

## Husaini M. Hasan on The Concept of Political Activism in The Social And Political Context of Aceh

<sup>1</sup>Bustami, <sup>2</sup>Elly Wanisyah Harahap

<sup>12</sup> Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara Medan

<sup>1</sup>bustami@uinsu.ac.id, <sup>2</sup>ellywarnisyah@uinsu.ac.id

### ABSTRACT

*This article analyzes Aceh's political activism from a political and historical perspective. This research uses a qualitative methodology, which focuses on the role of Husaini M. Hasan in the Free Aceh Movement and his struggle for the implementation of Islamic law in Aceh. This article explains how Aceh has struggled to maintain its Islamic identity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia from colonial times to contemporary times. This research analyzes various documents and interviews to show how Aceh's desire to implement Islamic law is related to the desire for regional autonomy and national identity. Aceh's social and political identity was shaped by political activism and Islamic ideology, which also interacted with Indonesian national politics. This study found that the political initiative in Aceh was not an independent state, but special autonomy. This shows that understanding and dealing with problems related to social identity, politics, and Islamic law in Aceh requires a more holistic and contextual approach.*

**Keywords:** Husain M. Hasan, Political Activism, Aceh

### ABSTRAK

Artikel ini menganalisis aktivisme politik Aceh dari perspektif politik dan sejarah. Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi kualitatif, yang berfokus pada peran Husaini M. Hasan dalam Gerakan Aceh Merdeka dan perjuangannya untuk implementasi hukum Islam di Aceh. Artikel ini menjelaskan bagaimana Aceh telah berjuang untuk mempertahankan identitas Islamnya dalam kerangka Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia dari zaman kolonial hingga zaman kontemporer. Penelitian ini menganalisis berbagai dokumen dan wawancara untuk menunjukkan bagaimana keinginan Aceh untuk menerapkan hukum Islam terkait dengan keinginan akan otonomi daerah dan identitas nasional. Identitas sosial dan politik Aceh dibentuk oleh aktivisme politik dan ideologi Islam, yang juga berinteraksi dengan politik nasional Indonesia. Studi ini menemukan bahwa inisiatif politik di Aceh bukanlah negara merdeka, melainkan otonomi khusus. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa memahami dan menangani permasalahan terkait identitas sosial, politik, dan hukum Islam di Aceh membutuhkan pendekatan yang lebih holistik dan kontekstual.

**Kata Kunci:** Husain M. Hasan, Aktivisme Politik, Aceh

### INTRODUCTION

Activism usually takes the form of direct action, such as campaigns, protests, boycotts, demonstrations, and strikes. However, there are many forms of activism you can do every day. This includes forming groups, writing letters or petitions, attending meetings or public discussions, and

spreading ideas or messages through writing or other creative media. We all agree that activism is a way to achieve the changes we want, from small changes to big changes that may require the support and efforts of many people, starting from the Darul Islam movement/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII), which then carried out transformation into the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) where each movement is always based on the thoughts of figures who lived in their time. The Free Aceh Movement (GAM), which succeeded in gaining international attention, could become a wild movement at first to be controlled by the Indonesian government because this movement gathered international sympathizers.

The initial studies of social movements came from functional social psychology regarding mass behavior. This analysis is an assumption that system balance is a natural social condition. From this approach, society naturally produces institutional infrastructure that regulates the balance between inputs and outputs in the political system. Social demands are accommodated by responsive institutions that channel and handle a multitude of interests to produce optimal policies. These policies, in turn, mitigate various demands and function to maintain balance in the system. For functionalists, system imbalances stem from exogenous structural tensions that generate new dissatisfaction and erode the efficiency of institutions, producing pathological dysfunctions that can lead to political instability. If institutional capacity cannot accommodate the new demands of society, the result will be social tension and political chaos (Huntington, 1968: 57).

