

ACEH LOCAL PARTIES IN THE HISTORY OF REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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Abstract

Aceh local party is a party that was born from the womb of a prolonged conflict in Aceh. The existence of the Aceh Local party is inseparable from the actions of GAM leaders in maintaining their existence in the land of the Veranda of Mecca. On the other hand the Government of the Republic of Indonesia also does not want what happened to the East-East province to occur in the Aceh province, so various efforts were made to maintain the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Efforts by the Indonesian government include military and civil emergency operations that have been implemented in Aceh, although these efforts have proven unable to eliminate GAM's influence in Aceh, so that in the end the peace route was adopted with the signing of the Helsinki MoU in 2005 which signaled an end to the armed conflict in Aceh for forever. This research is a legal research using a law in concrete sense suppressor where law functions or is implemented (law in action) or law that is always moving (recht in beweging).

Keywords: Local party, GAM, Helsinki MoU, Aceh

Abstrak

Partai lokal Aceh adalah partai yang lahir dari rahim konflik yang berkepanjangan di Aceh. Keberadaan partai Lokal Aceh tidak lepas dari sepak terjang para tokoh GAM dalam mempertahankan eksistensi mereka di tanah Serambi Mekah. Disisi lain Pemerintah Republik Indonesia juga tidak mengingkan apa yang terjadi pada provinsi Timur-Timur terjadi pada provinsi Aceh, sehingga berbagai upaya-upaya dilakukan guna untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Upaya yang dilakukan pemerintah Indonesia meliputi operasi militer dan darurat sipil yang pernah diterapkan di Aceh, walaupun upaya tersebut terbukti tidak bisa menghilangkan pengaruh GAM di Aceh, sehingga pada akhirnya jalur damai pun ditempuh dengan penandatanganan MoU Helsinki pada tahun 2005 yang menandakan pengakhiran konflik bersejata di Aceh untuk selamanya. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian hukum dengan menggunakan pendekatan *law in concrete sense* dimana hukum berfungsi atau dilaksanakan (*law in action*) atau hukum yang selalu bergerak (*recht in beweging*).

Kata Kunci: Partai lokal, GAM, MoU Helsinki, Aceh

INTRODUCTION

As a democratic country, Indonesia guarantees that every citizen is free in carrying out political activities without discrimination as long as they obey the laws that become the basis of the nation (Nuna & Moonti, 2019) Indonesian people have the right and freedom to express their ideas and aspirations aimed at building and advancing the nation and state. Therefore, people need some sort of tool or means to convey their ideas or aspirations so that the will of citizens can be channelled properly and correctly. (Abdul Rahman Al Fikhi, 2014)

To gather the aspirations of citizens, people then form political parties, which becomes a means of gathering public aspirations in modern democracy in the form of a system that we often call representation, both representation of the people in formal institutions in a country (DPR) , DPRD) as well as the representation of people's aspirations in the institution of a party. (Pasaribu, 2017)

If we look back at the existence of political parties in Indonesia, the existence of the *Indische Partij* in 1912 was the first political party in this country. The *Indische Partij*, which was founded by Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Douwes Dekker and Tjipto Mangunkoesoemo, has a noble idea, aimed

at raising awareness of indigenous peoples about their rights as human beings, which can be fulfilled by achieving the independence of Indonesia from colonization by foreign nations. (Solikhin, 2017) Of course, the main spirit of the *Indische Partij* now and then is no longer the same, along with the independence of Indonesia, the spirit of political parties has evolved into a tool to maintain state sovereignty and prosper people's lives in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution.

