



## Elite Conflict of the Free Aceh Movement

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### ABSTRACT

Aceh Party is a political party which is a local specialty party of former GAM's combatant. After the determination the name of Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf as Prospective Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor of Aceh's Party in 2011, split within the Party of Aceh, immediately surfaced to the officials public of Aceh's party, Kamaruddin and Sofyan Dawood in war opinion involved the mass opinion. the conflict between elite's party occurs because the unilateral decision made in the Aceh's Party leader Determination that both Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf as Prospective Candidates for Governor and Vice Governor are not through the appropriate mechanisms of AD/ART (Charter/Bylaw). Therefore, the author is focused in the case of internal conflict in Aceh's Party. This study aims to determine the cause of the conflict as well as describe and analyze the shape of the internal conflict in Aceh's Party between senior and junior elite party. The results of this study indicate that the internal conflict in Aceh's elite Party comes from differences nominations between senior and junior elite party to become candidates in Governor and Vice Governor of Aceh. The conflict in DPA's (Central Area) level of Aceh's Party creep up to the DPW's (Board Area) perhaps creep up to the public level with a change of central area, some of board area's Chairman and Aceh Party cadres are considered partial to junior's elite. This conflict is also due to the divergence of interests between the elites residing in Aceh' Party, as well as the internal factionalism bipolar stronghold of the senior and junior elite's faction that formed because of differing views on the establishment of Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor from the Aceh's Party. This conflict including into realistic and latent conflict because the roots are shallow rooted and do not arise simply because of a misunderstanding about something that can be overcome by using communication.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1961 Daud Beureuh changed Aceh into the Islamic Republic of Aceh (RIA). The Commander of the Iskandar Muda Military Command, Colonel M. Jassin, succeeded in convincing Daud Beureuh to rejoin the Republic of Indonesia. On 9 May 1966 Daud Beureuh was accompanied by, among others, his army commander.

The formulated peace did not embrace all of Daud Beureuh's students, one of which was Hasan Tiro who was in the United States. Hasan Tiro assessed that Acehese customs had been abandoned by industrial progress during the Soeharto era in the early 1970s. After Hasan Tiro's return from the United States on October 30, 1976 he together with Acehese clerics, former DI / TII figures, and Acehese youth leaders held a meeting to assess Aceh's natural wealth being depleted through industrial development controlled by foreigners through the blessing of the central government. But the people of Aceh remain poor, education is low and economic conditions are dire. This meeting took place at the foot of Mount Halimun, Pidie and was the forerunner to the founding of the Free Aceh Movement. Where a member of the cabinet minister, namely Dr. Mughtar Hasbi Minister of Home Affairs and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Husaini Hasan Minister of Education and Information, Dr. Zaini Abdullah Minister of Health, Dr. Zubir Mahmud, Minister of Social Affairs and the Governor of Peureulak, Dr. Asnawi Ali Minister of Manpower and Industry, Mr. Amir Ishak Minister of Transportation, Muhammad Daud Husin Commander of the Armed Forces, Teungku Ilyas Leube Minister of Justice, Teungku Muhammad Usman Lampoh Awe Minister of Finance, Mr. Amir Rashid Mahmud, the Minister of Trade, and Malik Mahmud, the Minister of State (overseas). But the ceremony for the implementation of the oath or pledge of the cabinet ministers could only be held on October 30, 1977. After Daud Beureuh came down from the mountain, he was never involved in any political movement. Resistance carried by GAM, in no way related to DI / TII. "Hasan Tiro demanded independence, while DI / TII fought back because he was disappointed," said M Jasin, former Pangdam Iskandar Muda. The late Ali Hasjmy, former Governor of Aceh, cut ties between GAM and Abu Beureuh. According to him, GAM and Hasan Tiro were criminal movements, while DI / TII were purely political movements. It is not surprising that in the early days of GAM resistance, the Indonesian government accused them of being a gang of security disturbances (GPK). The criminal stigma was raised to cut off the support of Daud Beureuh's followers. In fact, efforts to ground GAM as a criminal group have failed. According to him, GAM and Hasan Tiro were criminal movements, while DI / TII were purely political movements. It is not surprising that in the early days of GAM resistance, the Indonesian government accused them of being a gang of security disturbances (GPK). The criminal stigma was raised to cut off the support of Daud Beureuh's followers. In fact, efforts to ground GAM as a criminal group have failed. According to him, GAM and Hasan Tiro were criminal movements, while DI / TII were purely political movements. It is not surprising that in the early days of GAM resistance, the Indonesian government accused them of being a gang of security disturbances (GPK). The criminal stigma was raised to cut off the support of Daud Beureuh's followers. In fact, efforts to ground GAM as a criminal group have failed.

