

Indonesia's Role towards a Momentum of Cease-Fire in Afghanistan

The Ulama Trilateral Meeting in Bogor Could Be the Foundation of the Negotiation for Intra Afghanistan Peace

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Abstract – It should be understood by all parties that Afghanistan has become a victim of a conflict of interest, that conflict, in reality, involves and involves an Islamic brotherhood conflict because both parties are Islamic and will become an obligation for a third party who must be Islam, who mediates the problem to be able to be fair and stand in the middle. Both parties to the conflict should be willing to be mediated by peace, even if there are parties who reject the peaceful position they are aiming for. It must be realized that the conflict has been going on for four decades, so that the struggle for the interests of the state, between regional and international ones, is too complex, therefore the internal interests of the state, regional and international must be put aside first. What efforts or methods, so that the results can be the foundation for carrying out the negotiations, which have been difficult to materialize. This is where Indonesia then tries to approach the trilateral meeting of African, Pakistani, and Indonesian ulama. It is hoped that there will be a common view of the two scholars of Afghanistan and Pakistan, in reaching a peaceful solution. In the end, after one month an agreement was made to implement a 3-day ceasefire on the day of Eid al-Adha 2018 between the government and the Taliban. This is where the Afghan government negotiations with the Taliban took place to agree to a "cease-fire" which later became the forerunner to the foundation of the Afghan peace negotiations.

Keywords – Role of Indonesia, Cease-fire, Afghanistan

I. INTRODUCTION

The continuation and reality of the historic visit of President Joko Widodo on January 29, 2018, has made a historic day for the Government of Afghanistan and all Afghan Stakeholders who welcomed President Joko Widodo's visit to Kabul, Afghanistan. And on this occasion, the President of Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani awarded the Medal of Supreme Courage "Ghazi Amanullah Khan" 2 to President Joko Widodo for his courage and as a symbol of appreciation (Rachman, 2018).

The message of this Peace award symbolizes the extraordinarily warm welcome for the presence of the President of the Republic of Indonesia when Afghanistan is mourning and needs the attention of its Indonesian Muslim brothers. The presence of the President of the Republic of Indonesia not only affects the situation that continues to

deteriorate for the people of Afghanistan who long for peace, but the presence of the President of the Republic of Indonesia also provides tremendous motivation for the international community, to continue to struggle to support the coming of peace, if then the President of the Republic of Indonesia decides to continue with Vice President Jusuf Kalla³, to be present to lead the Indonesian delegation, will participate in the Kabul Process II conference in Kabul on February 28, 2018. That is a form of Indonesia's diplomatic efforts (Rachman, 2018).

Conflict or the path of violence of war always does not produce anything and benefits anyone, no matter how serious the problem, through conflict negotiations there will be an end. All parties must focus on the goal of peace, peace is Islamic and "Allah's commandment", peace is beautiful, peace is the middle way, peace is a solution, and it must be

believed that peace is the best choice. That is a form of an effort to approach Indonesia through soft power, in the form of paying attention so that Indonesia is recognized as a peace-loving country. Thus what is desired can be achieved without violence and coercion.

Understanding the ongoing conflict that is prolonged, let us think for a moment to remember the catastrophe of the war that has passed in Afghanistan. But on the contrary, let us agree that efforts to struggle and sacrifice for peace have been going on for 40 years and have now arrived at the gate of peace itself, namely "Momentum for the arrival of Peace becomes a miracle for negotiations" when the damage and desires of both parties are increasing. This is where, since 10 years ago, Indonesia has approached ulama, soft power diplomacy to achieve something desired by attracting the attention of Afghan scholars for sympathy and building cooperation through the NUA (Nahdatul Ulama Afghanistan), which then extends to many provinces in Afghanistan.

II. MATERIALS DAN METHODS

2.1. Theory of Diplomacy

Diplomacy in general is the implementation of official relations between one country and another. In the context of world peacekeeping efforts, Indonesia conducts public diplomacy with other countries by sending Indonesian military personnel (TNI troops) to join UN peacekeeping missions in several countries such as Cambodia (UNAMIC and UNTAG) Lebanon (UNIFIL), Darfur (UNAMID), Nepal (UNMIN), Sudan (UNMIS), and Liberia (UNMIL). The efforts made by Indonesia are a form of international commitment between Indonesia and countries in the world (Rachman, 2017).

