

BAB IV:

SIMPULAN

Menanggapi permasalahan yang terjadi di negara anggotanya, ECOWAS berupaya untuk melaksanakan misinya yaitu “*Restore Democracy in Gambia*” demi mengembalikan stabilitas keamanan dan perpolitikan di negara tersebut. Motivasi yang didasari oleh inisiatif (tanggung jawab) serta adanya pelanggaran akan nilai-nilai Demokrasi dan HAM menjadi pendorong bagi ECOWAS untuk menjalankan misinya. Sesuai dengan “mekanisme” yang tercantum dalam ECOWAS *Conflict Prevention Framework, Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism For Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security*, Perjanjian ECOWAS (*Revised*) 1993 dan juga Mandat yang diberikan DK PBB dalam bentuk Resolusi 2337, ECOWAS berupaya untuk melakukan usahanya yang dimulai dengan cara diplomasi (mediasi), hingga melibatkan pasukan militer (intervensi), serta asistensi yang diberikan pasca tindakan yang dilakukannya.

Mediasi maupun negoisasi merupakan upaya pertama yang dilakukan ECOWAS setelah Jammeh memutuskan untuk memperpanjang masa jabatannya dan menempatkan Gambia dalam status darurat. Mediasi tersebut diwakili oleh beberapa kepala negara anggota ECOWAS termasuk perwakilan dari PBB untuk kawasan Afrika Barat. Mediasi yang telah dilakukan sebanyak dua kali gagal untuk mendorong Jammeh turun, upaya bujukan hingga ancaman dilakukan perwakilan ECOWAS demi mendesak

Jammeh mundur. Sampai akhir ECOWAS tetap berusaha untuk melakukan upaya mediasi walaupun melibatkan anggota militer.

Setelah kedua upaya mediasi gagal dilakukan, berdasarkan mekanisme yang diatur dalam protokol maupun perjanjian ECOWAS serta mandat yang diberikan, ECOWAS memutuskan untuk menggunakan “kekuatan” untuk mendesak Jammeh menyerah. Intervensi yang dilakukan bersama dengan pasukan gabungan militer ECOMIG dan pasukan militer lainnya dari beberapa negara ECOWAS mulai memasuki Gambia melalui perbatasan Senegal pada tanggal 19 Januari 2017, termasuk dilakukannya patroli udara disekitar kota Banjul dan blokade disekitar jalur laut Gambia. Ketika tentara gabungan ECOMIG mencoba untuk masuk ke kawasan pemerintahan, ECOWAS masih mengusahakan untuk melaksanakan misinya dengan menggunakan cara mediasi. Kepala Negara Guinea dan Mauritania melakukan mediasi untuk terakhir kalinya dengan memberikan “balasan” kepada Jammeh dan pergi dari Gambia. Melihat situasi yang sudah tidak menguntungkan, Jammeh menerima tawaran yang diberikan dengan persyaratan yang diajukannya. Pada akhirnya, Jammeh menandatangani perjanjian politik, pergi meninggalkan Gambia dan menuju Guinea.

Upaya tindakan yang dilakukan ECOWAS merupakan bentuk implementasi pilar ketiga serta prinsip Demokrasi dan HAM dari konsep RtoP. Penulis berasumsi bahwa konsep RtoP biasanya identik dengan dasar suatu tindakan sebagai tanggung jawab yang dilakukan oleh suatu aktor Internasional untuk melindungi masyarakat sipil dari ancaman kejahatan

massal. Namun, apabila dilihat dalam cakupan yang lebih luas, intervensi maupun tindakan yang dilakukan bukan hanya berdasarkan faktor kejahatan massal, namun juga faktor lainnya, seperti faktor politik. Oleh karena itu, upaya ECOWAS dalam misinya di Gambia merupakan gambaran implementasi pilar ketiga konsep RtoP yang menjelaskan tanggung jawab organisasi Internasional/kawasan untuk menyelesaikan permasalahan di negara (anggotanya) ketika negara tersebut gagal melindungi masyarakat sipilnya.

