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Revista de Antropología, Ciencias de la Comunicación y de la Información, Filosofía,
Lingüística y Semiótica, Problemas del Desarrollo, la Ciencia y la Tecnología

Año 35, 2019, Especial N°

19

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

ISSN 1012-1587/ ISSNe: 2477-9385

Depósito Legal pp 198402ZU45



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Departamento de Ciencias Humanas
Maracaibo - Venezuela

Recognition of the Aceh kingdom system: Wali Nanggroe in Indonesia Republic system

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Abstract

This article investigates one of the governance systems inherited from the archipelago kingdom in Southeast Asia, namely the *Wali Nanggroe* (Aceh Guardian), which is a system of government under the Kingdom of Aceh. Of the goal of this research is analysing three steps using interactive methods: 1) Data reduction, 2) Display, and 3) Conclusion. This study believes the changes of political culture can disrupt the stability. The results showed that *Wali Nanggroe* is still relevant as the local political institution in the modern and democratic systems.

Keywords: Qualitative analysis, Aceh Guardian, Indonesia Democracy, Conservatism Politic, Kingdom Legacy.

Reconocimiento del sistema Aceh Kingdom: Wali Nanggroe en el sistema desde la Republica de Indonesia

Resumen

Este artículo investiga uno de los sistemas de gobierno heredados del reino del archipiélago en el sudeste asiático, a saber, el Wali Nanggroe (Guardián de Aceh), que es un sistema de gobierno bajo el Reino de Aceh. El objetivo de esta investigación es analizar tres pasos utilizando métodos interactivos: 1) Reducción de datos, 2) Visualización y 3) Conclusión. Este estudio cree que los cambios de la cultura política pueden perturbar la estabilidad. Los resultados mostraron que Wali Nanggroe sigue siendo relevante como la institución política local en los sistemas modernos y democráticos.

Palabras clave: Análisis cualitativo, Aceh Guardian, Indonesia Democracia, Conservatismo político, Reino legado.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nusantara and the Southeast Asia Kingdom is a legacy of Malay culture history in Indonesia and in other archipelago countries, such as Malaysia, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, and other countries (Nazim et al., 2018). Likewise with the *Wali Nanggroe* (Aceh Guardian Institution) in Indonesia, according to the historical record of the Acehnese guardian is a term inherited from the kingdom of Aceh which was at the beginning when Aceh was led by Sulthanah Shafiatuddin (1641-1675), Sulthanah Naqiatuddinsyah (1675-1678 AD), Zakiatuddin Inayatsyah (1678-1688), and Kamalatsyah (1688-1699). At that time, Wali Nanggroe Aceh was held by Sheikh Abdurrauf As-Singkili, who was appointed as *Waliul Mulki and Malikul Adil Qadhi* the Kingdom of Aceh. This mention

indicates that the title of the *Wali Nanggroe* is for scholars (*Ulama*) who are considered to have the highest religious authority ([Fattaqun, 2017](#)).

Wali Nanggroe was not only in the era of the Sulthan, but was also used in the colonialist era of Dutch in Indonesia, and in the era after Indonesian independence. The Netherland was one of the colonial invaders who was very ambitious to occupy and possesses the natural resources of the Aceh Kingdom (Effendi & Hasan, 2017). The Dutch made various ways to control the kingdom of Aceh, thus causing conflict between the two parties that led to the war declaration by the Dutch against to sovereignty of Aceh Kingdom on March 26, 1873 this was the beginning of a long war, until the 19th Aceh kingdom was no longer had a major influenced among the Southeast Asia kingdom (Adan, 2005).

The new power traitor formed in Aceh was supported by the Dutch. However, there are people who are still loyal to the king and still defend the sovereignty of the Aceh Kingdom. Leaders of *adat* (tradition) and Aceh scholar *ulama* are the groups that still recognize the Sulthan as the highest symbol of the kingdom. On January 29, 1874, after the fall of the royal palace to Dutch colonial, Sulthan Mahmud Shah who died in 1873 by cholera. The Acehnese officials consisting of the Commander of the Sagi appointed the Sulthan's family, Muhammad Daud Syah, who was a new Sulthan (Said, 1985).

