

Referensi/Daftar Pustaka

- Afghan Embassy in Washington DC. (2016). *Durrani Empire was the last of the Afghan empires that lived about 80 years*. Washington DC: Afghanland.com.
- The Institute for Economics & Peace Briefing Series. (2021). *Afghanistan: Conflict & Crisis*. Sydney: Economics & Peace (IEP).
- Trading Economic Transparency International . (2022). *Afghanistan Corruption Rank*. New York : Trading Economic .
- Abdussamad, Z. (2021). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Makassar : Syakir Media Press.
- Action, C. f. (2022). *War in Afganistan* . Washington : Council on Foreign Relations .
- Agwani, M. (1980). The Saur Revolution and After. *Journal indexing and metrics*, Vol. 19, No. 4.
- Ahmad Murid Partaw. (2023). The failure of democracy in Afghanistan. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 1-20.
- Ahmad, J. (2022, January 22). The Taliban's Religious Roadmap for Afganistan . *Middle East Institue* , pp. 1-2.
- Akhmady, F. (2020). *Security Studies: Human Security Concept (Konsep Keamanan Manusia)*. Jakarta: Indonesia International Studies Academic Utilization Community.
- Al Jazeera Staff. (2023). *What happened when Iraq was invaded 20 years ago?* Doha: Aljazeera.
- Angell, M. E. (2015). The Vietnam War: US Military Failure to Adapt . *CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE*, 1-23.
- Anna Larson. (2021). *Democracy in Afghanistan: Amid and Beyond Conflict*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace.
- Anna, L. (2011). *Deconstructing Democracy in Afghanistan*. Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit.
- Arman, B. S. (2010). Deepening of Security Conception and Violent Non-State Actors as the Challengers of Human Security. *Adnan Menderes University, Journal of Institute of Social Sciences*, Vol.: 1, Issue: 1 , 105-116.

- Assayag, J. (2007). East and West: orientalism, war and the colonial present. *Etnografica*, Vol.11, 253-269.
- BBC. (2019). *Afghanistan: Civilian deaths at record high in 2018 - UN*. London: BBC News.
- BBC. (2021). *Afghanistan: Perang selama dua dekade, berikut fakta-faktanya dalam 10 pertanyaan*. Jakarta: BBC Indonesia.
- BBC. (2021). *Mapping the advance of the Taliban in Afghanistan*. Kabul: BBC News.
- BBC Indonesia. (2021). *Taliban kembali berkuasa - bagaimana nasib perempuan, HAM, dan kebebasan politik di Afghanistan ke depan?* Jakarta: BBC.
- Benjamin E. Goldsmith, Y. H. (2005). American Foreign Policy and Global Opinion: Who Supported the War in Afghanistan? *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 3, 408-429.
- Bikus, Z. (2019). *Inside Afghanistan: Stability in Institutions Remains Elusive*. Washington : Gallup.
- Bill Ashcroft, G. G. (2001). *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* . London : Routledge.
- Boivin, N. (2005). Orientalism, ideology and identity. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 225-252.
- Buchholz Katharina. (2023). *The State of Global Peace*. New York: Global Peace Index.
- Buchholz, K. (2019). *U.S Military Around 14,000 U.S. Troops Remain in Afghanistan*. Hamburg : Statista .
- Byman, D. (2008). An Autopsy of the Iraq Debacle: Policy Failure or Bridge Too Far? . *Security Studies*, Vol. 17 , 599-643.
- Byrd, W. (2012). *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*. Washington : the United States Institute of Peace .
- Cakmak, C. (2003). American Foreign Policy and September 11 . *Perceptions*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1-9 .
- Campbell, J. R. (2012). US Foreign Policy towards Northeast Asia. *Perceptions* , 3-26.

