

Change from Armed Movement to Political Party: Comparative Study of the Aceh-Indonesia Party & the Sinn Fein Party-Northern Ireland for the 2009-2022 Period

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Abstract

This research aims to look at the development of local parties after the conflict by comparing the Aceh Party in Indonesia and the Sinn Fein Party in Northern Ireland. The researcher will explain through descriptions various aspects of the development of the two parties after the peace agreement. The method used in this research is comparative. This comparison is adapted to the theory of Sigmund Neumann and the factors that played a role in the Aceh Party winning the elections in the 2009-2019 period and the Sinn Fein Party winning the elections in the 2007-2022 period. The results of this research are that during the post-conflict democratic transition in Aceh, political parties tend to implement patronage patterns in terms of maximizing the functioning of party machines to achieve political goals. As for the Sinn Fein party in post-conflict politics Sinn Féin quickly established itself as the largest party in the opposing bloc at the expense of the more moderate UUP and SDLP. Despite the similarities and differences between the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party as well as differences in the optimization of the internal aspects being compared and differences in external aspects surrounding them, the fact is that there is a gap in the vote acquisition of the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party in several elections he participated in. The Aceh Party experienced a decline in its vote share from election to election, raising concerns that the party may no longer be a significant political force in Aceh. Meanwhile, the Sinn Fein Party managed to maintain and even increase their vote share over time, scoring victories in key elections in Northern Ireland.

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Abstract

Penelitian ini mempunyai tujuan untuk melihat perkembangan Partai Lokal pasca konflik dengan membandingkan Partai Aceh di Indonesia dan Partai Sinn Fein di Irlandia Utara. Peneliti akan menjelaskan melalui diskripsi melalui berbagai hal terhadap perkembangan kedua partai tersebut pasca perjanjian damai. Metode yang dipakai dalam penelitian ini komparatif. Adapun perbandingan ini disesuaikan dengan teori dari Sigmund Neumann dan faktor-faktor yang ikut berperan di dalam kemenangan Pemilu Partai Aceh dalam kurun waktu 2009-2019 pada kemenangan Pemilu Partai Sinn Fein dalam kurun waktu 2007-2022. Hasil dalam penelitian ini ialah partai Aceh pada transisi demokrasi pasca konflik, partai politik cenderung melaksanakan pola patronase dalam hal maksimalisasi bekerjanya mesin partai untuk mencapai tujuan politik. Sedangkan untuk partai Sinn Fein dalam politik pasca-konflik Sinn Féin dengan cepat memantapkan diri sebagai partai terbesar dalam blok lawan dengan mengorbankan UUP dan SDLP yang lebih moderat. Terlepas dari adanya persamaan-persamaan dan perbedaan-perbedaan di antara Partai Aceh dan Partai Sinn Feinn serta perbedaan dalam optimalisasi aspek-aspek internal yang diperbandingkan serta perbedaan aspek-aspek eksternal yang melingkupinya, faktanya ada kesenjangan dalam perolehan suara Partai Aceh dan Partai Sinn Feinn di beberapa Pemilu yang diikutinya. Partai Aceh mengalami penurunan perolehan suara dari pemilu ke pemilu, sehingga menimbulkan kekhawatiran bahwa partai tersebut mungkin tidak lagi menjadi kekuatan politik yang signifikan di Aceh. Sementara itu, Partai Sinn Fein berhasil mempertahankan dan bahkan meningkatkan perolehan suara mereka dari waktu ke waktu, mencetak kemenangan dalam pemilihan penting di Irlandia Utara.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Transformation is a fundamental change process to change a situation for the better.

Transformation is not only related to policies and institutions, but also changes in values and attitudes to achieve change in an environment. However, new problems in the globalization process include issues related to human rights, political, economic and social changes, followed by the emergence of various conflicts (Wahyudi, 2013). Resolving conflict in a country is not easy to achieve, especially since the conflict has been going on for a long time.