The successor of Acehnese kingdom sulthan was assisted by Tuanku Hasyim in leading the Aceh kingdom in 1883. The appointment of guardian Wali-ul Mulki was important for the future political of Aceh bargaining, which was quickly carried out by the Acehnese party to

replace the deceased. At that time Aceh needed a strong and authoritative sulthan to continue the struggling to fight the Dutch in Kuta raja. Furthermore, a number of figures were given responsibility to assist the running of the chaotic government at that time. Teungku Chik Muhammad Saman di Tiro was appointed as commander of the war, and Teuku Nyak Umar became Admiral. Teungku Chik Muhammad Saman di Tiro was one of the most prominent figures of the Islamic scholars and fighters in the war against the Dutch. His grandchildren and his relatives also participated in fighting the invaders. The descendants of Tiro were very famous at the time; they were considered as new leaders who were able to unite the strength of the Aceh people for the war after the king and the royal officials were forced to surrender by the Dutch (Abdullah, 2016). Then they moved to Keumala in 1879 and made it the second capital city of the Aceh Kingdom. Referring to the statement on the leadership of the descendants of the Tiro cleric at that time it was referred to as the beginning of the formation of an institution called Wali Nanggroe (Ishak, 2013).

The term of Aceh Guardian Wali Nanggroe Aceh was also used by Muhammad Daud Beureu-eh as the Acehnese mayor in Darul Islam / Army of Islam Indonesia (DI / TII) movement. Daud Beureueh appointed himself Mayor of Indonesia Republic during the DI / TII movement rebellion on September 21, 1955. He was the first Mayor of the DI / TII rebellion movement, Teugku Daud Beureueh in the coup by Hasan Saleh on March 15, 1959 where he acted as ruler of war NBA NII (State of Aceh, Indonesian Islamic State) took all civil and military powers from Daud Beureueh's hands and handed over to the Revolutionary Council headed by Ayah Gani, with its vice chairman Hasan Saleh. Then in 1959,

the name Amir Husin Al Mujahid emerged as the second guardian. His purpose was made a guardian be able to reconcile Aceh with the Republic of Indonesia. In March 1959, in the shura assembly chaired by the Mayor of Teugku Amir Husin Al Mujahid with the most votes that Aceh demanded the Special Region. Furthermore, the term *Wali Nanggroe* was used by Hasan Tiro. On December 4, 1976, Dr. Teugku Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro, declared Aceh Free Movement on Mount Halimun, Pidie, as a form of resistance to the Republic of Indonesia as "Neo-Colonialism". Teugku Hasan claimed that Aceh was a sovereign country and had never surrendered to the Netherlands, nor was it part of the Republic of Indonesia. This movement he named "successor state" and the country proclaimed was not a new country, but a connection from the Kingdom of Aceh which never surrendered to the Dutch (Al-Chaidar & Dinamika, 1999).

Teugku Hasan Muhammad di Tiro formed his movement cabinet and he acted as Mayor (head of state). The basis for mentioning himself as the Mayor, because the Aceh Sulthan, according to Teugku Hasan, had surrendered the sovereignty of Aceh to Teungku Chik Di Tiro Muhammad Saman on January 28, 1874, and was responsible and in full power in the Acehnese state as *Muzabbirul Muluk* or legitimate Guardian. That's when the power of the Sulthan, Malikul Adil, and *Keutuha Reusam* disappeared. Aceh's power shifted from the family of the Sulthan of Aceh to the Tiro family which began from Teugku Chik at Tiro Muhammad Saman (28 January 1874-31 December 1891); Then Teugku Chik di Tiro Muhammad Amin bin Muhammad Saman (1 January 1892-1896) followed; Teugku Chik at Tiro Abdussalam bin Muhammad Saman (1896-1898); Teugku Chik at Tiro Sulaiman bin Muhammad Saman (1898-1902); Teugku Chik

at Tiro Ubaidillah bin Muhammad Saman (1902-1905); Teugku Chik at Tiro Mahjuddin bin Muhammad Saman (1905-11 December 1910); Teugku Maat Tiro (11 December 1910-3 December 1911).

