INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy is the actualization of a country’s foreign policy in which there is national interest as a form of accumulation of the diversity of interests of the people. The foreign policy issued by a country is intended to achieve the welfare of the people of that country. Indonesia as an entity in formulating its foreign policy is based on changes taking place in the international and domestic world (Yani, 2017).

The concept of foreign policy itself can be seen from several expert opinions, one of which is Mappa Nasrun who provides the concept of foreign policy, which means that a country’s foreign policy is essentially a reflection of conditions and developments in its country, as well as the state and development of the system. international politics can be a factor that determines the behavior of foreign policy. Thus, foreign policy is primarily influenced by internal and external factors (Indraning, 2020).

It is stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution in the first Aliena which reads “That in fact independence is the right of
all nations and therefore colonialism must be abolished because it is not in accordance with humanity and justice. This statement shows the main characteristics of Indonesia’s foreign policy.

The meaning of the word “free” is that the Indonesian nation has the right to determine its own judgment and attitude towards world problems and to be free from being attached to one of the world power blocs. Meanwhile, the meaning of the word “active” is that the Indonesian nation actively and constructively strives to contribute to the attainment of absolute independence in all corners of the world, because it is in accordance with the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

In relation to this, Indonesia also maintains diplomatic relations with many countries, both developed and developing countries. Among these countries, Indonesia also maintains diplomatic relations with developing countries that are lagging behind economically in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Previously, Indonesia’s foreign policy was based on the realism and pragmatism of international relations. The highest national interest at that time was national development which was focused on the economic sector in order to obtain optimal national resilience. This pragmatism certainly results in inconsistencies in Indonesia’s foreign policy towards Middle Eastern and African countries: sometimes exploiting its predicate as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, sometimes even opposing (or at least not in line) with Middle Eastern countries.

With President Jokowi’s initiative to sponsor peace in Afghanistan, a country that has long been torn apart in civil war after being abandoned by the Soviet Union (Benarrivo, 2016). To realize this support, President Jokowi made a visit to Afghanistan on January 29, 2018. In the research written by I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana, who wrote a dissertation entitled Islam and Indonesia’s Foreign Policy. In this work, Wicaksana explores the role of Islam in Indonesia’s foreign policy, where Islam has recently received the world’s spotlight due to Islamic extremism being one of the major challenges to the world order after the cold war. So the authors are interested in finding out whether religion has an influence in the formulation of foreign policy by taking the case of the relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan. The description first focuses on the role of Islam in the formation of national identity, the interests of domestic elites and politics, and the external situation. Furthermore, it describes the development of the Jakarta-Islamabad relationship based on the governing regimes. During President Sukarno’s era, there was a shift to avoid using Islamic identity. Moreover, in the Suharto era, Islam was not considered an important factor in foreign policy, because the New Order government tended to pursue economic interests and security stability. However, in 1990, the Suharto government began to pay attention to Islam in foreign policy and at the same time Pakistan began to draw closer to the forces in East and Southeast Asia. At this time Islam was still not the identity of foreign policy, because President Suharto was consistent in implementing a free and active foreign policy. In conclusion, this dissertation states that although Islam has an important role in Indonesia’s policy towards Pakistan, Islam is not the main reference and consideration.

The Indonesian government has consistently emphasized the importance of the UN’s role in political and diplomatic efforts to reach a comprehensive solution to the Afghanistan problem. The Indonesian government, as conveyed by Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda at the UN General Assembly on November 15, 2001, has also emphasized that the role of the United Nations needs to be aimed at supporting the efforts of the Afghan people themselves, including in the formation of a broad-based government, is multi-ethnic, and represents all the people of Afghanistan.

