

### **Journal of Social Science and Religion**

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# Analisa

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#### INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARDS

Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion published a new edition vol.2.no.02.2017. This is the forth volume issued in English since its beginning in 2016. This English edition is a part of preparation to be an International journal and as an effort from the editorial board to make this journal widely accessed and read by more people around the world. Analisa Journal has also consistently published both versions; the online edition through the Analisa website and the printed version. Many people have contributed in the process of this publication, so that this journal is successfully released as scheduled.

There are eight articles in this volume in which some of them discussed about religion and peace in various parts of Indonesia, while several of them talk about education and the rest are discussing about gender and *dakwah* (Islamic dissemination). The authors of those papers are also divers coming from different institutions and different countries.

The first article written by three authors namely Said Achmad Kabiru Rafiie, Amir Husni and Said Atah is entitled "Acehnese Wars and Learning from 12Years of Peace in Aceh". This paper examined the history of Acehnese wars and the peace development after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Aceh Freedom Movement, or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), and the Republic of Indonesia in Helsinki on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2005. This article gives a deep explanation of what is really going on in Aceh from the era of wars until the recent time. The authors use a qualitative approach and the theory of inequality and conflict as well as Fanon's ideas in order to elucidate the data. Findings of this research show that there are various reasons which might encourage people involved in the battlefield including group motive, personal motivation, social contract and resource shortage. In addition, it shows that the social and economic condition in Aceh has not developed successfully.

The next article is written by Agus Iswanto talked about the receptions of religious aspects (ultimate truth/God, cosmological and religious ritual aspects) in the cultural products of Radin Jambat, a folktale from Lampung, Indonesia. This study is based on the Radin Jambat Folktale text. The results found that folktale contributes in building harmony among religion followers in Lampung. It also stated that religion and culture can go hand in hand in creating harmony, therefore it can be said that religion, in this case Islam, was accepted by people peacefully.

The third article discussed about Kolasara, a local wisdom from Southeast Sulawesi Indonesia. This paper argues that this tradition has contributed in building harmony especially in the Tolaki tribe in such area. This article was written by Muh Subair, he used an in-depth interview, observation and library research in order to collect data. He suggested that *kolasara* should be internalized in *lulo* dance as a way to strengthen such local wisdom. As it is the fact that *kolasara* has played role in mediating people in various conflicts.

How the manuscript called *Wasitawala* contained some education values was discussed by Moch Lukluil Maknun in the next article. This is an interesting paper in which the writer explained the content of the text and then analyzed it on how those embedded values might be used as a source for the national curriculum especially on the character education. He mentioned that this *serat* has many values of character education such as honesty, responsible, thinking logically, discipline, hard working, creative and so forth.

A.M Wibowo wrote the subsequent article entitled "Political view and orientation of the *rohis* members toward the form of the state". This paper is based on his field research at schools in Temanggung Central Java Indonesia. He focused his study on the *Rohis* members' view on certain aspects so called political orientation. The results show that (a) religious teaching at the *Rohis* organization was conducted using one way communication, and they also used media social in disseminating their teaching, (b) *rohis* member prefer to choose male and Islamic leader when they asked about their preferred leader. Meanwhile there are two distinct preferences in terms of state form, the first one is the Unified State of Indonesian Republic (NKRI, Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia), and the second is the Islamic state.

The sixth article written by Abdurrachman Assegaf was about how the anti-corruption policies and educational strategies enforced by Indonesian and Japanese Government. This is an important issue to be discussed since both countries have experiences some corruption cases, although Japan is less experience compared to Indonesia. This was indicated by some data issued by the Transparency International. Japan is categorized as the least corrupt country, on the other hand Indonesia has many and complex corruption cases. This paper stated that countries have laws on anti-corruption; Indonesia has Act Number 31 of 1999 and Japan has several interrelated law compiled in Penal Codes (PC). in addition, both of them have strategies in implementing strategy for anti-corruption education.

The next article concerns on the issue of hate speech in Kupang East Nusa Tenggara Province, how the Islamic preaching dealing with such phenomena. This is a significant study since in the last few months, there are hate speech occurrence everywhere either through oral or written media such as social media and flyers. In Kupang, Muslim are as a minority group in which most of people are Christian. Thus, during the Islamic dissemination, it is solely aimed for Muslim community and not for non-Muslim society. They do not use loudspeaker during their sermon (dakwah), except for *adzan* (calling for prayers). Furthermore, the clerics always avoid using hate speech during their teaching and sermon.

The last article written by Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth is about women in public space and how religion treats them. This paper argues that now days many women took part in public activities by engaging at some workplaces; however they are mostly put at the lower level compared to male workers. Even, religion also treats them differently. This is because there is such domination of globalization in which this situation might be called as women impoverishment

We do hope you all enjoy reading the articles.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion would like to sincerely thank to all people contributing in this publication namely advisory editorial, international editorial board, editors, language advisors, assistant to editors, lay-outers as well as other parties involving in the process of publishing this journal. Analisa journal would also appreciate to all authors who submitted their articles to Analisa, so that this journal is successfully released in time.

The Analisa Journal hopes that we would continue our cooperation for the next editions.

Semarang, December 2017

**Editor in Chief** 

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#### ACEHNESE WARS AND LEARNING FROM 12YEARS OF PEACE IN ACEH

#### Said Achmad Kabiru Rafiie, and Amir Husni, and Said Atah

#### ABSTRACT

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This paper aims to discuss the history of Acehnese wars and the progress of peace in Aceh after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Aceh Freedom Movement, or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), and the Republic of Indonesia in Helsinki on August 15th, 2005. Prior to this, Aceh was a tense region and home to the longest armed conflict in Southeast Asia - underway since 1982. The people of Aceh were fighting to realize the concept of self-independence. However, the movement came to a stop when the devastating tsunami hit Aceh on December 26th, 2004. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the root of Acehnese wars. The paper will provide the current political, social, economic and cultural achievements since Aceh entered into a new chapter of peace. Using qualitative approach, the theory of inequality and conflict and Fanon's ideas, this paper offers a comprehensive perspective on learning from Aceh wars and conflicts. This study found that the motive of wars in Aceh can be divided from group motive, private motivation, failure of social contract and environment scarcity. Moreover, the research confirms that social and economic progress in Aceh has not been as successful as its political achievements. Furthermore, in terms of culture, progress has been ambiguous. This paper aims to provide a better understanding of how to maintain peace in Aceh by addressing social, political, economic and cultural issues with the goal of attaining prosperity and well-being for the people of Aceh.

**Keywords:** Acehnese Wars,  $12^{nd}$ Acehnese peace agreement, learning process, progress of peace.

#### INTRODUCTION

This paper is aimed to discuss the root of Acehnese conflict and the learning process after peace in Aceh on August 15th 2005. The discussion will be divided in two sections. The first of the chapter will discuss the history of wars in Aceh and the second chapter will provide a comprehensive narrative of peace in Aceh. Civil wars are the most common type of large scale violent conflict. They are long, brutal and continue to harm societies long after the shooting Post-conflict countries extraordinary challenges with respect to development and security. In this paper we examine how Aceh can recover economically, politically and religious culturally from these devastating conflicts and how international interventions can help to build lasting peace.

The geographical location of Aceh Province is very strategic. It is the gateway to the west of the Indonesian archipelago and because of its location on the edge of the Malacca Strait. This area is important also to be seen from the international traffic perspective (Freeman, 2003: 7-8). Since the beginning of 10<sup>th</sup>century, Melaka Strait was interconnection of migrations the nation the world (Lockard, around 2009: 17). Therefore, Aceh was an international hub of trade and commerce.

Moreover, Malacca Strait has an important role in the movement of Indian cultural expansion and as the main link between two cultural centers namely China and India (Hilali, 2001: 737-764). Therefore, the strait has a great part in the history of the Acehnese kingdom. The emergence and development of countries around this region

can not be separated from the geographical location of the strait.

