

Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan



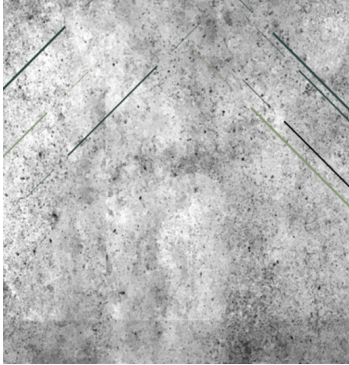
ISSN PRINT : 2776-8031
ISSN ELECTRONICS : 2776-8023

Volume 4, Number 1, 2024

ISSN: 2776-8031 (Print) | 2776-8023 (Electronics)

Publication details, Including author guidelines

Visit URL: <https://www.ejournal.warmadewa.ac.id/index.php/politicos/onlinesubmissionandauthorguideline>



Laclau and Mouffe's Radical Hegemony and Democracy Thought: The Transformation of the Free Aceh Movement into the Aceh Party

**Anandita Azzahra, Cinta Rasullillah, Davina Shafa Andira,
Jihan Rahmadani, Aniqotul Ummah**

Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta

Article History

Received : December 11, 2023

Revised : February 4, 2024

Accepted : March 14, 2024

How to cite this article (APA)

Azzahra, A., Rasullillah, C., Andira, D. S., Rahmadani, J., & Ummah, A. (2024). Laclau and Mouffe's Hegemony and Democracy Thought: The Transformation of the Free Aceh Movement into the Aceh Party. *Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan*, 4(1), 33-44. <https://doi.org/10.22225/politicos.4.1.2024.33-44>

Universitas Warmadewa (as publisher) makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications. However, we make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors and are not the views of or endorsed by Universitas Warmadewa. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Universitas Warmadewa shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to, or arising out of the use of the content.

Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan is published by Universitas Warmadewa comply with [the Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing](#) at all stages of the publication process. Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan also may contain links to web sites operated by other parties. These links are provided purely for educational purpose.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](#).

Laclau and Mouffe's Radical Hegemony and Democracy Thought: The Transformation of the Free Aceh Movement into the Aceh Party

Anandita Azzahra*, Cinta Rasullillah, Davina Shafa Andira, Jihan Rahmadani, Aniqotul Ummah
Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta

Abstract

The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) is a group that demands that the central government be part of a democracy. The group moved freely and radically with the aim of separating itself from the rest of Indonesia. The focus of this paper is on analyzing GAM's transformation into the Aceh Party, which is different from other radical movements in Indonesia. The purpose of this research is to understand the transformation through Laclau and Mouffe's ideas on radical hegemony and democracy. Radical democracy is a form of struggle in achieving autonomous authority on the basis of equality and equality. The author will use qualitative methods with literature study data collection techniques to strengthen problem analysis. The research results show that GAM is considered radical as it is in line with Laclau and Mouffe's ideas. They form a group to demand certain interests so as to create a state of antagonism and hegemony struggle. The formation of the Aceh Party is inseparable from a long journey to fight for the demands of the community and as a form of building political power in accordance with the environmental conditions of society in Aceh. Currently, the Aceh Party no longer implements radical democracy as it used to do with GAM.

Keywords: Hegemony; Radical; Democracy; Political Transformation; Local Politics

Introduction

Democracy is needed for every country as a measuring tool to see how prosperous people are in social and political life. One form of democracy is the action of a group of people who demand dissatisfaction with policies from the central government that are considered detrimental to them. This is needed by the state to maintain the checks and balances of social conditions accompanied by a firm attitude in carrying out its function as the highest authority, so that prolonged conflicts and bloodshed do not occur which cause division. The weakness of the state in responding to a movement and coupled with other problems related to local government has led to radical movements. Movements that should be a form of democracy have turned into problems that must be taken seriously so that they do not go to extremes. Problems of social inequality, poverty, discrimination, weak laws, complex political conditions, and restrictions on speech can be the driving force behind radical democracy.

Indonesia is a country built on a variety of primordial groups or ties in community groups based on ethnicity, religion, race, and customs so that it can be called a multicultural country. Society in a primordial group is also not just a collection of individuals living in one area, but of course the community group tries to develop its cultural values and a set of rules that are used as guidelines by its members in behaving and interacting both with each other and with other groups. The diversity of groups in society that have different social backgrounds can actually be a strength for the Indonesian nation, but on the other hand it can also create potential conflicts in society. With this, sovereignty in the state becomes a condition that must be maintained by every element of society that becomes a unity in it. The value of unity is also stated in Pancasila, which is

*Corresponding author: Anandita Azzahra. Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta
Jalan Rs. Fatmawati Raya, Pondok Labu, Cilandak, Kota Jakarta Selatan, Jakarta, 12450 Indonesia
Email: 2110413056@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id

recognized as the basis of the Indonesian constitution, where in the third principle, namely *Persatuan Indonesia*, it is intended that the unity of the Indonesian nation is a joint commitment and in making a nation that can determine its own destiny. However, the diversity that exists can create a negative impact because each group will have its own interests which are certainly different from other groups. This is then supported if there is development in a country that is biased towards the interests of certain groups and ignores the interests of other groups, then conflicts will arise in the life of society and the state, and can lead to greater conflicts that threaten the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation.

