

The Decline of Local Political Parties in Post-Conflict Aceh: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract

The Aceh peace process has been ongoing for nearly two decades. Some studies note that an essential aspect contributing to the Aceh peace context is the presence of local political parties in the post-peace era. This article aims to describe the declining existence of local political parties in the political life of Aceh society. This study employs a qualitative method, with primary data obtained from interviews and secondary data gathered from relevant literature reviews. The study reveals that local political parties in post-conflict Aceh have essentially gone through three of the four phases and are beginning to enter the fourth. The first phase is the formation of local political parties, the second is their rise, and the third is their victory in Aceh's political contestation. The fourth phase is decline or reduction, characterized by local parties being abandoned by their supporters. This research identifies several factors indicating the current existence of local political parties in the decline phase: 1) Loss of public trust; 2) Pessimism among political actors; 3) Weak party integrity and human resources; 4) Unprofessional organizational management; and 5) Internal conflicts within the party. These factors are not independent but are interconnected with one another.

Keywords: *The decline, Local parties, Post-conflict, Aceh*

Abstrak

Proses perdamaian Aceh telah berlangsung selama hampir dua dekade. Beberapa studi mencatat bahwa salah satu aspek penting yang berkontribusi pada perdamaian Aceh adalah eksistensi partai politik lokal di era pasca-perdamaian. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan tentang dinamika partai politik lokal dalam kehidupan politik masyarakat Aceh. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif, dengan data primer yang diperoleh dari wawancara dan data sekunder yang dikumpulkan dari tinjauan literatur yang relevan. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa partai politik lokal di Aceh pasca-konflik secara substansial telah mengalami tiga dari empat fase dan mulai memasuki fase keempat. Fase pertama adalah pembentukan partai politik lokal, kedua adalah fase pertumbuhan, fase ketiga adalah kemenangan dalam kontestasi politik Aceh. Terakhir, fase keempat adalah penurunan pengaruh dan eksistensi partai politik lokal yang ditandai dengan menurunnya pengaruh mereka ditinggalkan oleh pendukung mereka. Penelitian ini mengidentifikasi beberapa dinamika dan kondisi yang menunjukkan eksistensi partai politik lokal saat ini sedang dalam fase penurunan, yaitu: 1) Hilangnya kepercayaan publik; 2) Pesimisme di antara aktor politik; 3) Kelemahan integritas partai dan sumber daya manusia; 4) Manajemen organisasi yang tidak profesional; dan 5) Konflik internal dalam partai.

Kata Kunci: *Penurunan, Partai Lokal, Pasca Konflik, Aceh*

A. Introduction

The Aceh conflict has disrupted the normal social life of its citizens, leaving them in fear and forcing many to leave their homeland. However, this situation eventually changed after the signing of the Helsinki MoU in 2005, which successfully put an end to the conflict and gradually brought positive changes to the social life of Acehnese society. The Indonesian government and GAM were able to realize peace in Aceh through political, economic, and integration approaches. This achievement is significant as it transformed the social life of Acehnese society from a state of violent conflict to a peaceful one (Ikramatoun 2014; Ikramatoun, Nusuary, and Amin 2019; Ilham 2015; Nurhasim 2007).

The Aceh peace agreement, which ultimately succeeded in ending the conflict in Aceh and ushering in a period of peace as it currently stands, cannot be seen as something ordinary. Therefore, the peace in Aceh must be continuously safeguarded, nurtured, and maintained so that the peaceful conditions that have been created can continue to endure. In this context, all parties currently present in Aceh certainly have the same responsibility to ensure that peace in Aceh can be maintained and sustained. However, when we reflect on the history of the Aceh conflict and the subsequent period of peace, we can see that the formation of local political parties in Aceh played a significant role in the context of Aceh's peace. This is evidenced by the existence of various local political parties that have been able to win political contests after the conflict.