The logic of this socio-psychological approach dominates much of the scholarly work on Islamic activism. For many scholars, the basic motivation driving activism stems from the structural crises produced by the failure of the modernist project (Susan, 1986). During the golden age of developmentalism, leaders in Muslim countries, especially in the Middle East, adopted Western models of modernization to encourage economic development. Elites trained in Western educational systems often saw modernization and westernization as part of the same process and therefore supported not only industrialization policies, but also the implementation of Western practices, including clothing styles, secularization, and western languages. In fact, in countries born of violent confrontation with Western powers, elites often adopt Western cultural traits, even if they utter anti-western rhetoric. This is what happens especially in North Africa, where the ruling elite prefers to speak French. Although this small minority deviated from the mainstream culture of their society, the regime attempted to pacify their population by promising economic growth, national prosperity, and social protection (Hrair, 1995: 67).

DI/TII fighters call their struggle jihad, while the Indonesian government calls them bughot (rebels). If you trace the history of Aceh, from the time of the sultanate until the arrival of Western nations, the jihad struggle in Aceh continued to rage, against various forms of colonialism, from the Portuguese, and Dutch to Japanese. In fact, according to Anas Machmud, Head of the History Department at IKIP North Sumatra in the 80s, Aceh was the only region in Indonesia that never surrendered its sovereignty to the Dutch. Aceh joining the Republic of Indonesia was supported by various groups such as ulama, traders, intellectuals, and many other elements who wanted Aceh to join the Republic of Indonesia. However, during the joining of the Republic of Indonesia, several elements of Islam which had been preserved and well-guarded by the people of Aceh gradually disappeared. The Islamic law that had been used by the people of Aceh since 1512 until the Dutch were expelled from Aceh was replaced by the basic law of the Republic of Indonesia which was

different from Islam. So this damaged the foundations of social and political life in Aceh (Machmud, 1988: 42).

Husiani M. Hasan wrote a letter addressed to Dr. Teungku Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro where the contents of the letter written by Husiani M. Hasan informed him that Husiani M. Hasan could not survive in Malaysia for too long, so Husiani M. Hasan asked for permission to ask for assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR. And finally, Husiani M. Hasan received permission from Dr. Teungku Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro to come to the UNHCR office on Jalan Petaling Kuala Lumpur to meet Mr. Mc. Namara, and Dr. Teungku Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro also informed that he had contacted UNHCR in Geneva and had discussed the fate of Husiani M. Hasan in Malaysia. However, on the other hand, Malik Mahmud asked Husiani M. Hasan to postpone his intention to come to the UNHCR office (Machmud, 1988: 43).

In a meeting, Husaini M. Hasan gave a speech with the title "The Future Integration of Indonesia: Focus on Aceh" that autonomy for Aceh was an old thing that had been given several times to the people of Aceh as a form of extinguishing and resolving the DI/TII conflict. Previously, autonomy for Aceh was given the name of the Special Province of Aceh and henceforth became Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD). Husaini M. Hasan believes that Aceh does not want any more colonialism in this era in any form M. Hasan does not want Indonesia to break up like the Soviet Union, or Yugoslavia in the Balkans, Indonesia should be changed from a Unitary State to a United State or the United Nations of the Archipelago, in other words the United States of the Archipelago (USN) or continue to use the name Indonesia by adding the words "Union" becomes the Union Republics of Indonesia which consists of the United Nations of Malays and Melanesians in the territory of today's Indonesia.

This study aims to analyze two important aspects related to Aceh, Indonesia. First, explain the life of Husaini M. Hasan, who once joined the Free Aceh Movement, which reflects the political, social, and historical dynamics of Aceh. Then explore various perspectives regarding political activism within the framework of regional autonomy and Indonesian national identity, especially how Aceh's privilege in implementing Islamic law intersects with national law. Challenges in defining political activism in the modern context and the dynamics of Acehnese politics that influence the implementation of Islamic law. The article shows efforts to adapt Islamic values to democratic practices and applicable law, reflecting the need for a more holistic and contextual approach to understanding Aceh.