In the last few decades, conflicts within a country have continued to emerge, such as conflicts between ethnicities, races and separatism. In Indonesia, a separatist movement emerged, namely the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), which aimed to separate itself from Indonesia (Pratiwi, 2019). Likewise, what happened in Northern Ireland, the separatist Irish Republican Army (IRA) movement had the aim of breaking away from the Kingdom of Great Britain or England and joining the Republic of Ireland (Maharani, Akim, & Dermawan, 2020). These two movements have almost the same characteristics, choosing to use armed movements as a way to fight for their interests and having their own organic army that has been going on for a long time.

In the context of conflict resolution, these two countries have several similarities and differences. The similarities are, first, in the resolution of the Aceh conflict, the Central Government granted special autonomy to Aceh (Law, 2001). Likewise with conflict resolution in Northern Ireland where to end the conflict a devolved government was formed which transferred power directly from London in the form of the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive Committee (Archik, 2023). Second, in efforts to resolve the conflict, Northern Ireland directly involved conflict parties such as the British Government, the Republic of Ireland and Sinn Fein as the political wing of the IRA (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1998). Likewise, with settlement efforts in Aceh, the Indonesian Government and GAM were directly involved in the Aceh peace negotiations (Nurhasim M., 2016). Third, both Aceh and Northern Ireland chose to end the conflict with elections and become involved in local government through local political parties. Fourth, in its demand for independence, GAM has support from the Intellectual Movement which is part of the Aceh Referendum Center (SIRA), the same as the IRA which has a movement wing, namely Sinn Fein.

Meanwhile, the difference is that GAM is an armed movement that wants to separate itself from the Republic of Indonesia and establish its own state. Meanwhile, the IRA movement wants to separate itself from the United Kingdom or Great Britain and join the Republic of Ireland (Maharani, Akim, & Dermawan, 2020). Then, the GAM separatist movement was caused by disappointment with the Central Government, while the IRA movement started from a religious conflict between the Catholic community and the Protestant community. The end of the armed conflict in Aceh between RI and GAM has brought significant changes to the socio-political conditions in Aceh. In a conflict, conflict resolution is needed as a resolution between conflicting parties. If you look at the case in Aceh, the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) peace agreement in Helsinki, Finland on August 15 2005 between the Indonesian Government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) was the right step in ending the protracted conflict in Aceh. Likewise, the Good Friday Agreement has ended the long-standing conflict that occurred in Northern Ireland between the Catholic/Nationalist community and the Protestant/Unionist community.

In Aceh, GAM's transition from an armed guerrilla movement to the world of electoral politics has been fulfilled by the formation of a local political party, namely the Aceh Party, as a channel for the aspirations of ex-GAM combatants to maintain peace after the Helsinki MoU and fight for Acehnese values through political channels to achieve welfare and prosperity for the people of Aceh (Nurhasim, 2016). The same thing happened in Northern Ireland, although along the way the Sinn Fein Party was suspended and prohibited from participating in the elections in 1974 due to the large number of IRA members in the Sinn Fein Party. Through the Good Friday Agreement, the Sinn Fein Party returned to the political arena as a representative of Nationalists/Catholics in Northern Ireland. Looking at the conflict in Aceh and Northern Ireland, the formation of local political parties is an option in resolving the conflict because it is one way to fight for the interests

of the parties in conflict through political channels. So that in political struggle they can formulate appropriate policies in order to maintain peace. In Aceh, GAM formed a Local Party as a political vehicle to participate in political contestations at the local level and compete with the National Party in general elections (Nurhasim M., 2016). In Northern Ireland, two groups of local political parties emerged as representatives of each group, namely the Sinn Fein Party representing the Catholic/Nationalist community and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) as the party representing the Protestant/unionist community (Whyte, 2005).