- CEIC. (2021). *Afghanistan Real GDP*. Beijing: ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT.
- Centanni, E. (2014). *Afghanistan: Map of Taliban Control in April 2014*. Monmouth: Political Geography Now .
- Center for Preventive Action. (2023). *Instability in Afghanistan*. New York : Council on Foreign Relations .
- Chishti, M. (2020). The Pull to the Liberal Public: Gender, Orientalism, and Peace Building in Afghanistan. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 45, No.3, 581-603.
- Chrisinger, D. (2020). *The Surge Nobody's Talking About: The U.S. War in Somalia*. Richlands: The War Horse .
- Clayton Thomas. (2021). *U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Frequently Asked Questions*. Washington : Congressional Research Service.
- Clayton Thomas. (2021). *U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Frequently Asked Questions*. Washington : Congressional Research Service.
- CNN Indonesia . (2021). *Imigran Afghanistan Bakar Diri di Depan Kantor UNHCR Medan*. Jakarta : CNN .
- Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate . (1972). *Causes, Origins, and Lessons of the Vietnam War*. Washington, DC: Committee on Foreign Relations.
- Connah, L. (2021). US Intervention in Afghanistan: Justifying the Unjustifiable? . *South Asia Research*, Vol. 41, No. 1, 70-86.
- Coon, C. S. (1952). The Impact of the West on Middle Eastern Social Institutions . *International Tensions in the Middle East*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 3-24.
- Cordesman, A. H. (2019). *Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen*. Washington, DC: CSIS.
- Çağrı Tuğrul Mart, A. T. (2010). Criticism on Edward Said's Orientalism. *2nd International Symposium on Sustainable Development* (pp. 367-373). Sarajevo: Internationnal Burch University .

- Çakir, A. (2023). Understanding Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations in a Multipolar World . *ULUSLARARASI KRİZ VE SIYASET ARAŞTIRMALARI*, 44-74.
- Çolak, M. (2021). Edward Said and to Reconsider His "Orientalism". *EUL Journal of Social Sciences, (XII-I)*, 112-128.
- Deehring, M. (2021). Lessons Learned from Afghanistan: The First Political Order. *The Washington Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 4*, 7-28.
- Dewi, R. A. (2022). Intervensi Inggris Dalam Kekuasaan Taliban di Afghanistan . *Journal of International and Local Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1*, 15-23.
- Dickson Adom, E. K. (2018). Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Mandatory Ingredients of A Quality Research . *International Journal of Scientific Research* , 438-441.
- Dil, S. F. (1977). The Cabal in Kabul: Great-Power Interaction in Afghanistan. *American Political Science Review, Vol. 71, No. 2*, 468-476.
- Dobson, A. P. (2002). The dangers of US interventionism . *Review of International Studies, Vol. 28, ,* 577-597.
- Dodge, T. (2021). Afghanistan and the Failure of Liberal Peacebuilding. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy, Vol. 63. No.5*, 47-58.
- DORA, Z. K. (2021). The US-led “War on Terror” in Afghanistan: 2001-2021. *MANAS Journal of Social Studies, Vol. 10, No SI*, 172-185.
- Dorronsoro. (2009). *The Taliban's Winning Strategy in Afghanistan*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment.
- Dorronsoro. (2009). *The Taliban's Winning Strategy in Afganistan*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment.
- Doucet, L. (2021). *Afghanistan: A new order begins under the Taliban's governance*. Kabul : BBC.
- Drozdíková, J. (2013). Edward Said in Retrospective . *Asian and African Studies, Vol. 12, No. 2*, 216-220.
- Dupree, L. (1976). The First Anglo-Afghan War and the British Retreat of 1842: the Functions of History and Folklore. *East and West, Vol.26, No. 3*, 503-529.

- Durkin, M. J. (2009). *Authority, Legitimacy, and the Qawm: Historical Perspectives on Emergent Governance in Afghanistan*. Kansas: School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College .
- Dussel, E. (1993). *Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures)*. Durham : Duke University Press.
- EASO. (2021). *Country Guidance Afghanistan* . Brushel : European Asylum Support Office .
- Engin, E. (1982). *The Revolution in Afghanistan* . Istanbul : Morning Litho Printers.
- Ercoşkun, B. (2021). On Galtung's Approach to Peace Studies. *Lectio Socialis*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1-7.
- Evans, S. R. (2011). *10 years in Afghanistan: the data showing how the country has changed*. London: The Guardian .
- Evsikov, E. (2009). Soviet Intelligence in Afghanistan: The Only Efficient Tool of the Politburo. *Baltic Security & Defence Review*, Vol. 11, 41-57.
- Flibbert, A. (2013). The Consequences of Forced State Failure in Iraq. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 128, No. 1 , 67-95.
- Forbes, A. (2017). *THE AFGHAN WARS 1839-42 and 1878-80*. Washington : The Navy Department Library.
- France24. (2021). *Five promises the Taliban have made in Afghanistan*. Paris: France 24.
- Francis, T. &. (2008). The Traditional Security Concept . *The Adelphi Papers*, Vol. 40, No. 335, 9-17.
- Giustozzi, A. (2008). Afghanistan: transition without end . *Destin Development Studies Institute* , 1-54.
- Goldberg, M. S. (2010). Death and Injury Rates of U.S. Military Personnel in Iraq . *Military Medicine*, Vol. 175, 220-226.
- Goldstein . (2012). The Afghanistan Experience: Democratization by Force. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 18-30.
- Goldstein. (2012). The Afghanistan Experience: Democratization by Force. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 18-31.