The presence of political parties is crucial, as reflected in the peace negotiation process that took place between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the central government at that time. GAM leaders requested the formation of local parties in Aceh so that they could participate in politics and governance. The idea of local parties was intended by GAM as a foundation and instrument for their participation in politics and governance in Aceh. In addition, for former GAM members, local political parties were a right that had to be granted to the Acehnese people because it had not been given during the conflict.

The formation of local political parties after the Aceh conflict provided a platform for former GAM fighters to channel their political aspirations in peacetime. This then led to a political dynamic in peacetime that was characterized by local actors and local political parties that emerged after the conflict. Several studies have shown that the political dynamics and existence of local political parties after the conflict have been important factors that have supported the continuity and stability of peace in Aceh. (Ansori et al. 2015; Daud, Usman, and Safwadi 2018; Kadir 2012; Kingsbury 2005, 2007, 2017; Lee 2020; Törnquist, Prasetyo, and Birks 2010).

After seventeen years of peace in Aceh (2005-2022), the political landscape of Aceh has always been colored by the existence of local parties that have successfully won political contests, from executive to legislative seats. However, in the last political contest in 2019, the existence of local parties has become increasingly diminished. Local parties seem to be losing public trust in Aceh, as evidenced by their decreasing vote share in the democratic process in Aceh. Therefore, this study aims to further discuss the phenomenon of the decline of local parties in Aceh. In the author's view, this is something quite important because for almost two decades of peace, the political life of Aceh has been under the control of local parties. This means that the continued peace in Aceh cannot simply be separated from the presence of local parties.

B. Metode

This study employs a qualitative method with a descriptive model. According to Neuman (2014, 2018), "a descriptive study presents a detailed picture of a specific situation, social setting, or relationship. The outcome of this type of study is a comprehensive understanding of the subject." The research was conducted in Banda Aceh, Aceh Besar, and Pidie. Banda Aceh was chosen as the location due to the presence of the local political party headquarters and the current political elite who hold positions in the Aceh government located at the DPRA office in Banda Aceh. Therefore, focusing the research in Banda Aceh would allow for easy and rapid data collection. Aceh Besar and Pidie were

chosen as locations due to the significant impact of the second conflict on these areas, which resulted in several political elites from local political parties affiliated with the Aceh Merdeka Movement originating from these regions.

In this study, informants were selected using purposive sampling, a technique for selecting a sample based on specific criteria or considerations (2015, 2018). This means that the researcher selected informants who met the established criteria and were deemed to have a high level of knowledge and competence on the research topic. The data collection techniques used in this study included literature review and in-depth interviews. The data analysis method used in this study was the interactive analysis model (Ridder et al. 2014), which consists of several stages, including data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

C. Result and Discussion

1. The Existence of Local Political Parties in Aceh Today.

From various previous literature discussing about the peace process in Aceh, as cited in the introduction, it can be inferred that local political parties played a crucial role in the process. Looking back at the peaceful journey that has taken place post-conflict in Aceh, it is evident that local parties have been prominent as one of the ruling parties in Aceh. However, a trend of decline in the local party's performance is becoming more apparent, particularly in terms of their vote acquisition during post-conflict elections. The author believes that the journey of Aceh's local party since its formation post-conflict has gone through three out of four phases and is currently entering the fourth phase. The first phase is the formation of local political parties, the second phase is the rise of local parties, and the third phase is the victory of local parties in Aceh's political contest. The fourth phase is the decline, where the local party is gradually losing its supporters. When the local political party has entered this fourth phase, it indicates that its existence in Aceh has weakened.