The first list of figures to join GAM, many of whom were former DI / TII supporters. Call it Teungku Ilyas Leube and David Husin aka Daud Paneuek. Ilyas is a respected scholar in Central Aceh and a staunch supporter of Daud Beureuh. In the arrangement of the cabinet. The first GAM, Ilyas sat as Minister of Justice, while Daud Paneuek as Commander of the Armed Forces. Ilyas' decision to support GAM was solely because of his disappointment with the government's attitude which turned out to be only making nonsense promises to Aceh. "Ilyas is a very sensitive person towards religion, when the Islamic Sharia does not work in Aceh, he is the most angry person". When GAM was still in draft form, Daud Beureuh had actually been told about the problem. It's just that Daud Beureuh could no longer take up arms because in 1976, When Hasan Tiro came to Aceh for the second time, Daud Beureuh was 77 years old. "Father doesn't need to go to war so we can fight. We only need

support from Ayahanda," Hasan Tiro persuaded Daud Beureueh as quoted by Baihaqi, as Abu Beureueh's personal assistant. "So if Daud Beureueh supports Hasan Tiro, it could be true," he said. The difference is, during the DI / TII era, Daud Beureueh announced an official and open resistance to all Acehese people, but during the GAM era he was mostly silent. Daud Beureueh's support for GAM at that time was given because Hasan Tiro was determined to establish an Islamic state in Aceh, said Zakaria Saman who is also GAM's defense minister. Coupled with historical reasons, ethnocentric, and economic control by Jakarta over Aceh, making Hasan Tiro have many reasons to continue the struggle to defend Aceh's sovereignty. He imagines a country or a successor state. For that Aceh must be independent from Indonesia. Daud Beureueh, the Aceh legend, died on June 10, 1987. His body was buried under a mango tree in the courtyard of the Baitul A'la lil Mujahidin Mosque in Beureuenen. All over. Since then, tragedy after tragedy has repeatedly stopped at Serambi Mekkah. In 1989, Tanah Rencong was covered in blood with the launching of the Red Net Operation or the enactment of the Military Operation Area (DOM). After Daud Beureueh's death, Hasan Tiro became a symbol of new resistance for the government of the Republic of Indonesia, complete with all its controversies. Various negotiation and settlement efforts made by the government of the Republic of Indonesia against the Free Aceh Movement failed to bring about permanent peace in the land of rencong. From the Humanitarian Pause I and II in 2000-2001 against President Abdurrahman Wahid to the 2002-2003 Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (COHA) under President Megawati Soekarno Putri. The failure of negotiations on 9 December 2002 in Sweden underlined the imposition of a military emergency status and integrated operations in Aceh based on Presidential Decree no. 28 of 2003. On December 26, 2004, an earthquake and tsunami devastated parts of Aceh, where hundreds of thousands of people died and tens of thousands were declared missing. Hasan Tiro, who was watching television in Norsborg, Sweden, shed tears. The Aceh that he wants to seize is being destroyed and has fallen to the lowest point of civilization, it needs peaceful conditions to rebuild Aceh from its downturn. Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Malik Mahmud responded to RI's offer to make peace. The signing of a peace agreement between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement On August 15, 2005 in Helsinki, Finland gave new hope to all Acehese people for a better and more beautiful life. After the peace of the Helsinki MOU on August 15, 2005, the former Free Aceh Movement troops had a forum, namely the Aceh Transitional Committee (KPA). The Aceh Transitional Committee was formed by the two peaceful parties, namely the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement. The Aceh Transitional Committee was formed to ensure the welfare needs of the former Free Aceh Movement troops after the Helsinki MOU. The central government, at that time led by Mr. Dr. H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and H. Jusuf Kalla, granted the MOU Helsinki point with special privileges in the form of political rights for the Acehese people, namely the establishment of a special local political party in Aceh which only played a role for local political parties. covers the area of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province, in accordance with Law No.11 of 2006 concerning Aceh Governance (UUPA) which states that a local political party is a political organization formed by a group of Acehese voluntarily based on the same desire and aspiration to fight for their interests. members, society, region, nation and State, through general elections and regional head elections. The implementation of this policy can be seen in the Election of the regional head of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh Province which was carried out after the signing of the 2006 Helsinki MOU, the enthusiasm of the Acehese people in politics very well without any cases of crime, intimidation and other security disturbances that could disrupt security stability. Aceh Province. The Aceh regional head election in 2006 was won by serial number 6 drh. Irwandi Yusuf, M.Sc and Muhammad Nazar S.Ag (Independent candidate) with 768,745 votes (38.20%) of the total ballot papers used of 2,012,37013. They are the two who will lead the people of Aceh for the next 5 years from 2006 to 2011. Irwandi Yusuf is an elite of the Free Aceh Movement who served in Aceh as Special Staff of the GAM Army Central Command from 1998 to 2001 and the Helsinki MOU translation team, while Muhammad Nazar is a young activist who supports Acehese independence, activist of the Aceh Referendum Information Center (SIRA) and both have imprisoned by the Indonesian Government (Jafar, 2009). The issuance of