General elections in Indonesia have been held for 12 elections during 1955-2019. (KPU, 2016) In the mid of 1955-2004 all political party participants in the election were those from national parties, but since the 2009, people from local parties also participated, for instance the "*partai politik lokal Aceh*". (AW, 2014) The participation of this local Aceh party shocked the political world of the country, how can Aceh, which has the status of one of the provinces of Indonesia, have special rights in the politics in the country. There are a total of 6 local Aceh parties that passed the verification from the Central KPU to become parties that participated in the election held in 2009. The six parties are the *Partai Aceh* (PA), *Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera* (PAAS), *Partai Bersatu Aceh* (PBA), *Partai Daulat Aceh* (PDA), *Partai Rakyat Aceh* (PRA) dan *Partai Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh* (P-SIRA). ("List of Political Parties Contesting in the 2009 Election," nd)

The presence of the Aceh local party as a form of implementing the Helsinki MoU is expected to provide significant changes in the life of the Acehnese people. Especially in terms of the security and freedom in carrying out their daily activities. Besides, local Aceh parties are also expected to be able to apply all the points of the Helsinki agreement for the prosperity of the Acehnese people. (Ali Geno Berutu, 2016)

This study aims to provide an overview of the specifics of Aceh in terms of politics, so that it becomes an understanding for every Indonesian citizen regarding the existence of these local parties. The historical background must always be explored and explained so that it will not cause chaos in other areas because of the same desire to establish a local free political party in their region, so that peace in the state will become the right of every citizen of the Republic of Indonesia.

From this preliminary description, the author will describe the history of Aceh's local parties in Indonesian through answering the research

questions about how is the history of the existence and legality of Aceh's local parties in the Indonesian state administration? This is the main question in this study. This study uses a qualitative methodology with library research. The approach used in this research is law in concrete sense or legal research that looks concretely where the law functions or is implemented (law in action) or the law is not static (*recht in beweging*). (Muhdlor, 2012) This research uses the laws and regulations and the Memorandum of Understanding of the Helsinki MoU as primary materials, while the secondary data in this study are relevant legal books, legal study journals and online sources.

DISCUSSION

Aceh Local Parties in The History of Indonesian Election

A political party is an organized group of people who have the same orientation one another with the aim of obtaining power in accordance with the constitution in a respective country. (Muttaqin, 2019) While the word "local" means that restrictions apply to one particular area or something that comes from the original area. Thus, we can conclude that the Aceh local party is an effort made by an organized group of people to reach power to run a government in accordance with the laws and regulations in Indonesia but only in the Aceh region.

It is a political organization founded by a group of Indonesian citizens who live in Aceh on a voluntary basis and the existence of shared ideals to fight for the rights or interests of members of the community, nation and state through a democratic general election (election) process for the representation of the people in the legislative body of the Aceh Regency of Representatives (DPRK), the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA), the election of the regent and deputy regent and deputy mayor as well as the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh. (Hajad, 2016)

Aceh's local parties that participated in the general elections in Indonesia starting in 2009 were not simply given to Aceh by the central government. But there are various factors behind its presence in the political arena in the country, for that it is necessary to review the long history behind the existence of these local parties.

The existence of local parties in Aceh was caused by the prolonged conflict in Aceh which has been resolved since the founding of the Republic of Indonesia. As a historical record, the first conflict that occurred in Aceh was the DI/TII Movement, which was spearheaded by Tgk. M. Daud Beureu'eh in 1953. (Priyotomo, 2005) This movement was initiated as a form of disappointment of Acehnese people to President Soekarno who never gave special status to Aceh in accordance with the promise given during a political safari to Aceh in 1947 in order to strengthen the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. (Schulze, 2004)

After the DI/TII case was resolved peacefully in Aceh, which was marked by the ratification of Law no. 18 of 1965 with the granting of regional autonomy in the fields of religion, education and customs. It turned out that the granting of Regional Autonomy to Aceh in 1965 did not necessarily eliminate the seeds of conflict to its roots, as happened in 1977 that Hasan Tiro as a central figure in this movement declared the establishment of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Pidie with the ultimate goal to separate Aceh from the Republic of Indonesia. (Ti Aisyah et al, 2008) Hasan Tiro's decision to carry out the GAM movement in Aceh was motivated by the development of inequality between the regions and the center, especially Aceh, even though according to Hasan Tiro Aceh had made such a large contribution to the country of Indonesia. through its rich natural resources, but Aceh is far from prosperous even when compared to other regions in Indonesia (Jayanti, 2013)

The Free Aceh Movement lasted for a very long time in the history of Aceh's upheaval. Since its establishment in 1977, GAM could only be completed in 2005 marked by the signing of the Helsinki MoU or known as the understanding between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia on August 15, 2005. (Basri, 2014) There were 5 Indonesian presidents who taking turns to solve this conflict until it resolved peacefully through negotiations.