Politics can run in the two factors above, namely plurality and conflict where it takes the activeness of all community groups to provide political demands and make democracy a space to frame common interests, justice, and welfare by making every citizen a guide for the running of the country (Teredi, 2021). In the book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, it is argued that there has been a shift in the substance of democracy, which no longer refers to the values of equality and freedom. (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014). In other words, democracy has been used by political elites to maintain their power and ignore efforts to solve problems of inequality, poverty, and other people's interests supported by uneven development in each region and disadvantaging groups in certain regions. Inequality and uneven development can be a driving force for the birth of radical democracy with the emergence of territorial problems that occur due to dissatisfaction felt by one region with another in the social, political and economic sectors, which may lead to separatist movements or movements that seek to separate themselves from the state (Shindyawati, 2019). One of the separatist movements in Indonesia was present in Aceh in 1976, precisely in December through the formation of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) (Bahrum, 2016a). The presence of GAM was motivated by the Acehnese people's disappointment with the central government for the injustice felt by them arising from decisions that were considered not respecting and not paying attention to the distribution of natural resources enjoyed by the community as a right that they should receive, as well as the desire to make Aceh politics based on their identity, namely enforcing Islamic law which could not be fulfilled (Sefriani, 2003).

GAM reasserted its presence in 1997 with an armed struggle that troubled the central and local governments and communities in other regions (Zain, 2009). GAM continued to experience rapid growth in terms of organization and resources, both members and weapons, which successfully disrupted security in Indonesia. Various approaches were made by the governments of B. J. Habibie to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) to resolve the conflict, but continued to meet a dead end. Megawati's leadership even mobilized a large military force and caused disappointment among the Acehnese. During SBY's leadership, diplomacy was again pursued with the help of the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) in facilitating government dialog with GAM. This diplomacy was able to produce a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and GAM which was signed on August 15, 2005 (Jayanti, 2016). The agreement stated that the government would facilitate the establishment of Aceh-based political parties as local political parties. One of the new political parties that emerged was Aceh Party (*Partai Aceh*), which was the result of the transformation of the GAM radical movement into a political party.

The case study on the transformation of GAM into the Aceh Party was chosen in this research due to the condition of Aceh, which has been the hottest conflict area since Indonesian independence. However, the author sees a form of seriousness and great commitment from the people of Aceh, especially the struggle of the GAM group to realize their ideals and political interests for the creation of prosperity in the Aceh region. Thus, it becomes very important and interesting to study that even though GAM is gone, this commitment continues today with the presence of local parties in Aceh including Aceh Party as a forum for their struggle to be involved in the democratic process and a substitute for the demands for independence echoed by the previous GAM group. This effort to transform armed forces into civilian forces is at the core of the transformation that has been one of the efforts to overcome the social and political conflicts that occurred. It is certainly not easy for Indonesia and the people of Aceh to make this transformation,

especially since there have been many conflicts that have threatened democracy in Indonesia in the past.

The author has found several previous studies that are similar to the topic to be raised. Based on Anwar Ilmar's research with the title *Radikalisme Gerakan Berbasis Etnis: Kasus Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, it was found that the separatist OPM movement was formed due to historical disappointment in the process of joining Indonesia, competition between Papuan elites and other elites, development inequality and the composition of Papuan representatives in the government, and a sense of regional marginalization within the community which eventually led to armed conflict (Ilmar, 2017). Research on radical democracy in the context of multiculturalism has been conducted by Dewi Setyaningsih with the *Demokrasi Radikal Sebagai Alternatif Tatanan Politik Global dalam Konteks Multikulturalisme* and produced findings that the application of radical democracy in the political world is considered to be held fairly and equally (Setyaningsih, 2022). Meanwhile, in Moch. Nurhasim's research entitled *Dominasi Partai Aceh Pasca-MoU Helsinki*, it was found that the Aceh Party, which was widely supported by former GAM organizations, gave them great strength to maintain their existence as a political party that was able to control parliament in Aceh, to be able to win the position of governor and a number of regents or mayors in the Aceh region (Nurhasim, 2012).

Based on the findings of the previous studies described above, it can be seen that there are several limitations that become research gaps in research that will differentiate between previous studies and this research, where the author identifies three different studies. The first difference is the focus of the research, where the author will focus more on analyzing the transformation of GAM into the Aceh Party through the interpretation of the behavior or actions of actors so that it will provide a better understanding of the transformation process of a movement. In addition, from the results of previous research, the author is also motivated to focus on the application of radical democracy theory in analyzing multiculturalism in Indonesia, especially in the formation of the Aceh Party as part of cultural diversity in Indonesia. So, to support this, the author uses the theory put forward by Laclau and Mouffe on radical hegemony and democracy. The reason for choosing Laclau and Mouffe's theory is to see and compare the application of radical hegemony and democracy in the Free Aceh Movement which later transformed into the Aceh Party in fighting for the aspirations of the Acehnese people who had experienced injustice. Thus, in this research the author will describe the transformation process of the radical movement in Aceh into a part of democracy in demanding their rights and goals maturely. As well as seeing how the existence of the Aceh Party in providing its role in regional and central policies based on Laclau and Mouffe's theory.