Government Regulation Number 20 of 2007 on March 16, 2007 accelerated the process of establishing Local Parties in Aceh. After various stages of verification carried out by the Aceh Independent Election Commission (KIP), then based on the KIP decree Number:

The Aceh Party is the only party that has become the political platform for all the former Free Aceh Movement. Its management structure is also the same as that of the Aceh Transitional Committee (Jafar, 2009) (AW, 2009). This party was founded on 4 June 2007 in Banda Aceh. In the second 2012 General Election for the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh Province after the Helsinki MOU, there was a very strong dynamic among the elite of the Free Aceh Movement in determining the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor, namely two names of candidates that emerged, namely drh. Irwandi Yusuf (incumbent) and Dr. Zaini Abdullah. The impact of the dynamics of the Free Aceh Movement elite was the occurrence of several cases of regulatory conflicts and crimes, such as the shooting of Cage, a former GAM member in Bireuen, the shooting of a Javanese tribal man in Lhoksemawe, the shooting of an Aceh Party cadre, grinding and burning. So that the stability of Aceh's security is disrupted. Many of the opinions that have developed in society are what happened among the elite of the Free Aceh Movement (Shadiqin, 2008) (Törnquist et al., 2009).

## 2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research has a methodological objective, namely descriptive (Usman & Akbar, 2008). Descriptive research is a method used to solve problems based on existing facts and data. This study provides a systematic description of a symptom or phenomenon (Nugrahani & Hum, 2014). This study basically rests on qualitative research. The qualitative research application according to Bogdan and Taylor reveals that "qualitative methodology" is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. This study uses qualitative data analysis techniques, which is to analyze data by collecting data, analyzing data and summarizing data on existing problems so that a clear picture of the object under study is obtained without using statistical formula tools (Mustari & Rahman, 2012).

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### 3.1. The start of the conflict.

Starting from the news that one of the local Aceh daily newspapers on January 4, 2011 contained information from Kamaruddin SH (Abu Razak) who claimed that all regional commanders, the Aceh Transitional Committee and the Aceh Party had signed and agreed that the pair promoted by the Aceh Party, namely Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf as candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor for the 2011-2016 period. The local Aceh daily news on January 5, 2011 represented by Sofyan Dawod said that this was not true and was a public deception, they never signed a letter of support but signed a letter of rejection against the spouse Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf and the discourse war in the media between the elite of the Free Aceh Movement still continued in the following days. Long before the pilkada stage began, regional commanders warned that every decision made by the leadership, both GAM and PA leaders, had to be discussed together with regions throughout Aceh. The goal is to build democracy within the PA / KPA. This was first promised to exist, as Mualem (Muzakir Manaf) said. However, the reality does not exist. Mualem said, later when it is time for us to propose a candidate for governor then I will summon all of you. We will discuss who the candidate for governor we will carry, Muzakair Manaf answered when there were questions from regional commanders at the Central PA Office during the distribution of operational funds for the KPA Office. must be discussed together with all regions of Aceh. The goal is to build democracy within the PA / KPA. This was first promised to exist, as Mualem (Muzakir Manaf) said. However, the reality does not exist. Mualem said, later when it is time for us to propose a candidate for governor then I will summon all of you. We will discuss who the candidate for governor we will carry. Muzakair Manaf's answer when there were questions from regional commanders at the Central PA Office during the distribution of operational funds for the KPA Office. must be discussed together with all regions of Aceh. The goal is to build democracy within the PA / KPA. This was first promised to exist, as Mualem (Muzakir

