

## Historical Dynamics of Aceh in the Republic of Indonesia

Sampe L. Purba<sup>1</sup>, Purnomo Yusgiantoro<sup>2</sup>, Yanif Dwi Kuntjoro<sup>3</sup>, Rachmat Sudibyo<sup>4</sup>,  
Herlina J.R. Saragih<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1,2,3,4,5</sup>Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia

sampepurba@gmail.com, purnomoys@gmail.com, yanifdkuntjoro@gmail.com,  
rsudibjo@indonet.co.id, herlinsara897@gmail.com

### Abstract

*The Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, hereinafter referred to as the Province of Aceh since the pre-colonial era until now, has a specific and special relationship dynamics in the course of Indonesian history. In the pre-colonial period, Aceh had a strategic position and got the recognition of the major powers at that time. In the colonial war, there were two groups that played a very important role, namely the nobility (teuku) and the religious elite (teungku). These two groups go hand in hand in the war against the enemy, but there is also friction and competition between them. The Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (Helsinki Agreement 2005) was a turning point for peace in Aceh. The important points agreed upon including the reintroduction of the Acehese Qanun as a respect for the historical traditions and customs of the Acehese people, and reflected in the contemporary law. Also, the Nanggroe Institution along with all the ceremonial attributes and rights will be established. Along with the conducive security in the Aceh region, it seems that the political attitude of the people in general is no longer too emotionally linked to the historical romance of past glory. The decreasing share of local parties in Aceh's DPRA can be seen as an indication of this. However, some views today see that there are still many things that have not been fulfilled according to the original intent of the Helsinki peace.*

### Keywords

Aceh rebellion; helsinki agreement; Aceh sultanate; NKRI



## I. Introduction

Aceh, as the westernmost province, has a unique historical relationship dynamic with Indonesia. Aceh once had the status of a Special Region. However, some Acehese consider that not enough, resulting in upheaval and also an attempt to separate themselves from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Currently, under Law Number 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh, in article 1 paragraph 2, Aceh is a provincial area which is a special legal community unit and is given special authority to regulate and manage government affairs and the interests of the local community in accordance with regulations. legislation in the system and principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which is led by a Governor. Based on the background above, this study aims to determine the historical dynamics of Aceh in the Republic of Indonesia by examining relevant literature and legal regulations.

## II. Research Method

This research is a literature review by looking historical dynamics changes of Aceh in the Republic of Indonesia. Data obtained from relevant literature review by reading and observing both books, journals and research results, as well as interviews with relevant figures in this study.

## III. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 Pre-Modern Indonesia to the Era of the War with the Netherlands

Pre-modern Indonesia in the era of independence, Aceh is one of the strong and modern kingdoms in the archipelago. The Sultanate in Aceh is characterized by an Islamic kingdom. In the pre 15th century, the Pasei and Pedir kingdoms existed. In the fifteenth century Sultan Ali Moeghajat Sjah conquered Pasei and Pedir and consolidated the Kingdom of Aceh from 1514 to 1528. At this time along with the arrival of Westerners such as the Portuguese, Spanish to the archipelago through the Straits of Malacca. The power of the Aceh kingdom at that time had reached the area of North Sumatra and peninsular of Malaysia such as Johor. The kingdom had forged a strategic alliance with the Ottoman Empire of Turkey, in competition with Europe after the fall of Constantinople. The peak of the glory of the Aceh kingdom was at the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda, who had the title "*Marhoem Mahkota Alam*", who ruled in 1607–1636 (Djajadiningrat, 1982).

Control of the Malacca strait trade route in the east, and along the west coast of Aceh, to the Andaman sea was the main source of income for the kingdom, including for marketing agricultural products from the Aceh kingdom. Foreign relations extended to foreign countries, such as the Ottoman Empire, Yemen, the Netherlands, England, Italy and the great countries of that era.

When the Portuguese began to enter the Malay Peninsula, it was considered to interfere with the strategic interests of the Aceh kingdom. As a result, several wars have occurred. The heroic saga of the Sultan of Aceh at that time was sung in a deeply rooted oral tradition. Poems and songs with patriotic nuances, love for the homeland in the frame of Islamic religious symbols which known as "the Tale of the sabil war" (Alfian, 1992).