## **METHOD**

The qualitative methods used in this article are biographical study and documentary analysis. Data was collected from the early life of Husaini M. Hasan to his participation in the Free Aceh Movement. This research can investigate Husaini's personal and professional aspects, including the influence of family environment, education, and political events on the formation of his character and political views. Additionally, this research relies on documentary analysis, which includes an examination of historical records, articles, and other publications related to Husaini and the historical context of Aceh. This biographical study method allows the researcher to investigate Husaini's personal and professional aspects.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Biography of Husaini M. Hasan

Japan occupied Aceh during World War II, and that's when Husaini M. Hasan's life began. Coinciding with July 3, 1944, Husaini M. Hasan's first cry broke out, in an Aceh stilt house in Sanggeue, Pidie. Husaini M. Hasan was born as the second child of six children, all of whom were boys. Husaini M. Hasan's mother was named Ramlah bint Thaib. A beautiful woman who was once the Bungan of the village when she lived in Lamno, Aceh Jaya. Meanwhile, Husaini M. Hasan's father, Muhammad Hasan, is a successful young entrepreneur. When Husaini M. Hasan was born, Aceh was in a state of war readiness. Sirens sounded everywhere as a sign of danger. At that time, every house in Aceh built hiding holes (bunkers) next to or in front of their respective houses on stilts. For Acehnese, Husaini M. Hasan calls the bunker kurok-kurok (Hasan, 2015: 25).

When Husaini M. Hasan was 7-8 years old, Husaini M. Hasan took part in the Tilawatil Quran competition at the village level in Matang Seulimeng, Langsa, and Husaini M. Hasan won first place. Husaini M. Hasan won a sarong, skullcap, and Koran. At the recitation location, Husaini M. Hasan was given the position of deputy ustad. If he is absent or has outside work, the ustad's command "rattan" is entrusted to Husaini M. Hasan. Some of the other students were adults and much older than Husaini M. Hasan. However, Ustad chose to give his baton to Husaini M. Hasan. Even though Husaini M. Hasan is younger, the students in the study still respect Husaini M. Hasan, they call Husaini M. Hasan with the title "Tengku Abang". So during Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr, friends from the Koran have a tradition of coming and gathering at Husaini M. Hasan's house and then together celebrating Eid al-Fitr at the ustad's house. After graduating from elementary school, Husaini M. Hasan studied at SMP I Langsa. After graduating from junior high school, Husaini M. Hasan's uncle, Abdullah Yusuf, came to Langsa to pick up Husaini M. Hasan and Hasballah. Husaini M. Hasan was taken to Medan and lived with Uncle Ibrahim Yusuf, who was Uncle Abdullah Yusuf's sibling. Uncle Ibrahim Yusuf lives on Jalan Palang Merah Number 2 Medan, precisely next to the British Council. Husaini M. Hasan lived with him from high school until he entered the USU Medan Faculty of Medicine. From Uncle Ibrahim Yusuf's house, Husaini M. Hasan moved to Jalan Jogya (now Jalan Diponegoro) number 4. Now Husaini M. Hasan's residence has been turned into Malahayati Hospital. Husaini M. Hasan's memories about his father, Muhammad Hasan bin Tengku Syahbanda Yusuf who is usually called Tengku Hasan PIM, because Husaini M. Hasan's father is the director and owner of CV. PIM. A company founded in Langsa, East Aceh, and has a branch in Sigli, Aceh Pidie. In Husaini M. Hasan's eyes, his father was a hard worker. In Langsa, my father had a rice and board factory behind the Langsa City Market which was opposite the CV rice factory. The custom belongs to Toke Ibrahim Arshad, a successful Indonesian national-caliber businessman (Hasan, 2015: 33).

Husaini M. Hasan still remembers that during the DI/TII war in 1953, DI/TII soldiers socialized in the village and the residents were united with DI/TII. This condition meant that soldiers did not dare enter the village except for one company. Every time a soldier wants to operate in a village, someone will notify DI/TII to make preparations to intercept the army in a strategic location. In 1955, Husaini M. Hasan was on holiday from school and visited his mother in Pidie. Husaini M. Hasan met Husén Sanggeuë's father, his late father's comrade in arms and he was Husaini M. Hasan's neighbor in Sanggeuë. Husén's father was known as fierce and strict and respected by the people.