Terlaksananya misi ECOWAS untuk menghentikan Jammeh tidak lepas dari bantuan pihak-pihak luar yang turut serta mendukung ECOWAS, seperti PBB dan UA. Negara Senegal juga merupakan salah satu anggota ECOWAS yang memiliki peranan yang cukup aktif dalam mendukung berjalannya misi di Gambia, walaupun diasumsikan Senegal memiliki maksud maupun tujuan tertentu, namun tidak dipungkiri bahwa pada akhirnya, tindakan yang dilakukan bertujuan untuk mencapai tujuan bersama/kolektif.

Proses untuk mengembalikan stabilitas di Gambia membutuhkan waktu yang tidak sebentar, selain menyelesaikan permasalahan yang terjadi di Gambia, ECOWAS/ECOMIG juga diberikan mandat untuk memberikan asistensi untuk membantu mengembalikan situasi Gambia menjadi kondusif kembali. Asistensi yang diberikan berupa pengawasan dan perlindungan kepada masyarakat sipil, termasuk Presiden dan anggota politik lainnya. Mandat yang diberikan akhirnya diperpanjang selama beberapa bulan hingga tahun 2018 kedepan.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku :

- Alleman, William. *The Evolution of ECOWAS : How the Economic Organization Transitioned Into Peace and Security*. Lund University. 2017
- Armstrong, David James. *The Rise of the International Organisation: A Short History*. London: MACMILLAN EDUCATION LTD. 1982
- Aris, Stephen. Wenger, Andreas. *Regional Organisations and Security: Conceptions and Practices*. New York : Routledge. 2014
- Barnes, Richard. Tzevelekos, P. Vassillis. *Beyond Responsibility to Protect: Generating Change in International Law*. Cambridge : Intersentia, 2016
- Crestwell, J. W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches, Second Edition*. London: Sage Publication. 2003
- da Rocha, Jose Pascal. *Political Mediation in Modern Conflict Resolution : Emerging Research and Opportunities*. United States of America : IGI Global. 2018
- Dennis, Peter. *The International Center for Transitional Justice : A Brief History of Liberia*. New York : International Centre for Transitional Justice. 2016
- Grover, Sonja. *The Responsibility to Protect: Perspectives on the Concept's Meaning, Proper Application, and Value*. New York: Taylor and Francis. 2017

Kusumadewi, Aryani. *Peran economic community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) dalam menjalankan operasi peacekeeping dan peace enforcement di Liberia (1990-1997)*.

Universitas Katholik Parahyangan. 2004

Lindberg, I. Staffan *Democracy and Elections in Africa*. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006

Marut, Jean-Claude. *Le conflit de Casamance. Ce que disent les armes*. Paris : KARTHALA. 2010

Silander, Daniel. Wallace, Don. *International Organizations and The Implementation of The Responsibility to Protect*, New York: Routledge. 2015

Jurnal :

Adibe, E. Clement. “The Liberian Conflict and The ECOWAS-UN Partnership”, *Thid World Quarterly*, Vol. 18 No.3 (1997)

Bamfo, Napoleon. “The Political and Security Challenges Facing 'ECOWAS' in the Twenty-first Century: Testing the Limits of an Organization's Reputation”. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol.3 .No.3 (2013)

Dieke, U.C. Peter. “The Political Economy of Tourism in the Gambia”, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol.21 No.62 (1994)

Ellis, Stephen. “The Mask of Anarchy, The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War. *The Journal of Conflict Studies*. Vol. 21, No.2 (2001)

- Evans, Martin “Briefing: Senegal: Wade and the Casamance Dossier”,
African Affairs, Vol.99 No.397, (2000)
- Golub, S. Stephen. “National Trade Policies and Smuggling in Africa:The
Case of The Gambia and Senegal”. *World Development*, Vol. 37, No.
3 (2009)
- Hartmann , Christof. “ECOWAS and the Restoration of Democracy in The
Gambia”. Vol. 52 No.1 (2017)
- Human Rights Watch*. “Africa, Liberia. Waging the War to Keep the Peace:
The ECOMOG Intervention and Human Rights” Vol.5 No. 3 (1993)
- Kieh Jr. George Klay. ” Irregular Warfare and Liberia's First Civil War”,
Journal of International and Area Studies, Vol.11, No.1 (2004)
- Kich, Jr., George Klay. ” The Causes of Liberian Coup”, *Forum Trans
Africa*, Vol.6,no.2 (1998)
- Kora, Sherrif, Darboe, N. Momodou. “THE GAMBIA'S ELECTORAL
EARTHQUAKE”, *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 28, No. 2 (2017)
- Oluwapelumi, Babatunde Elkanah. “ECOWAS AND THE
MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND
SECURITY: PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNANCE”, *Journal of Law and Jurisprudence* No.6
- Olonisakin, Funmi “African "homemade" peacekeeping initiatives”. *Journal
of Armed Forces and Society*. Vol.23. No.3 (1997)
- Perfect, David. The Gambian 2016 Presidential Election and itsAftermath”,
The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 106 No. 3
(2017)