Northern Ireland and Aceh chose to institutionalize local political parties to end the prolonged conflict in their respective regions. In the process of transition to the world of politics, namely local political contestation, there are different trends between the Aceh Party and the Sinn Fein Party. In Aceh, the Aceh Party has participated in election contests three times after peace, in general the Aceh Party's vote share in the local parliament has experienced a decline in seats, where in the 2009 legislative elections the Aceh Local Party succeeded in obtaining 34 of the total 69 seats which made the Aceh party the winner in the 2009 legislative election. Then, in the 2014 legislative election, the Aceh party experienced a decline in votes and was only able to get 29 seats out of a total of 81 seats. Finally, in the 2019 legislative elections, the Acehnese party was only able to retain 18 seats out of 81 seats in the local parliament. This means that during the 15 years of legislative elections in which the Aceh Party took part, the trend in vote share has been decreasing.

This is different from what was found in the Sinn Fein Party, where in the local elections in the Northern Ireland Assembly in 2011, the Sinn Fein Party managed to win 29 seats out of a total of 108 seats. Furthermore, elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly were accelerated in 2017 where Sinn Fein won 27 seats out of 90. This gain is relatively significant because of the reduction in the number of seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly from previously 108 seats to 90 seats. Finally, in the 2022 election, the Sinn Fein party succeeded in making new history by securing 27 seats and succeeded in defeating the pro-British Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), which only won 25 seats out of a total of 90 seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly. This victory has ended the dominance of pro-British parties in the Northern Ireland Majalis.

The reason the researcher chose the Aceh Party and Sinn Fein as the main cases in this comparative study is: Firstly, the Aceh Party and Sinn Fein are an inseparable part of the struggle for independence for their respective regions, apart from that the process of the birth of local parties in both countries was equally born from armed movements. Second, political stability in the two regions after the war, where both the Aceh Party and Sinn Fein as the main political parties have had sufficient time to develop in the democratic transition. Third, both Aceh and Northern Ireland have had intense conflicts and long-standing wars. Fourth, through Aceh and Northern Ireland we can study the post-war institutionalization of political parties that were actively involved in the electoral process. Fifth, there has been no scientific research comparing the post-war institutionalization of political parties in Aceh and Northern Ireland, although various aspects of both reconstruction and democratization in Aceh and Northern Ireland have been widely studied regarding the conflict between the two. Therefore, the institutionalization of political parties in Aceh and Northern Ireland is interesting for research through comparative studies.

This research aims to look at the development of local parties after the conflict by comparing the Aceh Party in Indonesia and the Sinn Fein Party in Northern Ireland. The researcher will explain through descriptions various aspects of the development of the two parties after the peace agreement. Through this research, it is hoped that academically, scientifically, it can contribute to scientific analysis regarding the institutionalization of local political parties as an option for conflict resolution. Then practically, this research serves as a reference for the government, especially Indonesia, to maintain peace in post-conflict areas and prevent the persistence of new separatist groups emerging in Indonesia. Academically and practically, both can be applied in all countries, especially those that have the same characteristics.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research uses a comparative or comparative method. This comparative method is used by referring to the concept put forward by Sigmund Neumann, namely that when carrying out comparative political parties you need to pay attention to things like this: First, comparative regarding the meaning of political parties. Second, comparative party systems, because a one-party system is contradictory to a democratic system which only provides the possibility if there are at least two parties competing fairly and openly directly through general elections. Third, comparisons between political parties relate to the function of political parties in democratic systems and dictatorial regimes. Fourth, comparative in the field of sociology of political parties, this is because there are differences in terms such as leaders and followers, participants and officials in different political systems. Fifth, comparative regarding the attitude of a political party to the plurality of society, namely that there are elements of other political forces in society such as group pressure, civil society and others. This democratic regime will create dynamics related to differences and tug-of-war between political forces, meanwhile this dictatorial regime places limits on the space for movement. Sixth, comparisons between political parties are based on their international ideology. Globalization provides the possibility of internationalization of parties, namely the differentiation of parties based on ideology and the merging of forces between political parties in various countries that have similar ideologies. Several factors stated by Neumann will also be compared in this thesis, such as aspects of ideology, leadership, organizational model, mass base, recruitment system and also the strategy towards plurality shown by both the Aceh Party and the Sinn Fein Party as well as regarding the interrelationship of these aspects. that was with the election wins by both political parties.