Aceh is a much-mentioned area in terms of the entry of Islam into the archipelago. Therefore, this paper will try to cover how the role of religion in conflict. The change of geo-politics that occurred in the Middle East especially the development of Umayyad dynasty and its expansion in spreading Islam (Auni, 1993: 10-11). As an area located in the world's maritime line, Aceh has long been a trading hub for Southeast Asia. Some sources mention that prior to the arrival of Islam, Aceh has got in contact with Hindu-Buddhists. Hindu-Buddhist influences can be seen from the relief of buildings of the mosque that have the same architecture in the Hindus and Buddhist do (Wessing, 1988: 169-177). For an example, Indrapuri mosque located in Aceh Besar district about 15 Km from downtown of Banda Aceh.

Indrapuri Mosque has strong similarity with the shrine forms in Hindu-Buddhist religion (Alfan and Marcello, 2016: 85). First, the roof is cube-shaped and multilevel then the foundation of the building is also made several levels. Both of these symbolize stratification or levels contained in Hinduism or Buddhism. A Hindu-Buddhist building is built on high ground and adjacent to the water source. This is in accordance with the topography in the area of the mosque because the mosque is located on the hill and in the south of a great river. Establishment of buildings on high places is closely related to the function of the direction of the wind and the water used for purification (Alfan and Marcello, 2016: 85). Thus, many historians believe that the Indrapuri mosque is a transitional function of a building that had been built before Islam came to Aceh. This building is estimated to be built in the early 7th century AD (Natawidiaia, 2015: 49-62). The historical record has mentioned that Islam was adopted by peace assimilation in Aceh.

Assimilation of Islam to Aceh shows a peaceful process (Means, 2009: 235). In the history of Islamization of Islam to Aceh, there has never been a war between the *Dai* (Islamic scholar) and the native population (Bowen, 1989: 671-693). Historical sources mention that Islam in Aceh was brought by preachers or Sufis and traders from the Middle East and Persian (Reid, 1993a: 151-155).

The wars in Aceh was started to be dated back to 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Portuguese attacked the Aceh navy. Since then, Acehnese involved at wars until August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2005. Aceh of wars can be divided in several stages. First of all, it was the war on Portuguese, the Dutch, Japanese, the first Aceh rebellion and the Aceh freedom movement. The finding of oil and gas in North Aceh had triggered the new escalation of arm conflict 1983. The motivation of war has changed each period. The Acehnese has fought for their religion, their identity and then for their prosperity.

#### **Research question**

The research question of the paper relies on the historical background of Acehnese war. The research questions are as follows: (a) What is the dimension of war since the first war was started to analysis the motivation? (b) What were the factors behind the war? (c) How did the tsunami lead to peace process? (d) What can be learned from peace progress in Aceh?

#### **Theoretical Framework**

The research was built to examine the historical perspective of the roots of Acehnese conflict. The war has resulted the misery and unstable condition to the people. As far as theory is concerned, the paper will derive from an approach proposed by Frances Steward and Graham Brown (Stewart and Brown, 2009: 27; Stewart et al., 2005: 8). These authors argue that a straightforward causal connection between poverty and conflict is oversimplified. The identification of economic factor leads to civil war based on four explanations. (1) motives and inequalities, Individual gains from conflict, (3) Failure of social contract, and (4) Environmental pressure.

1. Group motives and inequalities

Group fighting in political conflict unify their follower via common purposes or group motives that take from of ethnic or religious identities. Such identities provide a powerful source of mobilization and unity. The most of community have argued that political identity is sufficient to trigger conflict since they have been living in peace with a wide range of multiethnic and multi-religions. Therefore, it needs to have a reason beyond ethnicity and religion to embrace a violence conflict. provide a perspective that economic and political access are sufficiency enough to stimulus an arm conflict.

#### 2. Private Motivation

The private hypothesis is anchored in rational choice economics and claims that conflict produces benefits as well as cost for some people. The net economic advantage, then, motivates individual (usually leader) to initiate and maintain conflicts so as to fulfill their economic needs. In a similar vein, war offers unemployment and uneducated people employment as soldier provides opportunity to loot, trade arms, smuggle, realize illicit production and business. The private motivation to engage in war is to gain power and recognition (Stewart and Brown, 2009: 27).

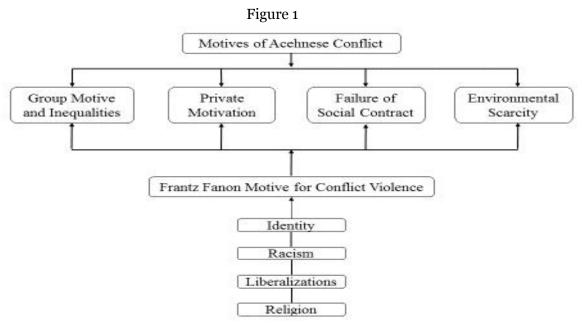
#### 3. Failure of the social contract

According to this hypothesis, people accept state authority as long as the state delivers services reasonable economic conditions in term of employment and income (Stewart et al., 2008: 301-325). Deterioration of economic performance and worsening provision of state services leads to the weakening of social contract and eventually to lead breakdown. Whether violence follows such a development or not is highly dependent on political institutions and their ability to cope with these difficulties. Evidence shows that poor states and hybrid political systems are generally more prone to conflict than for example countries with high per capita income or established democracies and rigid authoritarian's regimes.

#### 4. Environmental Scarcity

The environmental scarcity is associated with contest for control over decreasing amount of natural resources, often interconnected with population and environmental pressure that impact especially poor societies. In economic perspective, Homer –Dixon define three types of environmental scarcity that can lead to conflict. (a) supply-induced scarcity, caused by degradation and depletion of environmental resources. (b) demand – induced scarcity, resulting from population growth or increased consumption of resources; (c) structural scarcity (Stewart et al., 2008: 301-325).

Moreover, the conceptual framework is built from Fanon's account of the role of Nationalism in his work "Wretched on the earth" (Fanon, 1965: 23). He argues that it is important of self-determination in way that recognize the role of struggle and liberation (Fanon et al., 2007: 143; Lawrence and Karim, 2007: 222).



Source: (Fanon, 1965: 23; Stewart and Brown, 2009: 27)

## **Literature Review Definition of Conflict**

As far as theory is concerned, the paper will derive from approach proposed by Frances Steward and Graham Brown (Stewart and Brown, 2009: 27). These authors argue that a straightforward causal connection between poverty and conflict is oversimplified. The Fanon's ideas of liberation are added to discuss and to rich the discussion of the paper.

The term "conflict" is derived from the Latin "to clash or engage in a fight", and it indicates a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends (Hoeffler et al., 20011: 3-6). Conflicts, if controlled or managed constructively, do not lead to violence. Some conflicts are "mutually satisfactory while others end up frustrating one or all parties" (Stewart et al., 2005: 8).

recognizes three general forms of conflict namely interstate, internal, and state-formation conflicts. Interstate conflicts are disputes between nation-states or violations of the state system. Examples of internal and state-formation conflicts include civil and ethnic wars, anti-colonial struggles, secessionist and autonomous movements, territorial conflicts, and battles over control of government.

#### **Islam and Acehnese Conflict**

The spread of Islam in Aceh is believed to be brought by several factions from various countries such as Arabia, Persia and India. The Sufi group is the most active group in the Islamization process in Aceh. Buya Hamka, T. Arnold, Van Leur and some other scholars argue that Islam has been brought to the archipelago since the 7th century (Baiti, 2014: 133-145). demonstrated some evidences that the eastern coast of Sumatra had formed a typical Islamic Arab settlement of Umayyad dynasties. Later, Shafi'i was the most popular school of thought at that time especially in Pasai Kingdom (Amiruddin, 2005: 8-12). The use of the title of al-Malik to the Kings of Samudera Pasai has a strong similarity to the title used by the raj-king of Muslims in Egypt.

