Malik Mahmud Legal Strongmen?

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ABSTRACT
The Helsinki MoU agreed by the Indonesian Government, and the Free Aceh Movement provided an opportunity for Aceh to have a customary institution called the Wali Nanggroe institution. This opportunity was used by the DPRA which was dominated by the Aceh Party by confirming Malik Mahmud Alhaitar as the Wali Nanggroe Aceh Mayor, in the Aceh Party structure Malik Mahmud was one of the leaders of this local Party, so it was possible to have a dual role played by the figure of Wali Nanggroe. The inauguration of Malik Mahmud as the Wali Nanggroe also indirectly gave rise to a local number of Strongmen within the structure of the Acehnese community, given the position of the Wali Nanggroe as a position that was highly respected in the construction of Acehnese people's lives. Moving on from the above problems, this study wants to see how the role of the State in giving birth to local Strongmen within the structure of Acehnese society. This study uses a type of qualitative research with a descriptive approach. Data sources are obtained through interviews and observations and documentation. Data is processed through data collection, data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. This research borrows his theorist Jonh T Sidel and Migdal who have formulated how the formation of Local Strongmen or Bossism and the characteristics of both. Based on the results in the field, it shows that the Local Strongmen could emerge because of the involvement of the state in them, the participation of the country is not limited to allowing the birth of Local Strongmen but more than that, the state also provides legal standing for Local Strongmen.

Keywords: Local Strongmen, Wali Nanggroe.

INTRODUCTION
Local Strongmen and Bossism are two words that mean the same. Local Strongman is a term suggested by Migdal in describing strong local people who play in third world countries. Whereas bossism is a term used by Sidel in cases in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. Both of them have formulated the characteristics of the Local Strongmen. For the present time the Local Strongmen phenomenon can be found in almost every region in Indonesia, not least in Aceh, the presence of Local Strongmen in every blood of Indonesia is inseparable from the existence of a decentralized system that began to be implemented in Indonesia after the reformation that made regions in Indonesia have the authority in taking care of their respective areas.
Post-Political Reform which gave rise to decentralization, in many regions local actors emerged who had high power and were very influential in power nets. These are what are called local strongmen who have unique attributes in the form of capital, network, and influence. Their penetration is so strong in government by directly occupying political positions (regional heads) or through intermediaries of other people. The Local Strongmen have access to enormous influence in managing financial and political resources in the region so learning about the dynamics of local power is essential to understanding the activities of Local Strongmen.

In the case of the most end of the province of Sumatra, Aceh also found many local elites who became Local Strongmen, one of which was Malik Mahmud, Wali Nanggroe Aceh. Interestingly, the Nanggroe Malik Mahmud became a Local Strongmen precisely after the peace between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement. Previously he was one of the leaders of the Free Aceh Movement who was a Singaporean citizen. This paper will then look at how the role of the state in giving birth to the Local Strongmen in Aceh?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migdal and Jhon T Sidel each formulate the Local Strongmen. They both disagree with Sidel's views as a criticism of Migdal. In his opinion, Migdal gives three views about Local Strongmen. First, the Local Strongmen can only stand if there is no firm social control, fragmentation of authority allows these actors to be able to move freely in expanding their territory, including working with state elites or local bureaucrats. Secondly, the Local Strongmen generally have a strategy of surviving by mastering the livelihoods of residents, who based on this condition gained a strong base of legitimacy in grassroots circles. Third, Local Strongmen learn the state agency and resources, so the policy agenda is the result of a compromise with the interests of Local Strongmen so that national development is often hampered due to the existence of Local Strongmen and this case occurs in many third world countries (Migdal 1988).

In contrast to Migdal, Sidel gave a view on Local Strongmen or Bossism in his writing from cases in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. According to Sidel Bossism, it appears in a steady state compared to a healthy society. He sees Bossism showing the role of local elites as predatory political brokers who have monopolistic control of coercive power and economic resources in their national territory. This Bossism also operates in regional
regimes characterized by bureaucrat alliances, party bosses, people in business, military and thugs (Sidel 2005).

