

# Jurnal Indo-Islamika

Volume 12, No. 2, July-December 2022, (114-128)

Office : Graduate School Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta

Website OJS : [journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/indo-islamika](http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/indo-islamika)

E-mail: [indoislamika@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:indoislamika@uinjkt.ac.id)

P-ISSN: [2088-9445](https://doi.org/10.2088-9445) | E-ISSN: [2723-1135](https://doi.org/10.2723-1135)

## Geopolitic Reconstruction of Religion (Learning from Hurgronje in Religion versus Government Conflict Management)

Murry Darmoko Moersidin<sup>1</sup>, Nadhif Muhammad Mumtaz<sup>2</sup>, Ayna Jamila  
Salsabila<sup>3</sup>, Khalid Ibrahim Alu Hasan<sup>4</sup>, Isna Sholihaturrehmaniah<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhayangkara University Surabaya, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> International Islamic University of Indonesia

<sup>3</sup> Gadjah Mada University

<sup>4</sup> King Abdulaziz University

<sup>5</sup> State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

<sup>1</sup> Jl. Ahmad Yani Frontage Road Ahmad Yani, Ketintang, Gayungan, Surabaya, Jawa Timur  
60231

<sup>2</sup> Jl. Raya Bogor, Cisalak, Sukmajaya, Depok, Jawa Barat 16416

<sup>3</sup> Jl. Bulaksumur, Caturtunggal, Kec. Depok, Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281

<sup>4</sup> F6VQ+8M2، شارع الإدارة، King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah 22254, Arab Saudi

<sup>5</sup> Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Papringan, Caturtunggal, Kec. Depok, Kabupaten Sleman, Daerah  
Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281

### ABSTRACT

#### Article:

Accepted: August 23, 2022

Revised: July 22, 2022

Issued: December 28, 2022

© 2022 The Author(s).



This is an open access article  
under the [CC BY-SA](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license

DOI: [10.15408/jii.v12i2.28975](https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v12i2.28975)

#### \*Correspondence Address:

[murry@ubhara.ac.id](mailto:murry@ubhara.ac.id)

Political expression of religion can be dangerous for good governance system. And this has really happened in Indonesian history, both during the Dutch occupation and when Indonesia became independent. Religion has become a political vehicle in various forms of political parties and non-parties. Religion also caused military wars which resulted in heavy casualties. The research questions are: What are the factors that turn religion against the government? How did Hurgronje resolve the religious versus government conflict? The approach is carried out with the Sociology of Religion. This paper uses the IMRAD style. Materials obtained through documents and internet news media. The method used is qualitative. The Results: religion as a political doctrine will lead to conflict religion and government and through three groupings of the role of religion in the right portion, ala Hurgronje, will enable the government to reduce conflict.

**Keywords;** Hurgronje, Conflict Management, Geopolitics of Religion, The Right Portion of Religion

## Introduction

This paper divides three times that have similar events as the background of this study, namely anxiety about attitudes and behavior in the name of religion and using them as a political tool against legitimate government. Since time Colonization, from 1803 - 1904 three wars had happened in Indonesia until 2020 which FPI has been disbanded.

During the Dutch era, religion became the enemy of the government, especially in political resistance using religious slogans. Jihad fi Sabilillah, Syahid and against Murtad / infidel 'kafir' were the key words in the three Dutch wars against the natives. Padri War in West Sumatra 1803-1838<sup>1</sup>, Java War (Diponegoro) 1825-1830<sup>2</sup>, and the Aceh War, 1873-1904<sup>3</sup>.

In historical records, the Padri war lasted from 1803 to 1838, 35 years. The war began with fellow Minang natives. The cause of the war was due to the disagreement between the Padri people led by Tuanku Imam Bonjol (Muhammad Syahab who also had the titles Peto Syarif and Malin Basa) and the indigenous people of the Pagaru kingdom led by Sultan Arifin Muningsyah. The Padri were pioneered by Haji Miskin, Haji Manik and Haji Piobang after returning from Mecca to bring the Wahhabi school of thought movement that wanted pure Islamic law to apply in the implementation of people's lives. This movement is supported by Tuanku Nan Renceh<sup>4</sup>. The word Padri is referred to in several meanings, first, from a city name, namely the city of Pidie which is located in Aceh as a port for the pilgrimage to Mecca, secondly it means people who are religious and sharia-compliant, third from Spanish, namely Padre which means priest or monk<sup>5</sup>.

Things that were valid and allowed by custom before such as cockfighting, gambling and liquor got opposition from the scholars by applying *Amar ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. The Padri movement was able to defeat the Indigenous people who then asked the Dutch for help. The Dutch with the divide at Impera strategy were increasingly successful in dividing the natives by fighting each other among the natives. The Dutch succeeded in establishing a fort at Batusangkar Fort van der Capellen as evidence of the defeat of the Padri. Several wars occurred resulting in a ceasefire and the Masang agreement. Tuanku Imam Bonjol invited the Padri and Indigenous people to unite against the Dutch on the grounds that the real enemy of the natives was the Dutch and this invitation was successfully realized in the Peak Pato Plaque in Tabek Patah with the consensus "*Adat basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Kitabullah*"<sup>6</sup>.

The Dutch succeeded in capturing Tuanku Imam Bonjol in 1837 and banishing him to Cianjur, then to Manado and he died there<sup>7</sup>. Religion as a political doctrine was actually applied in the Padri war as a proof of legality in seizing power and regulating the order of life as well as the mention of *kufur*/infidel as a crime that must be fought with the concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Taufik Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1991). p. 64

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Rohim, *De Java-Oorlog: Rangkuman Kronik Perang Jawa, 1825-1830* (Yogyakarta: Anak Hebat Indonesia, 2022). p. 43

<sup>3</sup> Ali Hasymy, *Peranan Islam Dalam Perang Aceh Dan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976). p. 53

<sup>4</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Netherlands: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2004). p. 71

<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Dahlan Mansoer, *Sedjarah Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Bhrotara, 1970). p. 101

<sup>6</sup> Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2009). p. 75

<sup>7</sup> Fajriudin Muttaqin, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional* (Jakarta: Humaniora, 2015). p. 132

The Java War or known as the Diponegoro war was a war led by Prince Diponegoro whose original name was Raden Mas Ontowiryo, son of Sultan Hamengkubuwono III,<sup>8</sup> but not the biological son of the queen. This war from various versions of history was caused by several things, first, the Dutch implemented taxes that made it difficult for the people, second, the peasants became forced workers, The Dutch intervened in the affairs of the two palaces of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and pegged the lands the ancestral grave of Prince Diponegoro.