While at the Seuntang shop, Husaini M. Hasan saw Husén's father in the bamboo hall opposite the Tengku Syam shop at the end of the Seuntang titi. Someone whispered to him that Husaini M. Hasan was the son of Tengku Hasan PIM. "That's Hasan PIM's son, his name is Husaini, he goes to school in Langsa." As soon as he heard the whisper, Husén's father called Husaini M. Hasan "Hi Husaini! Keunoe ka djak! Come here!" he called. Husaini M. Hasan approached him and he asked Husaini M. Hasan to sit beside him. At that time, Husaini M. Hasan was 10 years old, and children Husaini M. Hasan's age did not dare to sit next to him. Seeing that Husaini M. Hasan was still reluctant, Husén's father invited Husaini M. Hasan once again. "I will give this gun as an heirloom to you when the time comes when you want to defend your father who was shot dead by the soldiers!" He said those words while taking out a gun. Husaini M. Hasan always remembers these words from Husen's father. And it was destined by Allah that my father's history repeated itself with Husaini M. Hasan (Hasan, 2015: 39).

In December 1976 dr. Muktar conveyed to Husaini Hasan in secret that Tengku Hasan M. di Tiro had returned home and was now in the jungle of Aceh. Dr. Muktar added that he had met Tengku Hasan M. in Tiro in November 1976. Dr. Muktar talked about many things during the meeting, including Husaini Hasan's commitment to the struggle for Aceh's sovereignty. Husaini Hasan heard the story from Dr. Muktar that Tengku Hasan M. di Tiro conveyed his greetings to Husaini Hasan. It was a joy for Husaini Hasan to receive greetings from an initiator of Aceh Merdeka. According to Dr. Muktar, Husaini Hasan was scheduled to meet Tengku Hasan M. in Tiro where he was hiding. In January 1976, Husaini Hasan met Tengku Hasan M. in Tiro in the jungle of Aceh. Husaini Hasan thinks the size of the Arun LNG mega project is already known to the general public, if monitored from the air, the LNG field is the largest project in Sumatra. Even the daily Jakarta Post explained the amount of income generated from LNG Arun.

After returning to Indonesia in 1977, Hasan Tiro ran the GAM organization, formed the military wing of the Free Aceh Movement (AGAM), formed a cabinet, and served as Mayor of the State. Hasan Tiro transformed his thinking through very intense ideological indoctrination within GAM. Among his thoughts are how to restore the glory of Aceh to the former glory of the Aceh sultanate, teaching the people of Aceh political awareness, and mobilizing them with their anti-Indonesian political ideas. But on the other hand, there was controversy over his thoughts, so the GAM faction split into two. There are several political ideas of Hasan Tiro which according to his followers are far from the concept of GAM's struggle itself, including changing the content of the proclamation of the founding of GAM, claiming Sumatra as a territory, returning the form of Aceh to the royal system in the past, regarding the flag, the language of unity, and changing the concept of the struggle of the Acehnese ulama. The indicators above make Hasan Tiro's followers think ambiguously about continuing GAM's struggle itself. So Dr. Husaini M. Hasan fought and became involved in the first generation who founded Free Aceh, which today is named the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), Husaini M. Hasan left behind a fairly good life as a doctor from the University of North Sumatra, he also left behind his beloved family. , left his parents, wife, and young children, but he preferred to fight to defend Aceh's sovereignty and joined M. Hasan Di Tiro. If you look further, Husaini M. Hasan is willing to move from place to place in the forest, suffer from malaria, and experience various unpleasant conditions compared to his life when he was a doctor in North Sumatra and also at several international companies in Aceh such as Arun NGL and also a doctor at Exxson Mobiloil. Because of his nationalistic attitude, he was willing to abandon everything for the sake of Aceh, and in the end, Husaini M. Hasan was forgotten like a peanut forgetting its shell (Hasan, 2015: 35).

Political thought is related to the arrangement and maintenance of the affairs of the people. This understanding is completely different from what is defined by Western thinkers. Western political thinkers define politics as a way to gain power and maintain and implement that power. Islam with its political thoughts truly cares about the people without expecting anything in return. Plato in Francis Mac Donald argued that thought is a great essence in this form and if the author does not care about it then this whole reality will also be lost. Explaining this in what he knew as the theory of ideas, he then coined the term idealism. According to Plato, this idea is not tied to time and place (thus meaning it is not a creature). When truth and goodness shine, the spiritual inner eye will be able to see the realm of ideas, just as the eye sees matter through sunlight (Hamid, 2001: 13). Based on the narrative above, Husaini M. Hasan's thoughts are very clear that he wants the concept of peace based on the Islamic State to be implemented in Aceh. Which is based on an order issued by the 4th President of Indonesia KH. Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur dated November 10 1999.