During 1977 to 2005, the central government carried out many policies in Aceh to suppress the rebels of the sovereignty of Indonesia, but all the policies implemented by the central government could not stop GAM which had taken root in the hearts of the Acehnese people. It is proven that these policies only leave scars for the people of Aceh and

the dark history of human rights for the Indonesian people. (Jiwon, 2015) The following are some of the policies implemented by the central government in Aceh during the GAM conflict:

1. 1990-1998 Implementation of *Operasi Jaring Merah* which made Aceh a DOM (military operation area);
2. 2003-2004 Indonesian military operations in Aceh;
3. 2004 Civil Emergency (Atthahara et al., 2018)

A series of repressive measures carried out by the central government in Aceh, besides taking many victims, also burdened the state finances. Rebellions that occurred in Aceh has left Aceh behind on all fronts with other regions in Indonesia, this of course adds to the bleak historical record of Aceh's journey during the post-independence Republic of Indonesia in 1945. (Amin, 2018) Until the tsunami disaster hit Aceh at the end of 2004 which more or less influenced the political map of Aceh in the future.

New Aceh Post Tsunami and Helsinki MoU

The conflict that hit the westernmost province of Indonesia from 1953 to the reformation period after the fall of the *Orde Baru* regime finally changed the geopolitical order after Aceh was hit by the tsunami disaster on December 26, 2004. Perhaps this is the implied meaning (peace) of the disaster and this is also in line with the QS. Al-Insyirah [94]: 5-6 which very clearly states that in fact along with hardship there is ease with it.

Various attempts by the central government to negotiate with GAM to end the endless conflict have failed. It is noted that the efforts made by the central government to negotiate with GAM began with the appointment of the Henri Dunant Center (HDC) as an international organization that mediates through dialogue at the negotiating table in Geneva, Switzerland. (Cut Annysa Mailika, 2013) The first step taken by HDC in taking its role in Aceh was the signing of a joint agreement between Indonesia and GAM on 12 May 2000 known as the "Joint Understanding on Humanitarian Pause for Aceh" to end the conflict. (Zainal, 2015)

Further negotiations were held on December 9, 2002 with the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) which was initiated by the Henri Dunant Center in Geneva, Switzerland. (Pratiwi, 2019) This

peace agreement was agreed upon with four main agendas, they are the military sector agenda; humanitarian assistance; post-conflict reconstruction and civil reform. (Berutu, 2016) This agreement also gives a role to a foreign country as a peace monitor in Aceh, the Joint Security Committee (JSC). The JSC is headed tripartite by Major General Tanongsuk Tivinum, a senior officer from the Thai military, Brigadier General Safzen Noerdin from the TNI; and from GAM represented Sofyan Ibrahim Tiba.(Dunia, 2008)

In fact, all peace efforts that have been pursued by both parties have ended in a stalemate due to the dissatisfaction of both parties, especially GAM regarding the offer made by the Government of Indonesia. With the deadlock in the Aceh peace negotiations, the central government again took a preventive and repressive approach in handling the Aceh case with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 28 of 2003 dated May 9, 2003 which stipulates the status of Military Emergency for Aceh. (Siregar, 2012)