The war strategy applied at that time was to combine the indigenous rulers and the ulama against the Dutch, with several strategies, first by isolating Dutch troops and preventing outside aid from entering Yogyakarta, second by selecting friends and opponents from the nobility, third by strengthening the unity of the ulama and the regents and the people against the Dutch, fourth by establishing a war and defense area. The implementation of this strategy was carried out by guerrilla warfare and attrition wars (banquets) for five years and extended to Banyumas, Kedu, Pekalongan, Semarang and Rembang, as well as to Madiun, Magetan, and Kediri.

Diponegoro surrendered on March 28, 1830 in order to free his troops who were prisoners held by the Dutch and then exiled to Makassar until he died<sup>9</sup>. The status of Diponegoro's defeat showed positive values for the Dutch: the kings and regents of Java were subject to the Dutch and the island of Java was completely under Dutch rule. The war strategy carried out by the prince could be conquered by the Dutch with the Stelsel Fort strategy by General de Kock by building forts in every corner of the conquered territory<sup>10</sup>. Religion as a political doctrine in the Diponegoro war was actually practiced in terms of gathering the strength of the ulama as a jihad against *kufur*/infidels.

The Aceh War is considered to have truly ended with the death of Cut Nyak Dien in 1910 in Sumedang, West Java. There were several reasons for the war, first, the 1824 London Treaty which made Aceh a buffer zone for British rule in Malacca and in return Bengkulu was handed over to the Dutch, second, the 1871 Sumatra Treaty as a result of the 1869 Suez Canal which made Aceh's waters a European shipping route to Asia and on the contrary, which became an important role in colonialization, third, the diplomacy of the Aceh kingdom with Italy, Turkey and the United States which the Dutch feared to gain recognition of Aceh's sovereignty, fourth, the Aceh Sultanate rejected the presence of the Netherlands as a government that regulates political and economic authority<sup>11</sup>.

The war takes place in four phases. The first phase (1873-1874), dated March 26, 1873, began with a Dutch ship under the leadership of Citadel van Antwerpen anchoring in Aceh and declaring war. On April 6, 1873, General JHR Kohler anchored in West Aceh and started the war and met resistance from the Panglima Polim and Sultan Mahmud Syah with the slogan "*Jihad fi Sabilillah*". The second phase (1874-1880), General Jan van Swieten succeeded in controlling the sultanate of Aceh Darussalam then war continued and was carried out in a guerrilla manner led by Tuanku Muhammad Dawood. The third phase (1881-1896), Teuku Umar, Cik Ditiro, Panglima Polim and Cut Nyak Dien led the people of Aceh to carry out a guerrilla war against the Netherlands. In 1891, Snouck Hurgronje came to Aceh on duty as a Dutch advisor<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>8</sup> Alvin Noor Sahab "Succession of King Hamengku Buwono X Ngayogyakarta." In *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana* Vol. 24, No. 6, 2019, p. 227.

<sup>9</sup> Peri Mardiono, *Melacak Gerakan Perlawanan Dan Laku Spiritualitas Pangeran Diponegoro* (Yogyakarta: Araska Publishing, 2020). p. 54

<sup>10</sup> P. B. R. Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2007). p. 55

<sup>11</sup> Anthony Reid, *An Indonesian Frontier: Acehnese and Other Histories of Sumatra* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005). p. 90

<sup>12</sup> Edwin Wieringa Arndt Graf, Susanne Schroter, *Aceh: History, Politics and Culture* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010). p. 85

The fourth phase (1896-1910), after Teuku Umar died on February 11, 1899, the resistance of the Acehnese people was continued by Cut Nyak Dien and Pocut Baren.<sup>13</sup>

The Dutch, acknowledged or not by some scholars, were finally able to conquer Aceh by using the advice given by Snouck Hurgronje including the "Korps Marchausse" (a troop consisting of Indonesians under the leadership of Dutch officers) and the application of *Devide et Impera* and "Stelsel Concentration" (concentration of troops in one area). The Aceh war, which is also known as the Sabil war, has used religion as a political doctrine against *kufir*/infidel, even though in the London and Sumatra treaties, Aceh's sovereignty was not yet recognized by Italy, Turkiye and the United States, which made the Dutch want to make Aceh a part of the Dutch East Indies.

These wars are tiring and take a lot of casualties and costs that should not be incurred. The Dutch appointed Hurgronje to solve religious problems against the government, and managed to stop the war with various advice. Even Hurgronje can obscure the roles and symbols of religion which are then highlighted and replaced with traditional roles and symbols. Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad (KBA), the author of *Acehnology*, assesses that Hurgronje's book about Aceh has changed the way the people think that what is known as custom is culture, while *adat* in Acehnese society is the law practiced by the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam.<sup>14</sup>

The Independence Period, since Soekarno, Suharto and then passed down until the reform order took place, from 1945 to 2014, religion was still used as a political tool. The war of the Sukarno government against the Islamic State of Indonesia / Darul Islam-Indonesian Islamic Army (NII / DI-TII) since 1949 – 1965. Human rights violations, another term for the conflict between the government and religion during the Suharto era in fighting religious groups, such as the 1984-1987 Tanjung Priok Incident, the 1984-1987 Talang Sari Incident, and the 1989-1998 Aceh Military Operation Area (DOM)<sup>15</sup>. Terrorism cases, HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) and FPI (Front Pembela Islam)<sup>16</sup> in Indonesia are a repetition of the same pattern, namely religion is the central issue in the struggle for power in Indonesia at different times and actors.

Soekarno eradicated Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) by arresting Kartosuwiryo, its founder, at Gunung Geber on June 4, 1962 by troops from the Siliwangi division and sentenced to death in September 1962 and buried on Pulau Ubi, Kepulauan Seribu. Previously, DI/TII carried out an assassination attempt on Sukarno, including on November 30, 1957 by throwing grenades at the Cikini College charity night and on May 14, 1962, when Soekarno performed the Eid al-Adha prayer, by ordering his troops to kill Soekarno, but failed. Kartosuwiryo has been a friend of Soekarno since 1918 when they studied together with HOS Cokroaminoto and turned into enemies on August 7, 1949 when DI/TII was proclaimed. Kartosuwiryo wanted to establish an Islamic state and was disappointed when the Renville agreement was signed in 1948 when Indonesian followers were required to vacate the territory of West Java and move to Central Java. For Kartosuwiryo this is a betrayal of the people of West Java. Kartosuwiryo rebelled with his army of troops, Hezbollah and Sabilillah, which numbered 2000 followers. Peace was made through Natsir (a Masjumi figure) but to no avail. Starting August 27, 1949, the Baratayudha military operation began to resolve the

<sup>13</sup> Hasanawi Masturi, Asyrafinafilah Hasanawi, and Adib Hasanawi, "Strategi Perang Semesta Dalam Perang Aceh (1873-1912)," in *Jurnal Inovasi Penelitian* 1, no. 10, 2021, p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, "Acehnologi: Pengaruh Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Pemahaman Adat Di Aceh - YouTube," December 2, 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKhS\\_1xh6co](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKhS_1xh6co). on accessed July 20, 2022.