In connection with the use of this comparative method, based on research from Hans Keman, it is very important from the start to know what needs to be compared, then in what time period it can be compared and what the techniques for comparing it are. In this thesis, all this will be explained from the start, what will be compared are the factors that played a role in the victory of the Aceh Party elections in the period 2009-2019 and the victory of the Sinn Fein Party elections in the period 2007-2022. No less important will also be discussed regarding the reasons for comparing these two parties. Therefore, the questions of what to compare, when and how to compare the units of analysis between the Aceh Party and the Sinn Fein Party have been determined before this research is systematically analyzed and interpreted.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

History of the Birth of the Aceh Party

The birth of local political parties in Aceh is the realization of one of the points of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Indonesian Government and GAM which was signed on 15 August 2005 in Helsinki, Finland. On August 15 2005, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Hamid Awaluddin who served as Minister of Law and Human Rights, and also on behalf of the Leader of the Free Aceh Movement Malik Mahmud signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in Helsinki, Finland. This peace agreement also ended the 30 year long conflict between the Free Aceh Movement and the Republic of Indonesia. The conflicting parties took a middle path to resolve the conflict so that the post-Tsunami Aceh reconstruction process could be carried out without obstacles (partaiaceh.org).

One of the important points of the peace agreement is the existence of local political parties in Aceh, which is stated in point 1.2.1 of the Helsinki MoU:

As soon as possible, but no later than one year from the signing of this Memorandum of Understanding, the Indonesian Government agrees and will facilitate the formation of political parties based in Aceh that meet national requirements. Understanding the aspirations of the Acehnese people for local political parties, the Indonesian Government, within one year, or no later than 18 months from the signing of this Memorandum of

Understanding, will create political and legal conditions for the establishment of local political parties in Aceh in consultation with the People's Representative Council.

The timely implementation of this Memorandum of Understanding will make a positive contribution to this goal. On this basis, GAM does not want to lose their democratic and just future. The establishment of the Aceh party, to maintain true peace and dignity, and to build Aceh's future on democratic principles with the existence of local political parties. So from a historical perspective, the formation of local parties is a transformation from a rebel organization aiming for independence into a political organization in the formal democracy that prevails in Indonesia, namely a local political party.

Before the Aceh Party (PA) was formed, former members of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) formed the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA). The formation of the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) aims to maintain control and serve as an informal source and data regarding former Free Aceh Movement (GAM) combatants. The management of the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) itself consists of GAM combatants/members themselves, namely GAM commanders. from sub-district to provincial level. The Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) is considered a forum for former GAM combatants so that they have mutual ties within it. Through the formation of the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA), it is intended that former combatants or combatants remain under control, this is as stated by sources from GAM elements. Apart from that, the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) also functions to provide data on each of its members. The data provided by the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) is very helpful in informing people or combatants of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) who need compensation and other things (Nurhasim, 2008).

Looking at the composition of the Aceh Transitional Committee (KPA) in the social structure in Aceh, it is clear that the Aceh Transitional Committee (KPA) really prioritizes the interests of combatants and former combatants of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). In the transformation, the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) also positioned itself as a forum to accommodate former GAM members before later transforming into the Aceh Party (PA). One of the objectives of the PA as stated in the AD/ART is as follows: Article 4 paragraph (1) states that it realizes the ideals of the Acehnese people in order to uphold the dignity and honor of the Nation, Religion, and State. (2) Realizing the ideals of the Helsinki MoU which was signed by GAM and RI on 15 August 2005 in Helsinki. (3) realizing just, prosperous and equitable material and spiritual prosperity for all the people of Aceh. (4) realizing people's sovereignty in order to develop democratic life, which upholds and respects truth, justice, law and human rights.

