

## Hasan Tiro of Aceh and His Social History: A Study of Political Communication and Propaganda

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to reveal the propaganda evidence behind Hasan Tiro's communication reality in spreading the narrative of Islamism in Aceh. The method used is descriptive qualitative with a narrative analysis research strategy. The primary sources of this research are Hasan Tiro's books (writings) and speech recordings, which contain Islamist narratives disseminated to his followers. Based on the results of data analysis, this research produces novelty in developing political communication theory, namely Islamic propaganda communication theory with a da'wah *maudhu'i* approach. This research demonstrates that Hasan Tiro's political communication is religious narrative propaganda, and Hasan Tiro's propaganda narrative construction has the potential power to indoctrinate his followers with the Free Aceh ideology. The religious narrative constructed by Hasan Tiro encompasses jihadist thematic propositions from the Qur'an. This study has a limitation in that it does not include a netnographic analysis of the development of Hasan Tiro's propaganda on social media.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1958 Hasan Tiro wrote the book “Democracy for Indonesia”. A critical idea that rejected Pancasila as the ideology of the nation and the basis of the state. The nationalism promoted by Soekarno was considered a pretend nationalism and irrelevant to Indonesia. Territorially, Indonesia has a large area with diverse cultures, ethnicities and nations. Pancasila is an imposed ideology. Hasan Tiro considered that the right ideology and state foundation for Indonesia was Islam, which was already rooted in Indonesian society (Tiro, 1999). Hasan Tiro's critical reaction is related to Soekarno's broken promise to form an imagined community, which Anderson calls “the imagined community of Indonesia” (Anderson, 1991). In 1948, Soekarno succeeded in influencing the people of Aceh to join the Republic of Indonesia and participate in defending Indonesia's independence from the Dutch. Based on nationalism as part of the Republic of Indonesia, Aceh helped Indonesia both morally and materially. Soekarno even referred to Aceh as the capital region. The spirit of nationalism of the Acehnese people was formed in “the imagined community” through Soekarno's promises to give them the right to manage their own households and implement Islamic Sharia (Maya Aprita Sari, 2018).

The contribution of the Acehnese people paid off. In 1949, the Republic of Indonesia was recognized by the Netherlands at the Round Table Conference in The Hague (Den Haag), Netherlands. But after Indonesia's independence, Soekarno broke his promise. The Acehnese nationalism and support for Indonesia transformed into identity politics. Rebellions that threatened the disintegration of the nation emerged from Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) (1953-1959) under the leadership of Tgk. Daud Beureueh and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) (1976-2005) founded by Tgk Hasan Muhammad Di Tiro. Hasan Tiro built a new foundation of nationalism at the local level called ethno-nationalism as a political consciousness of the Acehnese people. He created ethnic sentiment with the means of “ethnic identity” and the romanticized history of Aceh's glory. Primordial sentiments were built to restore Aceh as a sovereign state. That Islam must return to be the ideology and basis of the state was constructed in every Hasan Tiro's political narrative.

Hasan Tiro was the main actor who fought alongside GAM against the Indonesian government. A separatist organization that sought to separate itself from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The high escalation of Acehnese resistance to the Republic of Indonesia was evidenced through the support of civil society, clerics, activists and students. From its establishment in 1976 until 1998, GAM's political power fluctuated. It was only after the fall of the Soeharto's regime in 1998 that GAM took advantage of the momentum to expand its political power and grow rapidly (Ishak, 2004). This resistance ignited a conflict lasting nearly 30 years and resulted in numerous fatalities. Although in the end, this conflict was mitigated through the Memorandum of Understanding on August 15, 2005, in Helsinki, Finland (Kingsbury, 2005; Stange & Patock, 2010).