Apart from consolidating, the political elite also carried out mass mobilization, especially in the Mandau and Pinggir communities. This mobilization is not only limited to the Mandau and Pinggir areas but is also carried out in sub-districts and regencies adjacent to the Mandau and Pinggir sub-districts. Apart from that, the political elite also plays a role as an accelerator in the expansion process. They develop networks with elite state actors (bureaucracy) and political elites both at the local and national levels. Building this network is important because, in preparation for expansion, decision-making relationships are needed, both officially and unofficially, to expedite preparations for expansion. The territorial-ethnic collective consciousness of community leaders forces them to collaborate with state officials at the district, provincial, and even central levels. They also realized that there were political channels that could be used to strengthen the expansion process. The dynamics of elite mobilization are also related to the process of political interaction. These elite fighters for expansion organized themselves in the form of committees, both officially and unofficially. The first activities that are usually carried out are informal discussions, official seminars, and peaceful demonstrations (Zainuddin, 2018).

Among the modernists who continuously revive the spirit of the glory of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate is Ali Hasjmy. He wrote a lot about the glorious history of Aceh. History of Indonesian Islamic Culture is one of Hasjmy's works which reviews the greatness of Islam in Indonesia and Aceh. Through this book, Ali Hasjmy emphasized that the glory of Aceh in the past, from the Peureulak Sultanate to the peak of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, was realized because the Muslim community was very firm in implementing Islamic law. The role of Islam in the Aceh War and the Indonesian Independence Struggle was written based on the results of the 1873 Aceh Struggle Seminar for an independent Indonesia which took place on March 22 1976 in Medan. In the book, Ali Hasjmy reiterates that the Aceh War was very difficult for the Dutch because the spirit of the Acehnese people was based on Islam (Hasjmy, 1976: 23).

## **Thoughts on the Islamic State**

The United States' decision in October 2001 was a tense year because it launched a military attack on Afghanistan in response to the September 11 attacks by al-Qaeda. This attack led to a huge wave of protests throughout the Muslim world. Despite the varied contexts of multivocal activism and demonstrations, several general patterns emerged during the early stages of the war in Afghanistan. First, many of the largest demonstrations occur after Friday prayers and sermons in

mosques. For example, in Nairobi, Kenya, around 3,000 demonstrators filled the streets after worshipping at a mosque led by Shaykh Ahmed Mussalam, Chairman of the Council of Imams and Sarjans. They waved placards and shouted slogans in protest. In Jakarta, after Friday prayers, around 10,000 Muslims marched from the National Monument to the United States Embassy and then filled Jalan Thamrin with demonstrators, buses, motorbikes, and trucks.

Thus, these demonstrations show the tension and dissatisfaction felt by Muslims towards the United States military attack in Afghanistan. This demonstration also shows that mosques are an important place for protesters to gather and express their aspirations. Political parties are present as representatives of community interests in the state government structure. In a democratic political system, political parties are an inevitable necessity, including in Indonesia. Therefore, political parties have a very important role in the policy-making process (M. Y. Tiyas Tinov, 2017). In Kuala Lumpur, 2,000 members of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) demonstrated outside the American Embassy after gathering for Friday prayers at a nearby mosque. PAS representatives were finally allowed into the embassy to submit a statement protesting the bombings in Afghanistan. No doubt, various demonstrations also took place on other days. However, as social sites of collective action, Friday gatherings in mosques provide opportunities for organizing discontent (Martin, 1995, p, 125-129).

Second, although Muslims with no particular affiliation often participate in demonstrations, Islamic movement groups are the main movers organizing many of these protest events. Prominent Islamic organizations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt and Jordan), the Justice Party (Indonesia), and the Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam (Pakistan), organized large-scale protests and meetings opposing the war in Afghanistan and the Muslim government's support for it. United States of America. Smaller and more radical groups, such as Laskar Mujahidin (Indonesia), also actively organized demonstrations against the US bombings (Mara, 1998).