The system and structure of government in Aceh gave relatively large autonomy and decentralization rights to the kings/nobles in the regions (Alfian, 1987). The structure of the Aceh kingdom in making important decisions consists of the Sultan and the nuclear family, the noble rulers in the region (*uleebalang*) entitled '*Teuku*' and religious leaders and boarding schools entitled '*Teungku*'.

In the development of Western imperialist power which is getting stronger, it is necessary to have a security protocol and safeguard shipping security along the Malacca Strait. The imperialists agreed on the division of the area or trade area between England and the Netherlands, known as the Treaty of London (Van Nill, 1960). One of the unique in the elaboration of the London treaty is the recognition of the status quo to still respect the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Aceh. However, it was also agreed in certain cases that the Dutch were allowed to patrol the straits of Malacca to ensure the security interests of its merchant fleet.

Utilizing this clause, and coupled with its colonialist ambitions, the Dutch, reinforced by their troops from the native, invaded the Sultanate of Aceh on March 26, 1873. The first Dutch attack was successfully broken by Acehnese forces. As a result of the war, the Dutch war-leading general John Rudolf Kohler was killed. Acehnese troops at that time led by Teungku Tjik Di Tiro Muh. Hasan bin Abdullah. Another version of history mentions

that the leader of aceh forces who killed General Kohler was Teuku Imeum Lueng Bata (Apipudin, 2016).

The Dutch again carried out a second attack on December 25, 1873 under the leadership of Jan Van Switen, while the Aceh side was led by Sultan Mahmud Syah II. In this second expedition, the fort of the royal capital at Kutaraja fell that cause Sultan and troops Aceh retreated outside the Kutaraja area.

The fall of Kutaraja and the displacement of the Sultan out of town, to areas under the control of Tengku, seemed to have had a psychological impact and a crisis of the sultanate's authority. In the course of the removal, the Sultan died in Leueung Bata – Ayee fence on January 28, 1874 because of disease Cholera (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1982). Immediately on the same day, the Chairman of the Tuha Peut Assembly of the Kingdom of Aceh Tuanku Muh. Raja Keumala decided that “in a state of chaos/infidel war, the decisions of customary, legal, and *reusam* powers are under the highest leadership with the title: Al-Mutabbir, Al-Malik, and Al-Mukarram (hereinafter known as Wali Nanggroe)”. The first Wali Nanggroe was Tengku Tjik Di Tiro Muhammad Saman bin Abdullah, based in Aceh Pidie, Tiro. However, there is no historical record of 'whether this was a subtle coup from the Teungku to the Sultanate-centered Teuku'.

At that time, the effective dutch power in general was only around Kutaradja. In some areas, beyond that it is enforceable but with strict escorts and often faces sabotage and attacks from Acehnese fighters. Teungku Tjik Di Tiro's successive wars relayed to his family, such as his sister and brother, when a Wali Nanggroe died/was martyred in the war. The seventh regent of Wali Nanggroe was Tgk Tjik di Tiro Muaz bin Muhammad Amin Shahid, who was martyred on December 3, 1911 in a battle with Dutch forces led by Captain Smith.

After the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah II, aceh leaders immediately appointed Tuanku Muhammad Daud Shah as the new Sultan. Because Muhammad Daud Shah was a minor, his coronation as Sultan was only carried out in 1884, with the Government Center located in Keumala, Pidie. The coronation of Sultan Daud Shah, as the 32nd Sultan was attended by acehnese fighters, both uleebalang and Teungku, including Teungku Chik Di Tiro. At that time the figures of Ulee Balang and Alim Ulama confirmed the pledge of sabi war, which claimed that the war against the Dutch was a war of struggle on the path of Religion against infidels. (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1982).