Teugku Hasan Muhammad di Tiro based his historical claim on a letter which was discovered by *Marsose* (Dutch Colonial Military) troops led by Lieutenant Schmidt in the bag of the martyrdom Teungku Maat on December 3, 1911, in Alue Bhot, Tangse, Pidie. The deceased was buried the next day or December 4, which later by Teugku Hasan Muhammad di Tiro was made as the date of the Aceh Movement independent day (GAM) declaration on 4 December 1976 as a successor state of the Kingdom of Aceh, Hasan Muhammad Tiro also stated that he was the successor to the legitimate *Wali Nanggroe* as descendants of the Tiro. A succession of Aceh Guardians after peace which was later regulated in the Law on the Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA), Law No. 11/ 2006 that Aceh has the right to reaffirm the rules of the *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh in the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia ([Abdullah, 2016](#)). The regional autonomy based on the Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA), Law No. 11/ 2006 as an implementation of the Helsinki peace accord, works effectively to strengthen peacebuilding and prosperity in Aceh.

This law is concerning Aceh Government gives new hope for Aceh, particularly related to the existence Aceh Guardian of customary institutions (Husin, 2013). This article wants to answer the existence of one of the institutions that coordinate traditional institutions in Aceh. the existence of the *Wali Nanggroe* institution as a new institution is expected to be able to carry out traditional leadership institutions as a unifying community and preservation of traditional and cultural life ([Nazaruddin,](#)

[2013](#)). The existence of the *Wali Nanggroe* is regulated in articles. In the process, after the death of Hasan Tiro, the *Qanun* (Aceh law) concerning the Aceh Guardian mandated for Malik Mahmud Al Haytar to be declared the 9th *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh Guardian. The existence of the *Wali Nanggroe institution* must be realized because of the law. The *Wali Nanggroe Institution* is intended as a culture of the institution and a unifying symbol of the Acehnese people. The commandment of the Law itself is also related to the order to draft the *Qanun Wali Nanggroe* (Ali, 2013).

Based on the Modus Aceh interview with Malek Mahmud as *Wali Nanggroe Aceh*, the role of the *Wali Nanggroe* was limited, "when the administration and financial management was in *Khatibul Wali Nanggroe*, echelon officials who were assigned by the Aceh Government to take care of it, acted and acted unilaterally. A false perception emerged as if tens of billions of funds were managed personally by the *Wali Nanggroe*. In fact, from the tens of billions of funds, the *Khatibul Wali* was managed by the Aceh Government's workforce. "As a result of these problems, the movement of the *Wali Nanggroe* was not free. Moreover, if accompanied by a certain mission from the authorities (the Aceh Government), which indeed secretly contributes to limiting the space for movement, if it is not beautiful it is called; dwarf the position and function of the *Wali Nanggroe*. So that the existence of the guardian of *Nanggroe* is considered only to symbolize the administration of the government which does not produce any action.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The conservatism concept will be analysis into *Wali Nanggroe* as status *Qoa Ante*. Conservatism is basically just a character or a tendency to choose a proven habit. Conservatism scholars such as Michael Oakeshott and Russell Kirk reject conservatism as an ideology or any trace as the opinion of the leader Edmund Burke (1729-1797) (Kerwick, 2015), who is often regarded as the founder of conservatism (Baumann & Burke, 1929). Another view sees conservatism as a philosophical and political perspective that seeks to maintain traditional values, or inherited values in the past (Oakeshott, 1965). This term comes from a Latin word, *conservāre*, preserves; "keep, maintain, practice". Because politics is based on various cultures having established positive values according to certain groups, the culture of conservatives in various circles has different objectives. Philosophy Some conservatives try to preserve the status quo, while some other conservatisms try to return to the values of the past, or often referred to as the status quo ante (Hampsher-Monk, 1987). Conservatism figures like Samuel Francis defined authentic conservatism as part of "maintaining. strengthen a political culture and certain people to be expressed in an environment " (Krason, 2017).

However, in the general context, the view of conservatism is a trait owned by all human beings at all times and inevitable. The interpretation of conservatism is also interpreted in a more systematic form as a philosophy, ideology, theory, and belief system (Stanlis, 2017). Although the terms of conservatism have a position and difference from each definition, it assumes that is often used interchangeably especially in the context of maintaining a system of inheritance from the past into modern

statehood such as *Wali Nanggroe Aceh* which was reappeared in the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (Festenstein & Kenny, 2005).