<sup>15</sup> Rinaldo Adi Pratama and Yusuf Perdana, *Sejarah Indonesia Masa Orde Baru Hingga Reformasi* (Boyolali: Penerbit Lakeisha, 2022). p. 58

<sup>16</sup> Hartanto, *Politik Parole: Dari Supersemar Hingga HTI Dan Hal Kontemporer* (Jakarta: LPMI, 2020). p. 71



war carried out by DI/TII until 1962<sup>17</sup>. The desire to establish a state based on Islam has made Kartosuwiryo use religion as a political doctrine in defiance and against the agreement agreed upon by the founding fathers in 1945.

During Suharto's reign, religion was used as a political doctrine and used as disbelief to the government in two events, first, Pancasila was used as the sole basis of the organization. Second, Aceh was designated as a Military Operations Area (Daerah Operasi Militer) in an effort to eradicate the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka). The determination of Pancasila as the sole principle as a bulwark to protect Indonesia from communist ideologies and radical Islam. In 1985, Law No. 8/1985 on Social Organizations was enacted. Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah accept Pancasila as the sole principle in organizing as social organizations (organisasi kemasyarakatan) even though there are conflicts of interest within the organization. NU initially refused in 1978 in the General Assembly of the People's Consultative Assembly (Sidang Umum MPR) discussing the State Policy Outline (Garis Besar Haluan Negara /GBHN) on the grounds of equating Islam with belief and the status of Islam as a religion<sup>18</sup>, but in the end, at the NU National Deliberation in 1983 and the 27th NU Congress in 1984 in Situbondo, NU accepted Pancasila as the single principle of mass organizations with three considerations, Islam is a natural religion, the concept of Belief in One Supreme God (the 1st precept) reflects *tawhid* in Islamic faith, the struggle for independence and NU together as a religious obligation.<sup>19</sup>

Those who rejected Pancasila as the sole principle, among others, Abu Bakar Baasyir, the founder of the Al-Mukmin Islamic boarding school, Ngruki Sukoharjo, Central Java, and Sungkar, rejected Pancasila as the sole principle of mass organizations and was imprisoned for 9 years.<sup>20</sup> The Islamic Student Association (HMI) is an organization that was split into two parts, HMI DIPO (which accepted) and HMI MPO (which rejected it) although in the end, after reformation, in 1999 HMI returned to Islamic principles with the continued division of the two camps to this day.<sup>21</sup>

The Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) was formed by Hasan Tiro on December 4, 1976 based on the disappointment felt by the Acehnese people towards the central government, firstly, the non-enactment of *Qanun* in Aceh, the unequal distribution of natural wealth and the increase in Javanese transmigration and urbanization. The war between GAM and the Indonesian National Armed Forces took place in three phases: 1977, 1989 and 1998. The victims were approximately 15,000 people and there were 7000 cases of human rights violations claimed. In 2004 there was a Tsunami in Aceh which became the starting point for peace between GAM and the government. In 2005 there was an agreement in Finland which was monitored by 5 ASEAN countries that the Aceh State Army (Tentara Neugara Aceh) from GAM had

---

<sup>17</sup> Alex Anis Ahmad, *Peranan Organisasi Keamanan Desa (Okd) Sebagai Wahana Bagi Para Pemuda Dalam Menanggapi Gerombolan Di/Tii 1962*, *Jurnal Candrasangkala Pendidikan Sejarah* 3, no. 2 (2017): 27, doi:10.30870/candrasangkala.v3i2.3480.

<sup>18</sup> Faisal Ismail, *Panorama Sejarah Islam Dan Politik Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2017). p. 92

<sup>19</sup> Einar Martahan Sitompul, *NU & Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011). p. 69

<sup>20</sup> Arief Fahmi Lubis, *Perjalanan Panjang TNI Dalam Menjaga Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia Dari Ancaman Terorisme (Memandang Terorisme Dari Sudut Pandang Ancaman Kedaulatan Negara)* (Pasuruan: Qiara Media, 2021). p. 35

<sup>21</sup> Muhammad Sabri, "HMI, Cak Nur Dan Gelombang Intelektualisme Islam Indonesia Jilid 2," *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 2, no. 2 (2014): 317–34, [https://journal3.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus\\_islam/article/view/6527%0Ahttp://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus\\_islam/article/download/6527/5342](https://journal3.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus_islam/article/view/6527%0Ahttp://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus_islam/article/download/6527/5342).

surrendered its weapons and was formally disbanded. GAM later changed to the Aceh Transitional Committee (Komite Peralihan Aceh).<sup>22</sup>

GAM led by Hasan Tiro continued the struggle of Daud Beureueh who was DI/TII Aceh with a declaration against the old Dutch colonialists to the new colonial Java with a new colonial model of exploitation of Aceh's natural resources.<sup>23</sup> During the Military Operations Area with various military operations being carried out, the use of religion as a political doctrine actually occurred and the term "*Jawa-tan Agama*" (Javanese people did not have religion or infidels) became a common nickname for the Javanese Transmigrants.

Since 2014 until now, religion has transformed into the clothes of identity politics and has become the legitimate enemy of the government. Tadpoles '*Cebong*', desert lizards '*Kadal Gurun*' and Bad Bat '*Kampret*' since trending on twitter after the Ahok case have become the new identity of citizens in religious-clad political struggles.<sup>24</sup> The mention of '*kafir*' for Ahok has become a differentiating commodity which has become a negative connotation that can lead to mental persecution of religious politics.<sup>25</sup>

The issue of communism, prohibiting the call to prayer 'azan' and removing religious lessons which Jokowi was accused of, especially in the 2019 presidential election<sup>26</sup> clashed on the struggle for power in religious clothes against the enemies of Tawhid, which in the end was admitted by La Nyala, one of the opponents who declared this issue as slander '*fitnah*'.<sup>27</sup> When Jokowi came to power, the government disbanded two religious organizations, HTI on 19 July 2017<sup>28</sup> and FPI on 30 December 2020.<sup>29</sup>

The approach in this research is carried out through the sociology of religion approach. The sociological paradigm that this research uses is the paradigm of social behavior theory which states that individuals or groups have a tendency to benefit themselves in social interactions through responses and responses. This paradigm of behavior theory is divided into two theories, social exchange and rational choice.