The second theory of Islamization of the archipelago was put forward by Umar Amir Husein and Husein Djadjaninggrat. They claim that Islam in the archipelago was brought from Persia by Shiites since the 7th century. This opinion rests on the similarity between the Islamic culture in Persia and the culture in Nusantara, especially in Aceh (Daneshgar et al., 2013: 169-177). The similarity of Sufi teachings such as the Commemoration of Ashura and Ark memorials becomes the benchmark of this opinion. Another proof is the similarity of calligraphy art to some gravestones in Aceh (Yatim, 1988: 31). Thus, they claim that Aceh received Islam from Persia since the 7th century AD.

The next opinion mentions that Islam in Aceh was brought from Gujarat, India in the 13th century AD. This opinion was spearheaded by Dutch scholars Snock Hurgronje (Hurgronje et al., 1906: 22). According to them Islam in Aceh was brought from Gujarat based on the evidence on the gravestone of Sultan Malik as-Salih Samudera Pasai that is a typical Islamic character of Gujarat (Ricklefs, 1933: 3-14). Marcopolo's notes of the similarity of Sufism in India with Indonesia also serve as their guidance to support their claims. However, a basic conclusion can be drawn that Islam has been present in Aceh at the latest of the thirteenth century AD with the development of the Pasai Islamic Ocean Kingdom (Hurgronje et al., 1906: 22). In addition, from the early days of Islam in Aceh,it has received political protection so that Islam more quickly spread to other areas.

Referring to the source of history, one of the Arab geographers, Ibnu Batutah in the 13th century AD gave a political, social and economic picture of the current state of Aceh. He states that Pasai was an independent kingdom located on the western tip of Sumatra Island. Many traders from various countries such as Arab, China and India had a buying and selling relationship here. He also added that Pasai was the center of Islamic civilization in Southeast Asia at that time (Reid, 1995; 12-17).

Other notes provide a broader description of the demographic state of Aceh in the 13th century AD. The record was written by Marcopolo when he visited Aceh in 1292. He said Sumatera was in the name of Java minor and here there are eight independent kingdoms. These kingdoms are Pasai, Ferlek (Peureulak), Pedir, Peusangan (Bireun), Lamori (Lamuri) and several other kingdoms. Each kingdom has its own territory and language (Reid, 1995: 12-17).

Another Islamic kingdom besides Pasai which also developed at the same time was Lamuri. It is located in Banda Aceh. The Persian Geographer Ibn Rashid al-Din in 1310 gives an illustration of this kingdom. He said that Lamuri is an important place where many traders come from far away countries. This kingdom also often do battle with the kingdom of Samudera Pasai located in north of Aceh (McKinnon, 1988: 103-121).

Referring to a Chinese source written by Wang Ta-yuan in 1349, Lamuri is the center of commerce. One of the products that are traded is blue and white porcelain ceramics from China (McKinnon, 1988: 103-121). There is also an argument that Lamuri is part of Jambi region. Valentijn in 1725 in the book "Beschrijvinge van het eiland Sumatra". Yule, on the other hand, says that Lamuri is different from the first place in Sumatera visited by Arab and Indian sailors (Kathirithamby-Wells et al., 1985: 23). The place is certainly the tip of the island of Sumatra, the Aceh region or more precisely Aceh Besar now.

Based on the above discussion, it can be drawn the simple conclusion that Lamuri and Pasai are the earliest Islamic empire in Southeast Asia. Forest products, spices and others are the main source of wealth for these two kingdoms (Reid, 1995: 12-17). However, these two kingdoms finally collapsed at the end of the 15th century AD which was marked by the emergence of the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam as the new ruler in Aceh (Said, 2007: 157-172).

The glory of the kingdom of Aceh occurred when Iskandar Muda became sultan in 1607 to 1636 AD. At that time the kingdom of Aceh politically, economically, socially and culturally was developed into a center of world civilization (Lombard and Arifin, 2006: 181). The location of the Aceh kingdom is situated on the tip of the island of Sumatra and at the Malacca intersection is a factor driving the progress of the Aceh kingdom itself. This region is a strategic path because it is in the path of international trade (Ito, 2015: 8). Through the Straits of Malacca European and Middle Eastern merchants transported all crops from Southeast Asia, especially Aceh. This condition had an effect on the progress of the Kingdom of Aceh as it successfully controlled the Straits of Malacca (Souza, 2004: 87). In addition, the natural conditions in Aceh was also rich in spices such as pepper, rice, camphor, areca nut, and other agricultural commodities (Lombard and Arifin, 2006: 93-101).

In that era pepper was an important commodity for the Europeans so that many European traders who seek spices especially pepper to Asia including to Aceh (Bulbeck et al., 1998: 98). Trade activities in the Malacca Strait were the busiest economic activities of the time, especially the exchange of goods from Europe with Asia (Erikson, 2014: 51-76).

The natural conditions are also supported by the climates in Aceh that support agricultural and trade activities. As a tropical region, Aceh has a suitable climate for cultivating agricultural crops. In the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda, he supported and helped the community to develop export crops such as pepper and rice (Lombard and Arifin, 2006: 93-101).

In the field of politics and government, the young Sultan Iskandar made a regulation called Qanun that regulates the relationship between the people and the State, and the State with the society so that at that time the relationship of social life run in an orderly manner (Saby, 2001: 76). The law was executed as it should by the kingdom and at that time adopted Islamic law as the basis for the making of Qanun. All societies are treated equally before the law and government (Feener et al., 2014: 17-22).

In the field of human resources, the kingdom of Aceh under the leadership of Sultan Iskandar Muda also sends many Acehnese girls to Turkey (Göksoy, 2011: 65-96). At that time many Military officers who received Military Education in Turkey included one of them was the Admiral (Laksamana) Keumala Hayati who was an army officer of the Aceh kingdom. She was the first female military officer to obtain the title of admiral in the world (Ahyat, 2014: 309-316).Sultan Iskandar Muda himself married the empress of the Malaysian Pahang kingdom (Reid, 2003: 30). She was known as Putro Phang in order to improve diplomatic relations between the kingdom of Aceh and the kingdom of Pahang Malaysia.

In the course of leadership, Sultan Iskandar Muda was known as a very firm figure. History records, He once sentenced his own son to death for alleged fraud. In fact, he was the only son and also as heir to the

royal throne (Azra, 2004: 52-70). The crown prince was himself punished by the king with a beheaded punishment that resulted in a word "gadoeh aneuk meupat jeurat, gadoeh adat ho tamita" "artinya lebih kurang kematian anak dapat kita ratapi dibatunisan sedangkan kehilangan sebuah hokum mengakibatkan kehancuran sebuah bangsa" (the death of child can be mourned at their tombstone, but the lost of law will lead to the state destruction). Since the death of the only child of Sultan Iskandar Muda, he dissolved in grief and eventually died (Siegel, 2000: 35-40).

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology was built on qualitative approach. Qualitative research is a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live (Merriam, 1998: 200). Thus, this research will involve the finding of perspective and experiences.

#### The Research Design

The paper is designed by phenomenology, grounded theory and case study. The phenomenology literally means the study of phenomena. It may be events, situation, experience or concept. This approach tries to provide an explanation of the current situation. Secondly, grounded theory as a set of method that consist of systematic yet flexible guidelines for

collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories for grounded in the data itself. Furthermore, a case study is used to an in depth analysis of people, events, and relationships, bounded by some unifying factors.