Hegemony from Laclau and Mouffe's Perspective

Marxism has influenced the thinking of experts who gave birth to new understandings or theories as a derivative or development of Marxism with the influence of the socio-political conditions at that time. One of the theories born from the development of Marxism is hegemony. This theory originated in Russia, which at the time was facing monarchical rule. The concept of hegemony is closely related to pre-existing concepts, namely ideology and power, where the three concepts usually intersect, although sometimes the three are viewed separately. Antonio Gramsci in John Cammet (1967) sees a two-way practice of two subordinate hegemonies, state power as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (labor) class (Cammet, 1967). In the beginning, hegemony was brought by Vladimir Lenin and George Plekhanov. Plekhanov explained that the need for a large strategy in carrying out political struggles triggered the emancipation movement (Plekhanov, 1961). Jeremy Lester also gave his opinion on the hegemony described by Plekhanov in which the concept of hegemony should have an influence on the strategy of the working class in Russia trying to take power (Lester, 2000). Meanwhile, hegemony is defined by Vladimir Lenin as part of the strategy in the revolution in which the working class and representative groups are required to take the support of the majority with a temporary nature in maintaining the security of the interests of the working class (Simon, 1982).

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe are political theorists from post-marxism who also provide a definition of hegemony theory. Laclau and Mouffe criticize Gramsci's definition of hegemony that the hegemony paradigm comes from discourse analysis, not from class analysis. Hegemony in their view is defined as analyzing a process of rearticulation and disarticulation that has the validity to protect and produce intellectual morals in politics. There is a practice of articulation that produces a series that comes from the intersection so as to create social meaning from an organized system. When seen in political affairs, the hegemony conveyed by Laclau and Mouffe will be present in the conditions of antagonism (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

Laclau states that the occurrence of discourse in the process of conveying the subject's identity is important because of the actions of the subject. The characteristics described by Laclau are the subversion of hegemonic discourse through events or phenomena that cannot be domesticated, sombolization, or integration when the discourse process is carried out. With the opening of social rules in every discourse practice, it will become the foundation for political change and the formation of new identities (Laclau, 1990). Therefore, Laclau and Mouffe explain that the presence of social class cannot be represented on a structural basis. This is because there is no objective material reality (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

When viewed through the case of the formation of the Aceh Party, hegemony theory was realized when the Free Aceh Movement re-emerged in Aceh due to the repressive and oppressive actions of the New Order government to win the Golongan Karya Party (*Partai Golkar*) in the 1987 elections. Various policies were considered to have offended the Acehnese people's sense of justice, accompanied by provocations by outside parties. After the 1999 elections, the demand for a referendum was voiced again by the Free Aceh Movement, which was supported by a group of ulama in the Aceh region (Hamid, 2006). There are still many activities carried out by the Free Aceh Movement which eventually transformed into the Aceh Party or one of the local parties to voice the opinions of the Acehnese people in conjunction with the laws that apply in the Aceh region.

Radical Democracy from Laclau and Mouffe's Perspective

The idea of radical democracy was initiated by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in their book entitled *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2001). Laclau and Mouffe saw that there were many democratic revolutions in Western societies that began to emerge after the French Revolution. According to Laclau and Mouffe, a social movement must be able to form a populist democratic revolution where the democratic revolution must be able to accommodate the demands and interests of various groups in a country. In an effort to build radical-plural democracy, new social antagonisms emerge in capitalist society. Antagonistic relationships within society can be seen in the context of social movements. New social movements or new democratic struggles are a form of resistance carried out by society against various new oppressions that occur in capitalist society. The situation of antagonism that forms the political frontier can give rise to hegemony battles. Hegemony battles can form chains of equivalence in social groups that try to survive in authoritarian regimes. The success of the hegemony movement is assumed if there are parties who act in particularity as universal representation. Where there is a commonality of collective interests that are represented as a whole (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

The use of the term radical in plural democracy proposed by Laclau and Mouffe has two meanings. Radical pluralist democracy means that the plurality of different identities in society is not transcendent and not based on positivist thinking. In this case, radical-plural democracy is a form of struggle carried out to achieve autonomous authority based on general equality and equality. Radical-plural democracy is a struggle to achieve equality and freedom that is produced and carried out within the scope of democracy in people's lives. Therefore, radical-plural democracy basically requires the pluralization of democracy and the application of democratic revolution to the social life of society. Radical democracy initiated by Laclau and Mouffe basically contains socialist thinking in an effort to deal with various societal problems such as the subordination

between capitalists and society. Radical democracy has a function to broaden and deepen the implementation of the democratic revolution by forming more diverse democratic struggles (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

Radical democracy initiated by Laclau and Mouffe is inseparable from the plurality that occurs in public relations, where there is diversity in political subjects. Radicality in political subjects can form a new entity in the midst of community life by applying radical democratic thinking (Febriyanto et al., 2014). Radical democracy based on Laclau and Mouffe's view is a concept of democracy that can be more suitable and realistic to the plurality of the world (Setiyaningsih, 2022). Radical democracy is a criticism of the practice of democracy implemented in a country that tends to only implement electorally and procedurally. Meanwhile, in principle, democracy is only a tool for the political elite to achieve their interests and does not pay attention to the oppressed community (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). The transformation of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) into the Aceh Party demonstrates the application of the concept of radical democracy. Aceh is a province that is included in the special autonomy region. The differences in Aceh's culture and politics with other regions in Indonesia show the plurality that occurs. As a result of this plurality, the people of Aceh formed GAM which wanted to separate Aceh from Indonesia. Therefore, the granting of special autonomy for Aceh became one of Indonesia's strategies to improve Aceh's relationship with Indonesia which showed that the Indonesian government respected the differences that existed in Aceh. This then gave the Aceh government the freedom to continue practicing Islamic values in politics and government. The existence of the Aceh Party, which was transformed from GAM among other national parties, became a new entity in the life of the Acehnese people.