According to Astuti et al (2019) Education is an obligation of every human being that must be pursued to hold responsibilities and try to produce progress in knowledge and experience for the lives of every individual. Education is one of the efforts to improve the ability of human intelligence, thus he is able to improve the quality of his life (Saleh and Mujahiddin, 2020). Education is expected to be able to answer all the challenges of the times and be able to foster national generations, so that people become reliable and of high quality, with strong characteristics, clear identities and able to deal with current and future problems (Azhar, 2018).

The transfer of *de jure* and *de facto* leadership to the scholar group, was not immediately accepted by the nobility/ulee balang. The nobility also fought their own wars in their respective territories-respectively, with various tactics and strategies including collaborating with the Dutch occupation forces. Based on records by Alfian (1987), in the period between 1874-1876 there were about 31 uleebalang who signed a peace treaty and submitted to the Dutch (Alfian, 1987). Later, the elite competition between the uleebalang/nobles/teuku groups and the ulama/teungku groups carried over to before and after the independence period (Wiratmadinata, 2014).

One of the phenomenal war tactics was the Uleebalang under the leadership of Teuku Umar, who in one episode of the war had been a *comprador* and collaborator and part of the Military Service of the Dutch Colonial Government. Aceh Governor Van Teijn asked Teuku Umar to try to kill Tgk Di Tiro (Alfian, 1987). The killing of the second Wali Nanggroe, Teungku Tjik Di Tiro Muhammad Amin bin Muhammad Saman in 1896 in Kuta Aneuk Galong, was blamed and accused of betrayal by Teuku Umar.

In the next episode, Teuku Umar betrayed the leadership of the Dutch government in Kutaraja, after successfully obtaining weapons and a lot of money. Then he declared his oath of allegiance to Sultan Muhammad Daud Shah. In addition, on the advice of Snouck Hurgronje, Dutch forces under the leadership of General Van Heutz were finally able to conquer almost all of Aceh, including by killing Teuku Umar in an ambush, in 1899. (Veer, 1985).

Snouck Hurgronje (Garrick, 1990) is a Dutch scholar who managed to give advice to Military Leaders and Government Leaders of the Netherlands regarding strategies and tactics to fight and defeat the Acehnese troops.

Sultan Mohammad Daud surrendered to the Dutch in 1903, followed by the Polem Commander. The Sultan was then exiled to Ambon and Batavia. However, the resistance of the *Ulama*, especially from the Tgk Tjik Di Tiro breed, continued, which ended with the death/martyrdom of Mat Tiro as crown prince and Wali Nanggroe VII, in 1911. However, even though the Sultan of Aceh and the uleebalang leaders had surrendered and died, the resistance to Dutch occupation of Aceh, basically never stopped. The resistance was carried out under the leadership of the local Teuku and ulee balangs, as well as by the Teungku.

### **3.2 The War of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia**

Towards the time of independence, immigrant traders and scholars from Aceh who lived on the Malacca Peninsula formed the PUSA (All Aceh Ulama Association) led by Daud Beureueh. Daud Beureueh also made contact with the Japanese. Daud Beureueh claimed that the struggle he led was a continuation of the war led by Tengku Tjik di tiro.

Meanwhile, in Aceh there have also been other movements led by youth leaders and affiliated to the national movement in Jakarta. Immediately after the proclamation of independence, the Government established several provinces, including the province of Sumatra, whose first governor was a national movement figure from Aceh named Muhammad Hasan.

Muhammad Hasan then appointed Teuku Nyak Arif, a former *Giyugun* figure from the Indonesian Youth Forces whose affiliation was close to the ulee balangs as the first resident of Aceh.

Therefore, the scholars could not accept it because they had considered that the ulee balang was a Dutch *comprador*. Civil war battles between the Youth force and the scholar forces erupted, known as "cumbok war" (David, 2009; Wiratmawidinata, 2014; Solomon, 1999; M. Isa Sulaiman, 1994). This local power struggle was won by the clerics. The war resulted in the ulee balang and Nyak Arif's troops being killed, Nyak Arif was captured and died in prison. Daud Beureueh was later appointed as the Military Governor of Aceh, Langkat and Tanah Karo.