- Grace Li. (2022). *Afghanistan and Myanmar drag down Asia's democracy ranking*. Tokyo: Nikkei Asia.
- Greene, C. L. (2009). What Democracy for Afghanistan? . *Center for Technology and National Security Policy National Defense University* , 1-59.
- Gul, A. (2021). *Amid Fear, Criticism, Taliban Want International Recognition of 'Representative' Rule*. Kabul : Voice of America .
- Gutowski, B. R. (2018) . *Mapping Taliban controlled and contested districts in Afghanistan: LWJ vs US military assessments*. San Jose: Threat Matrix .
- Guudle, M. O. (2021). Post Colonialism in International Relations Theory: Ethics, Knowledge and Orientalism . *AHBV Akdeniz Havzası ve Afrika Medeniyetleri Dergisi*, 50-54.
- GÜVEN, F. (2019). Criticism to Edward W. Said's Orientalism. *RumeliDE Journal of Language and Literature Studies* , 418-430.
- Halliday, F. (1993). 'Orientalism' and Its Critics. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 145-163.
- Hama, H. H. (2017) . State Security, Societal Security, and Human Security. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1-19.
- Hamadi, L. (2014). Edward Said: The Postcolonial Theory and The Literature of Decolonization . *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 39-46.
- Hamdi, T. K. (2013). Edward Said and Recent Orientalist Critiques . *Arab Studies Quarterly* , Vol. 35, No. 2 , 130-148.
- Hanifi, S. M. (2012). Shah Shuja's 'Hidden History' and its Implications . *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 1-27.
- Hassan, R. (2014). The Afghanistan Conflict in its Historical Context . *ISAS Working Paper, No 189*, 1-12.
- Hassman, R. E. (2012). Human Security : Undermining Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly, Volume 34*, 88-112.
- Herring, G. C. (1991). America and Vietnam: The Unending War. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 5, 104-119.
- Hikmawati, F. (2020). *Metodologi Penelitian* . Depok : Rajawali Pers.

- Hinnebusch, R. (2007). The American Invasion of Iraq: Causes and Consequences . *Perceptions, Spring* , 9-27.
- Huma Qayum, Z. S. (2017). Afghanistan in the Historical Perspective. *Global Political Review (GPR)*, Vol 2, No.1, 46-53.
- Human Right Watch. (2021). *I Would Like Four Kids — If We Stay Alive*. New York: Human Right Watch.
- IEEE. (2011). *ANALYSIS DOCUMENT OF THE IEEE 12/2011 GEOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS OF AFGHANISTAN*. Madrid : Spanish Ministry of Defense .
- Indra Tjahyadi, S. A. (2020). *Pengantar Teori dan Metode Penelitian Budaya*. Proboliggo : Pagan Press.
- Israel Nyaburi Nyadera, M. S. (2019). Transformation of the Somali Civil -War and Reflections for a Social Contract Peacebuilding Process. *Gaun JSS*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1346-1366.
- İşcan, E. (2022). *The Afghanistan Dilemma: The Taliban Versus Urgent Need to Respond to the Humanitarian Crisis*. Istanbul: GIFGRF.
- Jabber, P. (2001). *IMPACT OF THE WAR ON TERROR ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF US POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST* . Washington : The National Intelligence Council.
- Jabeen, M. A. (2006). The Factors Permeating Afghan Conflict . *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol.3, No.1 , 12-23.
- Jadoon, A. (2021). *The Evolution and Potential Resurgence of the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan*. Washington : United States Institute of Peace .
- Johnson, R. (2021). The Taliban and the modern history of Afghanistan. In L. Robson, *Routledge Handbook of U.S Counterterrorism and Irregular Warfare Operations* (pp. 134-147). Oxford: Routledge.
- Jr, H. G. (1982). *On Strategy: The Vietnam War in Context* . Pennsykvania : United States Army War College.
- Jukaku, N. F. (2019). Postcolonial Theory and Orientalism: Orientalist Perspectives of the Arab people. *Conflict, Justice, Decolonization: Critical Studies of Inter-Asian Society*, 1-7.

