

## BAB IV

### KESIMPULAN

Konflik antara Afghanistan dengan Taliban yang telah terjadi selama kurang lebih dua dekade merupakan konflik multidimensional dan menjadikannya rumit untuk mencapai kesepakatan damai. Untuk mencapai kesepakatan damai antara pihak-pihak yang berkonflik, sebelumnya telah melibatkan beberapa pihak internasional maupun regional yang berupaya untuk menjadi mediator ataupun penengah antara pihak-pihak yang berkonflik di Afghanistan, namun seringkali mediator yang ada kurang mendapat kepercayaan bagi kedua belah pihak yang berkonflik. Pada tahun 2011, PBNU sebagai organisasi berbasis keyakinan atau *faith-based organization* memutuskan untuk terlibat dalam konflik di Afghanistan atas persetujuan dari pemerintah Afghanistan dan pihak Taliban untuk menjadi mediator dalam pencapaian konflik di negara tersebut melalui pendekatan agama Islam sesuai dengan misi yang dimiliki oleh organisasi tersebut.

Bersumber dari pertanyaan penelitian yang berbunyi “**Apa faktor yang membuat NU menjadi mediator dari resolusi konflik di Afghanistan?**” juga berpegangan pada teori dan konsep yang dipaparkan pada bagian kerangka pemikiran di Bab I, serta bersumber pada data yang disusun di Bab II sebagai pemanfaatan untuk melakukan analisis dalam Bab III, maka penelitian dan jawaban yang telah penulis lakukan dirangkum kedalam lima poin kesimpulan. *Pertama*, peran potensial yang dimiliki oleh PBNU sebagai mediator di Afghanistan berasal dari legitimasi dan kredibilitas PBNU yang didapatkan dari pendekatan melalui

agama Islam, dengan menggunakan peran ulama sebagai pemuka agama yang di hormati dan dipercaya oleh pihak Afghanistan dan Taliban sebagai pihak penengah yang netral untuk melakukan resolusi konflik. Kredibilitas dari PBNU juga didapatkan dari peranan K.H As'ad Said Ali sebagai ketua pelaksana resolusi konflik Afghanistan yang memiliki jenjang karir yang baik dalam dunia politik dan keagamaan. *Kedua*, PBNU memiliki kapabilitas sebagai mediator dan mendukung keberlanjutan perdamaian di Afghanistan berupa tersedianya dukungan finansial, kelembagaan, dan sumber daya manusia yang direalisasikan melalui pemberian dana hibah dari Pemerintah Indonesia melalui PBNU untuk pembangunan *Indonesia Islamic Centre* sebagai bagian dari lembaga, dan ketersediaan ulama Indonesia untuk secara aktif melakukan dialog damai dengan ulama di Afghanistan.

*Ketiga*, karakteristik proses mediasi oleh PBNU melibatkan identitas spiritual dari nilai-nilai agama Islam seperti *Tawasuth*, *Tawazun*, dan *Tasamuh* yang diimplementasikan sebagai model resolusi konflik yang dinamakan Islam Nusantara dalam melakukan dialog-dialog perdamaian. *Keempat*, PBNU menggunakan dalil-dalil yang bersumber dari ayat suci Al-Quran sebagai karakteristik dalam model resolusi konflik yang dinamakan Islam Nusantara dan dalam proses dialog damai.

*Kelima*, karakteristik PBNU dalam melakukan resolusi konflik di Afghanistan adalah menggunakan ritual keagamaan sebagai sarana untuk membentuk identitas bersama dalam menjalin komunikasi antara pihak-pihak yang berkonflik. Nilai-nilai Islam sebagai identitas bersama yang diimplementasikan adalah *Rahmatan lil 'alamin*, *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *Ukhuwah Wathoniyah*, dan