The social exchange theory has several key words, namely: the exchange of something with something else in order to meet and complement each other through consideration of motivation and hedonism, balance of social order, benefits in emotions and pleasure, social validation and getting the maximum possible reward. And rational choice theory relies on intentionality, rationality, calculating risk and uncertainty on resources and opportunities that produce rational choices on social outcomes and the application of game theory in getting rewards and punishments in a cooperative and non-cooperative attitude.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Lambang Trijono, *Transformasi Aceh Menuju Demokrasi: Pilihan Politik Dan Kelembagaan* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2022). p. 95

<sup>23</sup> Kirsten E. Schulze, *The Free Aceh Movement (GAM): Anatomy of a Separatist Organization* (Washington: East-West Center Washington, 2004). p. 86

<sup>24</sup> Nasir Tamara, *Demokrasi Di Era Digital* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2021). p. 201

<sup>25</sup> Faruq Arjuna, *Tatkala Ormas Berpolitik: FPI Sang Kuda Hitam Di Gelanggang Politik Praktis* (Cilacap: Bintang Semesta Media, 2022). p. 36

<sup>26</sup> Redi Panuju, *Pengantar Studi Ilmu Komunikasi: Komunikasi Sebagai Kegiatan Komunikasi Sebagai Ilmu* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2018). p. 54

<sup>27</sup> Mukti Ali Qusyairi, *Jalinan Keislaman, Keumatan, & Kebangsaan: Ulama Bertutur Tentang Jokowi* (Jakarta: Republika, 2018). p. 65

<sup>28</sup> Anton Kurnia, *Pembubaran Ormas: Sejarah Dan Politik-Hukum Di Indonesia (1945-2018)* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2022). p. 56

<sup>29</sup> Zainal Abidin Bagir dan Jimmy Sormin, *Politik Moderasi Dan Kebebasan Beragama: Suatu Tinjauan Kritis* (Semarang: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2022). p. 67

<sup>30</sup> Murry Darmoko, *Modul Kuliah Sosiologi Hukum FH UBHARA Surabaya*, ed. Muniroh Mursan, Ubhara Press, (Surabaya: UBHARA Press, 2017), p. 107.

Durkheim made religion in its form sacred and profane. Sacred (sacrality) and Profane (individual - group practice) can be manifested in similarities and differences which are motivated by various things. Religious texts can be distinguished as sacred and profane in the spirituality of worship which is manifested in various aspects of human life. Durkheim's theory tests the purity of a religious spirituality that appears as an expression of the symbolism of the social reality that occurs.<sup>31</sup>

The sociological approach of religion in this case: (1) measures domination, influence, dependence between individuals - groups on religion or vice versa in the formation of religion as religion and religion as political doctrine which answers the first problem formulation. The influence and dominance of the ulama on the community for religious observance is not as taught in books and recitations held. People have consciously chosen to depend on religion based on the advantages and disadvantages they get, especially in matters relating to political doctrine and (2) examines Hurgronje's geopolitical formula in religious relations - the government in reducing religious conflicts against the government in order to create social balance and religious harmony, both religion as religion and religion as political doctrine.

## Method

The research sources were taken from documents and internet media. This document is the book "*Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa kepegawaiannya kepada pemerintah Hindia Belanda 1889 - 1936*" (INIS Special Series) which is contained in 11 volumes, Indonesian translation. One of them, Hurgronje (residing in Aceh from 16 July 1891 to 4 February 1892) suggested that the government become (1) the facilitator of the haj pilgrimage. In an advisory dated 23 August 1893 Snouck opposed the suggestion of the Minister of Colonies to stimulate pilgrims to purchase round-trip tickets from Indonesia to Arab countries, in order to prevent various financial difficulties around the return journey from the start.<sup>32</sup> At another time, Hurgronje described that the law of marriage, inheritance, property and ownership as well as the structure of village governance in Aceh could (2) be ignored by the Dutch East Indies government because according to him it did not have domination, influence and dependence on the community. However, in terms of religion being used as a political doctrine, Hurgronje advised the government (3) to take a firm stand, especially in the military wars that occurred, the Java war, the Padri war and the Aceh war, because religion was a threat to peace and order by making customary chiefs as government employees. In 1890, when the Aceh war coincided with the pilgrimage, fatwas stated that jihad took precedence over Hajj at the insistence of the Acehnese people and if there were one or two Acehnese who took the pilgrimage by boat because they used a trick.

Hurgronje's advice was not only related to how the Dutch East Indies government dealt with Muslims, but also emphasized that the real threat was Turkiye (Ottoman Empire, at that time) in religion as a political doctrine and that could happen when Turkiye's recognition of Aceh's sovereignty as a state or one Turkiye<sup>33</sup> region. In historical records, Turkiye never recognized the sovereignty of Aceh as a country or recognized it as part of its territory, even though Aceh requested it. The ties forged between Aceh and Turkiye were recorded in terms of military assistance when Turkiye sent his mercenaries to help Aceh to conquer other areas in the archipelago such as the

<sup>31</sup> Kamiruddin Kamiruddin, "Fungsi Sosiologis Agama (Studi Profan Dan Sakral Menurut Emile Durkheim)," in *TOLERANSI: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* Vol. 3, No. 2, December p. 160.

<sup>32</sup> E. Gobe and C. Andriaanse, *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaiannya Kepada Pemerintah Belanda 1889 - 1936*, 1990, p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Oman Fathurahman, "Khilafah Di Nusantara, Benarkah Ada Jejaknya? - Dialog Sejarah | HISTORIA.ID - YouTube," 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kB\\_vfw36lLw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kB_vfw36lLw).

Batak and Aru kingdoms in 1537 and 1538, assisted Aceh's attack on Malacca in 1547 against the Portuguese and in the early 19th century in conquering Aru and Johor. However, Turkiye's recognition of sovereignty was not fulfilled for three reasons, first, the distance between the two regions was too far and second, there was no direct benefit that Turkiye could receive in recognizing Aceh's sovereignty and third, Turkiye's international legal agreement by not going to war with the Dutch.

