Cuba*. Washington: USITC Publication, 2001.

**Sumber Jurnal/Paper:**

- Alzugaray, Carlos dan Anthony Quainton, "Cuban-U.S. relations: The Terrorism Dimension." *PensamientoPropio* 34. 2011.
- Bailey, Norman A. "La Violencia in Colombia." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 9, no. 4. 1967.
- Braisted, William R. "The United States Navy's Dilemma in the Pacific, 1906-1909." *Pacific Historical Review* 26, No. 3. 1957.
- Dyke, Vernon Van. "Values and Interests," *The American Political Science Review* 56. No. 3. 1962.

- Herningtyas, Ratih. "Weak State Sebagai Sebuah Ancaman Keamanan: Studi Kasus Kolombia." *Universitas Muhammadiyah*.
- McCarthy, Sean Michael. "Colombia's FARC: More Than Just Opportunistic Criminals." *Air University*. 2013.
- McDougall, Alex. "State Power and Its Implications for Civil War Colombia." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32, No. 4. 2009.
- Paterson, Pat. "Conflict Resolution in Colombia." *Perry Center Occasional Paper*. 2013.
- Pratiwi, Natalia. "Dukungan Pemerintah Kuba Terhadap Kelompok Teroris *The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia* (FARC)." *Universitas Katolik Parahyangan*, 2008.
- Richani, Nazih. "Fragmented Hegemony and the Dismantling of the War System in Colombia." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 2018.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Political Economy of Violence: The War-System in Colombia." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 39, No. 2. 1997.
- Tansy, Oisín. "Does Democracy Need Sovereignty?" *Review of International Studies* 37. 2011.
- Yu, Vincente Paolo dan Adriano José Timossi, "Impacts of Unilateral Coercive Measures in Developing Countries: the need to end the US embargo on Cuba." *South Centre*, No. 66. 2019.

### **Sumber Laporan:**

- Central Intelligence Agency. "Cuban Involvement in Narcotics and Terrorism." *Conference Report*.
- Department of the Treasury. "Cuban Assets Control Regulationns." *Federal Register* 84, No. 108. 2019.
- International Crisis Group. *Dismantling Colombia's New Illegal Armed Groups: Lessons from a Surrender*. Bogotá/Brussels. 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *War and Drugs in Colombia*. Bogotá/Brussels. 2005.
- Sullivan, Mark dan June Beittel. "Latin America: Terrorism Issues." *Congressional Research Service*. 2014.
- U.S. Department of State. "Cuba's Renewed Support for Violence in Latin America." *Department of State Bulletin*. 1982.

### **Sumber Dokumen Resmi:**

- Cuban Democracy Act. Title 22: Foreign Relations and Intercourse Chapter 69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Bagian 6003.

\_\_\_\_\_. Bagian 1705(c) dan (d); 22 USC 6004(c) dan (d).

Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libretad) Act of 1996.

Federal Register 47. No. 75 (1982): 16623-16624.

Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Sec. 620.

Human Rights Council. "Implementation of General Assembly Resolution 60/251 of 15 March 2006 Entitles 'Human Rights Council.'" United Nations A/HRC/4/12. 26 Januari 2007.

Konstitusi Kuba. Art. 3.

Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000.

Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917. US Code. Title 50. Appendix – War and National Defense.

### **Sumber Situs Web:**

Acosta, Luis Jaime. "Colombia Sees Peace with ELN Rebels Harder than FARC." *Reuters*. 14 September 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-colombia-rebels-eln/colombia-sees-peace-with-eln-rebels-harder-than-farc-idUSKCN1B02E7>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Secret mediator helped guide Colombia to peace deal." *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-colombia-rebels-mediator/secret-mediator-helped-guide-colombia-to-peace-deal-idUSKCN11S23X>.

Al-Jazeera. "Report says 220,000 died in Colombia Conflict." 25 Juli 2013. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2013/07/201372511122146399.html>.

Anderson, Jim. "Soviet aid to Cuba: \$11 million a day." *UPI*. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1983/06/18/Soviet-aid-to-Cuba-11-million-a-day/2328424756800/>.