Of the three countries studied each of them, there are differences related to the emergence of bossism. For the Philippines, Bossism or Local Strongmen arises because of the uniqueness that exists in this country, the uniqueness here is a situation that makes the landowner more powerful than officials in that country. Furthermore, in this country, the elites selected from the results of the general election are more important than those of the old officials (bureaucrats). This means that the legislature in this country is more important than the executive and in the case of the Philippines their bossism generally uses violence (Sidel 2005).

In the case of Thailand, the Local Strongmen had the power to make them strong compared to after they won the general election. This means that these strong men first had the necessary strength. And for the case in Indonesia, there are several causes for the emergence of Bossism, namely the first existence of an open proportional system in the 2004 general election, the two competitive electoral systems and finally the decentralization system that made the regions have great authority in managing their territory.

Research on Local Strongman has been carried out by other researchers before, as conducted by Nur Aliyah Zainal and Ibn Khaldun. They tried to study Local Strongmen in the context of political contestation by taking case studies of the remarkable victory of the pair Aras Tammany and Muh. Amen Services in the Central Mamuju regional elections in 2015. Their research shows that the status of local strongmen held by political contestants greatly influences the victory achieved by this pair. In other words, the couple managed to capitalize on the state of local strongmen to win the regional elections in Central Mamuju (Kaldum 2017).

Almost the same thing was found in the research conducted by Melvin Perjuangan Hutabarat. Melvin saw the phenomenon of Local Strongmen in the Era of Decentralization by taking a case study of the power dynamics of Zulkifli Nurdin in Jambi. His results indicate that there was a symbolic influence of Local Strongmen in the effort to win the elections, even Zulkifli Nurdin could fully control the entire political system in Jambi, which then ended with dredging massive profits for himself and his group (Hutabarat 2012).

The two studies above have different perspectives on seeing influential local people, as well as the research that the authors are trying to do. The author decided to see
everything in his own eyes, although he still talked about local strongmen the author chose to focus on how the role of the State in giving birth to a local strong man.

METHOD

This article is part of the field research conducted in the city of Banda Aceh, the selection of the town of Banda Aceh is undoubtedly based on the fact that Banda Aceh is the capital of the Aceh Province so that indirectly the city is a gathering place for elites in Aceh. Therefore, this Aceh banda contest will also be very helpful for researchers in interviewing informants for data needs. This study uses a type of qualitative research with a descriptive approach. Data sources are obtained through interviews and observations and documentation. Data is processed through data collection, data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. This research does not provide a rigid geographical boundary, considering the data that the data needed are also comprehensive so that when in the field the writer also visited many places in Aceh. So that all information and empirical observations that according to researchers are relevant to this research will be processed into data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The rule that gave birth to the Wali Nanggroe

One of the points of the RI and GAM peace agreement was the establishment of an institution named the Nanggroe Guardian institution by aspect 1.1.7 The Helsinki MoU which reads the institution of Guardian Nanggroe with its ceremonial attributes and entitlements will be established. To follow up on all the points of the Helsinki MoU, including the scores on the Nanggroe Guardian institution, the Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh was born or often referred to as the LoGA (Indonesia and Merdeka 2011).

In the LoGA the provisions concerning the Wali Nanggroe institution are regulated in Chapter XII concerning the Wali Nanggroe. In UUPA Chapter XII article 96 verse 1 explains that the Wali Nanggroe institution is an adat leadership as a unifying community that is independent, authoritative, and has the authority to foster and supervise the implementation of the life of traditional institutions and the giving of titles/degrees and other traditional ceremonies. In the second paragraph, it is explained that the Wali Nanggroe institution is not a political institution and an institution of the Government of Aceh and in section 2 says that the Wali Nanggroe institution was led by a Wali Nanggroe.
who was personal and independent. And from here the writer sees that there will be a Local Strongmen in Aceh (Undang-undang Republik Indonesia no 11 Tahun 2006 tentang pemerintahan Aceh)

In its journey, this institution still needs more detailed rules governing candidate requirements, election procedures, election participants, tenure, protective position, finance and other provisions that transport the Wali Nanggroe. And all of that is regulated by Qanun. The definition of Qanun itself is a regional regulation approved by the Governor after obtaining approval from the DPRA.