#### Data Collecting Method Interview

Interview is used to gather information in the subjects own words from which insight oh their interpretation can be obtained (Robinson, 2014: 25-41). Subjects are encouraged to talk about experiences, feelings, belief and opinion on topic being discussed. Interview have been conducted with the historians, NGO's, former rebels, government servants, local communities, religion figures and the victim of conflict to gain learning and reflection from peace process and peace progress in Aceh since 2005.

#### **Content Analysis**

It is an approach to identify repeated and consistent themes, images, situation or other meaningful traits within a documents or other resource of data (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008: 107-115). For content analysis, the data were interpreted in the descriptive approach. Therefore, it will be useful for building the research's phenomenon (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1277-1288).

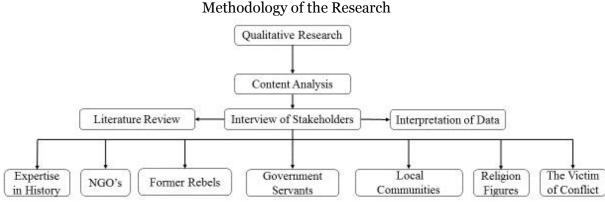


Figure 2 Methodology of the Research

Source: (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1277-1288).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION Aceh First Holly War

In the historical record, the first contact between Aceh and Europe occurred in the 16th century AD when Cornelis D Houtman came to Aceh. He and other colleagues from the Netherlands anchored in Aceh using the ships De Leeuw and De Leeuwin (Reid, 1995: 56-64). The aim was to made trade diplomacy between Aceh and Europe. The Dutch goal to come to Aceh was to monopolize trade. Aceh was a rich region and was known as the world's best producer of pepper at that time (Markley, 2003: 494-516).

The first holy war in Aceh occurred between the Kingdom of Aceh and the 16th century Portuguese (Tarling, 1992: 43-50). In the historical record, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to Aceh. However, their arrival was strongly opposed by the rulers and people of Aceh at that time (Reid, 1995: 57). Aceh considers that the Portuguese were not only political motive and economic rivals, but they had also missionary motion who wanted to spread Catholicism in Aceh. This situation has made the Acehnese people strongly against their presence in Aceh (Reid, 1993b: 151-155). The war against them was a holy war (Alfian, 2006: 109-120).

The resistance of the people of Aceh to the Portuguese occurred during the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda early in the 17th century AD. Iskandar Muda mobilized troops to fight against the Portuguese based in Malacca (Barter, 2011: 19-36). However, Aceh was repulsed by the Portuguese. Holy war still continues in different ways. At that time, Aceh was the largest pepper exporter in Southeast Asia. All peppers originating from Aceh are not allowed to be sold to the Portuguese. This was a holy war with a different form that was first occurred between Aceh and the outer nation. In the paradigm of holy war in Aceh, it was incumbent upon everyone to defend his religion and also to defend his area or his homeland.

After the dead of Sultan Iskandar Muda, kingdom of Aceh was led by Sultan Iskandar Tsani who was the sister-in-law of Sultan Iskandar Muda. During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Tsani the kingdom began to slowly decline (Aspinall, 2002: 18). Along with the entry of the Netherlands to the archipelago and the decline of the Turkish Empire, the position of the Aceh kingdom weakened further. During this time the kingdom of Aceh received military support and arms support from the Turkish kingdom, but since the Turkish kingdom regressed the kingdom of Aceh experienced a similar thing(Reid, 2010: 26-38).

The motive of the first holly war was a part of religion obligation to protect the sovereign land and Islam. The people engaged in the battlefield to liberate their motherland from invaders.

#### **Aceh Second Holy War**

After the war against the Portuguese, the second holy war was the Aceh War against the Dutch. The first Dutch military aggression in 1873 marked the beginning of the second holy war in Aceh or known as *Prang Sabil*(Alfian, 2006: 109-120). The war continued and ended in 1904. Many victims fell from both Aceh and the Netherlands. However, the people of Aceh never gave up in order to defend their homeland. Messages against the invaders were also part of the teachings of religion. It made the spirit of society continues to grow to keep fighting.

The spirit of resistance of the Acehnese people could be seen from the number of Dutch officers who died in the war Aceh. In the war, the Netherlands estimated 2,922 people who died including their generals (Reid, 2004: 301-314). The war of Aceh was the longest and most expensive war after the war against Sultan Diponegoro in Java (Carey, 2011: 71).

Many national heroes were born out of Aceh against the Dutch, for example Teuku Umar, Cut Nyak Dhien, Cut Mutia, Teuku cik Ditiro and several other heroes who were active in defending Aceh from the Dutch aggression (na Thalang, 2009: 319-339). The existence of the Netherlands in Indonesia was quite long around third centuries. During the Dutch presence in Indonesia, Indonesia's natural products were transported to the Netherlands with a monopoly trading system (Maddison, 1989: 665-670).

It means that the prices of commodities in Indonesia are determined by Dutch traders (Lindblad, 1989: 19-22). Besides, the Dutch also implemented forced labor system for indigenous Indonesians by asking them to plant the crops to be sold in European market such as tea, coffee, rubber, pepper and also oil palm plant.

The motive of second holly war encompassed with the spirit of Islam. The people believe that they must fight to defend the Islam and motherland. Moreover, the Acehnese used the teaching of Islam to maintain their spirit in battlefields.

#### **Third Holy War**

After the Netherlands defeated, the next war was between Aceh and Japan. This was the third holy war in Aceh's history. After the world war began Japan entered the era of war by attacking the American base in Hawaii. The entry of Japan into Indonesia began in 1942 (Reid, 1975: 49-61). Japan's arrival to Indonesia is to control and conquer allied forces in Indonesia. The Dutch surrendered to Japan and all Dutch troops in Indonesia became Japanese prisoners of war.

Japan also entered Aceh through the Lhoknga port in Banda Aceh (Reid, 1976: 115-133). The arrival of Japan to Aceh is mainly to control the Dutch owned plantations in Aceh, especially oil palm plantations, coffee plantations, and oil mining. In a short period, Japanese managed to control the entire region of Aceh. During the Japanese occupation in Aceh, the Defense Army was formed or better known as PETA (Mangkupradja et al., 1968: 105-134).

The PETA Army was formed to recruit young Indonesians to become Japanese aid troops. The PETA Army is the first opportunity for Indonesian youth to get military training. The establishment of PETA became the first place for Indonesian youth to understand the fundamentals of military education. Although PETA was formed to assist the Japanese army but the youth of Indonesia took advantage of this organization (de Jonge, 2011: 343-354).

Japan was forced to surrender to allies after atomic bombs dropped in Nagasaki and Hiroshima by allies by the United States (Butow, 1954: 24). The first bomb was dropped on August 6, 1945 and the second bomb was dropped on August 9, 1945. The news of Japan's defeat to allies was heard on the radio by Indonesian youth (Benda, 1958: 35). The youths agreed to force Soekarno and Hatta to proclaim Indonesian independence from Japan. The young men kidnapped Soekarno Hatta and took him to Renglas Deklok and forced him to be proclaimed Indonesian independence soon.

With the surrender of Japan to the allies, there was a power kickback in Indonesia which was well utilized by the Indonesian youth to coincide on 17 August 1945 (Dahm, 1906: 76). Coinciding with the

month of Ramadan on behalf of the Indonesian nation Soekarno Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia.

As the World War II ended, Acehnese had fought continuously to protect Islam and motherland as the ultimate goal. The theory of Fanon of liberalization and engage in terrors can explain the war in holly wars in Aceh. In order to liberate their faith and motherland, Aceh never stops to fight.

#### **Aceh Post Independent**

Post-independence, Aceh entered a chapter in history. No longer as an independent kingdom but rather a province that is subject to the central government of Indonesia. After Indonesia was proclaimed on 17 August 1945, many of the problems faced by this newly formed country. The problems faced by Indonesia after it was proclaimed were both problems of domestic upheaval as well as from the first and second Dutch military aggression. From Indonesia's internal affairs it faced rebellions in the regions. New nine years of independence in 1954, this country had faced an uprising led by Karto Suwirjo known as DI / TII rebellion (Robinson, 1988: 127-157). This rebellion aims to change the principle of the Indonesian state from the principle of Pancasila to the principle of Islam (Aspinall and Breger, 2001: 1003-1024).