Hasan Tiro himself declared GAM as a reflection of the proclamation of Aceh's independence, which he called the Re-Declaration of Independence of Aceh. He believed that Aceh's political existence had existed and was sovereign long before Indonesia existed. Therefore, the proclamation of Free Aceh is actually not a form of rebellion against Indonesia to establish a new state, but as a re-statement that Aceh was indeed an independent state before Indonesia existed (Damanik, 2010, p. h. 16). Although Aceh has become part of the State

Republic of Indonesia, Hasan Tiro considers Aceh illegitimate to be part of the Republic of Indonesia (Siegel, 2000). Nazaruddin Syamsuddin argues that GAM emerged to express resistance to the Indonesian government as a result of the centralized government policies (Aspinall, 2009; Jayanti, 2018; McGibbo, 2006; Syamsuddin, 1987; Wahyuni et al., 2015) that harmed the people of Aceh (Kell, 1995). Furthermore, the Indonesian government's injustice in the distribution of the proceeds from the exploitation of Aceh's natural resources was yet another explanation why Hasan Tiro proclaimed Aceh's independence through GAM (Bertrand, 2004; Hannum, 2008), alongside the neo-colonial ethos of the Indonesian government, the conservative Islamic traditions of the Acehnese populace, and the rising flood of Javanese migrants to Aceh (Schulze, 2004).

Apart from expert debates on the history and origins of the Aceh conflict, this research focuses on Hasan Tiro's political communication in influencing Acehnese society with the narrative of Islamism. GAM's ideology is interesting to observe through the spread of the philosophy of struggle during the Aceh conflict which was encapsulated by Hasan Tiro in his political narrative. The narrative of Islamism (forming/reestablishing an Islamic state) is so strongly echoed by GAM as a mission of struggle. The politics of Islam is the euphoria and romanticism of Aceh's past glory when Sultan Iskandar Muda ruled Aceh kingdom. Islam even became the basis of the state of the Aceh Darussalam Islamic kingdom and has succeeded in building a high Islamic cultural civilization in the archipelago, especially in Sumatra and Malaya (Hasjmy, 1977a). This background of the glory of the Aceh Darussalam Islamic kingdom became the political narrative of the Free Aceh Movement in influencing the people of Aceh. Hasan Tiro on every occasion conveyed to his followers regarding the importance of understanding Aceh's history so that the Acehnese people would not experience an identity crisis. Hasan Tiro's great expectation is to reestablish "Islam" as the basis of the state as it was during Aceh's glory days into contemporary Acehnese politics (Islamism).

Hasan Tiro's political sentiments with a high escalation of resistance were manifested in political narratives and negative diction. Hasan Tiro considered the Indonesian government and its military as enemies and even called the Indonesian government with the word "*kaphe (kafir)*" Indonesian Javanese (Chaidar, 1999). The word *kafir* is one of the negative labels in the form of Acehnese Islamic community's resistance to those who are antagonized. *Kafir* diction is used for the Indonesian government because it is considered that Indonesia is a country that uses Pancasila as the basis of the State, not Islam.

Hasan Tiro's diction and political narrative were well presented to gain the support of civil society, activists, students, and scholars. A prestigious support for a separatism organization against the legitimate government of the Republic of Indonesia. The GAM movement, which has a place in the hearts of the Acehnese people, deserves to be studied from the perspective of communication science. How did Hasan Tiro's propaganda influence the people of Aceh, and why were the people of Aceh willing to sacrifice their wealth and lives to fight against the legitimate government of the Republic of Indonesia? These questions become the reflective foundation of this study.

By reviewing several previous studies such as those conducted by Reza Maulana, Imam H. Sutrisno, Murni Wahyuni, Effendi Hasan, Herlambang Aji Prasetyo, which only discussed Hasan Tiro's political thought and the Free Aceh Movement conflict, this research provides different perspective because it focuses on Hasan Tiro's propaganda communication narrative.

## **2. METHODS**

The research method used is descriptive qualitative with narrative analysis of Hasan Tiro's works such as books and recorded speeches distributed to the public to find Hasan Tiro's propaganda communication patterns and Hasan Tiro's narrative construction of Islamism in Aceh. By examining Hasan Tiro's written works, researchers studied the narrative built by Hasan Tiro related to Islamism in Aceh until the establishment of GAM. This research was conducted to find historical evidence of Acehnese people's response to GAM and the arguments Hasan Tiro built in the Islamism narrative as an effort to influence Acehnese people and build the GAM movement against the Indonesian government.