Based on the data collected, this study identifies several factors indicating that the current existence of local political parties is in decline, which are: 1) Loss of public trust; 2) Political actors' pessimism; 3) Weak party integrity and human resources; 4) Poor organizational management; and 5) Internal conflicts within the party. These five factors are interrelated and not mutually exclusive. The following provides a detailed explanation for each of these points.

a) Loss of Public Trust

The Acehese public's trust in local parties was initially strong during the peace process, as evidenced by the high number of seats won by the local party (Partai Aceh) and the election of a governor affiliated with a local political party. However, after two elections (2009, 2014), the public's trust in Acehese local parties gradually declined, as can be seen from the data on the local political party's vote count from several previous elections. In general, the loss of public trust is essentially due to the dynamics that occur within local parties and their ability to govern Aceh during the peace process. Junaidi Ahmad stated that:

“...After the involvement of Local Parties in the elections, a study is being conducted to assess whether there have been any changes in government governance with regard to poverty alleviation. This assessment is being done by examining the budget discussions, particularly in the regions where Local Parties hold power, and by evaluating whether the aspirations of the people have been heard. The existence of Local Parties is meant to expedite the resolution of people's aspirations, since decision-making is local. However, the current situation is not particularly encouraging. When Local Parties are given the mandate through elections, they become the policy makers. If they fail to achieve the desired indicators, despite having gone through three elections and soon to be the fourth, their votes will continue to decline. We can see from the news reports that there are still ripples in the community where unresolved combatant rights issues persist, despite their three terms in the DPR. This is one side of the issue. Even without in-depth research, it is clear that this issue has been raised in the news...” (Interview, August 2022)

Based on the interview quotes above, it is known that the local party has been considered unsuccessful in managing the government and unable to realize the aspirations of the constituents. This failure is evidenced by their policies and management of the government, which have been unable to address poverty in

Aceh. The local party's power during the 3 periods of post-conflict Aceh government has also failed to solve the problems of fulfilling the rights of GAM combatants and conflict victims, even though both groups are the main supporters of the local party. A former member of the local DPRK party explained that this happened because the local party elites were complacent with their successful victories, causing them to forget about the interests of the Aceh community. Muhammad said:

"...Our problem with the Local Party now is that they failed to maintain the trust of the Acehnese people. The local party is too euphoric with the power they gained, causing them to forget about the people. They forgot to fight for the interests of the Acehnese people, so now they have lost the people's trust..." (Interview, August 2022)

The statements made by the two informants above explain the phenomenon of the current existence of the local party in Aceh. With this condition, the people who initially had hopes for the local party no longer believe in them because the opportunities given did not result in significant changes in the community. One community member said:

"...At first, the local party was good, they were elected a lot, but now the people no longer believe in them. It is their own fault because what they do is not in line with what they say, and they also have conflicts among themselves... ..I used to vote for the local party because of my solidarity as an Acehnese, and I even gave my vote to them in the last election... because if we don't choose our own people who else will? But the local party forgot to uphold the dignity of Aceh..." (Interview, August 2022)

Not much different from that, one of the informants who is also a local party elite and currently serving as a legislator stated:

"...The cause is also partly our fault actually. If ten years ago we had truly kept the people's trust, worked well, maybe it wouldn't be like this... but that has already happened. So now it's becoming even more difficult for local parties. The people's trust is gone..." (Interview with Zulfadli, August 2022).

The statement above emphasizes that the inability of local parties to fulfill the people's trust is also acknowledged by the local political party elite as the cause of the loss of public trust. This means that the notion that local parties failed

to fulfill the mandate of Aceh's society is not only from the community alone, but is also recognized by the local parties themselves.

If explored further, there are still several important factors that contribute to the loss of public trust in local parties. However, in general, these factors ultimately stem from the local parties themselves, whether from the actors, policies, resource capacity, or organizational management aspects. Nevertheless, there are also different views regarding the cause of the loss of public trust in local parties. One of them is the scenario or design to throw all the blame on local parties so that their supporters abandon them. This means that there are parties who intentionally take various actions to make local parties no longer exist in Aceh (Interview results, August 2022). Such views may not be popular, but some local party elites agree with this perspective and consider it one of the factors that cause the loss of public trust.