Bargent, James dan Mimi Yagoub. "Colombia's Paramilitary-Coal Nexus: Drummond, Glencore Face New Accusations." *Insight Crime*. 30 Juli 2014. <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/colombia-paramilitary-coal-nexus-drummond-glencore-accusations/>.

Bargent, James. "Is Nestle Involved in Murder of Colombian Union Leader?" *AlterNet*. 17 Mei 2013. <https://www.alternet.org/2013/05/nestle-involved-murder-colombian-union-leader/>.

BBC. "Colombia's Most Powerful Rebels." 19 September 2013. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1746777.stm>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Colombia Profile – Timeline." 8 Agustus 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19390164>.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Cuba Profile – Timeline. 1 Mei 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19576144>
- Chernick, Marc. "The paramilitarization of the War in Colombia." *NACLA Report on the Americas*. 25 September 2007. <https://nacla.org/article/paramilitarization-war-colombia>.
- CIA, "The World Factbook: Colombia," 25 Februari 2019, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/co.html>.
- Cova, Antonio Rafael de la. "La Violencia in Colombia." *Latin American Studies*. 15 Desember 1997. <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/colombia/la-violencia.htm>.
- Dixon, Laura. "The Psychological Trauma of a Multi-Generation War." *The Atlantic*. 1 Desember 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/12/the-psychological-trauma-of-a-multi-generation-war/509207/>.
- Dodd, Don. "Bay of Pigs Invasion and the Alabama Air National Guard." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*. <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2134>.
- Engage Cuba Coalition. "U.S.-Cuba Progress." <https://www.engagecuba.org/nationalsecurity>.
- Felter, Claire dan Danielle Renwick. "Colombia's Civil Conflict." *Council on Foreign Relations*, 11 Januari 2017. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/colombias-civil-conflict>.
- Felter, Claire, Danielle Renwick, dan Rocio Cara Labrador. "U.S.-Cuba Relations." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 7 Maret 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-cuba-relations>.
- Forero, Juan. "Union Says Coca-Cola in Colombia Uses Thugs." *The New York Times*. 26 Juli 2001. <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/26/world/union-says-coca-cola-in-colombia-uses-thugs.html>.
- Gillin, Joel. "Chiquita Still Fighting to Withhold Docs on Colombia Paramilitary Payments." *Colombia Reports*, <https://colombiareports.com/chiquita-still-fighting-withhold-almost-10000-docs-payments-colombian-paramilitaries/>.
- Gillin, Joel. "Understanding Colombia's Armed Conflict: International Actors." *Colombia Reports*. 15 Januari 2015, <https://colombiareports.com/causes-colombia-conflict-international-actors/>.
- Index Mundi. "Cuba-Military Expenditure." <https://www.indexmundi.com/facts/cuba/military-expenditure>.
- Katz, Neil dan Kevin McNulty. "Conflict Resolution." <https://www.maxwell.syr.edu/uploadedFiles/parcc/cmc/Conflict%20Resolution%20NK.pdf>.