Wali Nanggroe institution in the view of conservatism due having a political thought that was maintained since the beginning of the Aceh kingdom in the past, it contained many strands which later the Aceh guardian could also be labeled conservative. This is also the same as is true in the French revolution, that is, specifically the reaction to events that took place in the French Reformation in 1789, conservatism began to emerge as a distinctive attitude or line of thought. Many experts argued that the trend of conservative revival has occurred earlier, in the early days of the Reformation, especially in the works of influential Anglican Theologist, Richard Hooker - who emphasized a reduction in politics in order to create a balance of interests towards social harmony and goodness together. But when Edmund Burke (1729-1797) with his opus - *Reflections on the Revolution in France* -, conservatism gained the distribution of its most influential point of views to the frame of the minds (Hodson, 2017).

In general views, Aceh guardian as an institution is radicalism because it is promoted through the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). It considered as conservatism when the Republic of Indonesia recognizes the existence of the *Wali Nanggroe* through the Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA), No. 11/ 2006. This is like the beginning of the emergence of French conservatism which considered a radical situation, such as classical liberalism in France before 1789 could be conservative in other circumstances. Essentially, conservative argues that what has happened in the past must have a moral impact in the future (Grenby, 2001). So

Acehnese guardian institutions are also considered conservative because they are not disturbed by the weak arguments relating to the modern state system that have begun to abandon the old royal system, this is similar to conservatism in France which is not disturbed by the weak classical liberal system arguments about basic and private rights. Inequality and social responsibility of conservatives tend to see a just society as a society full of social, economic and political inequality even though this is indeed a characteristic of all societies throughout history. Thus classically conservative stand against the left assumptions and provisions, but conservatism also stands in opposition to the right ideology of fascism, which describes the same basic assumptions as a leftist ideology (O'Sullivan, 1976).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To identify in depth the *Wali Nanggroe Aceh* as perpetuating the tradition King of Aceh into Indonesia and Aceh's local politics. The present study employs a qualitative descriptive approach. According to Saldaña (2015), qualitative descriptive is trying to describe the symptoms or relationship of symptoms encountered during the observation. The use of this method is intended to obtain an overview regarding the Wali Nanggroe Aceh. The data were collected from books, papers, research journals, and other written materials related to the 3 of 5 characteristics in the diffusion of innovation provided by Rogers (1983). Furthermore, this study uses interactive models data analysis techniques which consists of three main points: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion (Miles & Huberman in Idrus, 2009).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Conservatism Wali Nanggroe in Political Democracy

For the discourse order in the study of Aceh Guardian's practice of conservatism and Acehnese governance in Indonesia, this study highlights the main themes, namely the study of democracy, change and reform and a study of the idea of conservatism in particular (Diamond, 2015). With this, the spotlight will be able to combine information that is considered scattered and uncoordinated. The main problem regarding the implementation of democracy in Aceh-Indonesia is the discussion of the stability and continuity of the government regime, that practices a democratic system of representation towards the interests of the people (Sholeh, 2015). So this democratic system is called indirect democracy. This democracy is practiced by most democratic countries in the world, including Indonesia, Malaysia is also called hybrid democracy, South Korea, Pakistan, India, Brazil, Argentina and others (Chadda, 2000). The risk in the indirect democratic system is that there is an effort by the majority of the people to supervise the administration (executive and legislative) of the ruling so as not to harm the people. This is mainly towards the needs of the community, the traditional functions of the country which should be carried out by the ruling government. The facts also show that not all countries are considered undemocratic, the population is not prosperous. On the contrary, not all democratic countries have succeeded in improving the welfare of their people.

Many people refer to Singapore for the first example, and Indonesia for the second example. Therefore, the *Wali Nanggroe institution* does not

need to be debated whether the *Wali Nanggroe* is democratic or not. This is like in a study that describes the level of representative democracy. Zakaria Ahmad (1989) states that the political system is quasi-democracy (Case, 1993). This concept means that democracy is not given following the principles of liberal democracy in the West because it risks destroying the built-in power partnership system. The representative democratic system can be analyzed into a system of political democracy in the Acehese guardian institution in Aceh as a representative democracy or quasi-democracy that does not destroy the available system (Case, 2001).