Hurgronje as a legal expert provides several legal theoretical foundations that until now dominate the pattern of Indonesian law, namely the *receptio* theory which ultimately leads to the delegitimization of Islamic law. *Receptio* theory states that Islamic law becomes truly a law that applies in society when it is accepted and practiced by local customs. Snouck found facts in society that indeed many people have embraced Islam, but in daily life the theory and practice are different, such as superstition and worship of holy people and the distribution of inheritance in Java and Madura which are different in the books of *Fiqh* taught by the ulama. There are three laws that apply in Indonesia and must be properly understood by the Dutch East Indies government, namely Islamic law, customary law and western law.<sup>34</sup>

The Dutch East Indies government, if they made the right composition in the implementation of the government, could win conflicts and wars against religion as a political doctrine. Therefore, Hurgronje concludes that the wars in the Dutch East Indies were led by the ulama, especially the *habib / habaib* / descendants of the prophet (a symbol of Husayn who fought Yazid and died in Karbala) not led by the Sultans and traditional leaders, and that was what happened in the Aceh war, the Padri war and the Diponegoro war.

Internet media in the form of news related to research, especially the governments attitude towards religion as a political doctrine, which is reflected in two attitudes, namely military warfare and the dissolution of organizations. In religion as a religion, the government acts as a facilitator and seems indifferent in matters that can be resolved internally religiously. Military wars or sometimes referred to as human rights violations in various major cases were carried out by the Indonesian government during the Soekarno and Soeharto years such as in the NII / DI-TII case, the Tanjung Priok Incident, the Talang Sari Incident, and the Aceh Military Operation Area (DOM).

As for when Jokowi came to power, what the government did was dissolve HTI in 2018 which carried the Islamic Khilafah which contradicts the objectives, principles and characteristics of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution which are dangerous to the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in article 59 paragraph 4 letter c of Law Number 16 2017 concerning Stipulation of Perpu Number 2 of 2017 concerning Amendments to Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations into Law. FPI was disbanded since June 20, 2019 because it does not have legal standing.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the disbandment of FPI and HTI based on matters relating to legal administration and contrary to the basis of the state and the democratic system agreed upon according to the state consensus, the use of religion as a political doctrine appears with the slogans "*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*" and "*takfir*" even for achieve its goals with violence and terror and rely on transnational Islamic groups with fundamentalism and radicalism characteristics, which are not in accordance with the character of the

---

<sup>34</sup> Saidin Ernas, "Pandangan Sonouck Hurgronje Tentang Islam Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Praktik Hukum Dan Politik Di Indonesia," in *DIALEKTIKA* Vol. 12, No. 2 (December 19, 2019), p. 130.

<sup>35</sup> Alifa Nur Fitri, and Silvia Riskha Fabriar, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Pemberitaan Pembubaran FPI Di Media Online," in *IQTIDA : Journal of Da'wah and Communication* Vol. 1, No. 1, 2021, p. 99.



Indonesian Islamic community.<sup>36</sup> Hurgronje's advice is still relevant and can still be practiced today, because the division of religion as religion and religion as political doctrine has helped the government in dealing with religious issues globally and universally.

Soekarno, Suharto and Jokowi in plain view cannot be said to be students of Snouck like the Dutch East Indies government. However, this study can show three similar indications by four governments at different times. Like facilitators in the pilgrimage, the four governments demonstrated the government's hard work in providing services for the pilgrimage to Mecca by preparing related facilities. The hajj quota and its funds are determined by the government so that there is no chaos in the price.

Ignoring internal religious affairs is the second thing the government does, as is the case in marriage, the management of zakat, alms, prayers and others that do not contain elements of resistance to the legitimate government, all of which are carried out by the four governments. And the third thing is by suppressing, dissolving and executing death when religious matters are used to change the basis of the state and destroy the legitimate government in regional law and international law.

Other evidence that Snouck's advice is still being used by the government and parliament is the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia after the Aceh war has been running through 5 theories. First, the Credo/Shahadat theory which states that the application of Islamic law with its various schools of thought applies to those who have said the creed. Second, the Receptio in Complexu theory which means that Islamic law applies to Muslims even though in practice there are deviations such as inheritance law and marriage law. Third, the Receptie theory which reveals that Islamic law can be implemented if it has been accepted by customary law in the community (the theory that was born by Snouck Hurgronje and developed by Van Vollen Hoven and Ter Haar). Fourth, the Receptie Exit theory (initiated by Hazairin) which asserts that the Receptie theory must exit Indonesia because it contradicts the Koran and the Sunnah. Fifth, the Receptie a Contrario theory (modification of Sayuti Talib) which is the development of Receptie Exit, this theory states the opposite of the Receptie theory, namely that customary law applies to Muslims if customary law does not conflict with Islamic law.<sup>37</sup>

## Research Design

This research uses qualitative because this paper prioritizes opinions. The process of sorting and selecting opinions related to classification in providing answers and solutions in this study. Qualitative prioritizes process rather than results in the form of numbers as in the quantitative method. This means that this research will be different along the different processes carried out. This method is applied to the customized research data sources that this research had determined from documents and internet media.

Qualitative research gives more power to the researcher than the numbers obtained during the research. Researchers in qualitative become actors in practical applications of theatrical methods to qualitative research to enhance self-awareness, understanding, and discovery that all work in tandem to enhance the art of qualitative

---

<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Faiq, "Understanding Radicalists and Fundamentalist Islamic Groups in Indonesia: Ideology and Model of Movement," in *TASAMUH: Jurnal Studi Islam* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2021, p. 56.

<sup>37</sup> Anshoruddin, "Beberapa Teori Tentang Berlakunya Hukum Islam Di Indonesia," *Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia*, 2015, p. 9.

research.<sup>38</sup>

The processing of data sources in this research is based on the writings and opinions contained in the advice and suggestions given by Snouck to the Dutch East Indies government by prioritizing the authentic opinions of Snouck contained in the letters. These opinions are then selected and classified into priority and non-priority which is the focus of this research. Then from the various opinions, they are distinguished from pragmatic and non pragmatic in war and non-war solutions. Snouck's opinion, which has become a legal and socio-cultural theory that applies until now, includes the receptive theory which shows that the law that applies in society is not only religious law, but also customary law and its supporters. And history records that the three wars that occurred during the Dutch rule, especially the Aceh war, could be suppressed by the government with the pragmatic advice given by Snouck Hurgronje.