## **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **3.1. Hasan Tiro's Islamism Propaganda Narratives in Aceh**

Hasan Tiro promoted a narrative of resistance to Indonesian democracy based on Pancasila. This narrative has been echoed since 1958, although the resistance officially began after the redeclaration of Aceh Merdeka in 1976.(Tiro, 1984a, 1999) In his book "*Masa Depan Politik Dunia Melayu*" published in 1965, Hasan Tiro argued that the Republic of Indonesia should never have existed. He outlined his view that Indonesia was the result of "Javanese colonialism" and an illegal product of the Dutch colonial war..(Tiro, 1968, 1984a, 1985b, 1991).

In his book "The Legal Status of Aceh Sumatra Under International Law" (1980), Hasan Tiro stated that long before the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, Aceh had been an independent, large, and prosperous political entity and was recognized internationally. He instilled ethno-nationalist pride in the people of Aceh, while reminding the world that Aceh was a country with its own history and language, equal to other countries. Hasan Tiro emphasized that the Acehnese people's struggle against the Dutch colonizers was not an attempt to liberate Indonesia, but to defend Aceh's dignity, self-respect, and independence. He placed a strong emphasis on Acehnese nationalism, which succeeded in reviving the Acehnese people's sense of pride in their history and glory as a nation once known to the world. Hasan Tiro's political philosophy on the concept of nation-state was based on the historical fact that Aceh had been recognized as a sovereign state by the international community since the 15th century. He also opposed the 1949 Round Table Conference (RTC) Agreement in The Hague, which stipulated the handover of Aceh to the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS) (Tiro, 1980).

According to him, the Dutch did not have the legitimacy to hand over Aceh because they had never fully controlled the territory. As the basis of his argument, Hasan Tiro referred to UN Resolution No. 1514-XV of December 14, 1960, entitled Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This resolution contains three important points: (1) Sovereignty over the colony's rests with the natives, not with the colonizers; (2) Colonizers have no right to transfer or cede sovereignty to other parties; and (3) Colonizers are obliged to return all power to the natives of the region. In addition, Hasan Tiro argued that Islam should be used as the ideology and philosophy of the state, because Islam has strong roots in the lives of the peoples of the archipelago.(Tiro, 1979, 1980, 1985b, 1991, 1992, 2013).

According to Hasan Tiro, Aceh before joining the State of Republic of Indonesia was an Islamic state and a member of the Islamic Caliphate that had diplomatic relations with other Islamic countries such as the Ottoman Turkish Caliphate. Aceh at that time had implemented

and enforced Islamic Sharia law as the basis of the state (Tiro, 1985b). This inspired Hasan Tiro to return the glory of Islam. The glory of Islam would be restored in Aceh's current sovereignty, which he called a successor state to the Islamic kingdom of Aceh. The narrative that Islam will be the basis of the state if Aceh separates from the Republic of Indonesia is always preached at every opportunity by Hasan Tiro. (Interview with Safri Ilyas-Deputy Chief Commissioner of GAM Pasee Region). Through GAM, this issue was spread to mobilize the Acehnese people to side with GAM.

The ambitions of Hasan Tiro's Islamic political struggle have been interpreted variously by political scholars and researchers. Some even argue that in GAM's endeavor there is no argument of Islam as the foundation of the State, which is different from the struggle of Darul Islam (1953-1959) which tended to be Islamist, while GAM (1976-2005) had a secular ideology (Ansori, 2012; Aspinall, 2007). Ali Munhanif mentioned that at the beginning of its movement, GAM, which was founded by intellectuals, technocrats and businessmen, did not get full support from the ulama and the people of Aceh because there was no Islamic agenda in its philosophy of struggle. Morris and Kell agree, in their respective analyses, that the movement failed to capture widespread support because it barely mentioned Islam. Certainly, the absence of an Islamic agenda prevented the ulama from supporting the movement and some even criticized it (Munhanif, 2016).