During the war of independence, several national figures such as Mohammad Natsir, Mohammad Hatta and President Soekarno visited Aceh, met with local figures under the command of Daud Beureueh. Daud Beureueh expressed his demand that Aceh be treated as a special area that maintains their Islamic identity (Sjamsuddin, 1990). This was responded by the Government with the issuance of the Prime Minister Regulation in Lieu

of Government Regulation No. 8/Des/WKPM/49 dated 17 December 1949, regarding Aceh was declared as a separate province independent of North Sumatra Province.

### **3.3 The Era of Daud Beureueh's Rebellion Episode**

Not until a year after the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty through the Round Table Conference. Round Table Conference was a Political settlement between the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia and the Federal States in Indonesia, held on 1949 in Den Haag, which contained several compromises for a complete settlement of the recognition of independence and an end to Dutch colonialism with dignity. Therefore, The United States of Indonesia was dissolved, and again became a unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Through Government Regulation No. 21 of 1950 the Republic of Indonesia is divided into 10 provinces. With PerPu number 5 in 1950, the status of Aceh area was again established to be one of the residency in North Sumatra Province. Meanwhile, Daud Beureueh did not accept this which resulted in him and his followers rebelling against the Central Government.

On December 23, 1953, Daud Beureueh declared joining Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army, that is a rebellion movement against the Indonesian government under the leadership of Kartosuwiryo based in West Java. Revolt of Daud Beureueh with his followers even ended on May 8, 1962, namely with the acceptance of Islamic law promulgated by the DPRD on April 7, 1962 (Sjamsuddin, 1990)

### **3.4 The Era of the Rebellion Episode of the Free Aceh Movement**

In 1968, one of the descendants of Tgk Tjik di Tiro, named Tgk Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro, met the Queen of the Netherlands (Beatrix) in the Netherlands. The Queen of the Netherlands handed over the Wali Nanggroe Letter, which was confiscated when the murder of Crown Prince Tgk Tjik Ditiro Muaz bin Muhammad Amin as the 7th Guardian of Nanggroe (*Wali Nanggroe*). As far as the document was received, Tgk Hasan Muhammad di Tiro returned to Aceh, and by his family and followers was appointed the 8th Wali Nanggroe. In the meantime, we need to convey that we have found no evidence from other sources regarding nanggroe's letter claim or the submission of the guardian's letter to Tgk Hasan Muhammad di Tiro.

On December 4, 1976, together with former DI/TII fighters and religious leaders, Tgk Muhammad di Tiro made a royal declaration of connection from the Wali Nanggroe led by Tgk Tjik di Tiro. Tgk Hasan M. di Tiro appointed himself as Chairman of the National Liberation Front of Aceh, Sumatra and Head of State Aceh, Sumatra (Acehnet.Tripod, 2000). In the movement, it was discovered that Daud Beureueh was not involved.

In his declaration of independence, Tgk Hasan M. di Tiro cited the events of the first Aceh war on March 26, 1873, as well as reporting on the incident in The New York Times, edition of May 6, 1873. The declaration also claimed that the President of the United States Ulysses S. Grant stated neutrality in the war between the kingdom of Aceh and the Netherlands. Next, the declaration did not acknowledge the transfer of power from the Netherlands to Indonesia at the time of independence.

The struggle of the armed forces Tgk Hasan M di Tiro, widely known as the "Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*)". The movement is a separatist politically charged armed resistance movement that has widespread support in some Acehnese community groups, spending a lot of resources from the Indonesian Government, both from the Military and civilians and has international support.



In our opinion, the claim of this connection kingdom is not entirely correct for the following two reasons:

The first is the fact that the last Sultan of Aceh Tuanku Muhammad Daud Syah, who was crowned by Acehnese Leaders and Ulama, surrendered to the Dutch Colonial Government (Alfian, 1987;233). That there is resistance and rebellion, but does not eliminate the fact that the Sultan of Aceh has surrendered as the holder of the sovereignty of the Aceh kingdom.