Various attempts to negotiate peace in Aceh have always failed, until in 2004 the great tsunami disaster struck the Asia Pacific region where Aceh was the most affected by the disaster with the death of more than one hundred thousand people. (Theresita Herni Setiawan, 2007) News of the tsunami finally reached the GAM officials who were abroad in exile. Seeing Aceh in ruins, the GAM leader in Sweden ordered a unilateral ceasefire to give space to various parties to provide humanitarian assistance in dealing with the tsunami in Aceh, because in 2004 Aceh was still in military emergency status so that not all freely carry out activities in Aceh. (Theresita Herni Setiawan, 2007)

After the tsunami disaster was handled during the administration of Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY) where he used the term in the Aceh tsunami emergency response with 3 Quick, "Quick to see, quick to decide, quick to act", this time the mediation was carried out by the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) as a mediator where former Finnish president Marti Ahtisaari as the head of the negotiations, Marti Ahtisaari changed the pattern of negotiations by prioritizing Aceh's political status first, using the formula that "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed" requires both parties to agree on a political formula before a ceasefire and security arrangements are discussed. In the end, on 15 August

2005, both parties agreed on peace points and at the same time ending the GAM conflict in Aceh. (M. Ya'kub Aiyub Kadir, 2019)

MoU Helsinki as The Foundation of Aceh Local Political Parties

Since the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in Helsinki, Finland on August 15, 2005, it has provided a breath of fresh air to the people of Aceh who have been living in the midst of uncertainty about everything. How could it not be that during the conflict, the community was afraid to carry out all activities because it always collided with security and threats. Besides that, this understanding also provides new opportunities for GAM combatants to be able to play an active role and contribute directly to the development of Aceh in the future, especially for GAM combatants who are currently being sentenced to being scattered in prisons by the Indonesian government, both in Aceh and outside Aceh. period of detention that has been determined by the court. ("Farid Husain Pioneers Peace GAM-RI through the Helsinki Agreement - Tirto.ID," nd)

There are 6 major points in the agreement to end the conflict between GAM and the Republic of Indonesia which was signed in Helsinki, Finland, on Monday, August 15, 2005. (Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement, 2005)

Table 1. Major Points in the Agreement to End the Conflict between GAM and the Republic of Indonesia

No	Agreement	Description
1	Governance in Aceh	Point 1.1 consists of points 1.1 – 1.1.7 which contain the necessity for the Indonesian government to immediately implement the results of the Helsinki peace agreement in the form of a law that regulates the administration of the Aceh Government by March 31, 2006 at the latest. The formation of <i>Wali Nanggroe</i> with all the staffs, the re-enactment of the Aceh <i>Qanun</i> as a form of respect for the history of Islam in Aceh. Aceh's authority in using

No	Agreement	Description
		symbols such as flags, symbols, hymns and the Aceh border refers to the 1 July 1956 border.
	Participation in Politics	Point 1.2 consists of points 1.2 – 1.2.8. It is imperative for the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to facilitate the formation of local parties in Aceh that meet national requirements within one year or eighteen months at the most after this MoU was agreed, whereby the full participation of the Acehnese people in electing local and national parties is guaranteed in accordance with the Indonesian constitution.
	Economy	Point 1.3 consists of points 1.3 – 1.3.9. Aceh has the right to obtain funds through foreign debt. Aceh also has the right to collect and assign local taxes to finance official internal activities. Aceh has authority over the natural resources that live in the territorial sea around Aceh. Enjoy free trade with all parts of the Republic of Indonesia without any tax, tariff or other barriers and GAM will nominate its representatives to participate fully at all levels in the commission set up to implement post-Tsunami reconstruction (BRR).
	Laws and regulations	Point 1.4 consists of points 1.4 – 1.4.5. The Aceh Legislative body formulates the applicable law in Aceh which is based on universal human rights principles as contained in the United Nations International Covenant on Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