- Junior, Z. B. (1972). US Tactics in Vietnam. *Military Review* , 63-76.
- Kapil Naranin, S. R. (2022). Call for solidarity: The war may be over in Afghanistan but the health crises continue. *Journal of Global Health*, Vol. 12, Januari , 1-5.
- Karim Hussein, D. G. (2004). Security and Human Security: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives . *OCDE*, 11-47.
- Katz, M. N. (2010). *The U.S. and Democratization in Afghanistan*. Washington : Middle East Policy Council .
- Kaura, V. (2021). *The Taliban and the formation of a new Afghan government* . Washington: Middle East Institute.
- Kessler, G. (2019). *The Iraq War and WMDs: An intelligence failure or White House spin?* Washington DC: The Washington Post .
- Khan, I. G. (2012). Afghanistan: Human Cost of Armed Conflict since the Soviet Invasion. *Perceptions*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, 209-224.
- Khoiron, A. K. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* . Semarang : LPSP.
- Kimball, J. (1995). How Wars End: The Vietnam War. *Peace & Change A Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 20, No. 2 , 183-202.
- Knopf, J. W. (2006). Doing a Literature Review. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 39, No.1 , 127-132.
- Kompas. (2022). *Eks Presiden Afghanistan Disebut Kabur dan Bawa Uang Rp 2,4 Triliun, Benarkah?* Jakarta : Kompas .
- Kothari, C. (2004). *Research Methodology Methods and Techniques* . New Delhi : New Age International .
- Krampe, F. (2013). Peacemaking and peacebuilding in Afghanistan after 9/11. In a. R. Mikael Eriksson, *Mediation and Liberal Peacebuilding : Peace from the Ashes of War?* (pp. 57-75). Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Krause, P. J. (2008). The Last Good Chance: A Reassessment of U.S. Operations at Tora Bora. *Security Studies* , 644-684.
- Kugiel, P. (2011). *Peace and Development Efforts in Afghanistan: A Lost Decade* . New York: The Polish Institute of International Affairs.

- Lally, J. (2019). Beyond ‘Tribal Breakout’: Afghans in the History of Empire, ca. 1747–1818. *Journal of World History*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 369-397.
- Larson, A. (2011). Deconstructing "Democracy" In Afghanistan . *Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit*, 1-70.
- Laurence Binet, F. B.-S. (2013). *Somalia 1991-1993: Civil War, Famine alert and UN "Military Humanitarian" Intervention 1991-1993*. Geneva: Medicins Sans Frontieres.
- Leake, E. (2023). Constitutions and Modernity in Post-Colonial Afghanistan: Ethnolinguistic Nationalism and the Making of an Afghan Nation-State. *Law and History Review*, , 1-21.
- Lords of House. (2021). *The UK and Afghanistan*. London : Select Committee on International Relations and Defence .
- Louise, D. (2005). *Afghanistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Magnus. (1997). Afghanistan in 1996: Year of the Taliban. *A Survey of Asia*, Vol. 37, No. 2., 111-117.
- Magnus, R. H. (1976). Muḥammad Zāhīr Khān, Former King of Afghanistan . *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 30, No.1 , 77-80 .
- Mahboobi, P. (2020). Afghanistan: Rich Poor Country in the World . *International Journal of Creative Research and Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 8 , 23-29 .
- Maizland. (2023). *The Taliban in Afghanistan*. Washington: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Maizland, L. (2021). *The Legacy of the U.S. War in Afghanistan in Nine Graphics*. New York : Council on Foreign Relations.
- Malkasian, C. (2020). How the Good War Went Bad America’s Slow-Motion Failure in Afghanistan. *Foreign Affairs* .
- Mantika, R. M. (2022). Rekam Jejak Perjuangan Politik Abdul Rasul Sayyaf. *Jurnal Sains Sosio Humaniora*, Vol. 6, No.1 , 102-108.
- Mathias Bak, R. M. (2019). Corruption in Afghanistan and the role of development assistance. *Transparency International*, 1-22.