Method

The research that the author conducted with the title "Laclau and Mouffe's Radical Hegemony and Democracy Thought: A Case Study of the Political Transformation of the Free Aceh Movement into the Aceh Party", is a qualitative descriptive research. The author uses an approach with a qualitative model in order to focus on theory development based on empirical data obtained (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Because the research conducted must be able to explain the phenomena that occur in research subjects through interpretation of behavior, perceptions, motivations, and other actions, using a comprehensive/holistic perspective to describe the analysis of data obtained from various sources (Moleong, 2018). This research requires accurate and relevant data in accordance with the reality of the phenomena that occur in order to strengthen and support research using data collection techniques with the type of literature study or literature study. By using this technique, the search for sources and information relevant to the problem being studied through databases, books, research journals, official articles, and other library data (Endang & Wasriah, 2009). To strengthen the validity of the findings made by the author, the data obtained will be analyzed into research material (Zed, 2008). This is to make it easier for the author to analyze the exploration process in the theoretical aspect based on the theoretical basis that has been formed.

In this study, the authors used data analysis techniques that will go through three component stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification, namely with qualitative analysis techniques (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Therefore, based on the theoretical/conceptual basis, and the previous literature review that the author uses, to help the author outline the results of the discussion from the research, the author will conduct data analysis, that Laclau and Mouffe's theory of hegemony and radical democracy thinking can be used to analyze case studies of political transformation that occurred in the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) into the Aceh Party. Hegemony and radical democracy in Laclau and Mouffe's view are defined as the process of a contextual and systematic separation to protect a more democratic revolution. Its relevance to the case of GAM's transformation into the Aceh Party is because GAM's democratic practices are based on the plurality that distinguishes Aceh from other regions in Indonesia, so the Acehnese people demand separation from Indonesia in order to realize a democratic revolution.

Results

The signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on August 15, 2005 in Helsinki, witnessed and proved the peace between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), and became a hope for the people of Aceh to be free from this prolonged conflict. Because with the agreement in the Helsinki MoU, it marked the end of war or violent conflict and the Indonesian Government would also open a new political consensus with GAM (Andriyani, 2017). The consequences that GAM had to accept from the Helsinki MoU agreement were the dissolution of the military wing and disarmament. As compensation they demanded to be involved in the democratic process. The negotiations between the Government of Indonesia and GAM surprised many parties and received attention from the mass media, the majority of national and international mass media provided impressions of the success of the negotiations. The Helsinki MoU agreement did receive a lot of enthusiasm from the public. There were many who welcomed this news of peace, but it was not uncommon to find those who criticized this news of peace. The news of this peace has indeed spread in the community, but not all people understand well the contents of the Helsinki MoU agreement (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, 2019).

Before reaching an agreement, the negotiations required a long process and time. The negotiations also involved all important components of GAM and the Acehnese people themselves. The components listed in the Helsinki MoU agreement became the basis for political transformation by encouraging the change of GAM from its role as a radical armed movement to a local political party in Aceh. The transformation process is characterized by three things. First, GAM must carry out a decommissioning process of approximately 840 weapons, this decommissioning is an overhaul or deactivation of assets and facilities aimed at restoring the situation. Second, GAM must disband the military wing, and in its place a civilian organization called the Aceh Transitional Committee (KPA) will be formed to accommodate former GAM fighters. Third, GAM demanded its participation in the electoral political (*Pilkada*) process in Aceh in 2006 (Zain, 2009). This transformation process became a new phase for GAM from an armed movement to a political movement. GAM stakeholder figures got the opportunity to sit in the seat of the Aceh Government because they switched from the radical and armed path to the political path, so GAM's desire to enter politics could be well accommodated by forming the Aceh Party.

Aceh Party is one of the products of the Helsinki MoU agreement, related to the agreement to form a local political party that will be facilitated by the Indonesian government. Still, due to the format of GAM's experience and identity that is still thick and attached to the Aceh Party, the transformation of GAM into the Aceh Party does not always run smoothly. At the beginning of its formation, the existence of GAM, which was still inherent in Aceh Party, was often debated and questioned. High-ranking officials in the central government urged GAM to be dissolved immediately so that the Aceh Party would be free from the shadow of GAM, which was intended to build a sense of trust and security for the Aceh Party. GAM itself at that time did not show firmness and certainty regarding the dissolution of GAM, even before reaching an agreement on the name of the Aceh Party, GAM had used the name and symbol of GAM as the name and symbol of the local political party that they would form, namely the name GAM Party with a crescent moon symbol. Of course, this triggered a lot of debate from various parties, because the use of GAM's name as the identity of a new local political party would create internal conflict.