Third, these demonstrations are often used as an opportunity to criticize United States foreign policy for distorting mistakes and playing with the definitions of terms used by the American government to justify its actions. In particular, America is depicted as the embodiment of evil, terrorism, and injustice because it supported Israel over the Palestinian people, its policies toward Iraq, and its attacks that killed civilians in Afghanistan. Various banners condemned the United States' war in Afghanistan, as a "crusade against Islam", and alleged that "Bush is the greatest terrorist". Other banners called for "Save the world from global terrorism (i.e. the United States)" and "Drag Bush before an international court." These slogans were accompanied by ubiquitous "Death (to) America" curses and placards announcing support for Osama bin Laden. In a major meeting in Northern Nigeria, attended by more than 3,000 Muslims, the President of the Kano State Council of Ulama summarized the general sentiment prevailing on the streets of the Muslim land. The definition given by the United States regarding terrorism is different from the definition that exists throughout the world. America is the biggest terrorist country, seeing its unprovoked attacks on countries such as Libya, Iraq, and Sudan (Larana Enrique, 1994, p, 48).

Fourth, most of these protests demonstrated a consistent set of repertoires of contention (Charles, 1978, p, 39). In addition to marches and large gatherings intended to show opposition to the United States, protesters used other means of contention. Various petitions were addressed to representatives of the people of the United States and also to Muslim governments. The protesters

held banners in local languages as well as in English, the latter showing a strategy to target foreign audiences in the era of globalization. Various forms of support and symbolic actions are also common, especially religious idioms and the burning of American flags and statues of President George Bush. Violence occurs, but usually in response to protest handling techniques that tend to be repressive (Mark, 1995, p, 125).

All these forms of hostility are part of what the author calls Islamic activism, the mobilization of hostility to support the interests and goals of Muslims. The author's definition of Islamic activism is broad and attempts to be as inclusive as possible. In this case, the definition includes various conflicts that often arise in the name of Islam, including da'wah movements, terrorist groups, collective actions originating from Islamic symbols and identities, political movements that seek to establish an Islamic state, and inward-oriented groups that promote Islamic spirituality through collective efforts (Langhor, 2001). The author believes that considering the many differences that exist within the Muslim world regarding what is truly Islamic, it would be foolish to superficially create a narrow description that includes some one-sided definitions of what Islam is and excludes other definitions.

In civil society, Islamic activists also mobilize through the structures of professional and student associations (Fahmy, 1998). Among Muslim societies, these associations often function as alternative political arenas in which various social tendencies compete for control of position and institutional resources. With the decline of leftist ideologies and movements, especially after the end of the Cold War, Islamic Movements managed to gain control over various associations and use them to support a religious message, while providing services to professional or student bodies. Islamic activists did not create these organizational resources; instead, they seized and expropriated "potential resources" for the movement's goals (Kurzman, 1994).

The emergence of new political parties in the 2024 elections is the impact of disruption. This disruption provides challenges and opportunities for new political parties. One of the challenges faced by new political parties is internal conflict which can encourage party cadres to leave and establish new parties. Apart from that, disruption can also take over the role of political parties if the parties do not want to follow developments in disruption. With a similar vision and mission in the concept of disruption, new political parties will compete to win the people's votes in the 2024 elections. The importance of an internal party democratic system is to prevent internal conflict and ensure parties can innovate in serving the community. Opportunities for disruption for new political parties include mobilizing the masses through social media which is cheaper, wider in reach, and evenly distributed. Disruption can also be used as a party branding strategy (Fitria Barokah, 2022).

Some of the major agreements above reflect the kind of consensus that has so far been achieved in the theorization of social movements. In social movement studies, three explanatory variables are considered key, namely: (1) political opportunities or constraints (including formal political structures and informal power relations); (2) mobilization structures (or groups, organizations, and networks that social movements use to mobilize supporters); and (3) framing processes (the cognitive and cultural dynamics through which meaning about life is attributed to collective actions). Naturally, in these studies, the unit of analysis is the movement, not the individual or group.