The Qanun governing the Wali Nanggroe was born in 2013, and subsequently, in the same year, the majority of the Aceh DPRA at a special meeting confirmed Malik Mahmud Alhaytar as the Wali Nanggroe Aceh who was also a senior official of the Aceh Party. From here the author sees that a Local Strongmen was born in Aceh.

History of Wali Nanggroe

The history of the Aceh Nanggroe Guardian cannot be separated from the history of the ancient Aceh kingdom, the history of the Wali Nanggroe began when his son replaced the death of Aceh king Sultan Mahmud Syah on January 25, 1874, and later his position as a temporary Sultan because at that time Sultan Muhammad Daud Syah was only 11 year. Then in the course of the Parliamentary Assembly as an institution that has the authority to give rights and obligations and has full jurisdiction over adat and the law said that it gave Aceh’s royal power to Teungku Chik di Tiro on January 28, 1874.

Since then it has been legitimately valid Teungku Chik at Tiro Muhammad Saman as the person in charge and in full power in the Aceh state as Mudabbirul Muluk or Wali Nanggroe Aceh Pertama. Teungku Chik at Tiro Muhammad Saman led the Aceh state for 17 years, and he died on 21 January 1891. After that, the power and struggle of the Aceh state was continued by his old son, Teungku Muhammad Amin Bin Muhammad Saman who was martyred in 1896, followed by Teungku Abdussalam Bin Muhammad Saman (martyrdom of 1898), Teungku Sulaiman Bin Muhammad Saman (agony of 1902), Teungku Ubaidillah Bin Muhammad Saman (martyrdom of 1903), Teungku Muhidyddin Bin Muhammad Saman (suicide 1910), and Teungku Mu’az Bin Muhammad Amin (agony 3 December 1911).

Hasan Tiro, the declarator of the Free Aceh Movement in 1976 still had the lineage of the Wali Nanggroepertama, Chik Di Tiro, so that at the time of forming the independent Aceh movement Hasan Tiro also claimed that he was the successor of the previous Wali Nanggroes, indicating that Aceh was still a State (Budi 2012). List of 9 Wali Nanggroe from Time to Time:
1. Tgk Chik di Tiro Muhammad Amin bin Muhammad Saman
2. Tgk Chik at Tiro Abdussalam bin Muhammad Saman
3. Tgk Chik di Tiro Sulaiman bin Muhammad Saman
4. Tgk Chik di Tiro Ubsaidillah bin Muhammad Saman
5. Tgk Chik at Tiro Mahjuddin bin Muhammad saman
6. Tgk Chik Ulêë Tutuë aka Tengku Tjhik at Garôt Muham
7. Tgk Chik at Tiro Muaz bin Muhammad Amin
8. Tgk Hasan Muhammad di Tiro
9. Tgk Malik Mahmud Al Hayter Of the 9 Nanggroe Wali

Above the 9th Wali Nanggroe only who does not have a lineage with Tengku chick in tiro. What made Malik Mahmud the Wali Nanggroe was his closeness to the 8th Wali Nanggroe and also their position as GAM GAM elites who now transformed into the Aceh Party.