- Menon, S. (2007). Human Security: Concept and Practice . *Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA)*, 1-27 .
- Mondal, A. (2014). Postcolonial Theory: Bhabha and Fanon . *International Journal of Science and Research, Vol. 3, No. 11* , 2965-2968.
- Muhammad Bashir Mobasher, M. Q. (2022). *THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE TALIBAN 1994–2001 Hints from the Past and Options for the Future*. Stockholm: International Idea.
- Murdiyanto, E. (2020). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* . Yogyakarta : LP2M UVN Yogyakarta Press.
- Murtazashvili, J. B. (2022). The Collapse of Afghanistan. *Journal of Democracy* , 40-44.
- Nagourney, E. (2021). *Who Are the Taliban, and What Do They Want?* New York : The New York Times .
- Naidu, M. (2002). Security, Sovereignty, and Intervention: Concepts and Case Studies . *Peace Research, Vol. 34, No. 1* , 33-58 .
- Nainggolan. (2021). *Taliban Merebut Kembali Kekuasaan di Afganistan*. Jakarta: DPR RI.
- Nainggolan, P. P. (2021). Taliban Merebut Kembali Kekuasaan di Afganistan . *Kajian Singkat Terhadap Isu Aktual dan Strategis* , 7-9.
- Nations, U. (2021). *Millions of Lives Will Depend on How Afghanistan's New Interim Government Chooses to Govern, Special Representative Tells Security Council*. Geneva: United Nations .
- News18. (2017). *'Being President of Afghanistan Worst Job on Earth': When Ashraf Ghani Felt The Heat in 2017*. Kabul: News 18 .
- Niland, N. (2014). Democratic Aspirations and Destabilizing Outcomes in Afghanistan . *Watson Institute for International Studies* , 2-13.
- Nugrahani, F. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* . Surakarta: STIBA.
- Okoli, C. (2015). A Guide to Conducting a Standalone Systematic Literature Review. *Communication of the Association for Information Systems* , 879-910.

- Okolie, U. C. (2022). Distinction between Traditional Security and Modern Security: A Conceptual Discourse. *Journal of Administrative Science*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 247-266.
- Ostermann, C. F. (2022). NEW EVIDENCE ON THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN. *COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL HISTORY PROJECT BULLETIN*, 139-141.
- Ourfali, E. (2015). Comparison between Western and Middle Eastern Cultures: Research on Why American Expatriates Struggle in the Middle East. *Otago Management Graduate Review*, Vol. 13, 34-43.
- Owen, T. (2004). Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition1. *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 373-387.
- Pahleviannur, M. R. (2022). Paradigma Penelitian Kualitatif . In F. Sukmawati, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (pp. 1-11). Sukoharjo: Pradina Pustaka .
- Pannett, R. (2021). *Who leads Afghanistan's new government? Here's what we know about the Taliban's top officials*. Washington: The Washington Post .
- Pape, R. (2019, Agustus 26). *How to Partner With the Taliban*. Retrieved from Foreign Policy : <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/26/how-to-partner-with-the-taliban/>
- Paredes, N. (2021). *Penguasa', bagaimana pasukan-pasukan terkuat di dunia berhasil dikalahkan selama 180 tahun terakhir*. Jakarta : BBC.
- Parsons, J. B. (2011). Post-Colonial Theory and Action Research. *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 2, No. 2 , 1-6.
- Partaw, A. M. (2016). Democratization in Afghanistan: Challenges and Opportunities. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 2-6.
- Patai, R. (1955). The Dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East. *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1-16.
- Peter Hough, S. M. (2015). *International Security Studies : Theory and Practice*. New York : Routledge.
- Prakash, R. R. (1999). The Afghanistan war and the breakdown of the Soviet Union. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25 , 693-708.