Public protection of ethnicity and religion, whether sooner or later, can endanger the government's position in its vertical relations, but is also vulnerable, vulnerable, full of risks, and very dangerous in its horizontal relations. This allegation was proven correct in Riau. Various conflicts that occurred at the local level starting from 1995 until the collapse of the New Order prove how strong political violence is in Indonesia. The clash that smacks of Identity Politics not only the rulers but also intellectuals and scientists who were previously optimistic that religion, race, and ethnicity would soon lose their power because they had experienced enlightenment and progress. However, this optimism turned out to be misplaced because they forgot that primordial sentiments that had existed from the start would persist and group identities would always shake the political order that had been considered solid (Erman, 2019).

In June, it was not decisive for Teungku Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro to send Husaini M. Hasan and Bakhtiar Abdullah to take a journalism course at The City University, London. This year Husaini M. Hasan's relationship with the Muslim Institute was very strong. While in London Husaini M. Hasan was introduced to Dr. Kalim Siddique and Ir. Ghayasuddin is the President and Vice President of the Muslim Institute. Husaini M. Hasan also helped organize the international seminar "What is the future for Pakistan". In March 1992 Husaini M. Hasan gathered Acehese people in Sydney to establish an Acehese community in Sydney which was later named the Australian Acehese Association (AAA). On that occasion, Husaini M. Hasan also said that the people of Aceh were in a new era with the success of obtaining political refugee status from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). With recognition from UNHCR, it meant that the world recognized that in Aceh there was a political conflict between the Acehese people. with the Indonesian people. Previously no Acehese had ever communicated with UNHCR and no Acehese had asked UNHCR for political asylum (Husaini, 2015, p, 30).

First, the structural political culture or management of NU Bandar Lampung is a type of participant political culture. They have good knowledge, feelings, and judgment regarding all political aspects of the 2019 presidential election. Factors such as education and the urban environment with open access to information also play a role in this. The ranks of NU administrators in Bandar Lampung are individuals who are politically literate and have knowledge of the social and political conditions in their surroundings, which influence their political attitudes. The existence of an important figure in the NU organization who is a vice presidential candidate in the 2019 presidential election also strengthens the political culture of these participants. Second, research shows that the type of political culture of NU residents, such as the Kiai and students of the NU Islamic boarding school in Bandar Lampung, is experiencing a transition from subject to participant political culture. Even though this group has a good assessment of the input objects, there are still shortcomings in terms of individual participation. Kiai and santri generally know political conditions, especially in general election contestations. The central role of Kiai in transferring understanding and knowledge to their students encourages them to have a strategic role in shaping the political attitudes of the students. However, the exemplary attitude and wisdom of a kiai remain a strong factor influencing the political attitudes of santri, even without mobilization (Ahmad Robi Ulzikri, 2021).

Recognition of refugee status makes it easier for Acehese people to get resettlement or placement in countries that accept refugees, in this case meaning Acehese people will be spread throughout the world such as Vietnam, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, West Papua, Iran, Afghanistan and

other former countries. Yugoslavia. The organization formed by Husaini M. Hasan has an important role in helping the people of Aceh who experience disaster, hardship, illness, death, and so on. Not only in social problems but also in economic, and political problems, and the Acehnese community can vote together to think about and provide assistance for the homeland of the Acehnese people. Husaini M. Hasan had many ideas about forming Acehnese community organizations abroad, including: first, the Achenese Swedish Association (ASA). Second, the Achenese American Association (AAMAS). Third, the Achenese Malaysia Association (AMA). Fourth, the Achenese Norwegian Association (ANA). Fifth, the Achenese Dansk Association (ADA). Sixth, the Achenese Canadian Association (ACA), where this organization was formed so that the people of Aceh abroad would be more united and more solid in thinking about the fate of the nation which at that time was being hit by the ceasefire disaster between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Government. Indonesia. According to Earnest Satow, what Husaini M. Hasan did was one way to take a step towards good negotiations, Husaini M. Hasan's method resulted in the association of Acehnese people abroad becoming a stepping stone towards a clearer negotiation stage ( Husaini, 2015, p, 33).