*Ukhuwah Basyariyah* dalam menyeragamkan pemikiran dan tujuan untuk memulai langkah-langkah resolusi konflik.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Bell, Catherine M. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Dalam jurnal Medhy Aginta Hidayat, "Ibadat, The Body And Identity: Islamic Rituals And The Construction Of Muslim Identity," *The Journal of Society & Media* 1, no. 2 (2017): p. 1, <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v1n2.p1-17>.
- Bercovitch, Jacob. *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management*. Houndmills, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992.
- Berg, Bruce L., and Howard Lune. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Harlow: Pearson Education, 2014.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. *Conflict and Defense*, 1962, New York: Harper and Row.
- Burke, Peter James, and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2009. ISBN 0195388283, 9780195388282. Dalam jurnal Medhy Aginta Hidayat, "Ibadat, The Body And Identity: Islamic Rituals And The Construction Of Muslim Identity," *The Journal of Society & Media* 1, no. 2 (2017): p. 1, <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v1n2.p1-17>.
- Clarke, Gerard, and Michael Jennings. *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Erscheinungsort nicht ermittelbar: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2013.
- Forsyth, Donelson R. *Group Dynamics*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1983.
- Jeong, Ho-Won. *Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis*, Los Angeles: Sage, 2011.
- Kauppi, Mark V., and Paul R. Viotti. *International Relations Theory*. Lanham ; Boulder ; New York ; London: Rowman et Littlefield, 2013.
- Maley, William. *Rescuing Afghanistan*. London: Hurst, 2006.

- Nojumi, Neamatollah. *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan: Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.
- Rothbart, Daniel, and K. V. Korostelina. *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006.
- Schellenberg, James A. *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research, and Practice*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning, Alternate Formats Library, 2014.
- Staquf, Yahya Cholil. *PBNU: Perjuangan Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, Tajdid Jam'iyah Untuk Khidmah Millenial*. Rembang: MataAir Publishing, 2020.
- Vartanian, Thomas P. *Secondary Data Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Westad, Odd Arne. "Prelude to Invasion: The Soviet Union and the Afghan Communists, 1978-1979." *The International History Review* 16. , no. No.1 (1994): 49–69.  
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.1994.9640668>.

## **Jurnal**

- Abu Nimer, Mohammed. "Conflict Resolution, Culture, and Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peacebuilding," *Peace Research*, 38 (6), 685–704 2001, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/425559?seq=1>
- Abu Nimer, Mohammed. "The Miracles of Transformation Through Interfaith Dialogue: Are you a Believer?" dalam buku David R. Smock ed. *Interfaith Dialogue and Peacebuilding*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Borchgrevink, Kaja, and Kristian Berg Harpviken. "Afghanistan's Religious Landscape: Politicising the Sacred." *Norwegian Peacebuilding Centre: Noref Policy Brief* No.3 (2010): 1–9.  
<https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/137218/No.%203,%20Mar%202010.pdf>.
- Boslaugh, Sarah. "An Introduction to Secondary Data Analysis." *Secondary Data Sources for Public Health*, n.d., 1–11.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511618802.002>.
- Chowdhury, Shofiqur Rahman, Haris Abd Wahab, and M Rezaul Islam. "The Role of Faith-Based NGOs in Social Development: Invisible

- Empowerment.” *International Social Work* 62, no. 3 (2018): 1055–74.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872818767260>.
- D’Souza, Shanthie Mariet. “Taliban: The Rebels Who Aspire to Be Rulers.”  
*Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (2016): 20–40.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2347797015626043>.
- Hofmann, Claudia dan Ulrich Schneckener. “Engaging non-state armed actors in state and peace-building: options and strategies.” *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 93, No. 883, September 2011.  
<https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r28824.pdf>.
- Hurd, Ian. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organization* 53, no. 2 (1999): 379-408.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601393>.
- Iryani, Eva, and Friscilla Wulan Tersta. “Ukhuwah Islamiyah Dan Perananan Masyarakat Islam Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian: Studi Literatur.” *Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Batanghari Jambi* 19, no. 2 (2019): 401.  
<https://doi.org/10.33087/jiubj.v19i2.688>.
- Kadayifci-Orellana, S. Ayse. “Ethno-Religious Conflicts: Exploring the Role of Religion in Conflict Resolution.” *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, n.d., 264–84. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857024701.n15>.
- Mack, Raymond W., and Richard C. Snyder. “The Analysis of Social Conflict—toward an Overview and Synthesis.” *Conflict Resolution* 1, no. 2 (1957): 212–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200275700100208>.
- Mosamim, Parwiz, Ida Widianingsih, and Oekan S. Abdoellah. “Indonesia’s Peace Efforts in Afghanistan.” *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Anti-Corruption and Integrity*, 2019.  
<https://doi.org/10.5220/0009402802680275>.
- Schwebel, Suzanne. “Spirituality and Wellbeing: Primary teacher and school counsellor perspectives”, *Journal of Student Engagement: Education Matters*, 7(1), 2017, 2-27. Available at:  
<https://ro.uow.edu.au/jseem/vol7/iss1/2>
- Schulze, Kirsten E. “The Free Aceh Movement (GAM): Anatomy of a Separatist Organization”, *East-West Center Washington, Policy Studies* 2 (2004)
- Shea, Nathan. “Nongovernment Organizations as Mediators: Making Peace in Aceh, Indonesia.” *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 28:2, 177-196, 6

April 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2016.1162778>

Wardak, Mirwais, Idrees Zaman, and Kanishka Nawabi. "The Role and Functions of Religious Civil Society in Afghanistan: Case Studies from Sayedbad & Kunduz." *Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU)*, 2007, 1–52.