There are groupings within GAM based on the level of dissent consisting of the old group (Usman Lampoh Awe, Zakaria Saman, Ilyas Abid, Muzakkir Manaf, Yahya Muaz, Darwis Jeunib) and the young group (Irwandi Yusuf, Bakhtiar Abdullah, Sofyan Dawood, Kamaruzzaman, Nur Djuli, Munawarliza) at the beginning of the formation of local parties. According to the view of the older group, the use of GAM's name and symbol is a form of respect for GAM's sacrifices for Aceh. However, the younger group considered that this actually demeaned the essence of GAM, because they considered the symbol as a form of resistance of the Acehnese people against the Indonesian government and could potentially disrupt peace because it aroused suspicion (Zain, 2009). Moreover, the use of GAM names and symbols in new local political parties is contrary to *UU No. 11*

Tahun 2006 about *Pemerintah Aceh* and also contrary to the Helsinki MoU agreement, one of which prohibits the use of attributes that show GAM identity in new local political parties. Therefore, the formation of the GAM Party was not approved by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Although the GAM Party initially stood its ground and said that it would abide by the Indonesian constitution, in order to maintain Aceh's peace, the GAM Party spokesperson said that they agreed to change the name and symbol of the GAM Party ahead of verification. The GAM Party changed its name to the Aceh Independent Movement Party, but still received rejection due to the use of the word movement which was still embedded in the party's name (Nurhasim, 2012). After negotiations with the central government, they were ready to give in and renegotiate the naming of the party, with the final agreement being to use the name Aceh Party in order to pass the Department of Law and Human Rights verification and participate in the 2009 elections (Aliabbas, 2008). The majority of Acehnese people also supported the formation of this local political party. The Aceh Party was officially established on June 7, 2007, with Malik Mahmud and Muzakkir Manaf as Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively.

Procedurally, the formation of local political parties in Aceh has been contained in Law No. 11/2006 on the Government of Aceh, which provided a legal umbrella for GAM political elites to declare Aceh Party as a forum for their struggle to engage in the democratic process and as a substitute for the demands for independence echoed by GAM previously. As stated by Zaini Abdullah, the spokesperson of GAM, there will never be a fundamental political change in Aceh if there is no local party, which is why they are involved in politics, especially in local elections and direct regional head elections through Aceh Party. For the first time in 2009, Aceh Party became one of the local political parties in Aceh that qualified according to the verification results of the Aceh Independent Election Commission so that it could participate directly in the 2009 legislative elections to elected *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR), *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* (DPD), *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh* (DPRA) and *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kabupaten* (DPRK) (Basyar, 2008). Aceh parties are only allowed to participate at the regional legislative level and are not allowed to run for the national parliament. Nonetheless, in the 2009 legislative elections, Aceh Party managed to obtain a high percentage of votes with 48.89% of the votes beating 15 parties consisting of local and national parties that participated in the elections and elections for the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh* (DPRA).

Table 1. Legislative Seat Acquisition in 2009

No	Parties Participants in the Aceh Local Election	Vote Acquisition	Number of Seats
1	Partai Aceh	48.89%	33 Seats
2	Partai Daulat Aceh	1,44%	1 Seats
3	Partai Demokrat	14,49%	10 Seats
4	Partai Golkar	11,59%	8 Seats
5	Partai Amanat Nasional	7,24%	5 Seats
6	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	5,79%	4 Seats
7	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	4,34%	3 Seats
8	PDI-Perjuangan	1,44%	1 Seat
9	Partai Bulan Bintang	1,44%	1 Seat
10	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	1,44%	1 Seat
11	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia	1,44%	1 Seat
12	Gerindra, Partai Nasional Aceh, PKB, Nasdem, PBB	-	0 Seat

Source: Aceh KIP data, 2009

The Aceh Party at that time was entitled to 33 Seats out of a total of 69 Seats contested in the *Dewan Perwakilan rakyat Aceh* (DPRA) (Syahri, 2018). The great influence of GAM, which has long been recognized by the public, was one of the reasons for the Aceh Party's victory in the 2009 elections. In addition, in terms of ideology, Aceh Party is the only local party in Aceh that makes Pancasila as the party principle along with the principles of Islam and Adat Makuta Alam adopted by Iskandar Muda as a law based on the Quran, hadith, ijma, and qiyas (Bahrum, 2016a). The battle between Aceh Party and other local Acehnese parties with national parties in political contestation in Aceh will certainly continue to occur as the state's responsibility for the Helsinki MoU, thus showing the existence of liberal democracy that occurs in this condition.

The existence of the Aceh Party in political contestation was again achieved during the 2012 elections (Pilkada) when the candidate pair Zaini Abuddlah and Muzakir Manaf, who were candidates carried by the Aceh Party, won the 2012 elections in one round with 55.7 percent of the vote (Nurhasim, 2012). The victory of the Aceh Party since the 2009 legislative elections continued to bring the party to victory until the 2019 legislative elections, the Aceh Party continued to win and dominate the vote in the race for DPRA Seats. The success achieved by the Aceh Party has in fact opened hope for the people of Aceh, where the victory of the Aceh Party, which belongs to the people of Aceh, over other national parties is considered better so that the lives of the people of Aceh can run according to their wishes in the welfare of the people of Aceh. Previously, GAM delegates to the Helsinki negotiations represented by Malik Mahmud, Zaini Abdullah, M Nur Djuli, Nurdin Abdul Rahman, and Bachtiar Abdullah believed that the national parties in power in Aceh were largely controlled from Jakarta and could not represent the interests of the Acehnese people (Ansori, 2012). The centralized policies used brought in bureaucrats from Java who succeeded in getting rid of Acehnese elites, which in turn led to inequality between natives and migrants. The marginalization of Acehnese in the development process, such as the construction of factories including Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG), PT ASEAN Aceh Fertilizer, PT Pupuk Iskandar Muda, and PT Kraft Aceh Paper (Jayanti, 2016).