Community participation movements related to environmental issues often fail to influence political policy. This is caused by the dominance of oligarchs in the management of natural resources which causes environmental damage and harms the country as well as inequality that occurs in Indonesia. This phenomenon has occurred throughout history, with wealthy people continually trying to accumulate and maintain their wealth and income. The environment as a natural resource is a source of income for oligarchs, who often manage and control it unfairly, causing material inequality, state losses, and corrupt behavior. Oligarchs can maintain their income through profits obtained from these natural resources, such as hiring professionals, sponsoring candidates in general elections, establishing political parties to influence the policy process, and even committing bribery (Luthfi Hasanah Bolqiah, 2020).

Narrative delivered by Prof. Dr. Hasyimsyah Nasution, M.Ag an Expert in Islamic Politics and Professor at the North Sumatra State Islamic University, Medan. So politics plays a role in compromising the problem so that it is calmer. But if there are people outside, that's fine and this has to go through an in-depth study and there can't be mutual suspicion, and then people think differently. All groups must unite in discussing the concept until its implementation must also consider the development of Acehnese society (Nasution, Interview Results, 2021). So what Husaini M. Hasan did in terms of activism was very appropriate, starting to make compromises and inviting all groups at that time to pay attention to the conditions and fate experienced by the Acehnese people and the problems of Aceh were conveyed to the international world through works and writings that had been published by Husaini M. Hasan.

This union is not a form of federation but a confederation like the European Union model. Each country has its government and parliament. The flag, the language, and the President himself. They are united in terms of economics, defense, politics in the Southeast Asian zone, and so on. But still respect each other and maintain national and cultural identity. Aceh's problems with Indonesia and the climax of the split between the GAM factions have raised many eyebrows from various parties. During this chaos, the Chairman of the Henry Dunant Center (HDC) Mr. Martin Griffith, and his Secretary DR. Louisa flew specially to Stockholm to meet Husaini M. Hasan. Husaini M. Hasan invited Yusuf Daud and Hafiz to meet the HDC representatives at the Sheraton Hotel.

Mr Griffith emphasized that humanitarian organizations around the world, including the United States and Europe, encouraged HDC to take the initiative to resolve the Aceh conflict with Indonesia at the negotiating table. HDC acts as a mediator. They understand that GAM is divided into two camps and they will contact the two existing camps to take part in the negotiations. HDC proposed a place for negotiations in Davos, Geneva. Husaini M. Hasan contacted Prof. Kiwimäki in Finland in the hope of becoming a mediator. He once worked at the Nordic Institute for Asian Studies. He is also an advisor to the President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari. Prof. Kiwimäki has been to the GAM MB Office and talked about the possibility of Finland becoming a mediator in resolving the conflict between Indonesia and GAM. He offered to contact) the president of Finland. Close to this plan, Husaini M. Hasan received an invitation to attend the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) Congress for European Moslems in Malmo. During the meeting, Husaini M. Hasan met the Libyan Minister of Education, H.E. DL Muhammad Syarif, Husaini M. Hasan did not waste this opportunity to ask about the possibility of Libya becoming a mediator between GAM and Indonesia (Husaini, 2015, p, 57).

It can be concluded that political parties function as a forum for accommodating individual aspirations, directing the interests of society, and gaining power. If a political party effectively carries out its responsibilities following the ideology and laws of the Republic of Tatarstan, then it can guarantee the welfare of society. The progress of a nation requires political development. Through political development, society understands and understands the function and role of political parties in society. Political parties are expected to bring big changes to the nation, especially positive changes. The presence of political parties makes it possible to realize the long-awaited democratic state. Even though currently there is no global obligation for every country to have a political party, the absence of political parties will remind us of several centuries ago (Refly Setiawan, 2021).

## CONCLUSION

The activism carried out by Husaini M. Hasan at the international level has shown an effort in which a social movement is carried out by civil society. Where Husaini M. Hasan formed a social organization for the Acehese community so that the community could discuss Aceh's problems in a channeled and transparent manner. However, another incident occurred when Husaini M. Hasan's activism, which was well-regarded internationally, was rejected by fellow elites of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). The author does not think that Husaini M. Hasan's political activism can still be carried out today to provide knowledge to the world about Aceh and its social, economic, and political conditions to the international world to attract the attention of international parties to be able to explore Aceh's potential, including Aceh's natural products. So Husaini M. Hasan's activism is still very much needed by Aceh today, it just depends on the leaders in Aceh whether they see this activism as important or not.

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