It can be understood that the formation of the Aceh Party was to realize the ideals of the Helsinki MoU and the main aim of establishing this party was to bring fair and prosperous prosperity to all levels of Acehnese society. What the community hoped for after the conflict was truly realized by all local parties in Aceh, including the Acehnese party itself. This is the main aim of forming a local party in Aceh, and it is hoped that the existence of the PA can connect the interests of the people to the elite office holders in Aceh itself. From there the people of Aceh do not want to lose their democratic, just and dignified future under the umbrella of legal certainty with an economic formulation that favors the people of Aceh in particular and the entire country in general. The parties are determined to create conducive conditions so that the government of the Acehnese people can be realized through a democratic and fair process within the unitary state and constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on a long history, the Aceh Party took part and campaigned for the implementation of the Helsinki MoU. With this, the Aceh Party believes it can restore the honor and dignity of the Acehnese nation, as well as realizing just and equitable prosperity.

History of the Birth of the Sinn Fein Party

The history of Sinn Fein refers to republican ideas in the French revolution as expressed in the Irish Unity Movement in 1798. This movement was a rebellion carried out by groups of Irish

people who rejected British rule (National Army Museum, nd.) Apart from that, in 1916 republican socialist thought emerged and increasingly developed following Irish politics. This pushed the ideas of the Sinn Fein movement from the French Revolution towards the principles of equality, secularism and Irish nationalism that pushed for independence from England. Looking at revolutionary and historical traditions, the Sinn Fein party then focused on political participation and activism, political practice, and the process of implementing ideas throughout society, not just the elite (Doyle, 2006).

In 1905, Sinn Fein initiated the Nationalist Congress which was initiated by Arthur Griffith, a journalist. At the congress, Griffith explained several ideas at the congress, namely abstinence and dual monarchy. Abstinence is a political attitude that refuses to be involved in participation in the British parliament, namely Westminster. This is an effort to get elected candidates in Ireland to form their own parliament separate from England. Regarding the dual monarchy, Griffith expressed the idea that Ireland was under the British monarchy, but had special economic and political autonomy. This thought shows that Griffith was not in line with the Republicans who wanted to eliminate all British and Irish relations (Mailot, 2005). In the end, developments in Northern Ireland made Sinn Fein a party in Ireland.

Furthermore, in 1916 a rebellion movement was born by various paramilitary groups, namely the Irish Volunteers or Irish Volunteers, to fight for independence. Then, in 1919 the formation of the IRA in the Sinn Fein parliament under the training and leadership of Michael Collins. At that time, the IRA had become a paramilitary group that fought against the British in the name of independence through armed conflict (Mailot, 2005).

Since 1918, Sinn Fein has participated in Westminster elections under the leadership of Eamon de Valera. A total of 73 selected candidates chose to abstain and formed a parliament separate from England. Sinn Fein has become a force in England through the formation of political institutions and forming a declaration in the process of Irish independence. Furthermore, in 1921 it resulted in independence in the southern part of Ireland and merged Northern Ireland with the British Empire in the north. In this case, the role of Sinn Fein which had become a marginal political force in the late 1920s due to the loss of De Valera as leader along with the severing of ties with the IRA. De Valera split with Sinn Fein by founding the Fianna Fail party which then defeated Sinn Fein in the election campaign in 1932. Then in 1925, the IRA was separated to achieve independent status within the military organization through breaking ties with the party (Mailot, 2005).

In 1949 Ireland in the south or the Irish Independent State had formed the Republic of Ireland which encouraged the IRA in an effort to unify the south and north into one republic. Through the border campaign from 1956 to 1962, the year that all IRA military operations ended. Then, Sinn Fein cut ties with the IRA, gaining the votes of four candidates who were elected to Seanad Eireann or the Parliament of the Republic of Ireland in 1957. Consistently following the tradition of being absent, the candidates refused to take up positions in parliament (Mailot, 2005).