No	Agreement	Description
2	Humans Right	Point 2 consists of points 2.1 – 2.3. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia will comply with the United Nations International Covenant on Civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and establish a Human Rights Court for Aceh. Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Aceh by the Indonesian Truth and Reconciliation Commission with the task of formulating and determining reconciliation efforts.
3	Amnesty and reintegration into society	Point 3 consists of points 3.1 – 3.2.7. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia will grant amnesty to everyone related to GAM in accordance with the provisions of the constitution with a limit of not more than 15 days from the signing of the agreement. Political prisoners will be released unconditionally as soon as possible before 15 days from the Helsinki agreement. Everyone involved with GAM who has been released from state custody will receive social, political, economic rights and a Reintegration Fund under the authority of the Aceh Government will be established. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia will allocate a certain amount of funds for the rehabilitation of public and private property destroyed or damaged by the conflict to be managed by the Government of Aceh. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia has also allocated a sufficient amount of agricultural land and funds to the Government of Aceh with the aim of facilitating the reintegration of former GAM troops into society and compensation for political prisoners and affected civilians.

No	Agreement	Description
4	Security Settings	<p>Point 4 consists of points 4.1 – 4.12. All acts of violence between the two sides will end no later than the signing of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding. GAM had to demobilize all 3000 of its military forces. GAM members are not allowed to wear uniforms or show military emblems or symbols after the signing of this Memorandum of Understanding. GAM must decommission all weapons, ammunition and explosive devices owned by members in GAM activities assisted by the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM). GAM agreed to hand over 840 weapons. The handover of GAM weapons began on September 15, 2005, this handover was carried out in four stages, and was completed on December 31, 2005. The relocation of non-organic soldiers and police will begin on September 15, 2005, and will be carried out in four stages also in line with the handover GAM weapons, immediately after each stage was inspected by the AMM, and completed on December 31, 2005.</p>

No	Agreement	Description
5	Establishment of Aceh Monitoring Mission	<p>Point 5 consists of points 5.1 – 5.15. The Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) will be established by the European Union and participating ASEAN countries with the mandate to monitor the implementation of the commitments of the parties in this Memorandum of Understanding. The Status of Mission Agreement (SoMA) between the Government of Indonesia and the European Union will be signed after this Memorandum of Understanding is signed. SoMA defines the status, privileges, and immunities of AMM and its members. Participating ASEAN countries who have been invited by the Government of Indonesia will confirm in writing their acceptance and compliance with the said SoMA. GAM and the Government of Indonesia will provide all of their support for the implementation of AMM's mandate. In this regard, GAM and the Government of Indonesia will write a letter to the European Union and the participating ASEAN countries and state their commitment and support to AMM.</p>
6	Dispute resolution	<p>Point 6 consists of points 6.1 – 6.1a-c. These points explain about settlement if a dispute occurs in the future. If a dispute occurs, it will be resolved immediately in the following ways:</p> <p>a. As a rule, disputes over the implementation of this MoU will be resolved by the Head of Monitoring Mission, through deliberation with the parties and all parties providing the required information as soon as possible. The Head of Monitoring Mission will make decisions that will be binding on the parties.</p>

No	Agreement	Description
		<p>b. If the Head of Monitoring Mission concludes that the dispute cannot be resolved in the manner described above, the dispute will be discussed jointly by the Head of Monitoring Mission with a senior representative from each party. Furthermore, the Head of Monitoring Mission will make a decision that will bind the parties.</p> <p>c. In cases where the dispute cannot be resolved through one of the methods as mentioned above, the Head of the Monitoring Mission will report directly to the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia</p>

From the Helsinki MoU, the Indonesian government responded by drafting and ratifying the Aceh Government Law (UUPA), namely Law no. 11 of 2006. This law provides a very wide opportunity for Aceh to manage, develop and prosper its people from various aspects, including in terms of politics, namely with the presence of local parties as a political basis for former GAM in Aceh. In article 75 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Aceh Government Law no. 11 of 2006, it is stated that the community in Aceh can form a local political party which is formed by at least 50 Indonesian citizens who are 21 years old and live in Aceh. (Law No. 11 YEAR 2006)