## Laporan

Conciliation Resources. "Processing Peace in Afghanistan." <https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/Processing%20peace%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf>.

CSS ETH Zurich. "Transforming Conflicts with Religious Dimensions: Methodologies and Practical Experiences." Conference report, The Centre on Conflict, Development, and Peace Building (CCDP), 27-28 April 2009. <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/159871/CCDP-Conference-Report.pdf>.

CSS ETH Zurich. "The Difficult Stabilization of Afghanistan." CSS Analyses in Security Policy No.11. [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/30405/css\\_analysen\\_nr11-0407\\_e.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/30405/css_analysen_nr11-0407_e.pdf)

Harvard Humanitarian Initiative. "Fragile Future: The human cost of conflict in Afghanistan." 2018. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/SSRN-id3291982.pdf>

Human Rights Watch Report. "Reports Afghanistan." <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1991/afghanistan/2AFGHAN.html>

Initiative Mediation Support Deutschland, "The Roles and Contributions of Multilateral and Non-State Actors in Peace Mediation: Fact Sheet Series: Peace Mediation and Mediation Support." Peace Mediation - Federal Foreign Office, Desember 2017. <https://www.auswaertigesamt.de/blob/1993534/fbc03decc03d573cec0d6fe8eddb4d9/roles-of-non-state-actors-in-peace-mediation-data.pdf>.

Nader, Jawed dan Fleur Roberts. "Inclusive local peacebuilding in Afghanistan: Lesson from practice." Conciliation Resources, Accord Issue No. 27. [https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/18\\_Nader\\_Roberts\\_Incremental-Peace-in-Afghanistan-81-85.pdf](https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/18_Nader_Roberts_Incremental-Peace-in-Afghanistan-81-85.pdf)

Oxfam International. "The Cost of War: Afghan Experiences of Conflict, 1978-2009." 2009. [https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/file\\_attachments/afghanistan-the-cost-of-war\\_14.pdf](https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/file_attachments/afghanistan-the-cost-of-war_14.pdf)

RAND Corporation. "Afghan Peace Talks." 2011. [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND\\_MG1131.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1131.pdf)

Swiss Peace Centre for Security Studies (CSS). "Towards Realizing the Strengths and Mitigating the Challenges of NGO Mediators." Final Report of Consultation Process Mediation Support Project, Februari 2009. <https://mediacionesjusticia.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/ngo-mediators-final-report-political.pdf>

United Nations Development Programme. "UNDP guidelines on engaging with faithbased organizations and religious leaders.". UNDP 2014. [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/documents/partners/2014\\_UNDP\\_Guidelines-onEngaging-with-FBOs-and-Religious-Leaders\\_EN.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/documents/partners/2014_UNDP_Guidelines-onEngaging-with-FBOs-and-Religious-Leaders_EN.pdf)

United States Institute of Peace. "Making Peace in Afghanistan: The Missing Political Strategy." Special Report. Februari 2011. <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR267Jarvenpaa.pdf>

Villumstad, Stein. nd. "Frameworks for Dialogue: Interfaith Action in Times of Conflict." Oslo: Norwegian Church Aid.

Wardak, Mirwais, Idrees Zaman, dan Kanishka Nawabi. "The Role and Functions of Religious Civil Society in Afghanistan: Case study from Sayedbad & Kunduz." Research and Advocacy Departement Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU)funded by Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Juli 2007. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/berkley-center/070701CPAURoleFunctionReligiousCivilSocietyAfghanistan.pdf>

## **Wawancara**

As'ad Ali, KH. 2020. *Hasil Wawancara Pribadi*: 24 Maret 2020, Kantor Pribadi di Tebet.