The author believes that the first assumption about the loss of public trust in local parties stemming from the local parties themselves is much stronger than the second view, which states that there is a scenario to destroy local parties in Aceh. In the author's view, the reality that occurs within local parties and its actors indicates that dynamics within the parties are a strong factor in degrading public trust. While the perspective of a scenario to make local parties disappear in Aceh is still lacking in evidence. In fact, the current political reality shows a close relationship between local parties and national parties, both in terms of institutions and political elites. This is because the actors in local parties seem to be "friendly" with national parties. Regardless of the existing perspectives, this research shows that public trust in local parties in Aceh has drastically decreased, and this weakens the existence of local political parties in Aceh today.

b) Political Actors' Pessimism

The pessimism of political actors is an indication of the existence of local political parties, which can be seen in two ways. Firstly, the pessimism of political actors is related to the loss of trust of the Acehnese people towards local parties, and secondly, pessimism towards the local parties themselves. Based on the data

collected in this study, the first view was expressed by several informants who were still in local parties, both as ordinary cadres and as members of the legislature. Meanwhile, the second view was more commonly expressed by groups who were no longer affiliated with local parties but had been affiliated or part of them in the past.

The first view on pessimism is based on the low trust of the community, which makes some political actors in local parties pessimistic about their future and the future of local parties. Some of the informants interviewed by the author expressed their pessimism by stating that the current political reality of local parties is very worrying and has started to be abandoned by their supporters, so some of them are considering finding another party as a political vehicle in the future. One informant stated:

"We are quite pessimistic because local political parties have lost the trust of the community. I myself feel that. That's why the thought of finding another party in the future arises, and there are indeed several offers from national parties. If this continues, I may consider moving." (Interview, August 2022)

Aside from public trust, pessimism also arises from the dynamics within local political parties that are considered unprofessional, often resulting in harm to their own cadres. This view is certainly born from cadres who feel disappointed by the policies of the local party, such as the replacement of members mid-term (PAW) that is deemed not in line with the mechanism, whereas the cadre feels that they have struggled to obtain votes to be able to sit in parliament. The replacement is considered a betrayal of the trust given by the public to the cadre. In some cases, this has indeed happened, even resulting in resistance from local party cadres themselves. Although in the end, the cadre

accepts the PAW, it still creates disappointment, leading them to choose to leave the local party.

The second pessimistic view arises from actors and cadres who are no longer affiliated with the local party, in their view, the local party has lost its direction in fighting for Aceh. For some of them, the local party only cares about power and thinks about how to achieve it, forgetting the most important aspect of the formation of the local party as a vehicle for channeling the aspirations of the Acehnese people. This condition then makes them pessimistic about whether the local party can make significant changes for the lives of the Acehnese people. In general, the pessimism of local political actors is sourced from the local party body that is no longer in line with the ideals they fought for when the local party was established in Aceh. As stated by Apa Karya in the Youtube podcast on Channel urengtuha76: "I founded the Aceh party...I reminded them for three years, but they didn't listen, that's why I left...what is right is not done...I already told them." (Zakaria Saman, 2022). Despite this, this research shows that the existence of local political parties in Aceh is also plagued by pessimism, both from their own cadres and from those who have been a part of the local political party. This reality should serve as a warning to local political parties to improve, because if not, this pessimism will cause local political parties to be abandoned

c) Party Integrity and Human Resources

Human resource issues generally do not become a problem for local parties because the majority of their cadres are intellectuals with capacity. However, in some conditions, the problem that often arises and represents the local party is actually the less capable actors or cadres, not the competent ones. Therefore, what is meant by weak human resources in this context is the capacity of actors or local party cadres who represent the local party but are unable to develop the trust given by the community. This inability can be caused by individual capacity and can also be caused by political dynamics that occur.