2.2. Theory of Hard Power and Soft Power

Power is defined as the power to rule and force one party by another with the aim of the first party getting the results it wants. The existence of orders and coercion to get what you want is called hard power. Hard Power is closely related to "inducements" (carrots) or threats (sticks). Carrot is a reward and sticks are a threat. In other words, country A can provide a reward in the form of economic assistance if country B is willing to comply and provide what country A wants. In the form of a military threat (Ahmadi, 2019). However, Nye revealed that there are other ways to practice power apart from doing hard power, namely by performing soft power in the form of attraction. By "charming", we can attract (attract) the attention of others so that it will confirm our views and ultimately agree with our opinion. Thus, what is desired can be achieved without violence and coercion. Soft power is defined as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion or payments" (Nye, 2004). Thus, wishes can be obtained by attracting other parties without coercion or payment.

Soft Power from a country is owned from three sources, namely culture, political values, and foreign policy. Soft Power can only be done if other parties recognize the effort, have the same expectations in its implementation, and strengthen the determination to achieve common goals (Buzan, 1991). In solving the problems described in the background, the Indonesian side refers to the use of soft power. Which is to emphasize more on building confidence and trust without violence to achieve common goals (Aljabri, 2012).

2.3. Theory of Soft Power Diplomacy

Soft Power Diplomacy is an effort to implement diplomacy using a soft power approach. As the concept of soft power has been revealed by Benkenstein (2017) which emphasizes that to achieve something desired by attracting the attention of other parties that can get sympathy from other parties.

The activities carried out by the TNI as a military contingent for peace from Indonesia cannot be separated from the efforts to foster Indonesian soft power. One of the activities carried out was that TNI members were happy to introduce Indonesian national culture to the local community and also other contingents who were able to attract their attention and sympathy for Indonesia (Bateman, 2011).

2.4. The Soft Power Currencies

In the theory of Soft Power put forward by Joseph Nye in his book "Soft Power, 2004" states that having many sources of Soft Power cannot guarantee the rise of a country's prestige. This happened because the Soft Power generated by these sources was unable to reach the target community directly. Therefore, Alexander Vuving offers a theoretical concept to complement Nye's concept entitled "Soft Power Currencies" in his writing "How Soft Power Works" in 2009. Soft Power Currencies is Soft Power that can reach the target or recipient (Vuving, 2009). Soft Power requires Soft Power Currencies like water requires pipes to reach homes.

In his book, Vuving explains that there are three main points of Soft Power Currencies including beauty, brilliance, and benignity. Beauty is a resonance of shared norms and goals, brilliance is an attraction that results from ability and success, and benignity is best seen from behavior and character (Vuving, 2009).

2.5. Theory of Constructivism

Constructivism focus on an idea where knowledge is formed from social construction and this also helps shape social reality. There is a transfer of ideas between someone who builds social communication (Wallis & Richmond, 2017) In contrast to the realism and liberalism approaches which emphasize the behavior and patterns of relations between countries, constructivism views dimensions that have a constructive nature from ideas that come from interactions between actors. such as identity, opinion,

discourse, culture, and values. Constructivists also argue that ideas and knowledge that are intersubjective have a constitutive effect on social reality and provide answers to why people who have common interests tend to be together. Therefore, the ideas and ideals of the actors involved will be an important key to understanding the phenomena that occur in the context of international relations because the direction of their interaction will determine the results to be achieved (Burchill, et al., 2005)

Things that are identical to material such as the concept of power (military power) based on an idea or meaning given. For example, the United States (US) does not consider the 500 missiles owned by the UK dangerous compared to the 5 missiles owned by North Korea because of the alliance between the US and the UK. However, the US and North Korea will argue that the possession of any quantity of weapons will threaten the security of the two countries. (Reus-Smit & Snidal, 2008).

Next, constructivism also considers historical aspects because history is also part of social reality and there is a possibility for change. Change may come from the structure, practice, as well as from certain institutions, and the ongoing changes will certainly affect political relations. Constructivism also understands that diffusion between existing norms also influences the understanding of what is legitimate from the international order and that the existence of arguments under liberal norms has influenced contemporary peacebuilding (Wallis & Richmond, 2017)

The third is constructivism focuses on the impact of social communication on social relationships. This emphasizes how discourse, which includes argumentation, deliberation, and compromise, can help mutual understanding. Constructivists argue that rationality is important to explain social and political phenomena and this must be based on a reason, communication, and also persuasion that depend on historical, social, and normative contexts. The importance of an intersubjective understanding that is reflected in discourse, deliberation, and compromise will affect the rationality of the actors involved.