While in some of his writings Hasan Tiro mentioned the ultimate goal of the Free Aceh Sumatra force is to save the Acehnese and Sumatran people as an independent and sovereign state under the sovereignty of Allah (God). Because Islam teaches that the state must be subject to the laws of God. For Hasan Tiro, the separation between religion and state, between morality, politics and economics is a symptom of schizophrenia (a type of mental illness). According to Hasan Tiro, the existence of Islam on this earth aims to create a moral human being. Separating the issue of the state from religion means denying the entire concept of Islam (Tiro, 1984b). Andi Faisal Bakti said scholars have confirmed that Islam has played an important role in Indonesian nationalism, Islamic identity mixed with Indonesian national identity. Dutch colonialists were once afraid of Islamic nationalism in Indonesia (Bakti, 2000, 2006; Laffan, 2003; Rijal, 2009). This means that Islamic nationalism has long fostered patriotism among Muslim communities in Indonesia including Aceh as a spirit of struggle to expel Dutch colonizers from their homeland.

The concept of Islam as a state system was already part of Hasan Tiro's political struggle in Aceh. This Islamist narrative was also supported by the spirit of ethnic nationalism. As a nation with a common culture and religion, Hasan Tiro had the opportunity to build the spirit of religious nationalism (Islamism) and ethnic nationalism of the Acehnese people. Hasan Tiro attempted to create an attitude of love for the Acehnese people (nationalism) towards their nation and religion to free themselves from the shackles of "Indonesian colonialism", a term Hasan Tiro used in some of his works, to generate an attitude of Ethno-Nationalism and "Religious Nationalism" (Islamism).

From the perspectives of its followers, GAM's spirit of Ethno-Nationalism and Religious Nationalism (Islamism) GAM grew well, and the Free Aceh Movement did have a place in the hearts of the people. At first, the number of members of the Free Aceh Movement was only 150 people since the organization was declared in 1976, this number surged in 1978 to 5,000 supporters (Jihad, 2000). Public sympathy for GAM emerged from people who previously had



no connection to the movement. If the issue of an independent Aceh was originally a political agenda of GAM, it became increasingly supported by the community, which reinforced the demand for a referendum (Djalil, 2009).

According to Syarifuddin Tippe (Tippe, 2000), in building their organization GAM has three strategies. First GAM capitalized the political situation of the repressive attitude of the Indonesian government towards the people of Aceh. Second, they conducted international diplomatic relationships with other countries and third, they exploited the investors' concerns in Aceh. However, in the book “*Jum Merdehka Seunurat Njang Gohlom Lheuh*” Hasan Tiro said that the most important strategy that must be carried out by GAM in fighting the Indonesian-Java colonialism is to reawaken the Acehnese people to be aware of the nation's interests and know that Aceh is a rich land that is currently being plundered by Javanese, American, and Dutch infidels (Tiro, 1985a, p. h. 14).

The awareness-raising activities referred to by Hasan Tiro in this case are the Islamist narrative propaganda techniques that he wrote in propaganda media. One of GAM's propaganda media is books written by Hasan Tiro himself. Among the books written by him are *Jum Merdehka Seunurat Jang Gohlom Lheuh* as Hasan Tiro's diary in the Aceh Forest, *Atjeh Bak Mata Donja* printed in New York in 1968, Commemoration of 100 *Thoen Mideun Prang Bandar Atjeh* in 1973 and the book *Masa Ukueu Politiek Donja Meulayu* in 1965 and *Perjuangan Atjeh Merdehka* in 1976. All of these books were distributed free of charge by GAM to the people of Aceh with the aim of influencing public opinion and supporting the movement.

In these books, there are many terms or words that, if examined more thoroughly, contain propaganda messages. For example, the use of the words *kafir Jawa*, in the propaganda narrative of Hasan Tiro and GAM, is a form of fostering hatred towards the enemy. Because Hasan Tiro and GAM have claimed that the Indonesian government is the enemy. Not only the use of the word *kafir Jawa* or Javanese invaders, but even the terms of Javanese robbers were also used by GAM and Hasan Tiro to foster hatred of the Acehnese people towards the Indonesian government.

In addition, the story of the killing of the Acehnese people and the confiscation of Acehnese property also became an important issue developed by Hasan Tiro and his GAM organization to foster hatred of the Acehnese people towards the Indonesian government. This is in accordance with the main objectives of propaganda according to Harold Lasswell, namely, to foster hatred of the enemy, and to preserve the friendship of allies. Further, it also aims to maintain friendship and if possible, to establish cooperation with neutral parties. This propaganda was carried out by Hasan Tiro to the international world. This can be observed from the use of logos and letterheads in international diplomatic activities, Hasan Tiro did not use Islamic appendages. Instead, the liberal diction was used because in the UN there are several countries that are anti-Islamic. Therefore, Hasan Tiro's effort was to manipulate Aceh's identity in the international world in order to gain support. Safri Ilyas confirmed this by saying that Hasan Tiro did not use Islam in the international community, because in the UN there are countries that do not support Islam. Hence, if Islam became the foundation of the Aceh state, it would certainly be difficult to get international support (Interview with Safri Ilyas, Chief of GAM Pasee Region).