Manaf) said. However, the reality does not exist. Mualem said, later when it is time for us to propose a candidate for governor then I will summon all of you. We will discuss who the candidate for governor we will carry. Muzakair Manaf's answer when there were questions from regional commanders at the Central PA Office during the distribution of operational funds for the KPA Office.

Then the commanders hoped for the deliberation. As stated by Irwansyah "when the Aceh Party leaders, namely Mentroe Malik Mahmud, Dr. Zaini Abdullah (former GAM health minister), Zakaria Saman (former GAM defense minister), Kamaruddin SH (Abu Razak) (former GAM operations commander) and Muzakir Manaf (Mualem) (former GAM commander) summoned us for a meeting of the commander-in-chief. Aceh, the Chair of the KPA or the Chair of the PA in Aceh at Mess Mentroe Malek, at the meeting on January 2, 2011, they immediately decided that doctor Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf as a candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor of the PA for the 2011-2016 period the pair was set in stone ". This is what makes the commanders regret it. Why did this happen, because from the start we were told that there would be deliberation. But why at the meeting did we have to accept a one-sided decision? Why not deliberate with the regions on this decision? Therefore the regional commanders refused (Shahab, 2013) (Putra, 2009). Of the 17 regional commanders who were present, 14 commanders declared their refusal and three commanders did not answer anything, namely the regional commanders of Pidie, Pidie Jaya and Pase. "The strong reason the regional commanders refuse and object is because this leader is dual as a staff of state guardians (Jafar, 2009). Because after Wali Nanggroe Hasan Tiro died, maybe only these two people were left to defend the institution of State Guardian. So we really hope that our leadership will be saved from drowning in local politics. There are four things that we propose so that we can be saved. First we ask that the big name GAM be saved, the second is the Aceh flag (moon star), the three Acehnese symbols (Singa-Burak) and the four Wali Negara and their staff. It turns out that all of our proposals were rejected "As stated by Muharram Idris" On January 3, 2011, we sat together at the OASIS Hotel after the meeting at Mess Mentroe. There were 14 regional commanders, 16 Regional Chairmen of the Aceh Party and Muzakir Manaf, who were present to give signatures and stamps to the KPA and PA against the objections to the nomination of Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf. The letter also asked the leadership to show someone else who could, was capable, worthy, could hear the leadership's direction and was able to bring Aceh to a better direction. We all agree, if indeed Muzakir Manaf (Mualem) must go forward, so we entrust the Mualem as the Governor not the Deputy Governor and the Mualem consult with us to find the figure of the Deputy Governor to accompany the Mualem, that is the result of the agreement at the OASIS Hotel ". "Muzakir Manaf's response at that time had agreed, and Mualem asked for money to travel to Malaysia to meet Mentroe Malik Mahmud. In fact, this proposal was rejected. The pair, Zaini Abdullah-Muzakir Manaf, were fixed on the verdict at the meeting at Mess Mentroe. From there, political friction took place within GAM itself. After hearing the news, the regional commander's attitude felt disrespected" (Madjid, nd). We all feel that we have been made just as their needs because all the suggestions we give are never heard. The steps of the regional commanders led by Sofyan Dawood, Muharram, Irwansyah, Ligadinsyah, Young Abrar then agreed to hold a forum as a new forum for regional commanders related to the struggle for good ideals and thoughts so it would be a shame if this was not continued. The forum took place at Wisma KPA Jalan Bawal, Lampriet Banda Aceh. The results of the meeting included that the regional commanders agreed to participate directly in the election for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh in 2011 by re-nominating the incumbent governor, namely Drh. Irwandi Yusuf through independent or individual channels. Sayed Mustafa Usab argues that "the friction that occurs among the elite of the Free Aceh Movement is an old thing, but only appeared to be fulgar in the 2012 post-conflict local election. As a reminder of the 2006 election for the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh, this incident was actually the same. suddenly there was an instruction from the leadership of the Free Aceh Movement to support the pair Hasbi Abdullah and Humam Hamid without going through a meeting or deliberation mechanism. Whereas previously all former GAM combatants had agreed to support the Drh. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, because other GAM elites, especially the elderly, have no intention of getting this position and former