The negotiation process held in Bonn is an opportunity to rebuild peace (peace building) in Afghanistan from the disaster of conflict for more than 23 years. In this context, the Government of Indonesia supports
the results achieved in the Bonn peace talks facilitated by the Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General for Afghanistan. In addition, Indonesia also cooperates with Norway to participate in efforts to create peace in Afghanistan. By agreeing on the South-South and Triangular Cooperation cooperation. Afghanistan is one of the countries that has become a priority for Indonesian technical cooperation assistance, of course, to create peace in Afghanistan through efforts capacity building in almost all fields and striving for peace building.

Based on this background, this research focuses on Indonesia’s soft power policy in foreign policy for peace in Afghanistan, where at this time religious equality is the most easily accepted thing in both countries.

This paper has many literatures to support the research, such as literature with title (Ahmad, 2019), Pakistan’s Relations with Afghanistan and Implications for Regional Politics (Brown & Felbab, 2015), Hard Power, Soft Power and The Goals Of Diplomacy (Cooper & Robert, 2004), India’s And Pakistan’s Strategies in Afghanistan: Implications for the United States and the Region (Hanauer, Larry, & Chalk, 2012), India’s Soft Power and Vulnerability (Hymans & Jacques, 2009), The New Great Game in Afghanistan: Role of India (A Pakistani Perspective) (Khalid & Khalid, 2011), “The False Promise of India’s Soft Power (Mukherjee & Rohan, 2014), Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations: History and Geopolitics in A Regional and International Context: Implications for Canadian Foreign Policy (Siddiqi & Shibil, 2008), Japan’s gastrodipomacy as softpower: global washoku and national food security Journal of Contemporary Eastern Asia (Farina, 2018), Applying the Delphi method to determine best practices for outsourcing logistics in disaster relief (Gossler, Sigala, & Wakolbinger, 2019), Delphi Technique Theoretical Framework in Qualitative Research. (Habibi, Sarafrazi, & Izadyar, 2014)

The purpose of this study is to identify several factors that encourage Indonesia to help bring peace in Afghanistan. This research is organized as follows, chapter 1 introduction, chapter 2 shows material and methodology, chapter 3 shows the results of data and discussion, chapter 4 conclusion.

Afganistan

Afghanistan is a country located in the South Asia region. Astronomically, Afghanistan is located at 29° to 39° north latitude and 60° to 75° east longitude. Afghanistan’s highest point is located in Noshak, at 7,492 meters above sea level (Binasyifa, 2017). Geographically, this area is a crossroads connecting China, Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East. Afghanistan is a country that is never free from conflict, the conflict that occurs seems to be an inseparable part of the history of Afghanistan’s development, the Afghan conflict has occurred since hundreds of years ago began in the BC century where Afghanistan was controlled by Alexander the Great in 330 BC to the 7th century AD where Alexander the Great intended to control the Persian and Indian territories, then Afghanistan experienced a period of influence from the Mongol dynasty (Genghis Khan) and the development of Islam, around the 7th century to the 192th century. In 1819 and 1826 Britain invaded, taking advantage of the civil war that hit Afghanistan at that time. The war between the two countries had a sequence. The war had a paused period, then returned to war until 1919 or in a period of nearly one hundred years there were three wars between Afghanistan and Britain. In modern times, the situation in Afghanistan has not changed much. The conflict that occurred in Afghanistan is the same as in the Middle Ages, only the actors and weapons used are different.

In the modern era Afghanistan has become a republic with an Islamic ideology, the official name of Afghanistan is the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, or in Afghan language is jomhuri-ye Eslami-ye Afghanistan. Afghanistan officially became independent on 19 August 1919 (from British control of the State of Afghanistan) administrative divisions covering 34 provinces. Then it changed its name to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in 2004. The new Afghan
government was actually formed after the Afghan people succeeded in destroying the power of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1989, the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan in order to maintain and supervise the Afghan government under its influence. There are several conflicts that have occurred in Afghanistan in the modern era such as the border conflict with Pakistan which is a conflict that has not been resolved until now, in addition to the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1979-1989 then the emergence of the Mujahideen jihadist groups to the Taliban insurgency and the US invasion and also the issue of terrorism. This is a challenge in itself for the Afghan government in pursuing the peace it has long aspired to.