The last one is how the role of language is very important in the social life of a group, where the language is a medium or vehicle for spreading ideas and is also a medium for construction that is intersubjective and social reality (Wallis & Richmond, 2017).

2.6. Inter-Cultural Communication

According to DeVito in his book Human Communication - The Basic Course, Intercultural Communication is communication that occurs between individuals who have differences in beliefs, norms, and behavior (DeVito, 2015). In his book, DeVito (2015) identifies several types of communication between cultures, such as communication between 2 or more people who have different nationalities, races, religions, or ethnicities.

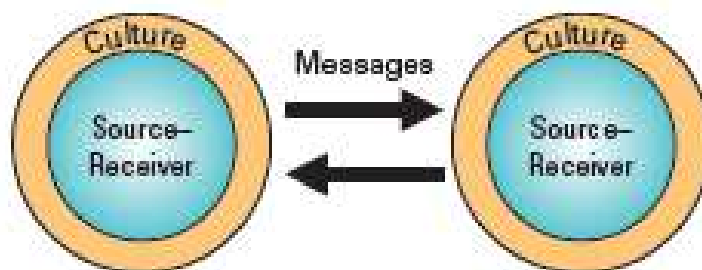


Figure 1. Intercultural Communication Model, from Human Communication The Basic Course, 2015

In Figure 1 above, the larger circle represents the culture of the communicator of a particular individual while the inner circle represents the communicator (source-receiver). In this model, each communicator (sender) has a different culture. In this case, each individual communicates with behavior or style based on the culture and culture behind the individual. Sometimes the cultural background of each individual has gone through the process of enculturation and acculturation (Kreshna Reza, 2020).

Indonesia has had some success in its soft power approach on the international scene. Several conflicts include the

conflict between the Indonesian and Aceh governments which was resolved using a soft-power approach by former Indonesian Vice President Jusuf Kalla. Not only resolving conflicts, but Indonesia's success in maintaining and maintaining the peace that has been formed also deserves appreciation (Czechowska, 2013).

This success has become an experience for the Government of Indonesia to play a role in the peace-building process in Afghanistan. This success has also led the Afghan government to believe that Indonesia's experience in a soft-

power approach to conflict resolution can be adopted to accelerate the peace process in Afghanistan (Damuri, 2014).

Through the Afghan Nahdlatul Ulama (NUA), Indonesia has been present in the region as an institution to bring closer and convey the message of Islam to resolve the conflict between the Taliban and the Afghan government. The presence of the NUA is also seen as the face of Indonesian Islamic identity with a blend of tolerance. The most respected concept in Indonesia. It is hoped that the presence of Indonesia and the scholars can build a foundation for peace through peaceful opinions and exchange ideas in the form of dialogues, forums, and conferences and laying the foundation of trust between related parties through religion (Fabian, 2020) Cultural diplomacy is also needed in helping to change the policy or political environment of the target country, in this case, Indonesia through its scholars and ideas can bring some political maneuvers in the Afghan government that can help defuse the conflict and the possibility of an escalation of the conflict itself (Tarozzy, 2017).

From this intercultural communication model, Indonesia has tried to invite the HPC (High Peace Consol) to Jakarta and partly to Aceh to share best practices on the resolution of the Aceh conflict which they can finally conclude as a model for conflict resolution in Afghanistan. Then through the HPC, the lessons learned reached the president and the president responded very positively, even this news reached the entire Afghan community and was responded very positively (Desi, 2020). If peace can be achieved, the security and prosperity of the Afghan people can be fulfilled then regional security in South Asia can also follow. Information exchange between institutions also needs to be maintained so that both parties understand the anatomy of the conflict and which approach is best to maintain order and peace (Setiadji, 2019).

2.7. Tri Lateral Ulama Meeting

It should be understood by all parties that Afghanistan has become a victim of a conflict of interest, that conflict, in reality, involves and involves an Islamic brotherhood conflict because both parties are Islamic and will become an obligation for a third party who must be Islam, who mediates the problem to be able to be fair and stand in the middle. both. The two conflicting parties should be willing to mediate peacefully, even if there are parties who reject the peaceful position that they are aiming for (Elba, 2020).