In addition to UUPA No. 11 of 2006 as the juridical basis for the establishment of local parties in Aceh, the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 20 of 2007 has been released. The regulation is about the Aceh Local Party wherein article 1 number 2 explains "Local political parties are political organizations formed by a group of Indonesian citizens who live in Aceh voluntarily on the basis of the same will and ideals to fight for the interests of members, society, nation and the state through the election of members of the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA)/Regency/City People's Representative

Council (DPRK), Governor and Deputy Governor, as well as regents and deputy regents/mayors and deputy mayors". ("PP 20-2007 political parties local in Aceh," nd)

In addition to the two regulations above, the Aceh government has also ratified *Qanun* No. 3 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, which explains that the participation of local parties in general elections in Aceh adheres to the same principles as the general elections on a national scale, which are sure, direct, free, secret, honest and fair. Local parties can participate in the elections for the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRK) and the Regency/City People's Representative Council (DPRK) if they are legal entities and registered with the Regional Office of the Human Rights Department of the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, this provision is contained in articles 2 and 3 of the *Qanun* No. 3 of 2008. (ACEH QANUN NUMBER 3 OF 2008, 2008)

These are the three legal framework for Aceh to form a local party. The existence of local parties in Aceh is a means for fighting for the existence of former GAM combatants or as a form of awareness of the Acehnese people regarding the need for a structured organization to accommodate the interests of today's modern society. Thus, the presence of local parties in Aceh can have a positive impact on the progress of Aceh in the future, because local parties are expected to understand more about the needs of the Acehnese community when compared to national parties. (Bahrum, 2016)

The history of the participation of local Acehnese parties in general elections in Indonesia has been going on for three general election periods, which are in the 2009 elections, 2014 and 2019. The participation of local parties in politics in Indonesia is not easy because the participation requirement of local parties must also pass the verification from the General Elections Commission (KPU) in Jakarta.

In 2009 election as the first participation of local Acehnese parties in elections in Indonesia, it was recorded that six local parties passed the verification and became participants in the 2009 elections, I believe, the Partai Aceh (PA), Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera (PAAS), Partai Bersatu Aceh (PBA), Partai Daulat Aceh (PDA), Partai Rakyat Aceh (PRA) dan Partai Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh (SIRA). Only three local parties passed the verification for the 2014 general elections, they are the Partai

Aceh (PA), Partai Daulat Aceh (PDA) dan Partai Nasional Aceh (PNA). And the participation of Aceh's local parties in the 2019 election was followed by four local parties that passed the verification, namely the Partai Aceh (PA), Partai Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh (SIRA), Daulat Aceh (PDA) dan Partai Nasional Aceh (PNA).

The dominance of local and ex-GAM parties in Aceh after the Helsinki MoU was very dominant, the Aceh party was a new political force in Aceh, it was proven that during the three electoral processes the Acehnese had always been the rulers in the Aceh parliament, even though their vote and representation in the Aceh parliament was always less than the previous elections. Therefore, former GAM people who used to be guerrillas in the jungles of Aceh are now blessed with the agreement in Helsinki in 2005. ("Aceh Votes for the Aceh Party - ANTARA News," n.d.)

The domination of Aceh's local parties is not only limited to the legislative body, but also dominates the executive body, as can be seen from the list of Aceh's leaders after the signing of the Helsinki MoU in 2005 and the enactment of UUPA No. 11 of 2006. (Nurhasim, 2012) Since then, Aceh has held three elections for Governor and Deputy Governor. The 2006 gubernatorial election was won by drh. Irwandi Yusuf, M.Sc and Muhammad Nazar, S.Ag. Irwandi Yusuf is a former GAM official and one of the people involved in the Aceh peace negotiations. Meanwhile, the 2012 gubernatorial election was won by dr. Zaini Abdullah - Muzakkir Manaf. Zaini Abdullah is the former Minister of Health and Minister of Foreign Affairs of GAM during the turmoil in Aceh. And the most recent gubernatorial election was the gubernatorial election held in 2017 which chose Irwandi Yusuf again as the Governor of Aceh for the 2017-2022 period.