The Wali Nanggroe Qanun is the result of the DPRA discussions in the period 2009 and 2014. During this period the Aceh Party as the winning party had 33 seats in the DPRA or around 47.8%, another local party that won seats in the DPRA was the Aceh Sovereign Party which was 1 seat 1.5% of the votes, while the other 35 places came from national parties with the details of the Democratic Party gaining 10 seats, the Golongan Karya Party obtaining 8 positions, the National Mandate Party winning 5 seats, the Prosperous Justice Party winning 4 seats, the United Development Party winning 3 seats, The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, the National Awakening Party, the Patriot Party, the Crescent Star Party and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party each have one seat. The total number of members of the DPRA for the 2009-2004 period was 69 people.

From the acquisition of seats in the DPRA above, we can see that the Aceh Party dominated the DPRA in the period 2009 to 2014 with a total of 33 places from 69 or around 47%. With the acquisition of several seats, it is indeed easy for the Aceh party to accompany their interests to be legalized together. From here the author sees that the DPRA made the Wali Nanggroeyang rules / Qanun and the establishment and confirmation of Malik Mahmud as Wali Nanggroe is undoubtedly full of political content. This author's guess is because Mahmud's malik position itself is a senior of the Aceh Party. If we just read the quantum of the Wali Nanggroe, we find no points that we consider to be political but if we look the points carefully in this qanun position Malik
Mahmud as a Local Strongmen who has a respectable place in the structure of the Acehnese society.

In the ratified Qanun it was stated that the institutional structure of the Wali Nanggroeter consisted of Wali Nanggroe, Waliyul'ahdi, Majelis Tinggi, Functional Assembly, and institutions. These functional assemblies consist of the Nanggro Aceh Ulema Council (MUNA), the Aceh Customary Assembly (MAA), the Aceh Education Council (MPA), the Aceh Economic Assembly, Baitul Mal Aceh, Bentara, Aceh Forest Assembly, Aceh Khazanah and Wealth Council, Mining Assembly and Energy, Social and Health Welfare Assembly and Women's Assembly. What is interesting to see is that these assemblies have considerable authority, for example, the economic assembly that has the task of giving consideration in the formulation of Aceh's economic policies, giving consideration in the preparation and stipulation of the Aceh Economic General Plan, giving consideration in the determination of crisis and economic emergency measures, giving consideration in the realization of economic resilience in the framework of sustainable development and giving consideration in the supervision of Aceh's economic policy (Husin 2013). All these assemblies are under a Wali Nanggroe which is now held by Malik Mahmud Alhaitar.

Malik Mahmud Alhaitar is indeed not an ordinary person in the body of GAM, and he is a confidant of Hasan Tiro the founder of GAM and Malik Mahmud became Prime Minister of GAM at that time. In the coming of the Helsinki MoU, Malik Mahmud acted as the leader of the Free Aceh Movement. In the Aceh Party structure, there is now an institution namely Tuha Peut which is interpreted in Indonesian means party advisor. The Tuha peut consists of three people, namely Zaini Abdullah, former GAM Foreign Minister, now Aceh Governor, Zakaria Saman, former GAM defense minister and Malik Mahmud Alhaitar, former Prime Minister of GAM who also serves as Chairman of the Aceh Party Tuha Peut Institute. Even though on his journey two members of the Tuha came out of the party's management structure.

With its current position, it is clear that Mahallah is an Aceh Party elite and even his opinion is above his party leader, and indirectly all decisions taken by the Aceh party through his members in parliament must be with permission or the influence of Malik Mahmud. The inauguration of Malik Mahmud as Wali Nanggroec seemed to indicate that the Wali Nanggroec belonged to the party, not to the society of Aceh.

As one quote in the media, Monday (12/16/2013) "There are a lot of policies produced by the DPRA, the Regent, the Mayor, the DPRK which are very dependent on
the highest authority of the Aceh Party, or more clearly we call it in the GAM structure that used to apply. For now, we know the name Malik Khaidir Mahmud, or the popular name Malik Mahmud Al-Hayter. He used to be the Prime Minister of GAM, and currently, he is the ninth Guardian of Nanggroe Aceh after being confirmed in the Special Plenary Session of the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA).”