Opinions from experts from Aceh were also conveyed in this study, especially from the author of the book *Acehnologi, KBA*, which in outline shows that Snouck has made Indonesia, especially Aceh, suffer a huge loss by dimming Islamic law that has been in effect since the kingdom. Aceh was established and the regular process of religion faded, especially in defending the homeland from foreign occupation. The symbols and religious slogans used are pride for the people of Aceh and it is a glory when Acehnese die in a war called martyrdom '*mati syahid*'.

According to Chairul Fahmi that Snouck's role as a government advisor after in-depth research and acting as a participant observer by converting to Islam and marrying a native, Snouck has provided facts on the ground that Acehnese people are not only influenced by the ulama, but they also depend on groups Uleebalang. Snouck advised the Dutch government in an effort to conquer Aceh by dominating and strengthening the influence of the government with the Uleebalangs by legitimizing the customary status and social status of the community and providing positions and government positions that benefit both parties in maintaining government stability (so that mutual dependence occurs. profitable). On the other hand, the different handling of groups of ulama who use religion as a political doctrine, then domination is carried out by means of the military and war which causes heavy casualties and losses on both sides.<sup>39</sup>

## Discussions

The research results are as follows: first, Hurgronje divides religion as religion and religion as political doctrine.<sup>40</sup> Religion became the enemy of the government when it was used as a political doctrine. Religion becomes the enemy of the government when religion is made into aspiration, religion will become the enemy of the government which religion is used to seize power, in other words, a political tool. Yaqut stated that religion will work together with the government when religion becomes the inspiration for the values of goodness and peace.<sup>41</sup> Religion as a text that is taught and religion that is practiced are two things that can be different in everyday life. Religion in its main mission is religion as a rule that provides happiness in the world and the hereafter for

<sup>38</sup> Christopher S. Collins and Carrie Stockton, "The Theater of Qualitative Research: The Role of the Researcher/Actor" 21 (May 31, 2022).

<sup>39</sup> Chairul Fahmi, "The Snouck Hurgronje's Doctrine in Conquering the Holy Revolts of Acehnese Natives," in *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* Vol. 10, No. 2, 2021, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> Humar Sidik, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Dinamika Islam Di Aceh Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda," in *Jurnal Artefak* Vol. 7, No. 1, 2020, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> Hanni Sofia, "Gus Yaqut Tak Ingin Agama Dijadikan Alat Politik Menentang Pemerintah," on accessed December 22, 2022, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1909216/gus-yaqut-tak-ingin-agama-dijadikan-alat-politik-menentang-pemerintah>.

humans by obeying God's rules and leaving His prohibitions and His messengers. In its achievement so that the rules and prohibitions apply, religion is used in two different ways, religion as religion and religion as political doctrine. Religion as a political doctrine is something that has been practiced because of the importance of the status of power, even sometimes it comes to the control of natural resources economically and also becomes one of the elements of religion used as a political doctrine.

Second, Hurgronje provides a management solution for the resolution of religious versus government conflicts through three treatments. The first treatment is the facilitator's pattern of religion in the haj pilgrimage service. The second treatment is the pattern of neglect and not interfering with religion. The third treatment is a strict and indiscriminate pattern of religion which is political doctrine. The religious versus government conflict can be resolved properly through these three treatments from Hurgronje and has been proven effective by the government from the Dutch era to President Joko Widodo. In the history of the implementation of his advice by the Dutch government at that time, Snouck came into conflict with the governor general of Aceh and resigned as an advisor because his implementation was sadistic and frontal militarily, not in line with Snouck's expectations. Snouck understands well that the peaceful spread of Islam in the archipelago is a reflection of religion as a religion not religion as a political doctrine, especially during the Wali Songo era.

The discussion on the research results is divided into two camps, Pros and cons. The pros on Hurgronje are based on every successful execution result. Religious events versus the Dutch East Indies government such as the Java war, the Padri war and especially the Aceh war must be admitted that Hurgronje's advice was correct and pragmatic in resolving religious problems as political doctrine, as well as what the Indonesian government did after the Dutch came to power on events that had already occurred. Disclosed until the dissolution of HTI and FPI during Joko Widodo's era. Hurgronje was praised by orientalist such as de Goeje and Theodor Noldeke.

Snouck was the great participant observer in one side and in other side he was the great hypocrite. The great participant observer is indicated by his pragmatic solutions to stopping war. War is stop by any means. He converted to Islam and studied the Strength and Weak of Moslems from inside. Then he was claimed as the great hypocrite which was indicated by his 'murtad' reconverting his old religion. It was indicated by his return to Leiden and his Church visiting as remained in history of his life.

Snouck in the view of several scholars of the archipelago in several studies of friendship that was established between Snouck with Haji Hasan Mustapa and several other scholars showed Snouck's positive personality. The good relationship between the two is the antithesis of the patron-client, master-employer relationship, but the relationship is built on the basis of friendship and kinship which can be proven through Arabic letters between them. Mustapa in 1892, at the suggestion of Snouck to the military and civilian governors in Aceh, Mustapa was appointed as penghulu in Kutaraja Aceh. Mustapa with his letters proves that Snouck is a researcher and government advisor who reveals the facts of how religion and its practice in society<sup>42</sup>. History records a conflict between Snouck and JB van Heutsz. Snouck wanted JB van Heutsz to change the frontal, sadistic and cruel military war tactics to the association's political strategy in suppressing the Acehnese resistance. However, due to a different background, Snouck resigned and returned to the Netherlands.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Jajang A Rohmana, "Persahabatan Penjajah Dan Bangsa Jajahan Di Hindia Belanda: C. Snouck Hurgronje Dan Haji Hasan Mustapa," *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. 12, No. 2, 2016, p. 25.

<sup>43</sup> Sukirno Irfan dame, T. junaidi, "Pertentangan Antara Christian Snouck Hurgronje Dan Johannes Benedictus Van Heutsz Dalam Penetapan Kebijakan Kolonialisme Belanda Di Aceh (1898-1904)," in *Seuneubok Lada* Vol. 1, No. 1, 2014 p. 12.