Competition of Local Party and National Party in Aceh's Election

As we all know that the existence of political party organizations is to attract people's hearts with development programs that are promised to fulfil people's welfare. Aceh local parties in carrying out their function as vote-raising parties in elections in Aceh are not inferior to parties on a national scale, even the existence of Acehnese local parties in several election rounds that have been followed by Aceh's local parties has

proven to be able to become the machine that won the most votes in the legislative elections in 2009, 2014 and 2019.

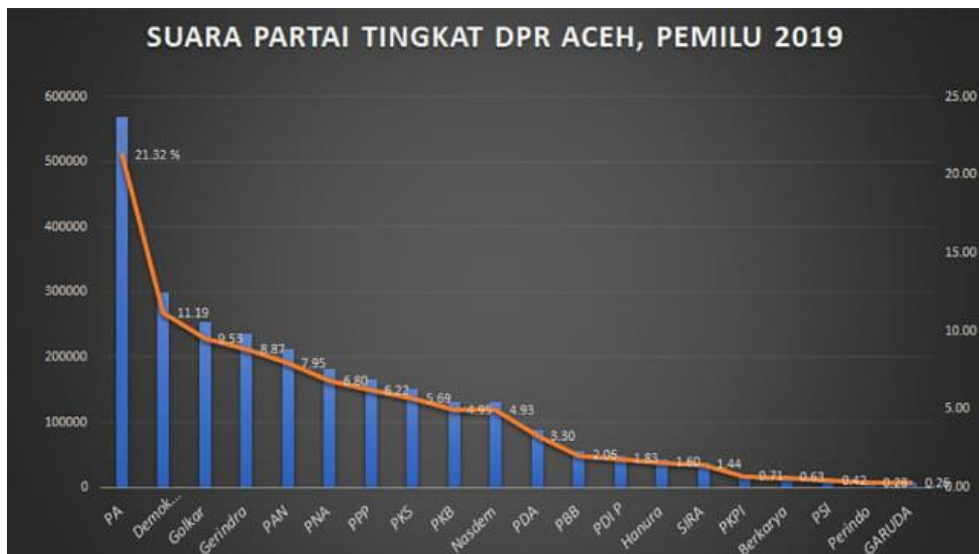
The 2009 election, which was the first election for the participation of local Acehese parties, has given its own role to democracy in Aceh. Local parties that were born as a result of the peace agreement between GAM-RI in Geneva were able to lure voters to give their voting rights to local parties. This can be seen from the results of the 2009 Aceh legislative seat (DPRA) where the Aceh party (PA) managed to gain the most votes in Aceh with 41.91% of the vote, making the Aceh party the ruling party in the Aceh legislature with 33 seats represented in the parliament.

Likewise with the 2014 and 2019 elections, although the percentage of local party votes decreased from the 2009 election, local parties remained the winners in three legislative election periods in Aceh. Then what is interesting for us to see is how the achievements of the national parties in Aceh? The data gathered from Aceh Independent Election Commission (KIP) in 2014 showed there was no single dominant national party in Aceh, the average vote gain of national political parties in Aceh was below 10%. The Golkar Party received the most votes with 9.07% votes, followed by the National Mandate Party (PAN) and Nasdem which received 7.58% and 7.03% respectively. This result is actually not much different from the election results in 2009 where the local party, in this case the Aceh Party (PA), still dominates the votes in Aceh. This shows that the Acehese people's trust in local parties is still high.

Meanwhile, the election held in 2019 showed that there was a passion for national parties in Aceh, this was also marked by a decrease in the votes obtained by the Aceh Party in the 2019 Aceh legislative elections which is very different from the vote gains in 2009 and 2014. The DPRA election in 2019 placed the Partai Demokrat as the national party with the most votes in the legislative elections in Aceh with 11.19%, then the Golkar and Gerindra parties with 9.53% and 8.87%.