In the following, the author describes the categories of Hasan Tiro's propaganda narrative in the recorded speeches that the authors analyze as a form of Hasan Tiro's propaganda in building the power of the Free Aceh Movement. The next is the content of Hasan Tiro's propaganda narrative which is used as a narrative power in influencing the people of Aceh:

a. Glittering Generalities Technique

In Bahasa Indonesia, this technique is referred to as the sheen of generality, assuming that it uses “good words” to describe something in order to gain support, without investigating the evidence. In Hasan Tiro's struggle this technique was applied in an effort to recruit members and attract public sympathy. Hasan Tiro said the struggle for independence from the Indonesian government was a form of returning Aceh to a government based on the Qur'an, while the philosophy of the Indonesian state was not Islam but Pancasila. The struggle was called a holy fight for the welfare of all Acehnese people and GAM members who died in battle were honored as martyrs.

*Uronyoe geutanyoe ta meusapat u wateuh tanoeh merdehka, imiyub kibaran bendera pusaka negara Islam Aceh merdehka, alam pusaka geutanyoe, yang ka umu meuribee thoen, nyang bak ta peuek dengoen geu ireng uleh su azan, nyang geuheoi geutanyoe bangsa Aceh bandum, pat nyang na teuh ateuh rung donya, inong agam, tuha muda, lam tameusaboh bak jalan Allah, dalam siklep mata wate tanging bendera pusaka nyoe, kadeuh disinan laju, dalam detik nyan, dalam meunet nyan khulasah dan kesimpulan nibak perjuangan suci geutanyoe nyoe, tapeudong negara Islam dan hukum Allah ateuh tanoh mulia pusaka nibak indatu droe. Dengoan tapeu ek bendera nyoe dengoen azan, dengoen bang, maka kadeuh tadeungoe dengoen trang geuhoei geutanyoe nibak tasemah Allah, geuhoei geutanyoe bak jalan kemenangan, nyan keuh makna haiiya ala shalah, nyan keuh makna haiiya ala falah. Dalam jihad sucinyoe, hana taloe keu geutanyoe, nyang na cit meunang semata-mata, dalam quran kaneukheun uleh Allah, supaya ta marit lagenyoe, tapham lagenyoe, qul haqqu ta rabbina ala husnayaian, peu yang na taharap nibak droe teuh, laen nibak dua perkara nyang ceudah lageina, nyangkeuh meunang atawa syahid, ka tapeugafan droe teuh dengan bendera Islam, dalam but jihad pusaka indatu, nyang ka peusaboh mandum bangsa Aceh uronyoe,*

Translation:

Today we gather on the land of independence, under the flag of the Free Aceh Islamic State, our thousand-year-old natural heritage, which we raise with the sound of the call to prayer calling all of us Acehnese wherever we are in the world, men and women, young and old to unite in the way of Allah. As soon as we see this flag clearly visible at that moment, in those seconds and minutes a conclusion to our holy struggle to establish an Islamic State and uphold the law of Allah on the glorious land of our ancestors. As we raise this flag with the call to prayer, we can clearly hear the call to worship Allah, and the call to victory, the meaning of *haiyya ala shalah*, and *haiyya ala falah*. In this holy jihad we will not lose, because we will only get victory, in the Qur'an it has been said by Allah so that we say and understand this sentence *qul haqqu ta rabbina ala husnayaian*, which means what we hope for ourselves apart from two very valuable things, namely

victory or martyrdom, we shroud ourselves with the flag of Islam in the jihad of the ancestral heritage that unites the entire Acehnese nation today.