## Website

- Azimy, Yousuf. "Taliban release 12 Korean hostage's. Reuters.  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghan-hostages-idUSISL21282020070829>
- Affan, Heyder. "Polemik di balik isti'lah 'Islam Nusantara', BBC Indonesia" [https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2015/06/150614\\_indonesia\\_islam\\_nusantara](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2015/06/150614_indonesia_islam_nusantara)
- BBC. "Afghanistan Profile - Timeline." BBC News. BBC, September 9, 2019.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12024253>.
- BBC, "Why is there a war in Afghanistan? The short, medium and long story."  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-49192495>
- Center for Strategic and Regional Studies Afghanistan. "Indonesia in the Afghan foreign policy." <https://csrskabul.com/en/?p=2310>
- Hamdani, Muhammad Ibrahim. "Peran NU Dalam Proses Perdamaian di Afghanistan", Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia.  
<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/48291/peran-nu-dalam-proses-perdamaian-di-afghanistan>
- Hanifi, M. Jamil "Causes and Consequences of the Destabilization of Afghanistan" Middle East Institute.  
<https://www.mei.edu/publications/causes-and-consequences-destabilization-afghanistan>
- Kementrian Luar Negeri Indonesia. "Capacity Building for 10 Mid-level Afghan Diplomats program in Jakarta"  
<https://kemlu.go.id/kabul/en/news/1525/capacity-building-for-10-mid-level-afghan-diplomats-program-in-jakarta-july-16-22-201>
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia. "Visiting Kabul, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi Supports the Peace Process in Afghanistan"  
<https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/1095/berita/visiting-kabul-ministry-of-foreign-affairs-retno-marsudi-supports-the-peace-process-in-afghanistan>
- M. Umar, Ahmad Rizky. "Indonesia's "Islamic diplomacy" seeks to broker an Afghan peace". The Interpreter. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/indonesia-s-islamic-diplomacy-seeks-broker-afghan-peace>

- Maharani, Esti. “Dukung Perdamaian, Menlu Retno akan ke Afganistan”  
Republika. <https://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/q1q4jd335/dukung-perdamaian-menlu-retno-akan-ke-afghanistan>
- Medcom. “Indonesia Expresses Commitment to Support Afghanistan.”  
<https://www.medcom.id/english/world/0Kv99xRk-indonesia-expresses-commitment-to-support-afghanistan>
- NU Online. “Pendirian NU di Afghanistan Beri Inspirasi Sejumlah Negara.”,  
<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/107646/pendirian-nu-di-afghanistan-beri-inspirasi-sejumlah-negara>
- NU Online. “Peran NU Dalam Proses Perdamaian di Afghanistan.”  
<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/48291/peran-nu-dalam-proses-perdamaian-di-afghanistan>
- NU Online. “Karakter Tawassuth, Tawazun, I'tidal, Dan Tasamuh Dalam Aswaja,” 29 Maret 2009. <https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/16551/karakter-tawassuth-tawazun-i039tidal-dan-tasamuh-dalam-aswaja>.
- Pan Esther. “Indonesia: The Aceh Peace Agreement, Council on Foreign Relations” <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/indonesia-aceh-peace-agreement>
- Prihatin, Intan Umbari. “RI Berikan Pelatihan Capacity Building Sumber Daya Mineral untuk Afghanistan”, Merdeka.com.  
<https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/ri-berikan-pelatihan-capacity-building-sumber-daya-mineral-untuk-afghanistan.html>
- Rubin, Michael. “Who is Responsible for the Taliban, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy”  
<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/who-responsible-taliban>
- Sapiie, Marguerite Afra. “Foreign Ministry, NU to open Islamic Center in Afghanistan”, The Jakarta Post.  
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/05/12/foreign-ministry-nu-to-open-islamic-center-in-afghanistan.html>
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. “Pemerintah Hibahkan Rp 16 Miliar Untuk Pembangunan Indonesia Islamic Centre di Afghanistan.”  
<https://setkab.go.id/pemerintah-hibahkan-rp-16-miliar-untuk-pembangunan-indonesia-islamic-centre-di-afghanistan/>

The Jakarta Post. "Islam Nusantara: A soft power diplomacy."

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2019/02/18/islam-nusantara-a-soft-power-diplomacy>

The Jakarta Post. "President Jokowi opens trilateral ulema meeting at Bogor Palace."

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/05/11/president-jokowi-opens-trilateral-ulema-meeting-at-bogorpalace.html>

VOA Indonesia. "Jokowi Tegaskan Komitmen Indonesia Bangun Perdamaian di Afghanistan." <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/jokowi-tegaskan-komitmen-indonesia-bangun-perdamaian-di-afghanistan/4231049.html>