The presence of the industrial factories above did make Aceh's economy increase, but the economic improvement was inversely proportional to the welfare of the local Acehnese people who suffered losses with inappropriate compensation until the displacement of local residents to shelters. This then became GAM's demand to expel the migrants who acted as colonizers by taking away the rights of the Acehnese people in the economic and political sectors, as well as the desire to have their own local party. The presence of local parties, such as Aceh Party, played a role in maintaining equitable development in Aceh. The post-conflict Aceh government developed Coloring Economic Models, which is a collaboration between the Rubber and Palm Oil Sectors as the driving force of Aceh's economy with the aim of reducing poverty in Aceh Province (Jalil, 2015). The assistance is in the form of smallholder oil palm plantations given to former GAM combatants and conflict victims with an average area of 1.1 hectares. Meanwhile, Aceh Party itself has several social programs, one of which is the welfare of former *Inong Balee* or women's groups left by their husbands due to conflict. The policy established by the Aceh Party has given *Inong Balee* a platform to develop their potential, such as the provision of sewing machines so that this potential can be utilized to meet their needs (Saputra, 2018).

In addition, in the formation of Qanum Aceh or local regulations by the DPRA that regulate the lives of the people of Aceh, the participation of local political factions as proponents is very dominant compared to national political parties. Through the DPRA, the Aceh Party faction also played a role in the draft Qanum Aceh on the Aceh Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBA) for 2017 and 2019 by participating in providing several proposals, including health services and BPJS insurance premiums from JKN, KIS, and JK, overcoming the scarcity of subsidized fertilizers, LPG, and Solar and Premium, to overcoming teacher salaries and poverty in order to create community welfare (Andriyansyah, 2020). The Aceh Party's involvement in government affairs in Aceh is the process of drafting Qanum or Regional Regulations in 2014 where the Aceh Party provides views and notes relating to the implementation of special autonomy in Aceh in a good and critical manner. The Aceh People's Representative Council or DPRA in 2018 has used the Right of Interpella-

tion to the Governor of Aceh where most of the DPRA members from the Aceh Party have proposed this. The proposal for the Right of Interpellation was signed by 46 members on the grounds that the Governor of Aceh Irwandi Yusuf had committed many violations based on applicable laws (Andriyansyah, 2020).

In 2009, Partai Aceh received the most votes in eight districts, with Bireuen receiving 98% of the votes. The things that could influence the victory of the Aceh Party in the 2009 elections were the reintegration of active members of the Free Aceh Movement back into society, the privilege of Aceh in managing its own government after the signing of the Helsinki MoU involving the Free Aceh Movement and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, the desire of the people of Aceh to make changes through local parties as stated in the Helsinki MoU and the law, the influence of the Free Aceh Movement elites to encourage the people of Aceh to vote for the Aceh Party in the 2009 elections, and the struggle and commitment of the Aceh Party in achieving peace and realizing prosperity, welfare, and justice for the people of Aceh in various fields (Bahrum, 2016a).

In 2022, the Aceh Party Faction has agreed on the Financial Memorandum of the Aceh Draft Qanum on Amendments to the Aceh Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBA) for Fiscal Year 2022 together with the Aceh Parliament Budget Board. In this case, the Aceh faction also gave its opinion to the Aceh Government to improve the skills of Aceh youth and ordered Bank Aceh to be able to provide assistance in lending business capital in order to overcome the problem of unemployment. The Presence of *UU Nomor 5 tahun 2014* about *Aparatur Sipil Negara* (ASN) and the MENPAN RB Circular Letter Number: B/511/N.SN.01.00/2022 about *Pendataan non-ASN di lingkungan pemerintah* is also an issue discussed by the Aceh Party Faction where the Aceh Party asks the Aceh Government to rethink the fate of contract or honorary workers who may lose their jobs (DPRA, 2022). The Aceh Party faction in the DPRA has passed Qanum Aceh Number 6 of 2014 concerning Jinayat Law together with the Aceh government to regulate the perpetrators of Jarimah, Jarimah, and 'Uqubat (Bahrum, 2016a). Thus, the social and political conditions that occurred in Aceh have undergone changes or transformations through a party political approach that emphasizes rational and realistic political programs (Efendy, 1998). Not only that, the substantialistic approach is also used more by Aceh Party to fight for its opinions and aspirations (Katimin, 2007).

Discussion

Social or political transformation is a concept that tries to explain the changes/transformations that are influenced because there has been a mismatch between social elements in society with the aim of creating a new mindset of life. This was experienced by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), which underwent structural changes to become a local political party currently called Partai Aceh. The phenomenon of transformation occurs by involving social institutions that have an influence on the social system which includes values, patterns of behaviour in community groups (Soemardjan, 1990). The essence of change from the political side is defined as a process in various kinds of activities in the political system aimed at determining changes for the better. Generally, political transformation / political change occurs because it is motivated by problems involving policies. So that the emergence of intensive interest interactions that are monitored to determine the social and elite positions involved in material conditions.

With political transformation, the people of Aceh have formal power and authority in the political structure, in order to determine the policies that will be implemented to build and create an ideal region. In other words, through Partai Aceh, the people of Aceh will receive support and encouragement from the state and government, so that people can be involved in all political decisions, so that people can be free from the shackles of discrimination and political policy injustice (Harun, 2016). It can be said that through political transformation, it can influence the development of the community, so that the empowerment of the community is increasingly encouraged regarding the importance of community involvement in participation or all political decisions, so that the government can create policies in accordance with the aspirations and interests of the community.