The use of the phrases such as *jihad* and *shuhada*, establishing an Islamic State is a series of words deliberately and systematically arranged by Hasan Tiro to influence the people of Aceh. The Quran does mention verses about jihad and its origins 41 times. However, these verses are often misinterpreted and misunderstood as a form of justification as well as becoming a propaganda narrative to influence society. (Huda et al., 2021) In accordance with the cultural context of the Acehnese people who are predominantly Muslim, they will certainly be very impressed if there is a movement that wants to establish law in accordance with Islamic teachings. Thus, many GAM members joined because they were motivated to establish an Islamic State or enforce Islamic law in Aceh. Hasan Tiro's efforts to indoctrinate his followers were carried out with propaganda communication activities. Hasan Tiro also has a charismatic leadership trait, so that people can accept the ideas and political doctrine he provided. Max Weber said that the leadership factor greatly determines the various movements or behavior of society (Nurudin, 2002).

Ishak Daud was one of the commanders of the Free Aceh Movement Force (AGAM) in the Peureulak region. He was moved to join the Free Aceh Movement because he wanted to restore the rights of the Acehnese people and uphold Islamic law (Kontras, 2001). Ishak Daud was one of 40 young Acehnese sent for military education in Libya. They were elite GAM combatants with a well-established GAM ideology. The reason Hasan Tiro and GAM recounted the heroism of the spirit of *Jihād fīṣabīlillāh* is because GAM and Hasan Tiro understood very well the magnetism given by the meaning of *Jihād fīṣabīlillāh*. In fact, GAM has always used the “*prang sabi*” (Acehnese) saga as a spirit of war and struggle. The passionate spirit of the *prang sabi* saga itself was confirmed by outside researchers, including anthropologists-advisors to the Dutch colonial government, such as Snouck Hurgronje, as well as other Acehnese historians such as Zentgraf, Anthony Reid, James T. Siegel and others. In general, they described the fierce spirit of the Acehnese people's struggle against the enemies they called “*kaphe*” (infidels).

“The Saga of *Perang Sabi*” had succeeded in raising the spirit of the Acehnese people to be willing to be martyred in defending the independence of their homeland. History has proven that the *sabi* war saga had inspired Aceh's war against the Dutch for decades and had made the Acehnese people become true Muslims who were not afraid to die to defend the truth. This *sabi* war saga had given birth to heroes who never wanted to return home from the battlefield, so that it had made Aceh a hell for the Dutch army and made the Dutch position vulnerable (Hasjmy, 1977b).

This historical proof was also adopted by Hasan Tiro to reignite the spirit of the Acehnese people. Only the conditions were different, if in the past the people who were fought were really infidels, but now it was the Indonesian government whose people and soldiers were also Muslims. Nevertheless, Hasan Tiro still manipulated his propaganda message by saying that the Indonesian government had been unjust to Aceh, had colonized Aceh, robbed and killed the Acehnese people in their own home and country. Thus, it was obligatory for the Acehnese people to expel them as infidels. Moreover, the law and philosophy of the Indonesian State is not Islam but Pancasila which is not based on Islam. Therefore, a government that does not implement Islamic Law is called a *kafir*.



The basis of the Indonesian State which does not make Islam the philosophy of the State motivated Ishak Daud to enforce Islamic law in Aceh. The way Islam could be established in Aceh was only by liberating Aceh from Indonesia. It can be concluded that Hasan Tiro's propaganda message using the glittering generalities technique was effective.

b. Transfer Technique

The propaganda transfer technique refers to using authority, prestige and support from something that is valued and lauded to something else that is more acceptable. Transfer works through a process of association, where the communicator's aim is to connect the idea with something that people admire. Without hesitation, Hasan Tiro used the authority of Allah and Islam to influence people.

*bek teumakoat bek teukeujot gata akan meunang menyoe beutoei-beutoei tamueiman, tapeugoet beutoi-beutoi, nasrumm min Allah beunantu akan teuka nibak Allah, keumenangan ka toe nyoe, brihe nyoe bak mandum ureung Islam yang meuiman, nyoe mandum peutunyoek jaminan nibak Allah, geutanyoe mandum hanjeut ragu-ragu.*

Translation:

(Do not be afraid and surprised, you will win if you truly believe, do the work faithfully, *nasrumm min Allah*, Allah's help will arrive, victory is near, convey this message to all believing Muslims, this is all guidance, Allah's guarantee, we must not doubt.)