GAM Commander Muzakir Manaf continues to support the Drh. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar ". Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, because other GAM elites, especially the elderly, have no intention of getting this position and former GAM Commander Muzakir Manaf continues to support the Drh. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar ". Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, because other GAM elites, especially the elderly, have no intention of getting this position and former GAM Commander Muzakir Manaf continues to support the Drh. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar ".

### 3.2. Elite Conflict Analysis.

James Scott proposes the patron-client theory, in which a group of informal figures who are in power (patrons) and have a position to provide a sense of security and influence (Jonathans et al., 2013). In return, the client will provide personal assistance to his patron in any condition, whether the patron is right or wrong (Jonathans et al., 2013). Here we can see how the figure of Malik Mahmud is a very strong patron among the old GAM elite after the death of Hasan Tiro, he succeeded in getting his clients (Zakaria Saman, Zaini Abdullah, Muzakkir Manaf, Kamaruddin SH, Hasbi Abdullah) who had been given certain positions. by Malik Mahmud, really carried out what he was fighting for, namely wanting to get the position left by Hasan Tiro. This was clearly seen when 2 months after the inauguration of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh in 2012, Malik Mahmud was appointed Wali Nanggroe, even though at the time Hasan Tiro was still alive and Drh. Irwandi Yusuf served as Governor of Aceh, this is not a priority (Widyastuthie, 2012) (Syukri, 2012). Decide unilaterally the pair of candidates for governor from the Aceh Party in 2011 without considering the effects of this and do not consider the votes of regional commanders who at the time of the conflict were in the forefront of realizing the ideals of Aceh's independence (Riyanto & Ariefana, 2014). This organizationally constitutes a big mistake, considering that this decision is not a trivial matter because the Aceh Party will send its "champion" to fight which the Acehnese people can also vote for. Lewis A. Coser said conflict as a symptom that cannot be avoided in society. Coser sees how a conflict that occurs has a positive impact. The GAM elite conflict did have a positive impact, namely in which they split into 2 camps. So that the strength that GAM has so far can shake the world, now it can only shake the central government of the Republic of Indonesia. This conflict also succeeded in fostering democratic values within the scope of the former GAM elite group, where they used to follow orders or commands that were shouted at by the word "ready" (Yudhoyono, nd). The group of former regional commanders has also established a new local party called the Aceh Nationalist Party (PNA) which is predicted to be a rival to the Aceh Party, they will fight for ideas, thoughts, ideas and programs in parliament for the welfare of the people of Aceh. Regarding the rescue valve offered by Coser, it is a mechanism that must be carried out by conflicting internal groups. This cannot be done in the GAM elite conflict considering that this dispute was initiated by the GAM elite, the elderly, who during the struggle, the regional commanders considered them to be a father. The rescue valve is Hasan Tiro. Only he is considered a parent or father who is actually the unifier of all GAM circles. Suzanne Killer and Vilfredo Pareto said that an elite is a group of citizens who have advantages over other members of the community so that they occupy social power over other members of the community. This can be clearly seen from the role of the GAM elite in the two camps, which initially occupied strategic positions in the Free Aceh Movement, the Aceh Party, and district / city governments. They also played an important role in the 2009 election for the Aceh Party so that it became the local party that won the Aceh election by getting 40 seats in the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA).