- Prasetya, D. M. (2016). Geopolitik Bantuan Luar Negeri Dari Perang Dingin sampai Globalisasi. *Jurnal Sospol*, Vol. 2, No 1, 16-26.
- Putro, H. P. (2020). Make a Prosperous State Through National Security. *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Researc*, Vol. 140 , 328-334.
- Rahmadi. (2011). *Pengantar Metodologi Penelitian*. Banjarmasin : 2011.
- Rahmat, P. S. (2009). Penelitian Kualitatif. *Equilibrium* , 1-8 .
- Raza, S. A. (2021). *Treaty of Rawalpindi of 1919 Hundred Years On*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press & Assessment .
- Relations, C. o. (2021). *1999-2021 The U.S. War in Afghanistan*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Ridwan, W. (2017). Faktor Agama dalam Hubungan Internasional . *Jurnal Enersia Publik*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1-12.
- Rijali, A. (2018). Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Jurnal Alhadharah*, Vol. 17, No. 33, 81-95.
- Riphenburg, C. J. (2007). Electoral Systems in a Divided Society: The Case of Afghanistan. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1-21.
- Riyanto, S. (2021). "Responsibility to Protect" dan Peran Indonesia. DKI Jakarta: Kompas.
- Rogers, S. (2011). *Global peace index 2011: the full list*. London : The Guardian .
- Romei, V. (2021). *The Afghanistan economy in charts: what has changed in two decades?* London : Financial Times.
- Rubin, B. R. (1990). Afghanistan: Political Exiles In Search Of A State. *Journal of Political Science* , 63-93.
- Sahir, S. H. (2022). *Metodologi Penelitian* . Medan : KBM Indonesia.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalisme*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism* . London : Penguin Books.
- Saleh, S. (2017). *Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Bandung : Pustaka Ramadhan .
- Saleh, T. (2020). *Ngeri! Korban di Afghanistan Tembus 6.000, Apa Sikap RI?* Jakarta: CNBC Indonesia.

- Schmeidl, S. (2016). The contradictions of democracy in Afghanistan: elites, elections and ‘people’s rule’ post-2001. *Conflict, Security & Development*, Vol. 16, No. 6 , 575-594.
- Setiawan, I. (2021). *Kembalinya Taliban ke Kabul dan Janji Kedamaian di Afghanistan*. Jakarta : Kompas .
- Shah, A. (2012). The Post 9/11 Democratization in Afganistan: Challenges and Expectations . *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity Studies* , 19-32.
- Shands, K. W. (2008). *Neither East Nor West* . Stockholm : Elanders.
- Shehata, S. (2005). Losing Hearts and Minds: Understanding America's Failure in Iraq. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 71-79.
- Shrivastva, N. K. (1999). The Career of Daud Khan Quraishi and His Conquest of Palamau . *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 60, 306-314.
- SIGAR. (2021). *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress*. Virginia: SIGAR.
- SIGAR. (2021). *What We Need to Learn: Lessons from Twenty Years of Afghanistan Reconstruction*. Virginia: Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction.
- SIGAR. (2021). *What We Need to Learn: Lessons From Twenty Years of Afghanistan Reconstruction*. Washington: Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction.
- Silalahi, R. M. (2017). Western Capitalism and Eastern Exoticism: Orientalism in Edward Said's Perspectives . *Journal of English Language and Culture*, Vol. 7, No. 2 , 89-93.
- Stacy, H. (2006). Humanitarian Intervention and Relational Sovereignty. *Stanford Journal : International Law & Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 7 Issue. 1, 97-104.
- Stanski, K. (2009). ‘So These Folks are Aggressive’: An Orientalist Reading of ‘Afghan Warlords’. *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 73-94.
- Statista. (2023). *Number of refugees and asylum seeker applications originating from Afghanistan from 2001 to 2019(in million)*. Hamburg: Statista.