Although local parties have competent intellectuals in their party organization in terms of knowledge and experience, often those who appear and represent the local party are people who do not have good capacity in the eyes of

the public. This then creates the view that the capacity of actors in local parties is still weak. There are also situations where local political party cadres who emerge and serve as legislators are people who have capacity but are then replaced by other cadres. Such changes make the public's view of the local party negative, especially if the replaced cadre is someone who is quite influential and has the support of the community.

In addition, the phenomenon of weak human resources is also shown by the reality that often individuals appointed by local parties to compete in a political contestation are people who are weak in their academic capacity, so that when they obtain political positions or power, they are not able to do much for the community due to their lack of knowledge and experience. As a result, the public then gives a negative assessment to these individuals, and this assessment then has a negative effect on the local party that supports them. A local political party cadre stated:

"...Sometimes the party doesn't send the right person, someone who can fight for aspirations... what exists are people who are more concerned with personal interests. Sorry, sometimes the interests of their own constituents are often forgotten..." (Interview, August 2022)

The statement above not only highlights the occasional incompetence of local political parties in placing their cadres, but also demonstrates that the interests of individuals who are part of the party elite often dominate even though they were initially considered capable actors. This phenomenon is actually quite common in many parties, where political actors with strong individual capacities are trapped by the allure of power, causing them to forget to fight for the aspirations of the people they represent in parliament.

Furthermore, the negative effects that local political parties suffer due to the failure of their cadres to fulfill the community's mandate occurs in almost all local parties. This makes the existence of local political parties today inseparable from the ability of local party actors to manage their organization professionally. However, what is more important from the perspective of the human resources of local parties is not only the intellectual capacity or political experience of party

actors, but also their integrity and that of the party itself. As mentioned earlier, local parties actually do not lack capable intellectual human resources, but when in power, they tend to prioritize individual and party interests. This means that the weakness of local party human resources actually lies more in their integrity in fighting for the interests of the people. Unfortunately, this integrity often disappears when the party and its actors have entered the circle of power. A former legislator from a local party said:

"...local political parties today do not lack smart people... there are many smart people in the party, but what they lack is morality, so when they are in power they forget about the people." (Interview, July 2022).

d) Party Organization Management

The management of a less professional political party organization is closely related to the previous three points. The phrase "less professional" in this context refers to the inability of local parties to manage their organization effectively, resulting in negative impacts on the party itself. There are several indications that local political parties are unable to manage their party organization professionally. The indications mentioned are not much different from the previous three points. One example is the case of Aceh party's replacement of its cadre, Juanda Jamal. During the replacement process, Juanda objected as he believed he had contributed greatly to the party and had carried out political agendas that could benefit the party. However, the decision to replace him was still made. He responded by filing a lawsuit with the party court, but the party did not have an internal court at that time. The internal court was only established after Juanda's lawsuit. In the process, Juanda's lawsuit was still rejected, and he accepted it even though he was disappointed.

"In this regard, Juanda shared in a Pehthem podcast on YouTube, stating that: "In my case of replacement, there was a directive letter stating that those whose votes were a hundred different from the candidate below had to be divided by two. When I confirmed with the party leadership, the rule did not exist, and there was only a directive letter. They said it was just a directive letter, whether to follow it or not, but then the DPW (Regional Executive Board) sent a letter for the replacement. Here, I saw that there are many weaknesses in the party's current replacement process... institutionally or organizationally, it does not have a political target or

objective that it wants to achieve, so sometimes its policies are blunders... PAW (cadre replacement) is not abnormal, but the party should have political considerations. For example, I was dismissed because I did not carry out my duties well, did not follow the party's platform, and did not carry out the party's political agendas. Therefore, I should be replaced with someone who is more appropriate, more innovative, and more creative. So, with his performance, he can improve the party's electability... I disagree with my replacement because I have made the party's political agenda... and the person who replaced me cannot continue this political agenda... My lawsuit was the first in the internal court, but there was no court in the party, so by filing a lawsuit, the internal court was established, and today the court holds a trial. I think the establishment of this court is an achievement because in the future, issues like mine can be resolved internally through the court, and the impact of such cases does not spread outward, and eventually internal conflicts can be managed..." (Juanda Jamal, 2022).