It must be realized that the conflict has been going on for four decades, so that the struggle for the interests of the state, between regional and international ones, is too complex, therefore the internal interests of the state, regional and international must be put aside first. In other words, good relations between regional neighbors, especially with Pakistan must be a priority, but the diplomatic approach must be mediated by a third party through the soft power currencies theory approach, constructive and cultural communication through the trilateral ulama meeting between Afghan, Pakistani and Indonesian ulemas which finally materialized

and produced the Bogor Declaration which later became a common foundation, to initiate a peace process approach through dialogue or negotiation (Potgieter, 2012)

The trilateral ulama meeting is a meeting intended to carry out the peace process through the approach of the ulama. As it is known that the conflict issue in Afghanistan is carried out internally by Afghanistan, but it cannot be separated from the Pakistani problem because Afghanistan is a neighbor of Pakistan, where on the border of the two countries live the same tribe, namely pastor and have strong Islamic characteristics and learn a lot from Pakistani madrassas, so they are guided by Pakistani clerics who more or less color the depth of the Pashtoon community religion, many of whom are soldiers or supporters of the Taliban. From the above question, the Indonesian government took the initiative to be able to make efforts in this peace process through diplomacy with the ulama approach process, soft power approach or more deeply through soft power currencies, namely the trilateral ulama meeting approach, which then produced a ceasefire through negotiations between the Afghan government and leaders. Taliban (Rachman, 2019).

2.8. Research Methods

a. Research Approach

This research uses a qualitative approach. In qualitative research, the researcher researches an object that is not manipulated by the researcher, and the presence of the researcher also does not affect the object. Qualitative research tends to describe and bridge the correlation between theories and concepts with inductive and subjective characteristics in the interpretation of social facts.

b. Types of Research

This research is a descriptive study. Descriptive research is research that goes through the process of collecting data and facts which are then identified in the classification to validate conditions and practices in the field (Sumantri, 2019)

c. Method of Collecting Data

In this study, researchers will use primary data that will be obtained through interviews and secondary data through document review.

Interview. An interview is a conversation that occurs between the interviewer and the interviewee to obtain accurate information or data needed for research from an expert or relevant in a field being researched (Sofyan, 2014).

Document Review. This data collection method is a systematic procedure for evaluating and reviewing both printed and electronic documents. Existing data will be examined and interpreted to obtain the understanding and meaning contained in a document.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The Application of Constructivism Theory to Afghanistan Cease-fire

The application of constructivism focuses on an idea where knowledge is formed from social construction and helps shape social reality. In contrast to the realism and liberalism approaches that emphasize the behavior and patterns of relations between countries, constructivism has a viewpoint with a dimension that has a constructive nature from ideas that come from interactions between state actors.

In the conflict that occurred in Afghanistan, although Indonesia and Afghanistan did not have the same historical context, in this case, Islam became an element that binds the two countries. Afghanistan is an Islamic republic while Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world. Under Islamic brotherhood or *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, indirectly encouraging Muslim countries to help their brothers in need, in this case, Indonesia, with such an approach is also willing to help Afghanistan to re-emphasize the idea of a peaceful Islam. This is reflected in the visits of Afghan and Indonesian Ulama to their respective countries, Ulama meetings to discuss and share peace ideas with an Islamic approach, and to form an Indonesian-based Islamic organization namely NUA (*Nahdatul Ulama Afghanistan*) in Afghanistan together with the Islamic Center funded by the Indonesian government (Nugroho, 2019).

Indonesia also contributes to peace-building in countries such as Palestine, Cambodia, Sudan, Somalia, and others, most of which are Muslim countries. Afghanistan as an Islamic country hopes that Islamic problems can only be resolved with Islamic issues. Not only an Islamic approach, but Indonesia also shows neutrality, unlike other countries that propose peace with hidden political motives in the region. This is also an added value for Indonesia because it has the same idea of neutrality. After all, Indonesia and Afghanistan are both parts of the Non-Aligned Movement (Boivin, 2013).