- Kraul, Chris. "The battles began in 1964: Here's a look at Colombia's war with the FARC rebels." *Los Angeles Times*. 13 Agustus 2016. <https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-colombia-farc-explainer-snap-story.html>.
- Krepp, Stella. "Cuba and the OAS: A Story of Dramatic Fallout and Reconciliation." *Wilson Center*, 18 Desember 2017. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/cuba-and-the-oas-story-dramatic-fallout-and-reconciliation>.
- Latina, Prensa. "Cuba offers 1,000 medical scholarships to Colombia peace process." *Granma*. 16 Maret 2017. <http://en.granma.cu/cuba/2017-03-16/cuba-offers-1000-medical-scholarships-to-colombia-peace-process>.
- Lee, Briana dan Danielle Renwick. "The Organization of American States." *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/background/organization-american-states>.
- Llana, Sara Miller. "Medellín to Keep the Peace." *The Christian Science Monitor*. 25 Oktober 2010. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2010/1025/Medellin-once-epicenter-of-Colombia-s-drug-war-fights-to-keep-the-peace>.
- Maupin, Caleb. "Cuba's Support For Revolutions, Self-Defense Remains Largely Intact Despite Western Propaganda." *Global Research*. 2 April 2016. <https://www.globalresearch.ca/cubas-support-for-revolutions-self-defense-remains-largely-intact-despite-western-propaganda/5517849>.
- McDermott, Jeremy. "Gold overtakes drugs as source of Colombia rebel funds." *BBC*. 17 Juni 2012. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-18396920>.
- Miroff, Nick. "Cuba: Colombia's Peacemaker?" *Public Radio International*. 20 November 2012. <https://www.pri.org/stories/2012-11-20/cuba-colombia-s-peacemaker>.
- Mitchell, Andrea. "U.S. Officially Removes Cuba From State Sponsors of Terrorism." *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/u-s-officially-removes-cuba-state-sponsor-terrorism-list-n366621>.
- Parlapiano, Alicia. "How America's Relationship With Cuba Will Change." *The New York Times*. 17 Desember 2014. [https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/12/17/world/americas/cuba-sanctions.html?smid=pl-share&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/12/17/world/americas/cuba-sanctions.html?smid=pl-share&_r=0).
- Peace Insight, "Colombia: Key People and Parties," <https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/colombia/conflict-profile/key-people-and-parties/>.
- Propst, Stephen F. "What's a President to Do? Options for Further Easing U.S. Sanctions against Cuba." *Hogan Lovells*. December 7 2015,

- <http://www.hoganlovells.com/whats-a-president-to-do-options-for-further-easing-us-sanctions-against-cuba-12-07-2015/>.
- Rampton, Roberta. "Obama Pledges More Than \$450 Million Aid to Help Colombia Peace Plan." *Reuters*. 5 Februari 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-colombia-idUSKCN0VD2XM>.
- SIPRI. "Military Expenditure Database." <https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex>.
- The Guardian. "Mediators Urge De-Escalation of Conflict between Colombia and Farc Rebels." 7 Juli 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/07/colombia-farc-rebels-conflict-peace-talks>.
- The Wall Street Journal. "Let's Remember Why the OAS Excluded Cuban Regime." 14 Mei 2009. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB124226698807818097>.
- The White House. "Reaching Out to the Cuban People." 14 Januari 2011. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/14/reaching-out-cuban-people>.
- University of South Florida. "International Risk and Security Review: Cuba." <https://www.usf.edu/world/resources/cuba.aspx>.
- US Department of States. "Country Report 2013." <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2013/>.
- U.S. Department of State. "The United States, Cuba, and the Platt Amendment 1901." <https://web.archive.org/web/20150423105708/http://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/platt>.
- U.S. Department of Treasury. "Fact Sheet: Treasury and Commerce Announce Regulatory Amendments to the Cuba Sanctions." 15 Januari 2015. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-releases/Pages/j19740.aspx> the-center/press-releases/Pages/j19740.aspx.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "What you need to know about the US embargo. An overview of the Cuban Assets Control Regulations." *the US Code of Federal Regulations*, <http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/programs/cuba/cuba.pdf>.
- Whitney, W. T. "Colombia and Cuba: a Tale of Two Countries." *Counter Punch*. 17 April 2018. <https://www.counterpunch.org/2018/04/17/colombia-and-cuba-a-tale-of-two-countries/>.
- Williams, John Hoyt. "Cuba: Havana's Military Machine." *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1988/08/cuba-havanas-military-machine/305932/>.
- Wolf, Paul. "Marquetalia and the FARC." *ICDC*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20101028135631/http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/colombia/planlazomarquetalia.htm>.

—. “Notes on Counterinsurgency and Counterterror.” *ICDC*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20091226211413/http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/colombia/counterinsurgency.htm>.

World Politics Review. “How the Cuba Question Could Further Complicate U.S.-Colombia Ties.” 28 Juli 2017. <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/22829/how-the-cuba-question-could-further-complicate-u-s-colombia-ties>.