The residual concept that was said by Vilfredo Pareto also occurred in this GAM elite conflict, which on the side of the Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf camp played the issue that the GAM elite who supported the pair of Irwandi Yusuf and Muhyan Yunan were people who often getting projects during Irwandi's tenure and also playing the issue that the former commanders had deviated from the struggle, traitors, and disobedient children so they had to fight their own biological father.

Machiavelli in his theory of power explains how to gain power and maintain it which allows using cruel, decisive methods and annihilating all the old people. The structural overhaul of the Aceh Party and the Aceh Transitional Committee ahead of the 2012 election for the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh by the Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf camp was one of the Aceh Party

strategies to win the battle. According to French and Riven, power is the ability of a person or group to influence other individuals or groups. The power possessed by a person will place that person in a higher position compared to other people who are influenced by him (Hardy, 2006). Malik Mahmud within the structure of the Free Aceh Movement is the Prime Minister. He has considerable authority where his job is to seek funds and also dispatch the Free Aceh Movement troops who want to receive military education in Libya, Malik Mahmud who appointed Muzakkir Manaf to be Commander of the Free Aceh Movement because he was a Libyan graduate at that time. After the Helsinki MOU in the Aceh Party structure, Muzakkir Manaf also became the General Chair. This made it very easy for Malik Mahmud to carry out his tactics to occupy the position left by Hasan Tiro because the warlord was in his hands and the old GAM elite was also in his hands. After the 2012 post-conflict local election, Malik Mahmud's position became Wali Nanggroe while Zaini Abdullah, who was an old GAM elite, became governor and former GAM commander who is also the Chairperson of the Aceh Party as Deputy governor of Aceh. Meanwhile, Hasbi Abdullah has already been the Chairperson of the Aceh DPRK for the 2009-2014 period, Zakaria Saman has held the position as chairman of the Tuha Peut Aceh Party and Kamaruddin SH has served as the Aceh Party Spokesperson as well as being the chairman of the Aceh Party's legal sector after the change of management.

### **3.3. Impact of Elite Conflict**

Impact of Elite Conflict, The beginning of this happened when Mukhlis Muchtar, who is a lawyer and former member of the Aceh DPRK, submitted a Judicial Review to the Constitutional Court regarding the Aceh Pilkada Qanun which stated that the Independent candidate can only nominate once in the regional election, when he wants to re-nominate then have to go through a political party. Mukhlis Muchtar won the lawsuit with a Constitutional Court decision allowing Independent candidates to run again in the Aceh post-conflict local election. On June 27, 2011, Spokesperson for the Aceh DPRK Party faction throughout Aceh, Suaidi Yahya, said that his party asked the DPRK to adhere to Article 256 of the UUPA, namely that candidates for regional head from the Independent may only participate in one election. Aceh Party faction DPR Regency / City throughout Aceh, continued Suaidi, also assessed that KIP Aceh was not neutral and independent. On June 28, 2011, the 2011 Aceh Pemilukada Qanun was approved by the DPRK without accommodating individual path clauses in it and the post-conflict local election Qanun must also regulate the settlement of electoral disputes in the Supreme Court, not in the Constitutional Court. However, this Qanun was not signed by the Governor of Aceh, who at that time was still Drh. Irwandi Yusuf. On July 7, 2011, Aceh Party Spokesperson Fachrur Razi assessed that the Pemilukada run by KIP Aceh was illegal, legally flawed and unconstitutional. The PA instructed the governor to immediately stop the stage process that had been carried out until the qanun was signed. On November 5, 2011, General Chairman of the Aceh Party, Muzakkir Manaf, said that the interlocutory ruling of the Constitutional Court (MK) had not yet touched on the substance at the root of the conflict in the regulations for the Aceh Regional Head General Election. The Aceh Party ensures that it will not register its candidates, either at the provincial or district / city levels, even though the opportunity has been reopened. This political situation was used by the elite leadership of the Aceh Party who was also the elite of the Free Aceh Movement Pro pair Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf through the role of their legislative members in the DPRK voicing about the independent candidate's Qanun. The people's assumption is because the stronghold of the regional commanders nominated Drh. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhyar Yunan went through independent channels which resulted in a very long regulatory conflict in the stages of the election for the Governor and deputy governor of Aceh in 2011 which had the effect of delaying the post-conflict local election time until 2012. As stated by Adnan Beuransyah, a member of the DPRK, Chairman of Commission A and a spokesman for the Aceh Party. "Qanun Pemilukada related to Independent candidates has been listed in the UUPA, namely independent candidates, according to our understanding, can only participate in one election, then they must be carried out by political parties because in the 2006 post-conflict local election it was no longer possible for the central government to prepare a Government Regulation on local parties so that it paved the way for candidates from the former Free Aceh Movement can advance, The Aceh Party