Quentin Outram, Quentin.” It's terminal either way': An analysis of armed conflict in Liberia, 1989-1996”, *Review of African Political Economic*, Vol.24, No.73 (1997)

Ruys, Tom. Ferro, Luca. Maele,.Carl. “Digest of state practice: 1 January – 30 June 2017”. *Journal on the Use of Force and International Law*. Vol.4 No.2 (2017)

Saine, Abdoulaye. “The Gambia's “Elected Autocrat Poverty, Peripherality, and Political Instability,” 1994–2006: A Political Economy Assessment” Vol. 34 No.3 (2008)

Svicevic, Marko. “MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE GAMBIA: LESSONS FROM THE IVORY COAST, LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE”. *Brics Law Journal* Vol. 5, No.2 (2018)

Tuck, Christopher. "Every Car Or Moving Object Gone: The ECOMOG Intervention in Liberia”, *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol.4, No.1 (2000)

Dokumen Resmi :

African Union Peace and Security, “ Communique : The 647th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on the post-election situation in The Islamic Republic of The Gambia,2017

ECOWAS. (1991). *Revised Treaty*, Bab 20 Pasal 83 (1,2,3) tentang Hubungan Antara Komunitas, Pihak Negara Ketiga, dan Organisasi Internasional

ECOWAS, *Revised Treaty*. 2010

ECOWAS, *REGULATIONMSC/REG1/01/08 ECOWAS CONFLICT PREVENTION FRAMEWORK*. 2008

ECOWAS, *PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE MECHANISM FOR CONFLICTPREVENTION, MANAGEMENT, RESOLUTION, PEACE-KEEPING ANDSECURITY*.1999

Economy Community of West African States, “Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism For Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security “. 2001

ECOWAS, “FIFTIETH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ECOWAS AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT : Final Communique”.2017

ECOWAS, ”Final Communique of the Fifty First Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of States and Government”.2017

European Asylum Report Office, “EASO Country of Origin Information Report The Gambia Country Focus”. 2017

Human Right Watch, “World Report 2018 – Gambia. 2018

International Democracy Watch, Economic Community of West African States”,

<http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/index.php/economic-community-of-west-african-states->

Office of the Spokesperson for the UN Secretary-General, “Note to Correspondents - Joint Declaration on the Political Situation in The Gambia “. 2017

United Nation. Resolution Responsibility to Protect adopted by the General Assembly . 2005

UN General Assembly, Implementing the responsibility to protect Report of the Secretary-General , Sixty-third session Agenda items 44 and 107. 2009

United Kingdom Border Agency. “Country of Origin Information Report: The Gambia”. *Home Office UK Border Agency Reports*.

UNSCR. Resolution 2337 (2017) Adopted by the Security Council at its 7866th meeting. 19 Januari 2017

Artikel Berita atau Situs Internet :

African News, “Adama Barrow officially declared winner of Gambia's presidential election”,

<https://www.africanews.com/2016/12/02/adama-barrow-officially-declared-winner-of-gambia-s-presidential-election//>

Africa News, “Gambian lawmakers revoke Jammeh's state of emergency”,

<https://www.africanews.com/2017/01/24/gambian-lawmakers-revoke-jammeh-s-state-of-emergency>

Adam Jobe, “ECOMIG forces explain mandate in Gambia”, *The Point*,

<http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/ecomig-forces-explain-mandate-in-gambia>