From the stories above, it can be inferred that local political parties are not yet well-established in terms of bureaucracy and organization, so the policies they make are sometimes not based on clear bureaucratic mechanisms. As a result, the decisions made by the party often have negative impacts on the party itself. Like the case of Juanda, a member of the Aceh Party who experienced the same thing. In the Pehthem podcast, Martini recounts:

"The revocation of my mandate was arbitrary... I sued the revocation to maintain my dignity as a woman... because they courted me, begged me... My votes were almost 10 thousand... In the party's bylaws, there is no regulation on revocation of mandate... Before the revocation, I asked the party leader... Why is there an issue about me and mandate revocation? The leader replied, just let it be, give a chance for others who have less votes than you, they also want to sit... I said, but Mualem, there is no regulation about it... Mualem said, but Martini should just give in..." (Martini, 2022).

Basically, the two stories above indicate that the lack of organizational establishment of local political parties results in problems within the party that cannot be resolved through clear and acceptable mechanisms. These problems then create a negative image of the party and also disappoint loyal members towards the party's decisions. One significant impact of the unprofessional management of local political party organizations based on this research data is

the emergence of internal conflicts within the local party. In this regard, one informant from a local party conveyed:

"If we compare, there is a big difference between local parties and national parties. I was also in a national party before, their organization is already good, it is already systematic, from training, education, and political education, everything is clear... but in local political parties, it's not yet there, it's still far..." (Interview, August 2022).

Unprofessional management of local political parties' organizations is also described by a former local party legislator with an Acehese proverb "*meunan ka reudok, meunan ka gabuek... wate ka ujeun, baro mita payung*" which means "busy when it's cloudy, busy when it's raining, looking for an umbrella when it's already raining". This proverb gives the impression that local parties have a lack of planning or do not have good planning, so the response given when faced with problems is accidental and not based on mature planning.

e) Internal Conflict within Local Political Parties.

Internal conflict within local political parties in this context is closely related to the four points mentioned earlier and is one of the most influential factors in the weakening of the existence of local parties in Aceh today. Nationally, internal conflict is indeed a phenomenon that frequently occurs, and even established national parties are not exempt from it. This means that in the political context, internal conflict is actually something that cannot be avoided, but in established parties, this conflict tends to be resolved with good mechanisms.

In the context of local political parties in Aceh, all informants interviewed in this study gave special attention to the phenomenon of internal conflict within local parties. Most of them believe that the internal conflicts that occur are a manifestation of power struggles among party elites. Some believe that these conflicts are the cause and also the effect of poor professional management of party organizations, while others believe that it is an indication of local political party actors who have their own interests. They generally agree that internal conflict is a factor that weakens the existence of local political parties and if it

continues, it can lead them towards destruction. This view is reflected in the following interview quotes:

"...there have been many other local parties in Aceh. And eventually, they declined. This is not only due to the divisions among local parties but also divisions within the Aceh party itself. It has become a habit in Aceh that when there is a difference in opinion, it becomes a grudge. This is wrong. Why should it become a grudge? This is not for our own interests. This is for the people's interests. If there are different opinions, discuss them with each other. Don't let it happen like it is now. Now, we don't even recognize each other. Yesterday, I met one of the GAM leaders, and he saw me as his enemy. Why? I am not fighting him over money. It's not about that. It's about Aceh's current issue. Even after I served as governor, I didn't meet with the wali Nanggroe. Why is that? This is not a personal matter between me and him. This is the people's interest. This is what is really difficult for us to eliminate in society, or we have to find something so that this can be eliminated. We must go back to the basics. What is our goal? Let's not fight. What was commanded by the late Wali Nanggroe Tengku Hasan di Tiro? We forgot... If this continues, it will be destroyed, and there will be nothing good. We see the proportion in the DPR which used to be so significant, now it has dropped to 27 out of 80 because the people have lost their trust in the party..." (Interview with Zaini Abdullah, August 2022)

Otto Syamsuddin Ishak stated:

"I see that the phenomenon of divisions within several local parties indicates that local political parties already have their own interests, leading to conflicts among them..." (Interview with Otto, July 2022).