From 1969 to 1970 the Sinn Fein party was divided into two due to the pros and cons of the status of Northern Ireland under the British Empire. The first party still insisted on separating from England and even changed its name to Official Sinn Fein. Meanwhile, the second party still wanted to separate from England and become a group as Nationalists who embedded themselves as Provisional Sinn Fein. Meanwhile, Official Sinn Fein then changed its name to the Labor Party, refusing to abstain from political policy practices carried out through parliament. Meanwhile, the Provisionals remain in principle refusing to participate in parliament.

In addition, Provisional Sinn Fein together with the IRA formed a Nationalist force that remained consistent in eliminating British influence from Irish territory. Both the IRA and Sinn Fein carried out joint movements, even though they had different goals, namely the IRA through armed violence and Sinn Fein through political channels even though they refused to join parliament. The two have a close relationship, which can be seen from the relations between several members who have served in both groups. For example, Sinn Fein's membership which

is connected to the IRA can be seen from Martin McGuinness as the party leader and Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland (2007-2011) who admitted to being a former IRA man (The Journal, 2013). In a speech at Warrington, McGuinness said:

“I was once in the IRA. I am now a peace builder. I don't expect anyone to take me at my word. I expect them to take me by my deeds.”

“I used to be a member of the IRA. Now I am a peace builder. I don't expect anyone to accept my words. I just hope they can accept me based on what I did.”

In contrast to Gerry Adams, even as chairman of Sinn Fein he denied any involvement in IRA membership in the past (Mcenroe, 2012). After carrying out various non-violent movements, Sinn Fein split in 1986, triggered by its stance on abstention. Where, the first party refused to be involved in parliamentary participation which later formed Republican Sinn Fein as proof of remaining consistent in its abstention stance. Meanwhile, the second party, implements changes in movements that are built by political means through elections and is involved in practical political participation in the parliament of the Republic of Ireland, the local parliament of Northern Ireland, and Westminster England (Melaugh, nd). Gerry Adams as the leader of the second party has brought the Sinn Fein party to an important role in the Nationalist group in Northern Ireland through political representation, until now the party is known as "Sinn Fein" which is used by the author in this thesis research.

Since deciding to be involved in the electoral process, the Sinn Fein party has made many efforts to encourage the peace process in Northern Ireland through various strategies such as participation in the Framework Document (1995) which led to the Good Friday Agreement (1998). Under the agreement, devolved government and some powers can be seen through an Executive Committee and an Assembly elected by popular vote. The agreement is one of the significant steps implemented by the party in the context of peace.

As a representative of nationalists, the Sinn Fein party is competing for positions in the Northern Ireland Assembly. In addition, they also have representation in the House of Commons as the British House of Commons along with the Oireachtas as the parliament of the Republic of Ireland.

Institutionalization of the Aceh Party and the Post-Peace Sinn Fein Party

The institutionalization of the Aceh party can be seen from several aspects, namely system, value identity and reification. This systemic aspect has an important role in seeing the institutional level of the party. This is because it will show that the Aceh party has a weak systemic level as a political party. In other words, the institution of the Aceh party was built as a form of adjustment to the governance and administrative requirements of party institutions which have been regulated in Aceh government legislation as a translation of the peace agreement of the independent Aceh movement to be within the framework of the archipelagic state of the Republic of Indonesia.

The second aspect is value identity. Value identity can be seen from the party's ideology or platform, the social base of its supporters and members' identification with the pattern and direction of the party's struggle. Today the Aceh party is experiencing a shift process, where there is a shift from ideological to the level of political mission in controlling capital resources. The ideology of Aceh faded along with the spirit of fighting over resources. This condition weakens party institutionalization at the internal level. In this case, party institutionalization is influenced by the triangulation of forces, namely KPA, BRA and AFI. The presence of informal institutions around the Aceh Party shows that the Aceh Party still has strong institutionalization in terms of decision autonomy.