also assessed that when the points of the Helsinki MOU or its derivatives from the UUPA could be thwarted by the central government without involving Aceh legislation, it seems that the agreement is no different from the Law of the Republic of Indonesia which can be reviewed at any time, this is not one of the strategies. the Aceh Party did to thwart individual candidates, especially Drh. Irwandi Yusuf ". Furthermore, on January 3, 2012, the Aceh Leadership Council, the Aceh Party asked the Aceh Panwaslu to remove and disqualify Irwandi Yusuf from the Aceh Governor candidate exchange. Irwandi's nomination is considered to have violated Article 33 paragraph 1C Qanun No.7 of 2006 which became the reference for the 2012 Aceh Regional Head General Election. Article 33 paragraph 1C, Qanun Number 7 of 2006, explained that members of political parties and local political parties are not allowed to nominate themselves as potential mate candidates from individual candidates, unless they have resigned no later than three months before candidate registration, in this regard, until now Irwandi Yusuf is declared to have never resigned either written or oral from his membership in the Aceh Party. On January 4, 2012, in a meeting forum between the Ministry of Home Affairs and Menkopolkukan and DPRA, DPRA Chairman Hasbi Abdullah proposed that the registration of candidates for regional head in the 2012 Aceh Pemilukada be reopened. KPU and Panwaslu were asked to consider this possibility. After discussing the input from the meeting participants, they agreed that the stages of implementing the Aceh Pemilukada would still be carried out according to the stages determined by KIP Aceh. Among other things, there will be permanent voting on February 16, 2012. The forum also recommended that the KPU and Bawaslu immediately hold a plenary meeting to make decisions regarding the proposal of the DPRA Chairperson requesting that the registration of candidates for regional heads in the 2012 Aceh Regional Head Election be reopened. However, the parties emphasized that the KPU and Bawaslu should make decisions through consideration of the legal and technical aspects of Pemilukada implementation. Drs Hasbi Abdullah together with members of Commission A in charge of government and law, scheduled a special meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs (Mendagri), Gamawan Fauzi, who one of the agendas proposed to postpone the Aceh Pilkada for 3-4 months. Hasbi Abdullah stated the DPRA's seriousness in discussing the Qanun Pilkada which has not included articles on candidates for regional head from independent individuals. The DPRA Deliberative Council Meeting (Bamus) which took place attended by 18 of the 34 members of the Bamus agreed and stated that they were ready to reschedule the discussion of the Pilkada Qanun and were also ready to include an individual (independent) route in the Qanun.

#### **3.4. Consequences of Conflict.**

Criminality and Security Disruptions, Criminality cases also emerged related to the escalating political conditions in Serambi Mecca in 2011 until the election of the new Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh, including the shooting of the regional commander Bireuen Saiful alias Cage who supported the pair Drh. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhyan Yunan, accelerating the winning post of Seuramo Irwandi-Yunan, building several offices of the Aceh Party DPW, building Zakaria Saman's house in support of the pair Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf, the construction of a rental house occupied by Muzakir Manaf, the shooting of a Javanese pipe excavation worker, 2012 New Year's Eve there was a shooting of a young Javanese tribe in Banda Aceh. Even at the time of the inauguration of the elected Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh, Dr. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf for the period 2012-2017, Drh. Irwandi Yusuf was beaten by a cadre of the Aceh Party task force. After the inauguration of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh there was another shooting of a cadre of the Aceh East Aceh Party (Langsa) in the water fence area of Aceh Besar. The heating up of the security situation in Aceh in the 2011-2012 period is closely related to the political climate in Aceh. We can know that in previous years there were almost no incidents that caused casualties like this. The targets at that time were the elites of the Free Aceh Movement, both from the identity of the Free Aceh Movement elites to the individual elites who were also threatened. The mode that is carried out is very identical to military matters including using weapons such as AK 47, M16, and bombs in the form of mangosteen and pineapple fruit. This happened because the warring elites of the Free Aceh Movement still had subordinates or people who were willing to die for them and were also supported by the remnants of war equipment to fight for an

independent Aceh which were still kept or not all of them were given to the Republic of Indonesia for destroyed in accordance with the mandate of the Helsinki MoU on August 24, 2004.