Foreign Policy and Soft Power

In a general sense, foreign policy is a formula set of values, attitudes, directions and targets to maintain, secure and advance national interests in the international arena. A commitment which is basically a basic strategy to achieve a goal both in the domestic and foreign context as well as determining the involvement of a country in international issues or the surrounding environment. Foreign policy is one of the fields of study in International Relations. Foreign Policy is a complex study because it involves not only external aspects but also internal aspects of a country.

Foreign policy is a strategy or action plan made by state decision-makers in dealing with other countries or other international political units, and controlled to achieve specific national goals as outlined in the terminology of national interests. Foreign policies carried out by the government of a country are intended to achieve the national interest of the people he governs, even though the national interests of a nation at that time were determined by who was in power at that time.

One of the ways to understand the concept of foreign policy is to separate it into two components: politics and foreign affairs. Politics (policy) is a set of decisions that serve as guidelines for action, or a set of actions aimed at achieving predetermined goals. Policy itself is rooted in the concept of "choices (choices)": choosing actions or making decisions to achieve a goal. Meanwhile, the idea of a country is at the intersection between the domestic aspects of a country (domestic) and the international aspects (external) of the life of a country. Therefore, the study of foreign policy cannot describe the structures and processes of both the international system (external environment) and the domestic political system. From the above statement it is difficult for us to separate between foreign policy and domestic politics. This separation is only possible for the purposes of analysis or research in International Relations.

Among other things, soft power consists of elements of culture, value systems and policies. Indonesia, of course, has all the resources to claim itself as the foremost soft power implementer. There are many advantages that Indonesia gets when using soft power in its foreign policy. A country can get what it wants in the world political arena due to several factors, such as admiration for its values or its aspirations for increased prospects for cooperation and economic openness. That is an art in itself in an effort to participate in maintaining world peace. Of course this is in clear contrast to hard power which uses coercive, coercive and suppressive methods.

Starting from the basic perceptions and assumptions mentioned above, this research will explain what factors have caused Indonesia to assist the reconciliation process in Afghanistan.

METHOD

This research was conducted over a period of 2 years, from January 2018 to November 2020 with observations of the success of Indonesia’s soft power in realizing peace in Afghanistan. Respondents in this study were competent stakeholders in the success of Indonesia’s soft power in realizing peace in Afghanistan consisting of 6 people including the Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to Afghanistan and five other experts. The result of this research is a strate-
gy that influences the success of Indonesia’s soft power in realizing peace in Afghanistan based on a weighted criteria analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Delphi analysis to filter and form the criteria for the factors that encourage Indonesia to help bring peace in Afghanistan.

The Delphi process was carried out by asking questions to experts to obtain several criteria that were very influential and became a factor that pushed Indonesia to help bring peace in Afghanistan. Some of the existing criteria were then confirmed to other experts in turn until a criterion was agreed upon by the experts which became the driving factor for Indonesia to help bring peace in Afghanistan.

Several factors driving Indonesia’s internal to help bring peace in Afghanistan are a). Indonesia’s aspirations in realizing world peace, b). Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country, c). Encouragement from Community Organizations. Meanwhile, some of Indonesia’s internal external factors to help bring peace in Afghanistan are a). Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and a common identity, b). Studying Islam as a religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin, c). Learning conflict handling, d). Learn the values of Pancasila.

Indonesia’s aspiration in realizing world peace means that as a country, Indonesia must actively participate in world peace. This has become one of the national goals that the Republic of Indonesia wants to achieve. Indonesia’s participation in peacekeeping is the mandate of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, the fourth paragraph, namely: “... Participating in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice ...” This shows that Indonesia emphasizes the importance of active participation in the international world. A world that is safe and peaceful is certainly the hope of all humans, including Indonesia. In order to create a world peace that is eternal, just and prosperous, the Indonesian government takes a free and active foreign policy stance.

Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country means that the image or image of a country turns out to have its own impact on the country’s survival. This is no exception for developing countries like Indonesia. If we move back a little, in the reform era, Indonesia can be said to be in a dark situation. Inter-ethnic conflicts, acts of terrorism, natural disasters became a picture of Indonesia in the eyes of the international community during that period. Things like that are non-military threats, which if it is not immediately responded to, it will affect the interest in foreign investment as well as on the existing cooperation. It is feared that this will have a negative impact on efforts to achieve Indonesia’s national interests, one of which is national defense efforts. Responding to potential non-military threats, the government itself through the relevant ministries and institutions has made various efforts, one of which is soft power in the form of diplomacy. In contrast to hard power which tends to prioritize military power, soft power actually overrides military defense equipment as its instrument (Ahmad, 2019).

One form of soft power that a country can exercise in achieving its national goals and interests is through the form of cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a form of diplomacy that emphasizes the use of culture as the main element and will provide wider possibilities for participation. What is meant by culture or culture itself is more referring to the characteristics of the community, which can include things such as language, religion, customary values, behavior, beliefs and arts. In other words, the link in question is how a pattern of behavior that has been embedded in a particular society can influence foreign policies to be formed. The belief that cultural aspects need to be a focus in the formulation of international policies is marked by the understanding of scholars who state that if we try to understand the relationship between two countries, then an analysis of the society concerned needs to be applied (Brown & Felbab, 2015).
The encouragement of civil society organizations in Indonesia meant pushing for a prolonged conflict in Afghanistan not only to the loss of lives and injuries and the destruction of infrastructure, but also to a collapse of trust in others. Various attempts were made to bring these conflicting groups together, including one that Nadhlatul Ulama strives for as one of the largest mass organizations in Indonesia. Through the concept of Islam Nusantara, which embodies moderate, tolerant and non-violent Islamic practices, in June 2014 the “NU-Afghanistan” or NUA was formed. As of June 2019, NUA has opened in 22 of 34 provinces across Afghanistan and is supported by more than 6,000 clerics. We must know that they are fellow Muslims and Afghan citizens are in conflict because of political ideology and factors of intervention from other countries. They forget that they are one religion, allied, one nation and should be able to become the basis for building nationalism, with the spirit of loving the motherland and nationhood. In Indonesia, religion is constructive, it can build social life; but why in Afghanistan religion is instead used as a tool of political conflict and a tool of violence and terrorism. This Indonesian experience has encouraged Afghanistan to learn a lot.

Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and a common identity mean that constructivist policies need to be pursued. Constructivists prioritize three concepts that influence human action in international relations, namely identity, norms and language. Alexander Wendt provides a definition of identity as “an attribute inherent in an actor that drives action.” That is, identity can shape the interests of actors, both individuals and countries, which then form actions which will indirectly form identity. Either the same identity or change into a new identity. This policy is to fully participate in the peacemaking of conflicts in international relations, one of which is by becoming a mediator in conflicts between countries.

Studying Islam as a religion of rahmatan lil ‘alamin which implies that in language the word Islam comes from the word salama or salima which means peace, security, comfort, and protection. And as a religion, Islam is a manifestation of peace itself. He encourages humans to create a life that is proportional, peaceful, full of kindness, balance, tolerance, patience, and restrains anger, and it can be explained that essentially refers to the notion of peace, protection, security and comfort. The Islamic idea of rahmatan lil’alamin develops pluralist, humanist, dialogic and tolerant patterns of human relations, and develops the use and management of nature with compassion. Pluralist in the sense of having a relationship regardless of ethnicity, nation, religion, race or other points that distinguish one person from another. Humanist in the sense of upholding human rights and respecting humans as human beings. Dialogical in the sense that all problems that arise as a result of social interaction are well discussed and accommodating to various thoughts. And tolerant in the sense of giving the opportunity to others to do as they believe, in full peace. The relationship with the human / student profile produced by Islamic religious education institutions in the future is the building of Indonesian Islam with the face of saving the relationship between humans and the relationship between humans and nature, as the embodiment of Islam that is rahmatan lil’alamin, which in the context of the Islamic world in general and Indonesia in general, it is facing problems that are contrary to the Islamic idea of Rahmatan Lil’alamin such as violence, extremism, radicalism and terrorism.