The third aspect is reification. This reification is related to the relationship or attachment of the Aceh Party to its constituents. The existence of the Aceh party has been embedded in the public imagination. The Aceh Party is very strong in playing its political symbols. The symbols often used in political marketing are the Helsinki MoU and UUPA. These two symbols also supported the heorism during the conflict and struggle to maintain the long-standing history of

the glory of the Kingdom of Aceh under Sultan Iskandar Muda. From the three aspects described above regarding the institutionalization of the Aceh Party, it can be said to be weak in terms of institutionalization. The consistency of the strong institutionalization of the Aceh Party can only be found from the aspect of decision authority. Where decision authority still resides in the party without influence from outside the party. However, from the aspects of systemic, reification and value identity, the Aceh Party shows a weakening of the party's institutionalization. The Aceh Party's organizational maturity, both government structure and the party's stable financial foundation, means the party remains stable. The party's campaign strategy, which was launched using guerrilla tactics, followed GAM's previous combat structure.

As for the Sinn Fein party in post-conflict politics Sinn Féin quickly established itself as the largest party in the opposing bloc at the expense of the more moderate UUP and SDLP. Sinn Féin is labeled as a party of pragmatic ethnic tribunes in terms of seeking resources and institutional incentives but simultaneously stubborn in terms of identity and a tendency to strengthen the appeal of ethnic tribunes. Sinn Féin became a well-organized party by making a transition from military confrontation to changing the source of organizational power and authority in an effort to professionalize the party. One example is the need to identify, recruit and retain a large number of suitable candidates for public office, who are competent and loyal to the goals of the organization.

The Sinn Fein Party carried out the transition from armed struggle to politics, although the transition to democracy was slow, but Sinn Fein was finally able to become the main nationalist political force in Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein focused on eliminating unpopular connections, party strategy, organizational structure (centralization and intra-party authority), professionalization, and support for more progressive politics (gay rights, gender equality). The Sinn Féin party's strategy has been to broaden its appeal within the nationalist bloc rather than widen their electoral base of support to cut the communal divide, a strategy that has been described as catch-alone rather than catch-all.

Despite the similarities and differences between the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party as well as differences in the optimization of the internal aspects being compared and differences in external aspects surrounding them, the fact is that there is a gap in the vote acquisition of the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party in several elections he participated in. After being legalized as a locally based political party, the Aceh Party had a new glimpse in its struggle, where previously fighting using weapons had now turned into fighting in the political field, fighting for power by winning as many votes from the people of Aceh in the general election (Pemilu). At the beginning of its participation In the General Elections (Pemilu), especially the provincial legislative elections (DPRA) in 2009, the Aceh Party received very high trust from the public, this is proven by the percentage of votes obtained by the Aceh Party, namely 46.91 percent of the votes which were realized in 33 Provincial DPRD seats. of the 69 seats available. Then in the 2014 and 2019 legislative general elections, the Aceh Party again emerged as the winner of the elections and still dominated the DPRA seats with a vote percentage of 35.30% respectively, which resulted in 29 DPRA seats and 21.35% which resulted in 18 DPRA seats. Even though the Aceh Party's dominance at the DPRA level in two elections continues, the Aceh Party has experienced a significant erosion of seats and votes since it first contested the DPRA legislative elections in 2009.

Based on information from (Niall,2023) The Republic of Ireland experienced a political earthquake during the general election on Saturday with Sinn Féin topping the poll with 24.5 percent of the vote at 12:00 on Monday. This was done in front of Fianna Fáil, which has 22.18 percent, and Fine Gael, which has 20.86 percent. The Irish political system has traditionally been dominated by the latter two parties with Sinn Féin remaining on the fringes, mainly due to its association with the IRA during the conflict. Soaring rents, a major homelessness crisis and long hospital waiting lists have resulted in voters opting for alternatives, fueling his rise. Fianna Fáil is still being blamed for the financial crisis while Fianna Gael is being held to account for its

current frustrations.