Darul Islam / Islamic Armed Forces of Indonesia (DI / TII) led by Karto suwirjo. In Aceh, this movement was led by Daud Bereueh in Aceh. DI / TII conflict was one of conflicts involving elements of Acehnese ulama who were fighting for the presence of an Islamic state in Aceh (Miller, 2008: 87). Bereuchh was dissatisfied with Soekarno's government and joined the DI / TII Karto Suwirjo. The analysis of Darul Islam in Aceh can be seen from a book written by Ti Aisvah, Subhani, Al Chaidar (2008) explaining that in the Darul Islam rebellion of Atjeh more to the statement of a attitude towards the government which did not enforce Islamic law in Aceh. The emergence of DI / TII Aceh rebellion led by Daud Bereueh has various aspects of historical, political, economic, socio-cultural, especially the melting of Aceh province to North Sumatra.

Behind the purpose of implementing Islamic Shari'a in Aceh, many other studies have debated the motivation to join DI / TII led by Karto Suwirjo. The incorporation of

Aceh Province to North Sumatra resulted in the deprivation of Daud Bereuh, who was then Governor of Aceh. With the incorporation of Aceh Province to North Sumatra by automatic the position is abolished (Ross, 2005: 35-58).

Disillusionment with the central government which has been deemed to have eliminated the authority of the Province of Aceh that has contributed to the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, especially the contribution of the Acehnese people to the newly established Indonesian republic government by providing two airplanes to be used as a means of government transportation at that time.

During the second military aggression, the existence of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia was still voiced through radio. Radio Rimba located in the forest wilderness of Central Aceh to voice that the united republic of Indonesia is still standing (Salam, 2014: 56). On some basis above, the people of Aceh feel disappointed with the central government because not only does not give authority in running Islamic law, but Aceh also serve as a small area under the leadership of North Sumatra (McGibbon, 2006: 315-359).

Ultimately this conflict ended after Aceh reconciled with the government of the Republic of Indonesia which was marked by Lamteh's agreement (Akmal, 2017: 45). The result of this agreement is that the central government provides some advantages for Aceh, which is known as special autonomy. In addition, Aceh is also given the advantage in applying Islamic Shari'a as one of the legitimate laws in Aceh (Qodir, 2015: 17). This conflict also ended at the end of Sukarno's rule and soon Indonesia was led by Suharto known as the New Order era. At this time Aceh entered a new era very much different from the pattern that has happened before.

The motive of the first Acehnese conflict can be explained by Steward and Brown (2009) were triggered by group motive and private motivation. The conflict refers to the acknowledgment of Aceh and its contribution to establishment of a new republic Indonesia.

#### **New Era Regime**

The government of the new order had a new approach to the growth of foreign

investment in Indonesia. In the 1980s, natural gas was discovered in the area of North Aceh which is the discovery of natural gas in the world at that time. These findings also triggered a renewed opposition with the presence of the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, GAM) resistance (Schulze, 2004: 20). This movement is an opposition to get justice and equity about the distribution of natural wealth between the central government and the government of Aceh. This resistance began in 1983 along with exploration activities of natural gas in Arun, North Aceh (Schulze, 2004: 241-271; Morelli and Rohner, 2011: 52). This opponent received a firm response from the central government with the enactment of the Military Operations Area in Aceh.

This ongoing conflict has resulted in a lot of backwardness and decline in the socioeconomic life of communities in Aceh (Schulze, 2007: 35; Czaika and Kis-Katos, 2009: 399-418). This makes Aceh a lagging region compared to other provinces in Indonesia. Not only in the social and economic fields, but this has an effect on religious life in Aceh, especially the limited religious activities at night. One example, many studies in the Islamic school could not run at night. People did not dare to get out of the house because of the threat of life safety. Several incidents of death happened to civil society ever happened at night (Barter, 2011: 19-36). History notes, several cases of civilian deaths also occurred at night after attending religious events. Thus, the threat of death is a major factor disrupting religious activities in Aceh during the conflict.

During the Aceh conflict from 1983 to 2005, there was a great deal of economic downturn in Aceh Province (Collier, 2000: 34-40). This happen was due to the high rate unemployment and of poverty. community activities could only implemented in urban areas. Meanwhile, activities in rural areas such as farming could not be done optimally because of the disturbance of security. This had resulted in higher prices compared to other regions in province. Transportation was constraint when conflicts occur because of the large number of post-security posts established to slow the mobilization of goods and services from and outside Aceh (Arif and Widjanarko, 2016: 22-30).

Aceh from 1983 to 2005 was faced with inadequate quality of infrastructure. For example, in the 1980s rafts were still being used as a means of connecting river flows on the west coast of Aceh. Only 10 years later the south western region of Aceh declared free of raft with the formation of a steel bridge that connects the south west coast of Aceh. Another economic problem during the conflict was that the manufactured company did not open its branch in Aceh province. This is due to inadequate security guarantees for industrial development that requires large investments and long-term repayment

of loan principal. This caused the Aceh province's dependence on the supply of goods from the province of North Sumatra to be very high.

The second conflict can be seen as the failure of social contract. The previous agreement has not met the expectation of ex rebellion. They saw that the government had ignored the will of Aceh to have self-government. Moreover, the finding of oil and gas in North Aceh had added the conflict as one of bloodiest in South East Asia.

#### Picture 1 Demographic Aceh Map



Source: Statistic National Agency, 2017.

#### Tsunami leads to peace

The year 2005 will be remembered as the year that peace came to Aceh. It was the vear in which both parties, the Aceh Movement Freedom (GAM) and the Republic of Indonesia agreed to end the 32year-old armed conflict in the region. The conflict destroyed social and economic stability in Aceh, with reports of around 10.000 - 33.000 people dying during the hostilities. The conflict was one of the longest-running armed conflicts in Southeast Asia (Ross, 2005: 35-50); Gleditsch et al., 2002: 30). One positive element of the devastating tsunami of 2004 was that it contributed to the end of the conflict. The tsunami itself caused roughly 230.000-280.000 deaths (Athukorala and Resosudarmo, 2005: 71; Gailard et al., 2008: 31), but was also a turning point for people to reflect on the promise of peace for Aceh.

Aceh was long known as a region of resistance and was consistently struggling against colonial nations such as the Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese (Reid, 2005: 301-314). Even when all of present day Indonesia had been captured by the Dutch by the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Penders, 2002: 39; Reid, 2005: 301-314). Aceh was still fighting against the colonial power of the time. In fact, the state of Aceh fought until 1912 when the last sultan of Aceh was captured and brought to Java (Basry and Alfian, 1997: 102). This was not the end of war in the region however, as a guerrilla war arose there. It was inspired by religious leaders (Ulama) and tribal leaders (Umara) and considered a holy war.

This holy war inspired a tremendous reaction from the masses who saw it as a chance to fight for their identity (Merry and Milligan, 2009: 87). The Dutch went on to claim that the Aceh war was one of the longest and costliest wars in their history (Basry and Alfian, 1997: 102; Barter, 2008: 19-36). The perseverance of the Acehnese was no surprise as they were engaged in fighting to assert their identity as a free state. Acehnese has looked at the war as a way to reflect of his struggle. Therefore, the war has been the part of Acehnese history.