Studying the values of Pancasila, Indonesia and Afghanistan both have a majority Muslim population. The difference is, Indonesia has more than 800 types of cultural diversity and 500 languages that can be united through Pancasila. In Afghanistan, it is not religion, but political and social conditions that divide them. The majority of the people of Afghanistan love peace, but the entry of foreign countries that has caused conflict between groups in Afghanistan has never ended. Even these foreign countries are competing for sources of oil and gas fields. Many oil and gas mines have not been explored due to safety concerns.
Several assessments of the reasons that encourage the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan based on the judgment of experts are a). Indonesia’s ideals in realizing world peace (X1), b). Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country (X2), c). Encouragement from Community Organizations (X3), d). Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and the same identity (X4), e). Studying Islam as a religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin (X5), f). Learning conflict handling (X6), g). Studying the values of Pancasila (X7). From determining the criteria obtained from the Delphi result process, the priority order will be determined using the Borda analysis method.

The determination of the criteria weight that encourages the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan uses the Borda analysis.

Group Decision Support Systems were very popular in the 1980s as a tool in finding solutions to solve problems in work groups, so this system is also called a group decision support system. There are three important steps in solving problems in this system, namely a). Determination of criteria and alternatives. b). Evaluation of the criteria preference value against alternatives by decision makers in each section. c). Evaluation of weight values is collected into one group to determine the group choice alternatives (Ishida., 2017).

The Borda method put forward by its founder Jean Charles de Borda in the 18th century is one method that can be used in determining the best alternative which is selected from several alternatives. Each alternative will be ranked based on its weight to be used as an option for decision makers. The biggest weight is the first rank of the best alternative from the decision maker choice. The specialty of the Borda method is that it is able to overcome difficulties with other methods where something that is not ranked first is automatically eliminated. The basic idea in the Borda analysis method is to weight the choice of criteria so that they are sorted into first rank, second rank, and so on. The evaluation of the importance of the criteria is carried out as follows, first ranking the most important criteria first, and ranking the criteria that are considered less important in the next ranking order. The next step is that the first ranking value is changed to a weighted ranking m-1, and the second ranking is changed to a m-2 weighted rank, where m rank becomes a weighted ranking m = 0. Validation of the criteria is done by assessing the level of importance and ranking the criteria, where the criteria considered The most important preference is placed 1st, then the criteria that are considered less important are placed 2nd and so on. until the 4th order according to the number of predetermined criteria. Then the data is then reprocessed through a recapitulation process which results in a recapitulation of the expert questionnaire.

Table 1. Results of the recapitulation of the criteria questionnaire data

| No | Criteria | Code | X1 | X2 | X3 | X4 | X5 | X6 |
|----|----------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1  | Y1       | K1   | 1  | 1  | 1  | 2  | 1  | 1  |
| 2  | Y2       | K2   | 3  | 2  | 2  | 3  | 2  | 3  |
| 3  | Y3       | K3   | 5  | 3  | 4  | 1  | 3  | 2  |
| 4  | Y4       | K4   | 7  | 6  | 6  | 5  | 5  | 6  |
| 5  | Y5       | K5   | 2  | 5  | 4  | 4  | 4  | 5  |
| 6  | Y6       | K6   | 4  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 4  |
| 7  | Y7       | K7   | 6  | 7  | 3  | 7  | 6  | 7  |
a peace bridge country (X2), c). Encouragement from Community Organizations (X3), d). Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and the same identity (X4), e). Studying Islam as a religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin (X5), f). Learning conflict handling (X6), g). Studying the values of Pancasila (X7). are:

Table 2. The results of weighting the criteria for reasons that encourage the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan

| No | Code | Strategy | Weight |
|----|------|----------|--------|
| 1  | X1   | Indonesia’s ideals in realizing world peace | 0.27   |
| 2  | X2   | Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country | 0.21   |
| 3  | X3   | Encouragement from Community Organizations | 0.18   |
| 4  | X5   | Studying Islam as a religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin | 0.12   |
| 5  | X4   | Indonesia’s proximity of Afghanistan and them same identity | 0.09   |
| 6  | X6   | Learning conflict handling | 0.08   |
| 7  | X7   | Studying the values of Pancasila | 0.05   |

The results of the analysis in the Borda method are the final decisions that are used as the results of group decisions where the initial data is in the form of a strategic approach table carried out with the previous Delphi analysis then made in the form of a matrix table. From the results of various value data obtained, then it is processed again at the stage of determining the alternative value which is carried out by providing the first ranking value with the value of n-1 where n is a number of alternatives. In table 3.2 it can be seen the results of determining the alternative value where the criteria for the reasons that encourage the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan X1 get a total weight value of 0.27, the X2 calculation criteria get a total weight value of 0.21, the reason criteria X3 get a total weight value 0.18, the criteria for reason X5 get a total weight value of 0.12, the criteria for reason X4 get a total weight value of 0.09, the criteria for reason X6 get a total weight value of 0.08, the criteria for reason X7 get a total weight value of 0.05. From the weighing of the criteria, it is known that there are seven reasons that encourage the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan, namely Indonesia’s aspirations in realizing world peace (27%), Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country (21%), Encouragement from Communi-
ty Organizations (18%), Studying Islam as the religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin (12%), Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and equality of identity (9%), Learning conflict management (8%) and Learning Pancasila values (5%).

Indonesia has committed to helping the peace process in Afghanistan, although the direction of the peace process is not yet clear, Indonesia is still optimistic that this peace will come true. The usefulness of this research is that it is expected to be able to find out Indonesia’s interests as well as the direction of Indonesia’s foreign policy, especially in the effort to create world peace, especially peace in Afghanistan, and to increase knowledge about conflicts in the South Asian region in general.

Indonesia’s choice in efforts to realize world peace, especially peace in Afghanistan, is by using Soft Power, because Indonesia has assets that support the application of Soft Power and soft diplomacy. First, Indonesia has a population of 260 million, with the majority being Muslim. However, in contrast to Islam in the Middle East which tends to be homogeneous and aggressive, Islam in Indonesia is more plural and tolerant. This can be a vital diplomatic asset. Second, economically, Indonesia still has a lot of land that needs to be worked on as a large market. Third, historical assets. Indonesia has played a big role in the history of the struggles of Asian and African nations.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis and discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn: Several assessments of the reasons that encourage the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan are Indonesia’s aspirations in realizing world peace b). Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country, encouragement from community organizations, Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and equality of identity, Studying Islam as a religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin, Learning conflict management, Learning the values of Pancasila.

From the weighting of the criteria, it is known that there are seven reasons that encourage the need for Indonesia to use soft power for peace in Afghanistan, namely Indonesia’s aspirations in realizing world peace (27%), Building the image of Indonesia as a peace bridge country (21%), Encouragement from Community Organizations (18%), Studying Islam as the religion of Rahmatan lil Allamin (12%), Indonesia’s proximity to Afghanistan and equality of identity (9%), Learning conflict management (8%) and Learning Pancasila values (5%).

RECOMMENDATION

In accordance with the results of the above research, the main recommendation is the need to make several agreements and bilateral cooperation with Afghanistan, so that an analysis of Indonesia’s interests towards Afghanistan will be obtained which is more specific and equipped with accurate data.

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