Actually, within GAM itself there was also the Nanggroe Guardian, and this position was occupied by Hasan Tiro, a declarator of the Free Aceh Movement and Mahmud’s malik as Prime Minister of the Free Aceh Movement. Since Hasan Tiro died, Mahmud Naek replaced Hasan Tiro. The dual position played by Malik Mahmud between the area of the Wali Nanggroe and in other regions as an advisor to the Aceh Party is undoubtedly very unfortunate for the people of Aceh. Because the position of the Wali Nanggroe itself describes the property of all the people of Aceh, unifying the people of Aceh. If the present situation shows as if the Wali Nanggroe only belongs to the Aceh Party alone, this is also not by the Wali Nanggroe qanun itself. General Provisions of Aceh Qanun No.8 of 2012 concerning the Nanggroe Wali Institution and Aceh Qanun No.9 of 2013 concerning Amendments to the Aceh Qanun No.8 In 2012, the Wali Nanggroe Institution is an adat leadership institution as a unifying community that is independent, authoritative, and has the authority to foster and supervise the implementation of the life of traditional institutions, customs, languages and the granting of titles/degrees and other traditional ceremonies.

It is evident in the above qanun that the Wali Nanggroe Institution is an adat leadership institution as a unifying community that is independent, authoritative, and has the authority to foster and supervise the implementation of the life of traditional institutions, customs, languages and the giving of titles and other traditional ceremonies. Another opinion that expects Malik Mahmud to break away from the Aceh party is made by Thayeb Loh Angen, a former GAM combatant and also the novel writer ‘Teuntra Atom’ and a book ‘Aceh 2025’, to Serambi, Saturday (24/10/2015). According to him, ideally, the Wali Nanggroe as a whole becomes a unifying figure who can stand neutral among many groups.

"Indeed, as a signer of Aceh peace with the Republic of Indonesia, Malik Mahmud is also the founder of PA. But to unite Aceh, the integration with one party should be stopped officially."

Regarding the dual role that Malik Mahmud has, the author suspects that this is part of the Aceh party's strategy to improve their image in the eyes of the public, considering
that the position of the Wali Nanggroe is a very respectable position in the life of the Acehnese even more than the Aceh governor's position. This is very unhealthy for the democracy that is now growing in Aceh. Even some Acehnese people themselves still refused to attend the Wali Nanggroe as a statement from one of the people.

"A former GAM combatant said that the election of Malik Mahmud as a candidate for the Wali Nanggroe was the fault of the KPA / Partai Aceh group because at the beginning of the GAM formation the name Malik Mahmud was not included in the GAM leadership structure. The ex-GAM combatant hopes that there will be an extension of the process to cancel Malik Mahmud as Wali Nanggroe."

From the explanation above, it can be explained that the Nangroe Guardian is an Indigenous leadership institution which naturally has social leadership in the Aceh Community. This institution is very prestigious with many attributes in social relations with the community. This has become one of the major capitals that have made the Nangroe Guardian transform into a Local Strong Person. The Nangroe Mayor has social capital so that he can be capitalized into a Local Strong Person.

**The country gave birth to Local Strongmen?**

There are differences of opinion between Migdal and Sidel in formulating where Local Strongmen are born. In the view of Migdal Local Strongmen, it was taken from the community or because of the weak state of the State. But a different perspective is given by Sidel. In Sidel's opinion, it is the country that gave birth to the Local Strongmen (Sidel 2005).

Borrowing Sidel's belief in the case of Malik Mahmud in Aceh the author assumes that the State plays a role in giving birth to the Local Strongmen, there are several reasons. First, the State has issued a law which forms the basis of the establishment of the Wali Nanggroe institution even though this law is a mandate of the agreement between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement. Secondly, the DPRA has formulated the Wali Nanggroe Qanun and then established and confirmed Malik Mahmud as Wali Nanggroe. Indeed, the DPRA in the period 2009 and 2014 was controlled by the majority of the Aceh Party, Malik Mahmud's party, but they have now gained legitimacy from the people and have also been ratified by the State, and it is proper that they are now part of the State.