The second is the principle of international law, namely *uti possidetis juris*, which states that the boundaries of newly independent countries follow the boundaries of territories inherited from the old colonials. (Hensel & Allison, 2006). In the end Aceh leaders acknowledged and followed this, including Daud Beureueh who had been a leader and governor in Aceh.

### **3.5 War of Independence – Daud Beureueh Rebellion - Free Aceh Movement**

There is an interesting note that during the war of independence, prominent actors were the nationalists represented by Muhammad Hasan and Teuku Nyak Arif, as well as the scholars represented by Daud Beureueh. Hardly found a prominent role of the Hasan di Tiro family.

Likewise, when Daud Beureueh declared to join DI / TII, there was also almost no trace of Hasan di Tiro. When Tgk Hasan M di Tiro proclaimed the aceh connection kingdom led by the Wali nangroe, which Daud Beureueh did not involve himself in the movement. Some of his followers who are ex DI/TII are not satisfied there are those who participated with the declaration of Hasan M Tiro which became widely known as the Free Aceh Movement.

Meanwhile, Hasan M di Tiro took his claim of legitimacy by not acknowledging at all that Indonesia had become independent in 1945, and Aceh was part of the Republic of Indonesia. This approach is diametrically different from that of Daud Beureueh's side. Daud Beureueh's resistance or rebellion to the Central Government is still within the historical framework of the *de facto* existence of the Republic of Indonesia, which is not a continuation kingdom from the pre-colonial period.

Daud Beureueh is a fighter of the Republic of Indonesia who participated in maintaining Indonesian independence. In addition to physical struggle, also by sponsoring the purchase of dakota-type aircraft for the Central Government, with the identification number RI-001 Seulawah.

### **3.6 Period of Peace Dialogue, Reconciliation and Return to the Lap of the Republic of Indonesia as Nangroe Aceh Darussalam**

The dialogical approach between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement to find a peaceful, dignified and comprehensive solution in Aceh, significantly began in the era of Abdurrahman Wahid as President (Sulaiman AB, 2005). At the International Forum, facilitated by the Henry Dunant Center, in Switzerland openly in January 2000, President Wahid or popularly known as Gus Dur, in his speech expressed the willingness of the Indonesian government to have a dialogue with GAM (Free Aceh Movement), including with the facilitation of a third party. History records that the Henry Dunant Center became the first third party to officially facilitate dialogue between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement.

The first dialogue agreement is in the form of a document "Joint Understanding On Humanitarian Pause for Aceh" which was signed on 12 May 2000. After mutual trust

began to emerge, then significant steps were agreed upon in the cessation of hostilities agreement (CoHA) in December 2002.

Between the two events, in national politics, Law No. 18 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy was issued for the Province of the Special Region of Aceh as the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. However, it seems that the acceptance of Law Number 18 of 2001 is only a starting point for some parties (Sulaiman AB, 2005). GAM's highest demand is independence, or at least self-regulatory government within the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, while the maximum that the Government and the Indonesian Parliament can offer is special autonomy within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the course of the next step, CoHA was declared a failure, so President Megawati Sukarnoputri issued Presidential Decree No. 23 of 2003 concerning the Declaration of a State of Danger with a state of martial law in the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. Along with the increasingly conducive security, military emergency was changed to civil emergency status by Presidential Decree Number 43 of 2004.

Taking the momentum of the tsunami natural disaster in Aceh, facilitated by The Crisis Management Initiative under the leadership of former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia signed a memorandum of understanding for peace with the Free Aceh Movement, on August 15, 2005 in Helsinki, Finland. (Aspinall, 2005).

The Government of Indonesia and Parliament formalized the contents of the memorandum of understanding, with the issuance of Law No. 11 of 2006 on the Government of Aceh. The explanation of Law Number 11 of 2006 contains several chronology and features that have been and the current conditions in Aceh that are the background of the law.

One of the items contained in the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding is regarding the Wali Nanggroe Institution. Based on *Aceh Qanun* Number 8 of 2012 dated November 19, 2012 concerning the Wali Nanggroe Institution, it is stated that the Wali Nanggroe institution is religious and customary in nature, and is personal in nature, not hereditary.