Moreover, Acehnese history is related to the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia. It is difficult to talk about Islam in Southeast Asia without mentioning Aceh. In fact, Aceh is often said to be the centre of Islam in Southeast (Ambary, 1998: 235). prominent role played by Acehnese people in spreading Islam in Southeast Asia has been reaffirmed by archaeological evidence, in the form of Acehnese tombstones which have been found in the region, including in Malaysia, Thailand and Brunei (Yatim, 1988: 31; Perret: 213). Furthermore, the finding of ceramics in Lambri confirms that Aceh was a route of international trade (McKinnon, 1988: 103-121), which enabled economic development in Aceh to flourish. Imported goods and products from China, Middle East, India and Southeast Asia were brought to Aceh and the area was also an important production centre for rice, pepper, spices, and timber (Takeshi, 2013: 8).

In this section, the paper provides a rich discussion of Aceh in the wake of the peace process. The paper is divided in four areas of discussion. The first focuses on the issue of political progress in Aceh in the era of peace. This includes political parties which have participated in elections, since the first election was held in 2006 until 2017. It looks at the political narrative and dynamics

between the local and national parties in the Aceh parliament.

The second area of discussion focuses on social issues including unemployment and poverty in Aceh. It also looks at the welfare of the people in Aceh in the post-conflict era. Social issues have become an area of debate due to high levels of unemployment and poverty in Aceh. Addressing this issue will provide a deeper understanding of the direction of the peace process in Aceh.

The third area of discussion focuses on economic issues in Aceh in the post-conflict era. It looks at how Aceh has used its state budget after being designated as a special autonomous area. Unlike its provincial neighbors, Aceh receives a special transfer budget from the central government. The paper discusses how the budget has been allocated to accelerate economic progress in Aceh.

The final area of discussion focuses on contemporary cultural issues in Aceh. The right of special autonomy has been given to Aceh province, enabling it to apply and practice Islamic (Sharia) law in society. This was granted by the Law on Aceh Number 11 of 2006. In practice, the application of sharia law has been ambiguous. In fact, there are improvements required to implement sharia law in Aceh (Salim, 2008: 19). There is a historical context here, as Aceh was once an Islamic state with ganun (Islamic law). Oanun, which was influenced by the Turkish Ottomans, offers a unique perspective to the debate surrounding ganun as a system of laws within the national legal system (Hadi, 2004: 67). The depth interview has been conducted with stakeholders who are interested in post conflict and peace progress in Aceh.

#### **Aceh at Peace**

In August 15th, 2005, two delegations held an important meeting to discuss the future of Aceh. The meeting was mediated by former Finnish president Mr Ahtisaari (Kingsbury, 2006: 399-416). The Indonesian delegation was headed by the former Minister of Law and Human Rights Mr Hamid Awaluddin, while Aceh was represented by the Foreign Minister of the Freedom Movement and Aceh Minister of Aceh Freedom Movement, Mr Mahmud and Zaini Abdullah. Malik

Together they signed a historical agreement to end one of the longest-running armed conflicts in Southeast Asia. It also represented an important step in the rebuilding of Aceh after the terrible tsunami of 2004. The MoU they signed began with a statement from Mr Awaluddin declaring that "pat ujeun yang hana piram, pat prang yang han reuda" (Bhakti, 2008: 81). It means there is no rain that would not stop, no war that would not cease.

To conclude the discussion, we interviewed one of former Acehnese rebel to mention that peace was 'a win-win solution' that Acehnese has to get involved in fulfil the promises.

#### a. Political Achievements 12 Years After the Peace Agreement

This part discusses the political narrative after the end of the armed conflict. This was a period which saw a change from armed struggle to a political movement. It involved a great challenge in changing the perspective of the former rebels and persuading them to enter the political arena. There was, for example, a lot of distrust on the part of the former rebels about participating in the first election.

The first election in 2006 depicted that pro-independence candidates competing in it. In fact, the former spokesperson for the Aceh Freedom Movement, Mr. Irwandi Yusuf, won the election. The table below shows the details of the results of this election and subsequent elections, in the legislative branch:

**Table 1.** Results of Executive Elections in Aceh from 2006 to 2017.

Level	Winner			
of Election	2006	2012	2017	
Provincial Level (Governor of Aceh)	Irwandi Yusuf and Muhamm ad Nazar (Pro- Independ ence-Ex rebel, Spokespe rson for GAM)	Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf (Aceh Party and National Parties-Ex Foreign Minister and General of the Rebel Army)	Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah (Aceh National Party and Democratic Party + National Parties) (sharing power with national parties)	

Sources: General Election Commission, 2017.

This table 1 shows how former rebels have dominated the executive position in the government after the peace agreement. However, as demonstrated in the table 2 below, local political parties' dominance in the Aceh parliament is weakening. We did the interview with the member of local parties. 'It seems that the trust the Acehnese people have in local parties is declining as they feel that they may not be able to deliver their hopes and aspirations for change and a better Aceh'. The voters have changed their political references.

**Table 2**. Results of Legislative Elections in Aceh in 2009 and 2014.

Political		Seats in Parliament		
<b>Parties</b>		2009	2014	
Local Parties				
Aceh P	arty	33	29 seats	
(PA)		seats		
Aceh		Not	3	
National P	arty	established		
(PNA)		yet		
National Parties				
Democr	atic	10	8	
Party (PD)				
Golkar		8	9	
PAN		5	7	
PPP		4	6	
PKS		4	4	
PDIP		0	0	
Total sea	ats	69	81	

Source: General Election Commission, 2017. \*Some parties are not displayed in the table 2

Table 2 shows that the majority of parliament members come from local parties. Ex-rebels formed the Aceh Party, abbreviated to PA, in 2009. This was a progressive step to transform the armed movement into a political movement. In its first attempt, the PA did fantastically well. However, after another local party joined the political arena — the Aceh National Party, or PNA, which was also founded by ex-rebels, the PA lost some seats in the 2014 election.

The strength of the national parties, as illustrated in table 2, is based mainly in the cities and the central part of Aceh. These national parties, such as the Democratic Party (PD) of former Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhovono (SBY), have become increasingly popular. Mr. Yudhoyono supported the peace agreement in 2005 during his presidency. Another political party, Golkar, enjoys a good image due to

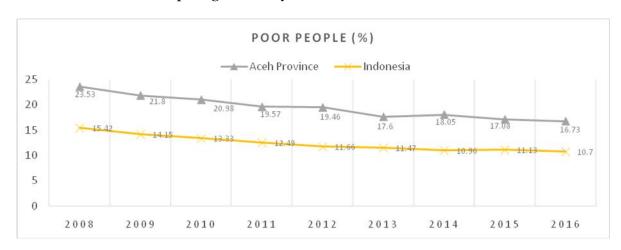
its leadership figure Mr. Yusuf Kalla (former and current vice president) who gave strong support to the peace agreement. In contrast, however, other national parties, like the PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), have not performed well in the elections. In fact, the PDIP has no seats in the local Aceh parliament.

In addition to gain overview of political Aceh after peace, the depth interview was conducted with local NGOs. 'Gaining political freedom after the peace agreement, Aceh has also welcomed freedom of speech and freedom of the press'. There are also many local activists working for non-profit organizations, or NGOs, to achieve their aspirations for freedom and prosperity. These kinds of freedom were absent during the era of insurgency.

#### b. Social Achievement 12 Years after the Peace Agreement

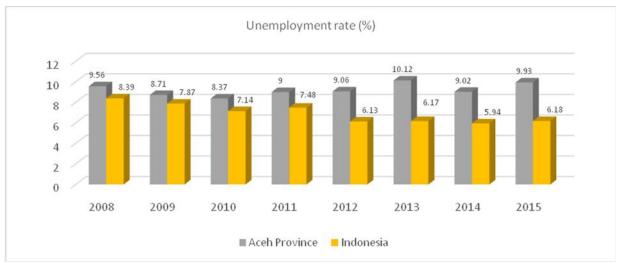
It is necessary to discuss social achievements by examining unemployment and poverty level statistics in Aceh compared to those at the national level. The data shows that unemployment and poverty in Aceh are higher than at the national level. To understand the social life after peace progress, the interview was done with the local communities and the victim of conflict. In terms of social progress, therefore, there has been little improvement. More effort is still required to improve social conditions by providing financial and non-financial assistance to Acehnese people, especially those living in rural areas. Figure 3 shows a comparison between the unemployment level in Aceh and the national unemployment level, while figure 4 depicts a comparison between the poverty level in Aceh and the national poverty level.