John Sidel in the cause of the rise of bossism in Indonesia also gave the view that the decentralization system that is now being applied in Indonesia is also the cause of the
birth of bossism. The reason he used was that decentralization reduced central government interference with the region. In the Aceh context, the influence of decentralization was suitable to illustrate how the system gave birth to Local Strongmen, the decentralization system gave Aceh a great authority to take care of its territory this was exacerbated by the control of all Aceh by the local Party namely the Aceh Party and in the later stages they confirmed Malik Mahmud as Mayor of Nanggroe Aceh. A position that is not owned by any province in Indonesia.

There is one exciting thing about the case of the role of the State that gave birth to the Local Strongmen, and the authors see that in this case the State unconsciously gave this local Strongmen legal standing. Namely with the existence of the law which became the basis of the establishment of the Wali Nanggroe institution. Indeed, the aim of the State is not to give birth to healthy people who have absolute power, but the State hopes that the figure of the Nanggroe may be unifying, but in fact, because Mahmud's Malik is also part of the ruling party it is difficult to make it happen.

**Malik Mahmud as a Local Strongmen**

Seeing how the role and position are shown by Malik Mahmud in the life of the Acehnese people made him worthy of being categorized as a Local Strongmen, or it could be said that he was a new king in Aceh. One of the characteristics of the Local Strongmen is the presence of client patrons, a Local Strongmen who will become patrons for their followers. Now the position of Malik Mahmud, he now has followers loyal to him and becomes a patron of his followers.

To illustrate how the principle of the Local Strongmen carried out by the author Mahmud tried to revive how the points in the qanun gave authority to the Wali Nanggroe, for example in terms of work arrangements between the Wali Nanggroe and the Government, DPR RI, RI DPD, Aceh Government and other Institutions. In this chapter, Wali Nanggroe carries out work relations with a colonial, consultative and advocacy nature. The collegial referred to in this qanun is Colonial which is meant here is to foster a sense of togetherness in the process of development and empowerment of the Acehnese community. Consultative means are equating perceptions in the implementation of the life of customs and unification of Acehnese society. And Advocacy as intended to provide substantial input for the acceleration of Aceh's development.

Seeing how the role played by Malik Mahmud through the authority he has, the author assumes that he has been incarnated like kings in modern countries today. In today's current state most kings are only symbolic and possess executive positions held by a prime
minister or president. This example is suitable for describing the location of the Wali Nanggroe in Aceh.

Even the political chancellor of the British Embassy in Indonesia, Caroline Rowett during her visit to Aceh and a meeting with the Aceh DPRA had asked how the position of the Wali Nanggroe itself and how it was chosen.

"We want to know whether the position (Wali Nanggroe) is the same or similar to the kings in several countries,"

The curiosity of a Caroline is undoubtedly a natural thing considering the existence of the Wali Nanggroe itself is a new thing in this country of Indonesia. Regarding the procedure for the election, at the beginning of the establishment of the Wali Nanggroe Qanun some parties wanted the position of the Wali Nanggroe to be lifelong and it turned out that the central government did not approve it and then for the win solution the DPRA changed it to 5 years. As for the procedure for the selection, the author did not get a single point in the Wali Nanggroe Qanun which united the method of his election.

The Wali Nanggroe Qanun also regulates the wealth owned by the Wali Nanggroe. Article 130 of the Wali Nanggroe qanun states that:

1. Property Wealth: The Wali Nanggroe Institution is a movable or immovable object that has been separated from the Government and the Aceh Government.
2. Movable and immovable objects as referred to in paragraph (1), where the source of funds originating from APBA / APBN applies by the Laws and Regulations.
3. Movable or immovable objects from Aceh's historical heritage and old royal heritage assets that are returned to the people of Aceh both inside and outside the country, their use and protection are within the responsibility of the Wali Nanggroe.