The recovery of Aceh as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia after the Aceh Government Law did not necessarily smooth the relationship between the Central Government and the Aceh Government. One that stands out is the adoption of the flag emblem and the uniform of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) which is used as a symbol of the Aceh special autonomy flag, which was ratified by Aceh's regional regulations (Qanun). The Central Government rejects this, but in practice it is still used by the people and the Aceh Government (Armia, 2017)

### **3.7 General Elections in Aceh After Peace**

The existence of the Local Party in Aceh as one of the political settlement in the Helsinki MoU negotiations is one of the intelligences of GAM's negotiators. They prefer local parties over locally based national parties, with guaranteed appointment of local people in the National party (Nurhasim, 2012). By dominating local parties, in the fields of politics, governance and economic resources, it will be more possible for former GAM actors to transform and participate in democracy and the development of a new Acehnese society.

As a test of proof of this thesis, it can be seen from the dominance of local parties, in this case the Aceh Party which was founded by former GAM combatants. They were successful in dominating the parliament. Candidates who competed in the election

(*Pilkada*) for the Governor or Head of Region at the Regency/City level were also won by former combatants or those affiliated with GAM (Nurhasim, 2012).

**Table 1.** Recapitulation of DPRA Members in various General Elections

The Party	2009	2014	2019
National Party	35	49	53
Local Party			
- Aceh Party	33	29	18
- Other Local Party	1	3	10
Number of Members	69	81	81
Percentage : National Party	51%	60%	65%
Local Party	49%	40%	35%
Total Percentage	100	100	100

Source: Wikipedia.org/Aceh People's Representative Council, processed

From the above recapitulation table, some extracts can be drawn as follows:

- a. In the first general election following the passing of the Law on the Government of Aceh as a follow-up to the Helsinki MoU, local parties were able to balance out the national parties. The Aceh Party was founded by former GAM leaders and combatants. This can be interpreted that GAM already has an extensive network in Aceh, and at the same time gets enthusiasm from the local community.
- b. There is a significant downward trend in the Aceh Party, which was founded by GAM. This can be interpreted in two ways, namely there is disappointment with the expectations of its constituents, or political consolidation that is fragile and not as solid as consolidation on the battlefield.
- c. The proportion of local parties has decreased significantly. It can be interpreted that over time, historical political romance has lost its charm. People become more realistic, faced with their daily conditions. This attitude also goes hand in hand with the increasingly conducive security situation, which makes the people relatively free in making their choices.

### 3.8 Wali Nanggroe and di Tiro Family

As described above, that the role of the family di Tiro, since the first Aceh war (1873) – the declaration of the proclamation of the Free Aceh Movement – the period of resistance until the Aceh peace negotiation process was very prominent. There have been several developments in the roles and functions of the Wali Nanggroe Institution. Likewise, the role of the family di Tiro.

- a. One of the important points in the Helsinki MoU in the Law on the Governing of Aceh section (Aspinall, 2005) is ... the institution of Wali Nanggroe "*with all its ceremonial attributes and entitlements will be established*". This point does indicate the role of Wali Nanggroe which will be more limited to ceremonial attributes
- b. Aceh Qanun Number 8 of 2012 concerning the Wali Nanggroe Institution, the first point of consideration is to refer to the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement, dated August 15, 2005. In the Qanun it is emphasized that Wali Nanggroe is a personal and independent leader who leads Nanggroe Guardian Institution. Wali Nanggroe Institution is a traditional leadership institution as a unifying community that is independent, authoritative, and authorized to foster and supervise the implementation of the life of traditional



institutions, customs, languages and awarding titles/degrees and other traditional ceremonies.