The presence of local parties provides a spirit of democratization in Aceh, where people will be more free to show their political attitudes through existing local parties. Acehese society whose socio-political life and laws are inseparable from the teachings of Islam, of course, also affect the existing local parties, including the Aceh Party, which is required to apply Islamic sharia in running the life of the state. Related to Laclau and Mouffe's thoughts on radical democracy through group struggles in accommodating their demands and interests in a country that produces a situation of antagonism in forming political boundaries and creating hegemony battles (Febriyanto et al., 2014). This has a relationship with the formation of the Aceh Party by GAM elites as an effort to form a new entity in the midst of the hegemony of national parties to form self-government. Self-government is a way for GAM to participate directly in the political system, especially in local elections so that it can play a role in the distribution of economic resources that will benefit the people of Aceh.

Looking at the competition between local parties and national parties, it can be said that the Aceh Party was able to maintain its existence by continuing to win since the 2009 legislative elections and continued until the 2019 legislative elections, where the Aceh Party was able to dominate the vote in the race for DPRD seats. The battle between the Aceh Party and other local Acehese parties with national parties in political contestation in Aceh will of course continue to occur in line with the state's responsibility for the Helsinki MoU, thereby showing the existence of liberal democracy that occurs in these conditions. Behind that, the success achieved by the Aceh Party has actually opened up hope for the people of Aceh, where the victory of the Acehese Party owned by the Acehese people over other national parties is considered better so that the lives of the Acehese people can proceed according to their wishes for the welfare of the Acehese people. Thus, local parties such as Aceh Party have been a struggle that continues to this day and has helped to build a political force that is able to accommodate the aspirations of the Acehese people and develop Aceh in accordance with Islamic law.

As one of the largest parties in the Aceh region, the formation of the Aceh Party has contributed significantly to policy design for Aceh Province. When the Aceh Party had not yet formed and joined the Indonesian government's policy-making, radical actions were needed to express the opinions of the Acehese people. Not only that, the transformation of the Free Aceh Movement into the Aceh Party has a good impact on the condition of democracy in Indonesia. This is evidenced by the absence of radical resistance to injustice, uneven development, and the Indonesian government's impartiality towards conditions in the Aceh region. However, hegemony still coexists with the Aceh Party in carrying out its duties and functions, it is just not accompanied by radical democracy as initiated by Laclau and Mouffe. The strength of the Aceh Party is inseparable from the Free Aceh Movement, where the Aceh Party itself was born from the movement which has a great influence on the people of Aceh. The Aceh Party has realized people's sovereignty in the form of democracy, justice, law and human rights with the electoral process, so that the rights of every community stand upright in accordance with the Helsinki MoU. This is one of the factors why the Aceh Party was very strong in the 2019 elections (Bahrum, 2016).

Conclusion

The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) is a form of radical democracy application initiated by Laclau and Mouffe. The formation of GAM by the people of Aceh created a hegemonic battle in building political power in accordance with the conditions of Acehese society. Aceh's cultural and political differences with other regions show that there is plurality, which is one of the foundations of radical democracy. The Indonesian government considered that GAM was a radical movement that wanted to separate Aceh from Indonesia, so various forms of peace were sought by the government to stop the development of GAM. The signing of the Helsinki MoU was the starting point of GAM's transformation into a local political party, especially Partai Aceh. This was in accordance with the government's demand to involve Aceh in Indonesian politics and remove GAM's identity from Partai Aceh. The formation of Aceh Party by GAM leaders is a form of antagonism in accordance with Laclau and Mouffe's thoughts. The formation of the Aceh Party as a local

party is a form of new entity in the midst of the hegemony of national parties that developed in Aceh.

The hegemony of national parties in Aceh can be seen from the rapid development of national parties in Aceh. In the democratic process, especially the electoral process, national parties try to attract votes from the people of Aceh by trying to show the compatibility of the party's values and ideology with the community. At the same time, Aceh Party also developing by bringing ideologies, identities, and cultures that are in accordance with the values in Aceh. The existence of the Aceh Party is also a form of democratic struggle carried out by members and the people of Aceh. This is because the Aceh Party is considered more able to represent and fight for the interests of the Acehnese people in accordance with their ideology and culture. The Aceh Party is also involved in the dynamics of government and politics in Aceh. In the implementation of general elections, Aceh Party has always been a registered party in the elections. In addition, the Aceh Party was also involved in exercising the right of interpellation against the leadership of the Governor of Aceh due to various violations committed. The existence of the Aceh Party, which continues to grow, represents the interests of the Acehnese people in general and the Acehnese people who are members of GAM in particular. To support the results of this study, further research is needed on the existence and adoption of GAM values in Aceh Party by applying Mouffe and Laclau's thoughts on radical hegemony and democracy.