From the verses above that govern this wealth, it is evident that he is like a king. But on the other hand, the mastery of wealth owned by the regions is by the characteristics of the Local Strongmen (Sidel 2005). But in this case, Malik Mahmud subtly controlled the treasure.

Subtle in a sense here, he did not use violence at all or use his position to obtain wealth, but even though he did nothing to get wealth, he already had the legitimacy to control what was inherited from the kingdom of Aceh.

Local Strongness in many places becomes a force that inhibits the process of consolidating democracy. With the resource capital that is owned by both networks and money, this group often intervenes in many regional programs to accommodate their
interests. Models like this make power only to serve him and his cronies. Its firm grip on local political institutions allows them to freely manage the nets of development projects, which of course are for profit. The Local Strongmen often work for groups rather than for the public interest.

Malik Mahmud's inauguration as the Nangroe Guardian is also inseparable from the pros and cons that continue to this day. For example, internally GAM, many do not agree with the formation of Wali Nangroe, which only wastes the budget. Though Aceh's primary focus is economic development, this institution also does not have a strategic role and function for the development of Aceh. If we speak custom, there is an Aceh Customary Assembly (MAA). If speaking of religion, there is the Ulama Consultative Assembly.

**Wali Nanggroe Results of the Aceh Party Oligarchy?**

The author tries to link Malik Mahmud's position as Wali Nanggroe Aceh with the Aceh party oligarchy; everyone already knows what the location of the Aceh Party is now in Aceh Province. This party succeeded in becoming the party winning the election for two periods, namely the 2009 elections and also the 2014 elections, even this Party also won in the 2007-2012 and 2012-2017 governor and deputy governor elections in Aceh. This is enough to describe the Aceh party oligarchy. In the 2009-2014 Parliament, the party controls 33 seats out of 69 places in the DPRA and certainly greatly facilitates this party when giving birth to a regulation product that benefits them. Likewise with the HSIL in the 2014-2019 elections, although the seats were reduced, the party was still the winner by winning 29 seats in the DPRA out of 81 total seats.

The writer mentioned above a little about Malik Mahmud's determination and his inauguration as Wali Nanggroe was a very political move. This is illustrated by Mahmud's position in the Aceh party itself. He has a very strategic location, namely the chairman of the Tuha put or chairman of the Board of Trustees in the national party. So the authors want to give the view that this is all the strategy of the Acehnese party to strengthen their oligarchy now in Aceh.

The Aceh Party was well aware that the position of the Wali Nanggroe was a very respectable position for the people of Aceh, which in Aceh's history this position was only held by the Tengku chick family in tiro who had the mandate to keep the full power of the Acehnese kingdom. As a result of the strength of the position of the Nanggroe Aceh
Malik Mahmud, in the case of Aceh, does not necessarily mean that he is the result of decentralization, but at least decentralization has more or less affected his birth as a local Strongmen. Also, the factor that contributed to the birth of him was the Helsinki MoU which was later strengthened by the Aceh Government Law which at the same time became his legal standing. On the next journey, the Qanun Wali Nanggroe was born which regulated all matters relating to the duties and functions of the Guardian Nanggroe institution. Malik Mahmud's position as Wali Nanggroe already has legal standing, but on the other hand, we can also categorize this Mahmud as a Local Strongmen behind the cloak of the Wali Nanggroe. The various rules made by those ex-combatants who are now honorable council members strongly point out that this institution would seem to have become a royal institution with people occupying the position of Wali Nanggroe as its king.

In the case of the Wali Nanggroe in Aceh, the author wants to conclude that the Local Strongmen can be born by the State or the existence of the State’s role, even though it is small. Also in this Aceh case, the Local Strongmen have legal standing in the cloak of the Nanggroe Aceh Wali institution.

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