- c. Aceh Qanun No. 9 of 2013 changed (some reduced and some expanded) some of the powers of the Trustee Institution in Qanun No. 8 of 2012. One of them is the abolition of the role to maintain political authority (article 2, article 3). The immunity rights of Wali Nanggroe are limited only in the institutional meeting forum of Wali Nanggroe. Investigations and investigations into Wali Nanggroe (except for being caught red-handed and certain serious crimes) can only be carried out if there is written approval from the Governor (article 17). Related to the task of the Wali Nanggroe Institution in providing views, directions and advice to the Aceh Government and DPRA and other institutions "restricted" only in the formulation of strategic policies and the resolution of critical problems. Furthermore, matters which in the previous Qanun gave evaluation rights to the Trustee Institution, in Qanun number 9 of 2013, were limited to giving consideration (e.g article 56 concerning the Mining and Energy Council).

Based on Article 132 (6), since the death of Wali Nanggroe Dr. Tengku Hasan Muhammad di Tiro, then Waliyul'ahdi Tengku Malik Mahmud Al-Haytar was appointed as the 9<sup>th</sup> Wali Nanggroe.

1. With the stipulation of Qanun number 8 of 2012 and its amendments, the guardian of the position of Wali Nanggroe is personal.
2. After Tengku Malik Mahmud Al-Haytar's term of office ended, he was reaffirmed as Wali Nanggroe by the Aceh People's Representative Council for a term of office for the 2018-2023 period (Aminah, 2020).

#### **IV. Conclusion**

The recovery of Aceh as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia after the Aceh Government Law did not necessarily smooth the relationship between the Central Government and the Aceh Government. The adoption of the emblem of the flag and uniforms similar to the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) which was used as the symbol for the flag of Aceh's special autonomy, which was ratified by Aceh's regional regulations (Qanun) was once rejected by the Government. However, in practice it is still used by the people and the Government of Aceh (Armia, 2017).

Recently, a book on the Helsinki MoU & UUPA was published (UUPA, 2020), in the normative aspect and the empirical aspect. The book is interesting to look at. The authors are academics and former GAM fighters. In the speech of the Chairperson of the Aceh DPR, it was written, among other things, "This study and advocacy book is to remind again that the spirit of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) clause contained in the Law on the Government of Aceh, Law Number 11 of 2006 seems to be translated not according to interests and expectations. Acehnese people".

The Wali Nanggroe Aceh gave a more moderate welcome, stating "this agreement still requires the support of all of you, the people of Aceh and the people of Indonesia, especially from the central government of the Republic of Indonesia for the peaceful, comprehensive, sustainable and dignified settlement of the Aceh conflict for all, in accordance with commitment and hope".

Regarding the cooperative relationship between local parties and national parties in political discourse and its implementation for the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam after the Helsinki peace, the answer of one former GAM fighter is going well. He said, "The cooperative relationship between Local Political Parties and National Parties

currently looks harmonious and in line, including the issues brought up by both parties in line with the respective authorities of the Political Parties”.

In an interview that the author conveyed to one of the leaders of defense institutions covering the province of Aceh recently, regarding the integration of GAM into the Republic of Indonesia, his views were more or less as follows:

“The separatist movement in the Aceh Province is a movement to maintain the doctrine of the separatist ideology of the Free Aceh Movement which is still ongoing after more than 16 years after the end of the Aceh conflict which was marked by the Helsinki-Finland MoU. The reason for the ongoing indoctrination of separatist ideology is the political interests or political content of the ex-GAM elites who have formed the political struggle/front of the Aceh Transitional Committee and are currently trying to build single majority power towards self-government through local parties”.

Another view that is more moderate states “The current condition of Aceh has very good development, both in terms of economy, democracy and national defense. The dynamics of development in Aceh are in line with national development. It is possible that there may be small things as a result of past residues, but these have not yet entered the area of the national defense aspect.”

Associated with past historical factors, upheavals in the era of independence, armed movements and rebellions against the Central Government, as well as compromise of peace through the Helsinki Agreement. Therefore, it is important for the Central Government to pay special attention to the Aceh Province in relation to managing security and maintaining the integrity of Indonesia as a whole nation and state.

The fact that in Aceh there is currently a Local Party with an ideology different from the Pancasila principle is a fact. It takes intelligence, maturity and statesmanship of all relevant parties to maintain state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and the safety of the entire nation.

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