Junaidi Ahmad stated:

"Internal conflicts are happening within local parties today. They were born from the embryo of peace, but they fight amongst themselves, which means there are still eruptions within themselves... Partai Aceh is in conflict, and PNA is also in conflict today.... This means that they were born from the embryo of peace to maintain peace, but they themselves cannot show that they can make peace with themselves." (Interview with Junaidi Ahmad, August 2022).

Looking back at the journey of local parties, internal conflicts have frequently occurred, starting from the period of struggle until now. Several studies have noted that within the Free Aceh Movement, which served as the embryo for the Aceh party, there have been divisions since before the peace agreement, between the old and young elites, as recounted by Husaini Hasan in

his book "From the Jungles of Aceh to Stockholm" (2015). Furthermore, during the process of nominating candidates for regional leaders in 2006, prior to the formation of the local party, there was also a split within the Central Aceh Transitional Committee (KPA) regarding who should be nominated as the candidate for regional leader. This division occurred between the older group, who resided mostly in Sweden during the conflict, and the younger group who fought in Aceh. The older group, led by Malik Mahmud, Zaini Abdullah, Zakaria Saman, and Muhammad Usman Lampoh Awe, supported the Humam Hamid-Hasbi Abdullah pair as the candidate for governor and vice governor, while the younger group, including Nur Djuli, Bakhtiar Abdullah, and Sofyan Dawood, supported the Irwandi Yusuf-Muhammad Nazar pair. These two pairs then ran independently with the support of the KPA and SIRA coalition (Törnquist et al. 2010).

After the Aceh party was formed and won the 2009 elections, another division occurred, leading Governor Irwandi at that time to form a new local party called the Aceh National Party (PNA). This division was also related to the nomination of the Aceh governor in 2012, where the Aceh party supported Zaini Abdullah-Muzakir Manaf, while Irwandi ran independently with Yunan. The victory was obtained by Zaini-Muzakir. However, during their term as governor and vice governor of Aceh, another division occurred, intensifying the conflict within the Aceh party. Subsequently, the internal conflict within this party continued to escalate, leading up to the 2014 elections where the party leaders were in tension with each other. Although reconciliation efforts were attempted, they failed, and the division remained inevitable (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict 2015). Meanwhile, the PNA, which was born out of conflict within the Aceh party, also experienced the same internal conflict. In 2002, there was a struggle for authority within the party. From this journey, it can be seen that internal conflict seems to be an inseparable part of local parties, and it is this factor that continues to weaken their existence until now.

D. Conclusion

The end of the conflict in Aceh marks the beginning of a new social order that requires improvement in all sectors of society following the conflict and tsunami that hit the region. Therefore, various post-conflict and tsunami development and recovery agendas have been scheduled. The implementation of the peace agreement points outlined in the Helsinki MoU is a top priority, including the formation of local political parties that attract the attention of the Aceh community and former GAM members. This study shows that post-conflict local political parties in Aceh have substantially gone through three out of four phases and are now entering the fourth phase. The first phase is the formation of local political parties, followed by the growth phase, then the victory phase in the Aceh political contestation. The fourth and final phase is the decline of the influence and existence of local political parties, characterized by their declining influence and abandonment by their supporters. This study identifies several interrelated conditions and dynamics that indicate the current existence of local political parties is in a declining phase, namely: the loss of public trust, pessimism among political actors, party integrity and human resource weaknesses, unprofessional organizational management, and internal conflicts within the party.

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