Democracy in Indonesia, especially in the study of guardian institutions in Aceh adheres to the concept of strong local government and authority to ensure political stability guaranteed by the 1945 basic law in Indonesia. This view was continued by William Case who discussed the concepts of "*semi-democracy*" in Malaysia (1993) and "*pseudo-democracy*" (2001). In this connection, the problem of control (control) plays an important role in teaching categorization in. Strengthening the *Wali Nanggroe* in Aceh is also found in the view of Jimly Asshiddiqie cited the opinion of John Locke in describing that the guardian in Aceh can be distinguished from the sovereignty of the people in the first treaty, - when the Indonesian state is formed, the sovereignty of the people remain in the hands of the people -, and at any time can be used in determining the state policy and appointing officials through general elections and/ or referrals (second treaty). Such as the implementation in determining the policy of Aceh guardian which is re-adopted through the Aceh government law (Asshiddiqie, 2006).

Democracy in the application in Aceh, guardians can also be studied According to John Locke, contracts (community agreements), the power of the ruler is never absolute, but is always limited ([Armitage, 2004](#)). *Wali Nanggroe* is a natural matter (the Aceh king's legacy) because in making agreements, individuals do not give up all their natural rights. There are natural rights which are human rights which cannot be released (inalienable rights), nor by individuals themselves, as stipulated in the Indonesia 1945's constitution (Adan, 2005). The ruler of the central government entrusted with the task of regulating the lives of individuals in state ties must respect the human rights of the Acehnese people. *Wali Nanggroe* is also formed from this community agreement called the pactum subjectionist. In addition, Locke also submitted a contract called the pactum unionis, that is, other individuals entered into an agreement the community formed a political community, namely the *Wali Nanggroe* as a symbol of Aceh's past power (Said, 1985).

4.2 Study of Conservatism and Wali Nanggroe Tradition

After discussing the theme above, the study will be continued in more detail through themes related directly to the study. In highlighting the themes of *Wali Nanggroe* conservatism and tradition, the first attention was focused on the popular Asian Value discourse in the 1990s (Mauzy & Milne, 2002), suggests that Asian countries' democracy is based on five dominant characteristics such as the concept of retention, personality, authority (stability and stability), dominant political parties and also a strong government. However, these characteristics are considered by the study (Christie, 1995) In this connection, the intended ideology is

conservatism. Garry Rodan's study (1996) only aims to justify governance in the form of authoritarianism and narrow the meaning of democratic human rights as in the case of Malaysia and Indonesia. It is nothing more than an ideological construction that aims to guarantee government hegemony (Teik, 1999).

4.3 Studies of Malek Mahmud as Wali Nanggroe (Aceh Guardian)

The *Wali Nanggroe* Institute has become a hot debate in Aceh, among Aceh political actors, public and academic. This happens because the status of *Wali Nanggroe* which has been held by Malek Mahmud Al-Haytar will end in December 2019. Therefore, these studies will discuss the Aceh heritage institution which was presented again in Indonesia based on the Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA), Law No. 11/ 2006 concerning Aceh governance (Bambang & Pratolo, 2019).

Malik Mahmud was appointed as Wali Nanggroe on December 16, 2013, referring to the *qanun Wali Nanggroe* Number 8 of 2012, his term of office ended on December 16, 2018. For this reason, the discourse emerged about the figure of the Wali Nanggroe in the future and how the *Wali Nanggroe* institution should contribute to the community, especially related to the preservation of Acehnese customs and culture. Many questions arise about the *Wali Nanggroe* Institute, including whether it is still needed or not. This was questioned by the Aceh senator Ghazali Abbas "the existence of the Wali Nanggroe Institution is a spirit in order to give Dr. Tgk Di Tiro Hasan Muhammad, as a constitution of dedication to the Acehnese he loved. Because indeed he is the most entitled and from

any side fulfills the requirements as *Wali Nanggroe*" (Abbas, 2018). Some thought that the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution was no longer needed because as a matter of fact, the institution had not provided any value and benefits to the development of Aceh. During this time the *Wali Nanggroe* institution drained heavily on the government budget, was not transparent wherever the budget was used and did not benefit the people of Aceh. Ghazali argued since the death of Tgk Muhammad Hasan Tiro, the function of the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution ended. According to Ghazali Abbas based on the facts, stop the discourse for the continuation of organizing the *Wali Nanggroe institution*. "Thus, the budget can be transferred and allocated to things that are the priority of development towards Great Aceh as declared by the Aceh Government at this time,"