Sinn Féin's slow but steady rise is clear, with the republican-oriented Party taking 1.2 percent of the vote in the 1989 general election and in 2011 and 2016, taking 9.9 and 13.8 percent respectively. Neither party will win enough seats for an outright majority and Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil have both ruled out forming a coalition with Sinn Féin. Mary Lou McDonald, leader of Sinn Féin, said she was considering the possibility of forming a new government without Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

In the political space, political parties continue to carry out centralized party practices, making it difficult for local actors/figures to obtain important positions. On the other hand, during campaigns, whether to gain support for the legislature or executive, local actors or figures are always used to seek support. As a result, dissatisfaction arises which leads to small conflicts. Talking about the institutionalization of political parties using Randall and Svasands (2002) theory as a starting point will actually illustrate the complexity of the Aceh Party and the Sinn Fein Party as political parties. Because the concept put forward by Randall and Svansand explains that institutionalization is not only seen from within the party itself but also from the party's external side which will indirectly have an impact on the level of party institutionalization.

Randall and Svasands (2002) refer to 2 dimensions, namely value identity and reification, showing that the Aceh Party is still experiencing weaknesses in terms of party institutionalization. However, on the other hand, the strategy of patronage patterns managed and implemented by the Aceh Party in running its party is used as a strategy to achieve party consolidation. Both consolidation within the party and external to the party in terms of maintaining the stability of grassroots support, an image of strength in the eyes of political opponents. Basically, the Aceh Party has the opportunity to realize strong institutionalization. In reality, the pattern of patronage is maintained by the Aceh Party to maximize the achievement of its political goals.

Meanwhile, the Sinn Féin Party, although it has carried out a slow but systemic transition, to eventually become the main nationalist political force in Northern Ireland. As long as the PIRA was active, there were limits to Sinn Féin's electoral success, but after the PIRA left, Sinn Féin appreciated electorally and then supported the post-GFA dispensation in what proved to be a logical political step. Sinn Féin's success reflects the party's growth in being seen as a genuine political force with wider electoral appeal. Both the Aceh Party and the Sinn Fein Party show the importance of local political parties as instruments in building post-conflict political stability. The political transition process towards peace requires commitment and cooperation between local political parties, the central government and society as a whole. The institutionalization of local parties can be an effective channel to accommodate the political interests of separatist groups and create sustainable peace.

In this research, researchers also discuss internal and external factors that influence the institutionalization of the Aceh Party and the Sinn Fein Party. These internal factors consist of (a) Ideology; (b) Organizational Model; (c) Mass Basis; (d) Recruitment System; (d) Leadership; (e) Strategy. Meanwhile, the external aspects are religious and educational issues.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research described above, it can be concluded that the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party are local parties that were born from conflicts in their respective countries, namely the Aceh Party from the conflict between the Free Aceh Movement and Indonesia and the Sinn Feinn Party from the conflict in Northern Ireland. These two local parties have similarities and differences. These two parties, namely the Aceh party and the Sinn Fein party, after peace or after the end of the conflict experienced changes in their institutionalization. For Acehnese parties in the post-conflict democratic transition, political parties tend to implement a pattern of patronage in terms of maximizing the functioning of party machines to achieve political goals. As for the Sinn Fein party in post-conflict politics Sinn Féin quickly established itself as the largest party in the opposing bloc at the expense of the more moderate UUP and

SDLP.

Despite the similarities and differences between the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party as well as differences in the optimization of the internal aspects being compared and differences in external aspects surrounding them, the fact is that there is a gap in the vote acquisition of the Aceh Party and the Sinn Feinn Party in several elections he participated in. The Aceh Party experienced a decline in its vote share from election to election, raising concerns that the party may no longer be a significant political force in Aceh. Meanwhile, the Sinn Fein Party managed to maintain and even increase their vote share over time, scoring victories in key elections in Northern Ireland.

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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