It should also be noted that there are differences in jurisprudence or school of thought between Afghanistan and Indonesia in the application of Islamic law. Afghanistan adopted the idea of Hanafism which originated from Imam Abu Hanifa in interpreting the *Al-Koran* and narrated hadith. Imam Abu Hanifah is known to rely heavily on personal opinion in applying Islamic law. The adoption of Hanafism Jurisprudence is also reflected in the Afghan constitution such as conducting religious ceremonies and selecting leaders. Meanwhile, most Muslims in Indonesia have adopted the idea of Imam Syafi'i. Shafi'i rejects the dependence on personal opinion (*Ijtihad*) in interpreting and applying the law. Regardless of these differences, both countries have the same Islamic identity. Therefore, the culture of adopting its interpretation in implementing sharia law will also depend on how the character of the interpreter is so that the application

of rigid Islamic law in Afghanistan has caused certain individuals or groups to have a firm or extreme approach in terms of law and its application (Brewster 2010).

Historically, the spread of Islam in Indonesia rests on a cultural approach which means the disintegration of Islam in the culture of Indonesian society. Therefore, although the Indonesian people consist of various races, cultures, and religions, they can live and mingle together. This comes from Islam which is close to the culture and traditions of each Muslim community in Indonesia, with different backgrounds coupled with the unity of the Indonesian language in *Pancasila* (Nugroho, 2020).

3.2. Expert Discussion

Some of the results and discussions obtained in this study are the results of literature studies and staff reviews as well as brainstorming with experts in their fields, which in this study resulted in the following studies:

a. The year 2018 was also marked by peace negotiation efforts carried out by neighboring countries for Afghanistan, including Uzbekistan. The capital of Uzbekistan, Tashkent has hosted an International Summit to discuss the development of peace in Afghanistan on 26-27 March 2018. The conference was attended by 32 countries including the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, China, Britain, France, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, United Nations Ambassador to Afghanistan, Tadamichi Yamamoto, EU Ambassador to Afghanistan, representatives of American officials, Germany, Italy, India, Iran, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and the United Arab Emirates. In this meeting, the Afghan government appreciated the holding of the meeting to strengthen commitment and build an atmosphere of peace to support the realization of peace through soft-power and avoid the hard power method (Rachman, 2018).

b. On 11 May 2018, Indonesia held, the "Trilateral Ulama Conference" 6, Afghanistan - Indonesia - Pakistan by bringing together scholars from three countries to meet in Bogor, Indonesia, and produce the "Bogor Declaration" 7. The Afghan government welcomes the declaration of the three countries' ulama held in Bogor. The scholars call on all Muslims in the world to play their part in eradicating violence, extremism, and terrorism in Afghanistan. A statement from the Presidential Palace stated that peace in Afghanistan was Allah's order. President Ghani also expressed his gratitude to the President of Indonesia for holding this historic conference (Rachman, 2018), as follows:

1) The three-state Ulama meeting in Indonesia was also welcomed by the majority of the Afghan people. They expressed optimism about the active role of religious leaders in peace in Afghanistan. They also convey that terrorist groups use religion to justify their actions. The existence of a fatwa from the majority of ulama will have a positive impact on preventing the use of religion in their acts of violence.

2) Spokesperson for the High Peace Council (HPC), Ehsanullah Taheri, stated that the meeting of ulama from 3 countries, namely Afghanistan-Pakistan and Indonesia, was considered very important for the peace process in Afghanistan. As given in Tolo News, (11/05), the declaration of the meeting resulted in an agreement that no religion justifies acts of terrorism and extremism. All terrorist activities violate the teachings of Islam. The scholars emphasized that Islam is a religion of peace and must be practiced in real life. The scholars fully support peace efforts, including a declaration in Jakarta carrying a message of peace and prosperity in Afghanistan.

The declaration states that the clerics of the three countries support the peace offered by the Afghan government to the Taliban aimed at ending the war in Afghanistan, as stated in the "Kabul Process" in February. The clerics also called on all parties to lay down their weapons and start peace talks. We affirm that violence and terrorism cannot be linked to any religion, nation, civilization, and ethnicity.

3) Still from the news in Tolo News, it was reported that the Trilateral Ulama Meeting in Bogor received various responses from members of the Parliament (Wolesi Jirga). Kabul City MP Sayed Ali Kazemi said that a suicide bomb attack must be declared in a fatwa haram. The Taliban are fighting in the name of religion and the comments of the Ulama will improve the security situation in Afghanistan. Another Member of Parliament, Bashir Ahmad Tahyani, said that the meeting of clerics in Indonesia is only symbolic and cannot help the peace process unless serious steps are taken directly by the Taliban, ISIS and other terrorist groups.