Table 2. List of votes for Aceh Legislative Election in 2014

No	Partai	Result	(%)
1	Partai Nasional Demokrat	168,753	7.03%
2	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	80,389	3.35%
3	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	121,494	5.06%
4	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	63,124	2.63%
5	Partai Golongan Karya	217,622	9.07%
6	Partai Gerindra	102,674	4.28%
7	Partai Demokrat	156,303	6.51%
8	Partai Amanat Nasional	181,820	7.58%
9	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	132,351	5.52%
10	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat	45,515	1.90%
11	Partai Daerah Aceh	72,721	3.03%
12	Partai Nanggroe Aceh	113,452	4.73%
13	Partai Aceh	847,956	35.34%
14	Partai Bulan Bintang	60,803	2.53%
15	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia	34,184	1.42%
Total		2,399,161	



Picture 1. The parties' votes in the 2019 Election

In 2014, the Golkar party received 9 seats. This gain increased by one seat when compared to the election results in 2009. Partai Nasional Demokrat (NasDem) and Partai Demokrat both received 8 seats. Then

Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) won 7 seats, of which 7 seats were also improved when compared to the previous election, which was only won 5 seats. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) currently won 6 seats, which they only got 4 seats in 2009. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera received with 4 seats, Partai Gerindra won 3 seats, PKB, PBB, PKPI each received 1 seat. Meanwhile, Partai Hanura and the PDI-P did not get any seats in the 2014 election. "PA Wins 29 DPRA Seats - Serambi Indonesia," accessed January 8, 2020, <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2014/04/27/pa-achieve-29-seat-dpra>.

The gain of seats in the 2019 Aceh legislative elections for national parties has increased when compared to 2014. This is in line with the decline in the Aceh Party's vote acquisition which only obtained 18 seats from the 35 seats targeted by the former GAM party. (Wildan, nd) Partai Demokrat won the most seats for the national party in Aceh's legislative body with 10 seats, which increased from the previous election in 2014 that only received with 8 seats, then followed by the Partai Golkar with 9 seats, the Partai Gerindra with 8 seats, PAN, PKS and PPP which received 6 seats respectively, then PKB and Nasdem which won 3 seats each of them, and PKPI that receive only 1 seat. Meanwhile, the Partai Hanura and PDI-P, which did not get representation in the Aceh DPRA in the 2019 election, each won 1 seat. In the 2019 election, it was not only the Aceh Party that lost many representatives in the Aceh DPRA but Partai Nasional Demokrat also experienced a decrease in votes which resulted in reduced party representatives in the DPRA. It was recorded in the 2014, that NasDem won 8 seats. While in the 2019 legislative election, NasDem only won 2 seats.

CONCLUSION

The long struggle for the Aceh peace has resulted in various agreements and policies, both from the government in Jakarta and GAM side. The strong will from both sides to end the political and security crisis in Aceh has changed Aceh now and certainly in the future. Although the policy towards Aceh with Special Autonomy based on the Aceh Government Law no. 11 of 2006 is considered too much by various groups, because it is considered that Aceh has too broad power when compared to other provinces in Indonesia, but for the sake of the security and continuity of

Aceh's peace and maintaining the integrity the Republic of Indonesia, this is a natural thing considering Aceh's role in Indonesia's independence cannot be underestimated. Not to mention Aceh's abundant natural wealth has contributed to Indonesia's national development process since Indonesia's independence. So it was natural when the first president of Indonesia said that Aceh was a capital area.

The existence of local parties in Aceh should be a polite and authoritative political medium for Aceh in carrying out the development in Aceh. However, the conflict and tsunami have dragged Aceh into the Aceh's misery and left behind the other areas in Indonesia. Aceh's local parties, although initiated by former GAM officials, must be able to reach people and contribute to the development in Aceh without having to sort out and choose only GAM base areas during times of conflict, especially for the western and southern regions of Aceh.

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