Figure 3
Comparing of Poverty Line in Aceh and Indonesia



Source: Indonesian Statistics Agency, 2017

Comparing of Unemployment Rate Between Aceh and Indonesia



Source: Indonesian Statistics Agency, 2017.

These figures 3 and 4 shed light on social conditions in Aceh 12 years after the peace agreement. Moreover, North Aceh remains the high of poverty and unemployment in Aceh. 'The people who lived in rural areas are not satisfied with social improvement after peace in Aceh'. They said that they have difficulties to find a job and to sell their agricultural product.

#### b. Economic Achievements 12 Years After the Peace Agreement

There is no doubt that Aceh has struggled in terms of economic development due to the past conflict in the area as well as the tsunami disaster. Basic infrastructure was severely damaged during the tsunami. Moreover, the armed conflict had a significant negative impact on domestic and foreign investment. The declared government national emergency and established the Agency for the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Aceh, or BRR (Badan Rekontruksi dan Rehabilitasi /BRR) . This was the coordinating tasked agency with managing foreign funds from international donors as well as national funds intended to help Aceh recover after the tsunami. It took four years for BRR to finish its project in Aceh. At the end of its operations in 2009, BRR left Aceh having built 112,346 housing units, 1,045 schools, 18 sea ports, 11 airports and 787 hospitals. destroyed the tsunami basic infrastructure of Aceh.

Moreover, to speed up the process of integration in Aceh the government also established BRA (Badan Reintegrasi Aceh), or Aceh Reintegration Agency, to deal with the process of peace and reintegration in Aceh over the long term (Ardyanto, 2006: 49). In addition, the central government allocated to the region a special budget, Dana Otonomi Khusus (Special Autonomy Fund) (McGibbon, 2004: 315-359). In the era of autonomy in Indonesia, only two provinces have been given such a special fund – the provinces of Aceh and Papua.

This table 3 below shows the special fund given to Aceh from 2011 to 2016 along with the Acehnese government budget.

**Table 3.** Special funds and Acehnese government budget

O	O			
Year	Transfer of		Acehn	ese
	special fund		Governm	ental
			Budg	et
20	IDR	4.5	IDR 7.7 t	rillion
11	trillion			
20	IDR	5.4	IDR 8.9	trillion
12	trillion			
20	IDR	6.2	IDR 11.7	trillion
13	trillion			
20	IDR	8.1	IDR 12.4	trillion
14	trillion			
20	IDR	7.01	IDR	12.7
15	trillion		trillion	
20	IDR	7.6	IDR 12.8	trillion
16	trillion			

Source: Indonesian Statistic Agency, 2017.

This table 3 illustrates how the Aceh governmental budget has depended on the special fund allocated to the province. However, the special budget will end in 2023 with an expected 163 trillion sent to Aceh as part of the peace agreement (Hillman, 2011: 31). Therefore, management of the budget should be implemented effectively and efficiently so as to ensure that the Acehnese people can benefit from developing their economic conditions.

However, the realization of budget policy in Aceh is often unsatisfactory in terms of making progress in economic development. This is reaffirmed by statistical data indicating that Aceh endures a lower level of economic development compared to its neighboring provinces such as North Sumatra, West Sumatra and South Sumatra.

**Table 4.** Comparison of budgeting in Aceh and its Neighboring Provinces.

Year	Aceh Budgeting	North Sumatra Budgeting	West Sumatra Budgeting	South Sumatra Budgeting
2017	IDR 14,5 trillion	IDR 12.5 trillion	IDR 6.2 trillion	IDR 7.9 trillion
Popul ation	5 million	14 million	5 million	8 million

Source: Indonesian Statistics Agency, 2017

Table 4 shows that Aceh receives the highest amount of money among the provinces in Sumatra. However, economic development remains slow. Therefore, it can be said that the peace process has yet to perfectly complement economic development in Aceh (Phelps et al., 2011: 28-32). The challenge thus is to maintain economic progress while ensuring long-term peace in Aceh.

The current economic conditions in Aceh contrast with its previous standing as an international trade hub in Southeast Asia. According to Lombard, Aceh was the epicentre of the trade in spices and goods, including ceramics, in Southeast Asia. Aceh achieved glory and prosperity in the 17<sup>th</sup> century under the Acehnese sultanate of the time (Lombard and Arifin, 2006: 105).

We conducted the interview with local business and investors about doing

business in Aceh. They said that it is difficult to calculate risk and to work with uncertainty in Aceh. Therefore, it takes a tremendous effort to createfriendly environmental doing business in Aceh.

#### c. Cultural Achievements 12 Years After the Peace Agreement

Cultural identity cannot be excluded from the discussion. It has a significant impact on society in terms of customs, rules and norms. Aceh, as an ally of the Ottoman Empire in Southeast Asia, many Turkish absorbed traditions, especially the *ganun*, the influence of which has been confirmed by historians (Takeshi, 2013: 8). Islam has been in Aceh since 9th century. Therefore, it has influence on Acehnese society. Islam was brought to Aceh by traders and Sufism scholar. The Indonesian government granted special autonomous including implementing *syariah* law in Aceh.

**Table 5.** The Number of Worship Places in Aceh

Type of Worship Places	Number	
Mosque	3.928	
Church —	19 Catholic 42 Protestant	
Vihara Buddhist	9	
Pura Hindus	2	

Source: Kementrian Agama Provinsi Aceh, 2015.

Aceh is the only province in Indonesia in which *sharia* law is applied. However, members of religions life peacefully in Aceh. The table 5 shows that Aceh has church, vihara Buddhism and pura Hindus. All are granted freedom to pray and to practice their faith.

The special dispensation granted to Aceh in this regard formed part of the peace agreement. Aceh has conductedsharia law, for example, by using the whip on criminals since 2014 under *Qanun Jinayah* (Ardyanto, 2006: 53). We conducted the depth interview with religious figures and local

government on implementation of sharia law. 'The sharia law has not yet fully practiced in daily life'. One said that the government has not stopped the practice of conventional banks. This may not be done in any other Indonesian province. In Aceh, government can use special autonomous region to convert the conventional banks to *sharia* banks.

Moreover, the public are aware that corruption levels remain high in Aceh. As part of this, Acehnese feel disappointed that *sharia* law only applies to ordinary people while the elite is largely untouchable by *sharia* law. Cultural progress remains ambiguous in Aceh, as exemplified by the fact that the implementation of *sharia* law is seen as selective and symbolic, rather than essential.

**Table 6.** Number of corruption cases in Aceh

Year	Corruption cases
2013	61
2014	87
2015	53
2016	41

Source: Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), 2017.

The table 6 above indicates that the number of corruption cases in Aceh remains fairly high and undermines the province's development process. As Khaldum mentions in his book, corruption ruins civilization (Leuprecht, Tackling corruption unfinished jobs in Aceh. Corruption has been infected to many aspects of society. It needs to apply more reform to ensure good government in Aceh.

The era of peace in Aceh still involves the obvious challenge of how to deal with corruption and other aspects of Acehnese society in order to enhance economic development in Aceh. The government official has been sent to jail due to corruption including the former governor of Aceh. Its shows that how deep the corruption in Aceh.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The paper has sought to discuss the Acehnese war and the progress which has been achieved in Aceh since the signing of the peace agreement on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2005. To ensure that peace is maintained, political solutions to the province's problems must be sought. Aceh was independence state in the past and it was the trade centre in Southeast Asia from 14-18 CE. Many traders came to Aceh to find the precious product such us pepper, ivory gold and other forest product. That merchandise was very high demand in international market. Aceh had forth with the Dutch and the last place that had been invaded.