- Stieb, J. (2023). Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? The Debate at 20 Years. *Texas National Security Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 12-28.
- Syahrum, S. &. (2012). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung : Citapustaka Media .
- Syed Aashir, N. L. (2021). *Territorial control of Taliban before the U.S invasion of Afghanistan*. San Fransisco : Wikimmedia Coomons .
- Şafak, Z. (2014). An Outlook On Postcolonialism Through the Ethos of Orientalism by Edward Said. *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 355-367.
- Taherdoost, H. (2022). What are Different Research Approaches? Comprehensive Review of Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Research, Their Applications, Types, and Limitations. *Journal of Management Science & Engineering Research*, Vol. 5, No.1 , 53-63.
- Tanner, S. (2002). *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the Fall of the Taliban*. Karachi : Oxford University Press.
- Tempo. (2014). *AS Tarik Militer dari Afganistan pada Akhir 2014*. Jakarta: Tempo .
- The Asia Foundation . (2018). *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of The Afghan People* . San Francisco: The Asia Foundation .
- The Center for Victims of Torture . (2021). *Refugee and Asylum Seeker Facts* . Washington : The Center for Victims of Torture .
- The Economist . (2021). *The Taliban grab more of Afghanistan as America slips out*. London : The Economist .
- The White House . (2005). *U.S. Commitment to Afghanistan*. Washington DC: The White House .
- Thomas, C. (2021). *Taliban Government in Afghanistan: Background and Issues for Congress*. Washington : Congressional Research Service .
- Toby Dodge. (2013). Intervention and dreams of exogenous statebuilding: the application of Liberal Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 39, 1189-1212.

- Tomsen, P. (2002). Post-Taliban Afghanistan and regional Co-operation in Central Asia. *Perceptions*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1-8 .
- U.S. Government . (1990). *Soviet Involvement in Afghanistan* . Washington : U.S. Government Printing Office .
- UNDP. (2022). *New Threats to Human Security in the Anthropocene Demanding Greater Solidarity* . New York : UNDP.
- United Nations. (2018). *What is Human Security?* New York: United Nations.
- UNODC. (2012). *Corruption in Afghanistan: Recent Patterns and Trends*. Vienna: UNODC.
- Wahib, A. B. (2018). *Orientalisme dalam Hukum Islam*. Yogyakarta: Magnum Pustaka Utama .
- Ward, W. D. (2018). Orientalism and the Study of the Pre-modern . *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 7-18.
- Watch, H. R. (2022). *Afghanistan Events of 2022*. New York: Human Right Watch.
- Watson Institute. (2021). *HUMAN AND BUDGETARY COSTS TO DATE OF THE U.S. WAR IN AFGHANISTAN, 2001-2022*. Providence: Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs .
- Weinbaum, M. G. (2006). *Afghanistan and Its Neighbors An Ever Dangerous Neighborhood*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- White House. (2021). *Remarks by President Biden on Afghanistan*. Washington DC: USA Government.
- Wilder, A. R. (2004). Free, Fair or Flawed: Challenges for Legitimate Elections in Afghanistan. *AREU* , 1-18.
- Williams, P. (2022). US intervention in Afghanistan and the failure of governance. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 33, No. 7, 1130-1151.
- Williams, P. D. (2020). Understanding US Policy in Somalia Current Challenges and Future Options. *Research Paper Africa Programme*, 3-21.
- Women for Women. (2014). *Afghanistan*. London: Women for women International.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Kegagalan Amerika Serikat dalam Proses Rekonstruksi Perdamaian di Afghanistan: Kritik Edward W. Said
Terhadap Orientalisme dan Post-Kolonialisme
Muhammad Fawwaz Syafiq Rizqullah, Prof. Dr. Sigit Riyanto, SH, LL.M.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2023 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Yapp, M. E. (1999). State and Tribe in Nineteenth-Century Afghanistan; The Reign of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan (1826–1863). By Christine Noelle. pp. xxiv, 439. London, Curzon Press, 1997. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society , Volume 9 , Issue 1*, 157.

Yazıcı, O. (2019). AHMED ŞAH DÜRRANÎ DÖNEMİNDE AFGAN ŞAHLİĞİ'NIN HİNDİSTAN SİYaseti. *ADIYAMAN ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ DERGİSİ*, 633-656.

Yuangga Kurnia Yahya, S. H. (2020). Orientalisme sebagai Tradisi Keilmuan dalam Pandangan Maryam Jameelah dan Edward Said. *Jurnal Ilmu Agama : Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, dan Fenomena Agama*, Vol. 21, No.2. , 179-195.

Zakaria, F. (2003). *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York : Norton & Company .