In 2022, a book has been written about Snouck's biography and discussed in panel 6 at the International Conference in the Netherlands held by the Dutch PCINU and Vrije University Amsterdam which specifically discusses Snouck. The book re-questions Snouck Hurgronje's personality as an advisor to the Dutch East Indies government and as a father to family, friends to the ulama and his personality as a Muslim and Christian in different periods. These six presentations were delivered by Frans Wijzen, Nuri Kurnaz, Reni Rentika Waty, Murry Darmoko Moersidin, Ginanjar Sya'ban and Willem Jansen. A book entitled *Scholarship in Action: Essays on the Life and Work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)* edited by Léon Buskens, Jan Just Witkam, and Annemarie van Sandwijk.

The contra on Hurgronje can be based on Edward Said who assessed the role of Hurgronje's orientalist who were not purely on scientific research and development, but carried a colonial mission which injures human rights<sup>44</sup>. What Hurgronje did in discovering the weaknesses of religion as a political doctrine has eliminated the sense of religion that has long been built through official royal institutions through pre-existing regulations, as well as the weakening of the domination and influence of the ulama, so that people are diverted and feel more comfortable communication with traditional leaders employed by the Dutch East Indies government. KBA states that there are differences in terms of adat and adat istiadat. Adat is law and 'adat istiadat' / customs are habits that are referred to as adat as in Aceh, where there are three regulations, namely Qanun, Adat and Reusam<sup>45</sup>.

In various writings relating to Snouck and his negative role and the hypocrisy he plays<sup>46</sup> has been noted in various writings that look at how Snouck's advice has disrupted the pattern and legal system in Indonesia. Hazairin, Sayuti and Ichtijanto provide theories such as *receptie exit theory*, *receptio a contrario theory* and *theory of existence against Snouck's Receptie theory*<sup>47</sup>. The ratio of secular education strategies and their implementation is also negatively attributed to Snouck, especially by eliminating the 'Jihad' chapter in teaching in schools and this has an impact to this day. The title of rotten cleric and palace cleric is also attached to him<sup>48</sup>.

This research is limited by location and time, however research on Snouck Hurgronje and his ideas on advice and suggestions received by the Dutch East Indies government is limited. This limitation is due to Snouck's personality, as well as his current family who are still curious about whether Snouck converted to Islam because he realized that it was his rational choice or later returned to Christianity while in the Netherlands as 'taqiyyah' in protecting himself from harm. Among the reasons stated were in a personal letter describing the affection between Snouck and his clerical family and friends. Even in the letter it is described that Snouck is a good father figure to his children, a good husband to two Sundanese wives and a friend who has a sense of affection between the scholars in the archipelago.

---

<sup>44</sup> Abd Qohin and Siti Kasiyati, "Criticism of Orientalist Critical Views Toward Hadith Studies," in *INSTITUTE Publishing Journal of Hadith Studies* Vol. 3, No. 1, 2020, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Ahmad, *Acehnologi: Pengaruh Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Pemahaman Adat Di Aceh*, YouTube."

<sup>46</sup> Budi Ichwayudi, "Hipokritisme Tokoh Orientalis Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," in *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* Vol. 1, No. 2, 2011, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> Syukri Syukri, "Dampak Pemikiran Orientalis Di Indonesia Pada Masa Kolonial," in *FiTUA: Jurnal Studi Islam* Vol. 2, No. 1, 2021, p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Irwan Abbas, Ronny Mahmuddin, and Hasnidar, "Peran Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Merancang Sistem Pendidikan Sekuler Di Indonesia Dan Dampaknya Bagi Kaum Pribumi Islam," in *Nukhbatul 'Ulum* Vol. 4, No. 2, 2018, p. 13.



## Conclusions

Thanks to the Rector of Bhayangkara University Surabaya and the Dean of Law Faculty of Bhayangkara University Surabaya for allowing this research to be carried out and to be presented in the Netherlands at the PCINU International Conference in the Netherlands and Vrije University Amsterdam. This research is important in the framework of developing Islamic law, customary law and western law that applies in Indonesia, especially matters relating to procedural law formation related to the sociology of law and religion which are the main factors in issues related to elections both regional head elections and presidential elections are associated with the politicization of religion and its solution if religion becomes enemy of government.

## References

- Abbas, Irwan, Ronny Mahmuddin, and Hasnidar. "Peran Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Merancang Sistem Pendidikan Sekuler Di Indonesia Dan Dampaknya Bagi Kaum Pribumi Islam." *Nukhbatul 'Ulum* 4, no. 2 (2018). doi:10.36701/nukhbah.v4i2.40.
- Abdullah, Taufik. *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2009.
- . *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia*. Jakarta: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1991.
- Ahmad, Alex Anis. "Peranan Organisasi Keamanan Desa (Okd) Sebagai Wahana Bagi Para Pemuda Dalam Menanggapi Gerombolan Di/Tii 1962." *Jurnal Candrasangkala Pendidikan Sejarah* 3, no. 2 (2017): 27. doi:10.30870/candrasangkala.v3i2.3480.
- Ahmad, Kamaruzzaman Bustamam. "Acehnologi: Pengaruh Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Pemahaman Adat Di Aceh - YouTube," December 2, 2019. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKhS\\_1xh6co](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKhS_1xh6co).
- Anshoruddin. "Beberapa Teori Tentang Berlakunya Hukum Islam Di Indonesia." *Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia*, 2015, 1–12.
- Arjuna, Faruq. *Tatkala Ormas Berpolitik: FPI Sang Kuda Hitam Di Gelanggang Politik Praktis*. Cilacap: Bintang Semesta Media, 2022.
- Arndt Graf, Susanne Schroter, Edwin Wieringa. *Aceh: History, Politics and Culture*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Netherlands: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2004.
- Carey, P. B. R. *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855*. Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2007.
- Collins, Christopher S., and Carrie Stockton. "The Theater of Qualitative Research: The Role of the Researcher/Actor." <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221103109> 21 (May 31, 2022): 160940692211031. doi:10.1177/16094069221103109.
- Darmoko, Murry. *Modul Kuliah Sosiologi Hukum FH UBHARA Surabaya*. Edited by Muniroh Mursan. Ubhara Press. Surabaya: UBHARA Press, 2017.
- Ernas, Saidin. "Pandangan Sonouck Hurgronje Tentang Islam Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Praktik Hukum Dan Politik Di Indonesia." *DIALEKTIKA* 12, no. 2 (December 19, 2019): 130. doi:10.33477/DJ.V12I2.1114.
- Fahmi, Chairul. "The Snouck Hurgronje's Doctrine in Conquering the Holy Revolts of Acehnese Natives." *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 10, no. 2 (2021). doi:10.31291/hn.v10i2.628.