Al-Jazeera. “Remains of opposition activist Solo Sandeng exhumed “. *Al-*

Jazeera News. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/03/remains-opposition-activist-solo-sandeng-exhumed-170309164251907.html>

Al-Jazeera. “Gambia's Yahya Jammeh declares state of emergency”,
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/gambia-yahya-jammeh-declares-state-emergency-170117165356768.html>

Al-Jazeera, “Gambia MPs extend President Jammeh's term “, *Al-Jazeera and News Agencies*,
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/gambia-mps-extend-president-jammeh-term-170118082031908.html>

BBC News, “The Gambia's president declares state of emergency”,
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38652939>

BBC, “Ex-President Yahya Jammeh leaves The Gambia after losing election” *BBC News*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38706426>

BBC, “Gambia crisis: Barrow sworn in in Senegal as Jammeh stays put”,
BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38675741>

Black Past, “Second Liberian Civil War (1999–2003)”,
<https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/second-liberian-civil-war-1999-2003/>

Brenton,Felix. “American Colonization Society (1816-1964)”,
<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/american-colonization-society-1816-1964/>

Caux, Helena. “As Gambia crisis passes, displaced return from Senegal “,
UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency,
<https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2017/1/588719bf4/gambia-crisis-passes-displaced-return-senegal.html>

Calder, Simon “The Gambia state of emergency and what it means for tourists: All your questions answered.” *The Independent*,
<https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/gambia-state-of-emergency-british-tourists-evacuated-thomas-cook-emergency-flights-rights-a7535391.html>

ECOWAS, “HISTORY”, ECOWAS, <http://www.ecowas.int/about-ecowas/history/>

ECOWAS, “Governance Structure”, <https://www.ecowas.int/about-ecowas/governance-structure/>

Freeman, Colin. “The Real Reason Gambia’s President Isn’t Stepping Down”. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/12/14/the-real-reason-gambias-president-isnt-stepping-down-yahya-jammeh/>

Front Page Africa. “Liberia: Thomas Quiwonkpa And The Coup That Failed, This Day in History”, <https://frontpageafricaonline.com/front-slider/liberia-thomas-quiwonkpa-and-the-coup-that-failed-this-day-in-history/>

Gates, Jr., Louis Henry.”The African-American Migration Story : The African American, Many Rivers to Cross”,
<https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/on-african-american-migrations/>

Ibenegbu, George.” 5 aims and objectives of ECOWAS”,
<https://www.legit.ng/1138831-5-aims-objectives-ecowas.html>

Kamara, Alpha. “Gambia elected a new president, but old one won't step down”,

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/01/16/gambia-elected-new-president-adama-barrow/96612502/>

M'Bai, Pa Ndry “Gambia: ECOWAS Extends The Mandate Of ECOMIG In The Gambia For One Year!”, *Freedom Newspaper*, <https://www.freedomnewspaper.com/2017/06/06/gambia-ecowas-extends-the-mandate-of-ecomig-in-the-gambia-for-one-year/>

Muhamed, Hamzah “The Gambia: Reviving the tourism industry “, *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/03/gambia-reviving-tourism-industry-170313122806481.html>

New World Encyclopedia. “Western Africa”, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Western_Africa

Odigi, Brown, “In Defense of Democracy: Lessons from ECOWAS’ Management of The Gambia’s 2016 Post-Election Impasse”, *ACCORD*

RtoP, “Clarifying the Third Pillar of the Responsibility to Protect: TIMELY AND DECISIVE RESPONSE“, <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/Clarifying%20the%20Third%20Pillar.pdf>

The Guardian. “Gambia: tourists scramble for flights out as troops mass at border”. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/18/british-tourists-crowd-banjul-airport-the-gambia-evacuation-flights>

The Point, “Over 90 suspected criminals arrested by ECOMIG/Gambia security joint patrol “, <http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/over-90-suspected-criminals-arrested-by-ecomiggambia-security-joint-patrol>

The African – EU Partnership, “ECOWAS Mission in Gambia (ECOMIG),
<https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/projects/mission-gambia-ecomig>

Williams, D. Paul. “A New African Model of Coercion? Assessing the
ECOWAS Mission in The Gambia”,
<https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/03/ecowas-gambia-barrow-jammeh-african-union/>