Member of Parliament Ali Alizada said that to hope that the meeting had an impact on the war in Afghanistan would be a mistake. It is estimated that the opinion that rejects the trilateral ulama meeting from the members of parliament above is considered to have a particular interest in the ongoing conflict, because they are selected from an electoral district that is experiencing militancy conflict.

4) News on TV 1 reported that 20 Afghan clerics and 18 Pakistani clerics attended a trilateral ulama meeting in Indonesia to urge all parties to end the conflict in Afghanistan and be willing to negotiate peacefully. The declaration issued at the meeting fully supports President Ghani's offer of peace to the Taliban. The Declaration affirms that peace is a commandment from Allah and Muslims are obliged to follow this commandment in their lives. All conflicts and disputes among Muslims must be resolved according to the Quran and Sunnah. 1TV 5 reported that there was no specific fatwa aimed at the Taliban, this was because in March the Taliban rejected a meeting of ulama in Indonesia.

5) The news in Khaama Press, (11/05) reported that the ulama meeting of the three Pakistan-Afghanistan-Indonesia countries fully supported the peace process offered by the Afghan government. "The ulama meeting declaration urged

the Taliban to accept the offer from the Afghan government in the peace and reconciliation process, as stated in the "Kabul Process" meeting last February. It is reported that so far the Taliban group has not issued an official statement regarding the cleric meeting.

6) Afghanistan Times-News, reported that around 20 Afghan clerics attended the Trilateral Ulama Meeting in Indonesia led by Maulvi Qeyamuddin. Kashaf. The presence of the Afghan cleric was amidst the resistance of the Taliban group to urge Pakistani clerics to boycott the meeting. The ulama meeting in Indonesia is expected to contribute to peace in Afghanistan. The Afghan government is grateful to Indonesia for being active in the Afghan reconciliation process. The meeting of the scholars provides a new dimension for the success of Afghan peace.

7) A report from the Daily Time, (08/05) stated that the Afghan Taliban had sent a letter to Pakistani clerics addressed to the Pakistani Ulama Council, where the contents of the letter asked Pakistani Ulama to boycott the International Ulama conference. The Afghan Taliban requested that the Ulama not misuse the name of the Ulama to justify the invasion of the infidels in Afghanistan. The Taliban urged the meeting participants to condemn any foreign invasion if they were, to be honest about the peaceful resolution of the conflict. The Taliban letter was addressed to the Chairman of the Pakistan Ulama Council.

8) Based on our observation, the letter sent by the Afghan Taliban through the Daily Time is deemed to have no definite source because it does not include the sending organization or individual. The letter is the same as an anonymous letter that aims to thwart the legitimacy of the three-state Ulama meeting in Jakarta. The Taliban's refusal is thought to be conflict propaganda aimed at prolonging the conflict in Afghanistan. If they act in the name of the Islamic religion, then they should accept the contents of the universal ulama meeting declaration.

9) News of Pajhwok, (12/05), reported that the Afghan government welcomed the declaration of the Afghanistan-Pakistan-Indonesian ulama held in the city of Bogor. The Ulama 6 call on all Muslims in the world to play their part in eradicating violence, extremism, and terrorism in Afghanistan. Based on a statement from the Presidential Palace that the Ulama said peace in Afghanistan was Allah's command. The Afghan government considers that the ulama's declaration is considered very important to restore stability in Afghanistan.

President Ghani thanked the President of Indonesia for holding this historic conference. Allah has also ordered all parties, clerics, community leaders, tribal elders, civil society activists, women activists to work together to create peace and stability in Afghanistan. Pajhwok reported that the Taliban had been invited to attend the clerical meeting, but they not only refused to attend but also showed resistance to the meeting.

10) The Ulama meeting of three countries in Indonesia was welcomed by the majority of the Afghan people. One of them named Samiullah, a resident of Kabul city, expressed his optimism that the active role of religious leaders plays an important role in peace in Afghanistan. He hopes that the ulama's declaration will issue a fatwa against the Taliban and terrorist groups by issuing a fatwa that states terrorism is haram in Islam. Farooq Hasnat, an observer of international politics, as reported by VoA, said that terrorist groups use religion to justify their actions.

Fatwas from the majority of ulama will have a positive impact, and efforts to prevent the use of religion in their acts of violence. Hussain Yasa, Editor of Outlook News Afghanistan, said that the Taliban also have clerics who hold strategic positions in their organizational structure. Their clerics who encourage militancy are violent. So it is not easy to convince them to prevent acts of violence. They have an agenda and will act on the realities faced on the ground.