- Faiq, Muhammad. "Understanding Radicalists and Fundamentalist Islamic Groups in Indonesia: Ideology and Model of Movement." *TASAMUH: Jurnal Studi Islam* 13, no. 1 (2021). doi:10.47945/tasamuh.v13i1.351.
- Fathurahman, Oman. "Khilafah Di Nusantara, Benarkah Ada Jejaknya? - Dialog Sejarah | HISTORIA.ID - YouTube," 2020. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kB\\_vfw36lLw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kB_vfw36lLw).
- Fitri, Fitri, Alifa Nur Fitri, and Silvia Riskha Fabriar. "Analisis Wacana Kritis Pemberitaan Pembubaran FPI Di Media Online." *IQTIDA : Journal of Da'wah and Communication* 1, no. 1 (2021): 97–108. doi:10.28918/iqtida.v1i1.3760.
- Gobee, E., and C. Andriaanse. *Nasihat-Nasihat C. Snouck Hurgronje Semasa Kepegawaiannya Kepada Pemerintah Belanda 1889 – 1936*, 1990.
- Hartanto. *Politik Parole: Dari Supersemar Hingga HTI Dan Hal Kontemporer*. Jakarta: LPMI, 2020.
- Hasmy, Ali. *Peranan Islam Dalam Perang Aceh Dan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976.
- Ichwayudi, Budi. "Hipokritisme Tokoh Orientalis Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje." *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 1, no. September 2011 (2011).
- Irfan dame, T. junaidi, Sukirno. "pertentangan antara christian snouck hurgronje dan johanes benedictus van heutsz dalam penetapan kebijakan kolonialisme belanda di aceh (1898-1904)." *Seuneubok Lada* 1, no. 1 (2014).
- Ismail, Faisal. *Panorama Sejarah Islam Dan Politik Di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2017.
- Kamiruddin, Kamiruddin. "FUNGSI SOSIOLOGIS AGAMA (STUDI PROFAN DAN SAKRAL MENURUT EMILE DURKHEIM)." *TOLERANSI: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 3, no. 2 (December 8, 2011): 157–76. doi:10.24014/TRS.V3I2.1060.
- Kurnia, Anton. *Pembubaran Ormas: Sejarah Dan Politik-Hukum Di Indonesia (1945-2018)*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 2022.
- Lubis, Arief Fahmi. *Perjalanan Panjang TNI Dalam Menjaga Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia Dari Ancaman Terorisme (Memandang Terorisme Dari Sudut Pandang Ancaman Kedaulatan Negara)*. Pasuruan: Qiara Media, 2021.
- Mansoer, Mohammad Dahlan. *Sedjarah Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Bhratara, 1970.
- Mardiono, Peri. *Melacak Gerakan Perlawanan Dan Laku Spiritualitas Pangeran Diponegoro*. Yogyakarta: Araska Publishing, 2020.
- Masturi, Hasanawi, Asyrafinafilah Hasanawi, and Adib Hasanawi. "strategi perang semesta dalam perang aceh (1873-1912)." *Jurnal Inovasi Penelitian* 1, no. 10 (2021): 1–208.
- Muttaqin, Fajriudin. *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional*. Jakarta: Humaniora, 2015.
- Panuju, Redi. *Pengantar Studi Ilmu Komunikasi: Komunikasi Sebagai Kegiatan Komunikasi Sebagai Ilmu*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2018.
- Pratama, Rinaldo Adi, and Yusuf Perdana. *Sejarah Indonesia Masa Orde Baru Hingga Reformasi*. Boyolali: Penerbit Lakeisha, 2022.
- Qohin, Abd, and Siti Kasiyati. "Criticism of Orientalist Critical Views Toward Hadith Studies." *INSTITUTE Publishing Journal of Hadith Studies* 3, no. 1 (2020): 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.32506/johs.v3i1.543>.
- Qusyairi, Mukti Ali. *Jalinan Keislaman, Keumatan, & Kebangsaan: Ulama Bertutur Tentang Jokowi*. Jakarta: Republika, 2018.
- Reid, Anthony. *An Indonesian Frontier: Acehnese and Other Histories of Sumatra*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005.

- Rohim, Abdul. *De Java-Oorlog: Rangkuman Kronik Perang Jawa, 1825-1830*. Yogyakarta: Anak Hebat Indonesia, 2022.
- Rohmana, Jajang A. "Persahabatan Penjajah Dan Bangsa Jajahan Di Hindia Belanda: C. Snouck Hurgronje Dan Haji Hasan Mustapa." *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 12, no. 2 (2016). doi:10.18196/aiijis.2016.0060.144-168.
- Sabri, Muhammad. "HMI, Cak Nur Dan Gelombang Intelektualisme Islam Indonesia Jilid 2." *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 2, no. 2 (2014): 317–34. [https://journal3.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus\\_islam/article/view/6527%0Ahttp://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus\\_islam/article/download/6527/5342](https://journal3.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus_islam/article/view/6527%0Ahttp://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/diskursus_islam/article/download/6527/5342).
- Sahab, Alvin Noor. "Succession of King Hamengku Buwono X Ngayogyakarta." *Utopia y Praxis Latinoamericana* 24.6 (2019): 224-233.
- Schulze, Kirsten E. *The Free Aceh Movement (GAM): Anatomy of a Separatist Organization*. Washington: East-West Center Washington, 2004.
- Sidik, Humar. "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Dinamika Islam Di Aceh Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda." *Jurnal Artefak* 7, no. 1 (2020): 31. doi:10.25157/ja.v7i1.3282.
- Sitompul, Einar Martahan. *NU & Pancasila*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011.
- Sofia, Hanni. "Gus Yaqut Tak Ingin Agama Dijadikan Alat Politik Menentang Pemerintah," December 22, 2022. <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/1909216/gus-yaqut-tak-ingin-agama-dijadikan-alat-politik-menentang-pemerintah>.
- Sormin, Zainal Abidin Bagir dan Jimmy. *Politik Moderasi Dan Kebebasan Beragama: Suatu Tinjauan Kritis*. Semarang: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2022.
- Syukri, Syukri. "dampak pemikiran orientalis di indonesia pada masa kolonial." *FiTUA: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021). doi:10.47625/fitua.v2i1.286.
- Tamara, Nasir. *Demokrasi Di Era Digital*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2021.
- Trijono, Lambang. *Transformasi Aceh Menuju Demokrasi: Pilihan Politik Dan Kelembagaan*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2022.