The authority of Allah (God) was used by GAM to influence the people, through the words that Allah would help the people of Aceh if they wanted to fight against the Indonesian government. Every Muslim understands that there is no better help than the help of Allah. As written in Surah Ash Shaff verse 13 below:

وَأُخْرَىٰ تُحِبُّوهَا نَصْرٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَبَشِيرٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ

*Translation: 'He will also give you' another favour that you long for: help from Allah and an imminent victory. 'So' give good news 'O Prophet' to the believers.*

This *daleel* (guide from quran verses) was used by Hasan Tiro to foster the patriotism of the Acehnese people to defend and support GAM. Islamist narratives are clearly visible in the utilization of religious *daleels*, as well as religious nationalism formed through the combination of Islamist narratives and ethno-nationalism built by Hasan Tiro.

c. Religious Narrative Technique

The technique mentioned above is the authors' new finding in this research. Thus far, there has not been a single study that has made the same assumption as this new finding. The authors call this propaganda technique religious narratives or religious narrative techniques. This religious narrative technique has the assumption that the ideas and thoughts pursued by the propagandist are well structured, systematic and planned to be conveyed to the audience and reinforced by religious texts. Even though the *daleel* is irrelevant to the ideas and thoughts of the propagandist. In essence, this technique utilizes religious texts with certain interpretations in accordance with the ideas and thoughts of propagandists with the aim of strengthening or ensuring the ideas and thoughts conveyed to the audience. The *daleel* used has also been

through a twisted interpretation in accordance with the interests of the propagandist to achieve their goals.

It turns out that this technique was also used predominantly in the content of Hasan Tiro's speeches in the recruitment process and seeking community support. The support aimed to strengthen GAM's network and strength against the Indonesian government. In the religious narrative propaganda technique Hasan Tiro utilized the Qur'an and hadith to strengthen the arguments and narratives that were constructed even though the *daleels* used were irrelevant. The following is an excerpt from Hasan Tiro's speech that contains elements of propaganda using religious narratives techniques:

*Hana saboh but nyang peusaboh dumno geutanyoe bangsa Aceh, nyang dengeon peukong geutanyoe lahe ngoen bathen, donya dan akhirat masa nyang ka ulikoet dan masa ukeu, nyoe kueh but Allah dan but Rasulullah dan but Indatu teuh. Nyoe keuh saboh prang nyang disinan geutanyoe hana mungken taloe, Allah ta'ala ka neukheun dalam quran tameukeumah bak talawan musoh teuh, saboh kekuatan ubeuna bak ta peuna, nyoe perintah, waqutiluna fi sabilillah wala yuzilla amaluhum, so nyang mate bak geupeudong jalan Allah, nyang but goknyan han sia-sia geujaminle Allah. Fa qatil fi sabilillah supaya ta meuprang bak jalan Allah, nyoe perintah dalam Al quran hanjeut han tapeubut, ya ayyuhal lazi harribul mukminin ala qital, hai nabi tayu ureung meuiman supaya geumeuprang, nyoe perintah tuhan keupada geutanyoe, Innallaha yuhibbul lazinya fisabilillah neusayang keu soso nyang meuprang bak jalan droenneuh nyan, lage saboh sueb lage tameh nyang meususon meubanja lage nyang teungoeh tapeudong jino, walan yaj'alallahu lilkafirina ala mukmini na sabila, Allah han neupizizn ureung kaphe meunang ateuh ureung Islam.*

Translation:

(There is no single deed that can unite us Acehnese, that can bind us physically and mentally, in this world and the next, in the past and in the future, only Allah, the Messenger of Allah and our Indatu can do it. This is one battle that we will not lose, Allah has recommended in the Qur'an to prepare for war with the strength we prepare, as a command *waqutiluna fi sabilillah wala yuzilla amaluhum*, whoever dies in upholding the way of Allah his deeds will not be in vain guaranteed by Allah. *Fa qatil fi sabilillah* so that we fight in the way of Allah, this is a command in the quran that we must not leave, *ya ayyuhal lazi harribul mukminin ala qital*, O Prophet, kindle the spirit of the believers to fight, this is God's command to us, *Innallaha yuhibbul lazinya fisabili*, Allah loves those who fight in the way of Allah, like a pole in a row, *walan yaj'alallahu lilkafirina ala mukmini na sabila* Allah will not allow the disbelievers to win from the Muslims.)