11) On May 15, 2018, at 14.00 as reported by Tolo News, the Afghan Ulama Council held a press conference regarding the Trilateral Ulama Meeting in Indonesia. The statement read by one of the members of the Afghan Ulama Council, Mawlavi Mohammad Qasim Halimi, began with strong condemnation of all attacks that took place in Farah, Nangarhar Province, and all of Afghanistan because acts of terrorism do not exist in the teachings of any religion and tribe. The declaration produced at the meeting of the three countries' ulama in Indonesia confirmed that war and bloodshed in Afghanistan were not justified in religion.

Islamic countries support the peace process offered by President Ghani. Halimi added that the Afghan peace process was in place, and the Conference participants had asked all parties to engage in direct talks with the Afghan government. The result of the meeting of the three countries clerics (Afghanistan-Pakistan-Indonesia) condemned the suicide bombing by calling it an unjustified act. The three-nation ulama declaration also stated that war against the Afghan government was "illegitimate". All parties agree to cooperate with Islamic scholars in the region / and in the world to bring a message of peace in Afghanistan.

Before the press conference, the delegation of Afghan scholars who were present in Indonesia met with President Ghani at the Presidential Palace for breakfast. The meeting was considered very important because the role of the ulama was needed to promote Afghan peace. If President Ghani invites guests to a breakfast banquet, this means discussing an important issue.

12) To follow up on the success of the Trilateral Ulama Conference in Bogor in May 2018, the Indonesian Embassy in Kabul continues to make peacebuilding efforts to all components, including the Government to the Government, Ulama to Ulama, NGOs to NGOs, diplomats to diplomats, rulers to entrepreneurs, youth to youth, student to student, university to university, community to community, athlete to

athlete in almost all fields to build the trust of the Government of Afghanistan and the Taliban in Indonesia and to build a peacebuilding atmosphere for the Indonesian Government in Afghanistan.

13) Currently, Indonesia has reached the top in the Afghan parliament where they have repeatedly visited the Indonesian Embassy in Kabul and expressed their appreciation for the efforts of the Indonesian Government in peace in Afghanistan. They also expressed their wish to visit Indonesia to meet members of the Indonesian Parliament and conveyed their high appreciation and trust for Indonesia. Also, they hope that the great appreciation they convey can provide energy for Indonesia to continue making peace efforts in Afghanistan.

14) On 28 November 2018 Indonesia will continue its intention to tirelessly support peace in Afghanistan. Three things are considered important to be realized so that peace is created in the country, namely (Rachman, 2018):

a). First, what must be done to bring peace in Afghanistan is to build trust between the two warring factions. Indonesia, said Retno, is ready to help facilitate these efforts to build mutual trust;

b). Second, the development of Afghanistan is requested to be continued. "Indonesia has provided various assistance in the field of economic development, among others, through capacity building for MSMEs and empowering women and providing greater market access for Afghan products;

c). Third, the empowerment of the younger generation must continue. In this regard, Indonesia is ready to accept 1,000 Afghan youths to study in Indonesia.

c. Various parties have given their support for the immediate realization of dialogue between the Government of Afghanistan and the Taliban. The US, Russia, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and countries bordering Afghanistan also agree to the realization of peace, as Indonesia's efforts to continue to dialogue between the Government and the Taliban in Jakarta (Rachman, 2018)

d. Indicators of significant opportunities after the trilateral ulama in Bogor that need to be constructed to achieve the expected results are as follows: (Rachman, 2018)

1) To strengthen the stages of the trilateral ulama process, gradually carry out alternative approaches to world scholars, including the following; Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, and Iran for input and advice. From the input of the ulama above, a world ulama meeting will also be held which will also be held in Jakarta with the Taliban, to be able to build peace construction supported by world ulema scholars.

2) During the Trilateral Conference efforts to approach soft power currencies against the Government of Afghanistan⁷ and the Taliban must also be carried out to achieve balance and equality, which can then solve to be

willing to sit in negotiations at the negotiating table. (creates an atmosphere of mutual trust for a ceasefire)

3) It is hoped that the HPC will be supported by the Government and all Afghan stakeholders and also including the Taliban, and each of them must continue to carry out propaganda efforts to other ulama from all over the province to the district level so that all parties will support the realization of "Peace Dialogue" in Afghanistan to bring about a ceasefire.