References

- Aliabbas, A. (2008). *Transformasi Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, Beranda Perdamaian Aceh Tiga Tahun Pasca MoU Helsinki*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Andriyani, S. (2017). Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), Transformasi Politik dari Gerakan Bersenjata Menjadi Partai Politik Lokal Aceh. *Jurnal ISIP: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 14(1), 13–24.
- Andriyansyah, M. F. (2020). Peran Partai Politik Lokal dalam Penyelenggaraan Otonomi Khusus di Provinsi Aceh. *Jurnal Universitas Islam Malang: Yurispruden*, 3(1), 24–41.
- Ansori, M. (2012). From Insurgency to Bureaucracy: Free Aceh Movement, Aceh Party and The New Face of Conflict. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 1(1).
- Bahrum, S. (2016a). Dinamika Partai Politik Lokal (Analisis Partai Aceh dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam). *AL-LUBB: International Journal of Islamic Thought and Muslim Culture (IJITMC)*, 1(1), 134–161.
- Bahrum, S. (2016b). DINAMIKA PARTAI POLITIK LOKAL (Analisis Partai Aceh dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam). *Al-Lubb*, 1(1), 134–161.
- Cammet, J. M. (1967). *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism*. Stanford University Press.
- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, A. (2019). *Kajian MoU Helsinki dan UUPA dalam Aspek Implementasi (Empiris)*. Syiah Kuala University Press.
- Dpra.acehprov.go.id. (2022). *Ini Pandangan Akhir Fraksi Partai Aceh Terhadap Raqan Perubahan APBA 2022*. Web Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh. <https://dpra.acehprov.go.id/berita/kategori/beritadpra/ini-pandangan-akhir-fraksi-partai-aceh-terhadap-raqan-perubahan-apba-2022>
- Efendy, B. (1998). *Islam dan Negara, Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*. Paramadina.
- Endang, D., & Wasriah, N. (2009). *Metode Penulisan Karya Ilmiah*. Laboratorium Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan UPI.
- Febriyanto, I. I., Kuswandro, W. E., & Nailufar, F. D. (2014). *Partai Politik Lokal Aceh Dalam Perspektif Demokrasi Radikal*. Universitas Brawijaya.
- Hamid, A. F. (2006). *Jalan Damai Nanggroe Endatu: Catatan Seorang Wakil Rakyat Aceh*. Penerbit Suara Bebas.
- Harun, M. (2016). *Transformasi Politik Pembangunan Masyarakat Kampung Santri Mugomulyo Sungai Batang Riau* [Doctoral dissertation]. UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

- Ilmar, A. (2017). Radikalisme Gerakan Berbasis Etnis: Kasus Organisasi Papua Merdeka. *The Indonesian Journal of Public Administration (IJPA)*, 3(2), 72–87.
- Jalil, F. (2015). Peta Pemanfaatan Areal Sawit Untuk Pemberdayaan Mantan Kombatan GAM dan Korban Konflik di Aceh Timur. *Konfrontasi: Jurnal Kultural, Ekonomi Dan Perubahan Sosial*, 2(1), 20–27.
- Jayanti, K. (2016). Konflik Vertikal antara Gerakan Aceh Merdeka di Aceh dengan Pemerintah Pusat di Jakarta Tahun 1976-2005. *Buletin Al-Turas*, 19(1), 49–70.
- Katimin. (2007). *Politik Islam Indonesia, Membuka Tabir Perjuangan Islam Ideologis Dalam Sejarah Politik Indonesia*. Citapustaka Media.
- Laclau, E. (1990). *New Reflections on The Revolution of Our Time*. Verso Books.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2nd ed.). Verso Books.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2014). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics* (8th ed.). Verso Books.
- Lester, J. (2000). *Dialogue of Negation: Debates on Hegemony in Russia and the West*. Pluto Press.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. SAGE Publications.
- Moleong, L. J. (2018). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Revisi). PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nurhasim, M. (2012). Dominasi Partai Aceh Pasca-MoU Helsinki. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 9(2), 35–49.
- Plekhanov, G. (1961). *Selected Philosophical Works: Volume I*. Progress Publishers.
- Saputra, H. (2018). Peran Partai Aceh Dalam Upaya Mensejahterakan Mantan Inong Balee Kabupaten Pidie (Suatu Penelitian di Kecamatan Kembang Tanjong). *ETD Unsyiah*.
- Sefriani, S. (2003). Separatisme dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional: Studi Kasus Organisasi Papua Merdeka. *Unisia*, 26(47), 41–53. <https://doi.org/10.20885/unisia.vol26.iss47.art5>
- Setiyaningsih, D. (2022). Demokrasi Radikal Sebagai Alternatif Tatanan Politik Global dalam Konteks Multikulturalisme. *POLITEIA: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 14(1), 32–41.
- Shindyawati, S. (2019). Desentralisasi dalam Integrasi Nasional Studi Kasus: Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) Di Indonesia Dan Gerakan Pemberontak Moro Di Filipina. *The Indonesian Journal Of Politics and Policy (IJPP)*, 1(1), 32–40.
- Simon, R. (1982). *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction*. Lawrence and Wishart.
- Soemardjan, S. (1990). *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada Press.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures And Techniques* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Syahri, M. A. (2018). Peran dan Wewenang Majelis Tuha Peut dalam Membuat Kebijakan Partai Aceh (Studi Kasus Dewan Pimpinan Partai Aceh). *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial & Ilmu Politik*, 3(3), 1–26.
- Teredi, E. L. (2021). Strategi Gerakan Politik Keterlibatan: Tiga Pola Kerja Politik Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN). *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 12(1), 158–173.
- Zain, R. D. (2009). *Transformasi Politik Gerakan Aceh Merdeka Menjadi Partai Aceh (Dalam Proses Perdamaian)*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Zed, M. (2008). *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan* (2nd ed.). Yayasan Obor Indonesia.