The Aceh Nationalist Party was born, the Aceh National Party (PNA) is one of the local Aceh parties formed by the former Regional Commanders of the Free Aceh Movement, the basic idea of the birth of the PNA was carried out through exploration which they held in a large deliberation with supporters representing all districts and city in Aceh. The founders of the party include Irwansyah alias Teungku Mukhsalmina (Former GAM Aceh Rayeuk Commander), Muharram Idris (former Aceh Rayeuk KPA Chair), Ligadinsyah (former Aceh Party spokesman / former GAM Commander Linge) Amni bin Ahmad Marzuki (former GAM negotiator), Tarmizi and Lukman Age, Sofyan Dawood, Abrar Muda. They are former elites of the Free Aceh Movement who used to join the Aceh Party. The initial idea for the formation of the party they were motivating was as a reform to make Aceh a dignified region. PNA is a party to accommodate the aspirations of the people who want to do practical politics. Managers and founders of this party are not only from former GAM, but also from other communities. An open party puts forward democratic processes, the party will be built with a deliberation system with a congress mechanism.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The conflict between the elites of the Free Aceh Movement that initially occurred internally by the Aceh Party was a realistic form of conflict because the system of decision-making in a democratic party was not working in accordance with the ART of the Aceh Party CHAPTER X Public Position article 42 point 3. However, this was a series of events. the journey after Hasan Tiro's death, in the absence of a figure like Hasan Tiro or none among the elite of the Free Aceh Movement who was prepared to replace his position. This condition was exploited by the senior GAM elite. There was a change in the direction of the struggle among the senior elite of the Free Aceh movement who were in the Aceh Party, which initially guarded the implementation of the Helsinki MOU concerning the Acehnese people, changing to seek personal gain in certain ways in order to gain strategic positions or power, so that the interests of the senior GAM elite group can happen easily. This is at the core of the potential for internal conflict between the senior elite and the young. The former regional commanders of the Free Aceh Movement were classified as young people who voiced that they wanted the senior GAM elite not to be involved in practical politics because when the points of the Helsinki MOU did not materialize, existing senior GAM elites can reprimand or advise young people who occupy positions in government as did Hasan Tiro when he was still alive. This was not followed by other senior GAM elites where Malik Mahmud, Zaini Abdullah, Zakaria Saman wanted to take personal benefits after Hasan Tiro died. Meanwhile, Muzakkir Manaf, a key figure of the GAM elite in the area, is a former GAM warlord who was previously appointed by Malik Mahmud, he joined the political flow of the senior GAM elite because of debts or repayments to Malik Mahmud and added to the position of Deputy Governor. this made him forget himself about the tens of thousands of troops he had led in the past. Meanwhile, young GAM elites who during the war became the main foundation of the Free Aceh Movement organization, namely Sofyan Dawood, Ligadinsyah, Muharram Idris, Mukhsalmina, Munawarliza, Abrar Muda, who reflected back on how their previous struggles wanted Aceh to be independent from the Republic of Indonesia if the struggle was only to get the position of governor and deputy governor, wali nanggroe and several other institutions, is too hypocritical at the expense of the lives of the Acehnese people and the martyrs who have died a lot. The death of Hasan Tiro, a declarator of the Free Aceh Movement, a unifying figure for the struggle of the Free Aceh Movement who was outside the country on the battlefield. Even, they are young people who have never met Hasan Tiro directly with a sincere intention to fight at the forefront of sacrificing their lives, bodies, property, and even their families for the realization of the Aceh State that can prosper the people of Aceh. His passing also disappeared the balance of consistent values of the struggle for the elite of the Free Aceh Movement.

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