4) If it is true that the US will carry out its troop repatriation, it is hoped that in stages UN troops will be presented as replacements or as needed, it depends on the situation conducive to the next peace process. For this opportunity, Indonesia 12 must be able to anticipate the readiness of troops from Indonesia with the UN mandate (if needed)

5) It is hoped that with conducive conditions, marking the implementation of the 2019 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Afghanistan, the peace dialogue process will also be in line and even increasingly supported by stakeholders and the people of Afghanistan. In this regard, efforts to increase bilateral through Capacity Building and stakeholder exchanges are very important, in particular increasing cooperation and parliamentary visits of both parties, based on the principles of cultural communication, to support the strengthening of the realization of a comprehensive and measurable peace process

6) Of the many peace efforts that are very incessant at this time, including the US efforts to embrace regional countries to support the peace process through dialogue by the US itself carried out by its Special Envoy, namely Zalmay Khalilzad. On the other hand, at present, it is unfortunate that there are still threats and challenges in the form of massive attacks from both sides which are increasingly causing considerable casualties. Therefore, efforts towards peace dialogue between the Government and the Taliban must be continued, in particular, "Indonesia's role in mediating and facilitating the meeting in question.

IV. CONCLUSION

a. That, the President of Afghanistan Y.M. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, has paid special attention and conveyed success to the Delegation of the Trilateral Ulama Meeting (Afghanistan, Indonesia, and Pakistan) in Bogor, 11 May 2018 by inviting the Afghan delegation to the ARG Presidential Palace to give an award for the success of the Trilateral Ulama meeting. The President once again hopes for the Taliban to join in the next peace dialogue process.

b. Whereas, the meeting of the Trilateral Delegation of Afghan Ulama, received positive and sustainable responses from various parties, including:

1) President Ashraf Ghani said that the Trilateral Ulama Meeting (Afghanistan, Indonesia, and Pakistan) in Bogor, 11

May 2018, was a successful and "step forward" Ulama Meeting.

2) Political party analysis experts and Afghan intellectuals consider the Bogor Declaration to have the most effective "Statement" which has been able to lay the foundations and umbrella of peace to become the "Golden Bridge" of the Afghanistan peace process in the future towards the next stage of peaceful dialogue.

3) Various parties finally praised the role of the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) for working hard, so that the Trilateral Ulama Meeting could be successful and acceptable to all parties.

4) Bilateral relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan continue to improve to the highest level of the two countries, even in the end, Pakistan will support peace in Afghanistan.

5) The Indonesian Ulama Council hopes that the Afghan Ulama will continue to carry out Afghanistan's peaceful efforts through bilateral or trilateral meetings and promise technical support for these activities

c. That, after about 1 month of the implementation of the Trilateral Ulama meeting in Indonesia, a ceasefire with the Taliban was realized from 12 to 20 June 2018.

1) Through the ceasefire it shows that the Government and the Taliban are serious about realizing the "people's wish" for Afghanistan peace.

2) The ceasefire also allowed the Taliban to realize that they would not win the hearts of the people if they neglected the peaceful wishes of the Afghan people.

3) The people of Afghanistan welcome the ceasefire with the Taliban while respecting the Islamic holiday, Eid.

4) The governments of the US, UK, as well as the United Nations and other countries, welcome the announcement of the ceasefire.

5) "The success of the ceasefire" is considered to be one of the negotiating solutions for the conflict in Afghanistan that needs to be continued in the future.

d. Various views from experts, scholars, and the Pakistani community also considered the results of the Trilateral Ulama meeting in Bogor to be successful and resulted in a "miracle" declaration, which was soothing, although there were still suggestions and responses from various parties.

e. The Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Youssef Al-Othaimeen welcomed the Trilateral Ulama Meeting (Afghanistan, Indonesia, and Pakistan) in Bogor, 11 May 2018 and hoped it would become a "catalyst" for peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan. The OIC also supports peace efforts in Afghanistan through efforts initiated by world scholars (Ulama led efforts) and the

Ulama in Afghanistan, as has been the case with the world ulama meeting in Jeddah.

f. This momentum will certainly be a valuable opportunity for many countries to continue to participate in and support the peace process, especially the persistent efforts of the Indonesian Government which has facilitated efforts towards the next 10 "Peace Dialogue", which are currently taking place in Moscow, Geneva, Doha, Abu Dhabi, Saudi Arabia, Iran, India, and Pakistan.

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