Achievements in the political arena have been somewhat overshadowed by declining trust in local parties. This should serve as a warning for local parties to restructure themselves in order to be able to listen to the voice of their constituents. People in Aceh yearn for better social and economic conditions, an issue which has not been properly addressed vet. The majority of people have not enjoyed a fruitful outcome from the peace agreement, as reflected in the province's high level of unemployment and poverty. Therealization of budget policy in Aceh is often unsatisfactory in terms of making progress in economic development. This is reaffirmed by statistical data indicating that Aceh endures a lower level of economic development compared to its neighboring provinces such as Sumatra, West Sumatra and South Sumatra. More and better social and economic programs are thus needed to solve the current social and economic problems in Aceh. Long-term peace and security will only be achieved if the people play a role in promoting the process of development in Peace has laid the platform for transforming and improving social and economic conditions in Aceh. Now, social justice and economic equality has to be delivered to ordinary people. Culturally, the fact that Aceh is considered the heart of Islam in Southeast Asia should not be ignored. As such, the application of sharia law in daily life, and its effect on economics and politics in the province, should be looked at and made more equitable.

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- 1. The article has not been previously published in other journals or other places
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- a. Title of the table should be typed above the table and align text to the left, 12pt font Times New Roman
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- f. Table should not be presented in picture, it should be type in real table-office word formating
- g. Source of the table should be typed below the table, align text to the left, 10pt font Time New Roman.

#### h. Example:

**Table 4.** Number of Rice, Corn and Sweet potato Production

product	2010	2011	2012	2013
Rice	1.500 Ton	1.800 Ton	1.950 Ton	2.100 Ton
Corn	950 Ton	1.100 Ton	1.250 Ton	1.750 Ton
Sweet potato	350 Ton	460 Ton	575 Ton	780 Ton

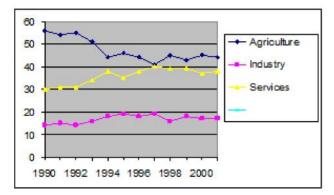
Source: Balai Pertanian Jateng, 2013.

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- a. Picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should be placed at the center
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Example:

Figure 1
Indonesian employment in agriculture compared to others sectors (% of the total employment)



Source: World Development Indicator, 2005

#### 6. Research finding

This part consists of the research findings, including description of the collected data, analysis of the data, and interpretation of the data using the relevant theory

#### 7. Referencing system

Analisa uses the British Standard Harvard Style for referencing system.

#### a. Citations (In-text)

Analisa uses in note system (in-text citation) referring to the British Standard Harvard Style referencing system; format (last name of the author/s, year of publication: page number).

- Citing someone else's ideas.

#### Example:

Culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition (Afruch and Black, 2001: 7)

Afruch and Black (2001) explain that culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition.

- Citations; quotation from a book, or journal article

Quotations are the actual words of an author and should be in speech marks. You should include a page number.

#### Example:

Tibi (2012: 15) argues that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world."

It has been suggested that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world" (Tibi, 2012: 15)

- Citations - Paraphrasing a book or journal article

Paraphrasing is when we use someone else ideas/works and write them in our own words. This can be done two ways, either is correct.

#### Example:

Batley (2013) argues that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI.

It has been suggested that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI (Batley, 2013).

- Citing a source within a source (secondary citation)

Citing the source within a source, it should be mentioned both sources in the text. But, in the reference list, you should only mention the source you actually read.

#### Example:

Tibi (2012, cited in Benneth, 2014: 15) argues that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world.

It has been suggested that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world (Tibi, 2012 as cited in Benneth, 2014: 15).

- Citing several authors who have made

similar points in different texts

In text citations with more than one source, use a semi colon to separate the authors.

#### Example:

Understanding the cultural differences is an important element for mediation process (John, 2006: 248-289; Kevin and George, 2006: 153-154; Kriesberg, 2001: 375; Alaeda, 2001: 7).

Citations - Government bodies or organizations

If you reference an organization or government body such as WHO, the Departments for Education or Health, the first time you mention the organization give their name in full with the abbreviation in brackets, from then on you can abbreviate the name.

#### Example:

The World Health Organization (WHO) (1999) suggests that.....

WHO (1999) explains that .....

#### - Citing from the internet

If you cite a source from the internet (website), write last name of the writer, year of the uploaded/released: page numbers. If there is no author in that page, write the name of the body who release the article in that website, year of release.

Please do not mention the address of the url in the in-text citation.

#### Example:

Syrian uprising has been prolonged for almost six years and has caused thousands people death as well as millions people has forced to flee from their homeland to seek safety (Aljazeera, 2016). Religion is an important aspect for the life of many people in the recent era. The believe system of religion plays as a guidance for some people (David, 2015: 12-13)

#### b. Reference list

- Book

Last name of author/s, first name of the author/s year of publication. *Title of the book*. Place of publication: name of the publisher.

#### Example:

Aly, Anne. 2011. *Terrorism and global security, historical and contemporary perspectives*. South Yara Australia: Palgrave Macmillan.

Effendy, Bahtiar. 2003. *Islam and the state* in *Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

#### - Chapter of the book

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. "Title of the chapter". In title of the book. Editor name, place of publication: name of publisher.

#### Example:

Dolnik, Adam. 2007. "Suicide terrorism and Southeast Asia." In *A handbook of terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia*. Tan, Andrew.T.H (ed). Cheltenham, UK and Northamtom, USA: Edward Elgar.

#### Journal article

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the journal*. Volume. (Number): Page number.

#### Example:

Du Bois, Cora. 1961. "The Religion of Java by Clifford Geertz." *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 63. (3): 602-604 Sirry, Mun'im. 2013. "Fatwas and their controversy: The case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1): 100-117.

#### - News paper

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the newspaper*. Date of publication.

#### Example:

Eryanto, Hadi. 2010. "Menyiapkan Jihad di Aceh." *Kompas.* 18 March 2010.

#### - Internet

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article or writing". Date of access. Web address

#### Example:

Suhendi, Adi. 2012. "Dana Osama bin Laden dipakai untuk bom Bali 1" (Osama bin Laden's fund was used for Bali Bomb 1). Accessed August, 20, 2014 from: http://nasional.kompas.com/ read/2012/03/26/14001755/Dana. Osama.bin.L aden.Dipakai.untuk.Bom. Bali.I

#### - Internet

If there is no author in that page, write the name of the body who release the article in that website, year of release, date of accessed, address of the website Example:

Aljazera. 2017. The voices missing from Syria's peace talks. Accessed 23 June 2017, from: http://www.aljazeera. com/indepth/features/2017/03/syria-war-missing-voices-syria-peace-talks-170322073131728.html

Unpublished thesis/dissertation
 Last name of the author/s, first name of

the author/s. Year of publication. *Title* of the thesis/dissertation. Name of the university.

#### Example:

Muhtada, D. 2005. Zakat and Peasant Empowerment: Case Study on Zakat Organizations in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta: Unpublished Master thesis for graduate school of social work at State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga.

- Article/paper presented at seminar/conference

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the paper." Article presented at seminar/ conference, host of the seminar, place of the seminar, date of the seminar.

#### Example:

Anwar, K. 2007. "Mengungkap Sisi Akidah dalam Naskah Syair Kiyamat." Paper presented at a seminar on text of religions, hosted by Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic Indonesia. Jakarta, 30 November 2007-03 December 2007.

#### 8. Transliteration system

Transliteration Arab-Latin system refers to SKB Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia Number 158 year 1987 and 0543/b/u/1987





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# Analisa

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