While other views relating to *Wali Nanggroe* argue, "immediately look for new figures to assume the position of *Wali Nanggroe*". The Aceh Institute of Civilization requested that the assemblies of *tuha peut, tuha lapan, and the fatwa* assembly immediately from the Wali Nanggroe Election Commission discuss immediately the change of leadership of the Acehnese traditional leaders. Because for the past five years, the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution is considered unable to show its existence. "We consider him unsuccessful and inconsistent in carrying out the duties and responsibilities of the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution, from the fields of history, customs, culture and Acehnese security," (Saman, 2018). Whereas former senior of *Aceh Free Movement (GAM)* Zakaria Saman said "the replacement of the *Wali Nanggroe* had a mechanism. Therefore, we hope that the replacement mechanism will be obeyed. The candidates were also unable to submit themselves, but the candidates who would serve as *Wali Nanggroe* (honorable institutions) were proposed by many groups of

people Islamic scholar (*ulama*), community leaders, and others" (Robani & Salih, 2018).

The Acehese people should contribute so that the future *Wali Nanggroe* must be better than this first period. The debate is not the leading figure of the *Wali Nanggroe*, but how to make the institution run as stipulated in the law. Among others, the *Wali Nanggroe* institution must be able to regulate traditional leadership in Aceh and become a unifying institution of the Acehese community. The *Wali Nanggroe* Institute is responsible for fostering and overseeing the implementation of customary institutions, traditional ceremonies, the awarding of honorary titles. So, *Wali Nanggroe* Institution must be beneficial to the public, nationally and internationally.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper is combining the theoretical frameworks of conservatism and also the analysis of the Aceh Guardian study regarding conservatism ideas, it is quite clear that academic studies use the perspective of conservatism are still less current. Even though the idea of conservatism is discussed consistently, it is sometimes expressed in the implied purpose, coincidentally or at a glance in discussing aspects not related to conservatism. More in-depth efforts can be seen from studies on Asian Values such as Rodan (1996), Robison (1996) which uses conservatism as a tool of conflict analysis although its constructs are limited. Aceh Guardian's conservative research on conservative analysis has also shown that there is a similarity between conservatism in the

practice of re-presenting Aceh Kingdom's heritage to the democratic system of the Indonesia Republic, and the presence of *Wali Nanggroe's* politics in Aceh can contribute the retention of the status quo ante in Indonesia. In summary, the *Wali Nanggroe* Institution in Aceh fulfills two elements proposed by Funston that are "implicit" and "practical". But this opinion does not suppose that the supported conservatism fails to obtain the legitimacy of the masses. This fact is reflected in the evidence that the Indonesian government can still guarantee the development of conservative and democratic practices, practicing a simple approach and the absence of a viable alternative regime. But at the same time, there is strong agreement among scholars that this independence has created a difficult and irreversible political ecosystem to become a justification for curbing the prospect of change (Martiana, 2018).

In this regards, a more systematic study of conservatism and its role in a conservative regime such as the *Wali Nanggroe* needs to be done especially in looking at how it works in contributing to the preservation of the Aceh tradition heritage system in the modern era. Taking into consideration the premise that conservatively, *the Wali Nanggroe* formed is an attempt to defend the civilization that once succeeded in the reign of the State of Aceh. The *Wali Nanggroe* that is regulated Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA), Law No. 11/ 2006 is an attempt to change the *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh according to the times of development, adapting to the Aceh government which is part of the Indonesia Republic. The ultimate hopes the conservative Institution of the *Wali Nanggroe* Aceh is to create national unity and traditionalism, the Acehnese loves for Indonesia's nationality, as well as the love of tradition and traditionalism that have

been proud of in the past. So it will create Acehnese nationalism that tends to embrace democracy and pluralism in Indonesia.

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Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Año 35, Especial N° 19, 2019

Esta revista fue editada en formato digital por el personal de la Oficina de Publicaciones Científicas de la Facultad Experimental de Ciencias, Universidad del Zulia.
Maracaibo - Venezuela

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