The following are the *daleels* (quranic texts) used by GAM in its propaganda activities to attract public support. The Qur'anic verses were not entirely relevant to the conditions of the war at that time. There was even scholarly disagreement in terms of determining the law of jihad in the Aceh conflict. Nevertheless, GAM has interpreted the verse as a basis for fighting against the Indonesian government with the aim of establishing its own state, namely Aceh Merdeka.

الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَكُمْ بِكُمْ فَإِنْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فَتْحٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ قَالُوا أَلَمْ نَكُنْ مَعَكُمْ ۖ وَإِنْ كَانَ لِلْكَافِرِينَ نَصِيبٌ قَالُوا أَلَمْ نَسْتَحِذْكُمْ وَعَدُّكُمْ وَمَنْعَكُمْ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۗ فَاللَّهُ يَحْكُمُ بَيْنَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ۗ وَلَنْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَبِيلًا ۚ

Translation: *‘The hypocrites are’ those who wait to see what happens to you. So if Allah grants you victory, they say ‘to you’, “Were we not on your side?” But if the disbelievers have a share ‘of victory’, they say ‘to them’, “Did we not have the advantage over you, yet we protected you from the believers?” Allah will judge between ‘all of’ you on the Day of Judgment. And Allah will never grant the disbelievers a way over the believers. (QS: Annisa, 141).*

وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا ۗ بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ ۗ فَرِحِينَ بِمَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ ۗ وَيَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِالَّذِينَ لَمْ يَلْحَقُوا بِهِمْ مِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ ۗ أَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ۗ \* يَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِنِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ ۗ وَفَضْلٍ ۗ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۚ

Translation: *Never think of those martyred in the cause of Allah as dead. In fact, they are alive with their Lord, well provided for, rejoicing in Allah’s bounties and being delighted for those yet to join them. There will be no fear for them, nor will they grieve. They are joyful for receiving Allah’s grace and bounty, and that Allah does not deny the reward of the believers. (QS: Ali Imran, 169-171).*

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ حَرِّضِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى الْقِتَالِ ۗ إِنْ يَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ عِشْرُونَ صَابِرُونَ يَغْلِبُوا مِائَتِينَ ۗ وَإِنْ يَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ مِائَةٌ يَغْلِبُوا أَلْفًا مِنَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ

Translation: *O Prophet! Motivate the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast among you, they will overcome two hundred. And if there are one hundred of you, they will overcome one thousand of the disbelievers, for they are a people who do not comprehend. (QS: Al Anfal, 65).*

The texts above were vigorously used by GAM in building its movement and attracting the support of the Acehese people. It is proven that many GAM followers were interested in joining this movement because they were moved by the spirit of jihad. This verse is very convincing and easy to change the attitude and behavior of the Acehese people who are less critical and unfamiliar with the interpretation of this verse. This propaganda technique is effectively used in situations and conditions of a society that is predominantly religious.

From the results of the research mentioned above, religious narratives propaganda is effective in influencing the people of Aceh. The religious texts used have been interpreted in accordance with the propagandist's ideology so that they are relevant to the ideas to be conveyed. People with religious identities are more easily influenced by thematic religious narratives. In this case, Hasan Tiro's propaganda narrative was carried out with a *maudhu'i da'wah* approach (jihadist thematic narrative).

## CONCLUSION

Hasan Tiro constructed a propaganda narrative that GAM's struggle was holy with the spirit of *jihad fi sabilillah* to restore the glory of Islam in Aceh. Hasan Tiro considered Aceh as a sovereign Islamic state before the statehood of Indonesia. This Islamist narrative became dominant in every media propaganda of Hasan Tiro. The construction of Hasan Tiro's propaganda narrative had the power to influence his followers as an indoctrination of the Free Aceh ideology. The religious narrative built by Hasan Tiro had the dimension of jihadist thematic Qur'anic texts and received the support of his followers. For the people of Aceh, Hasan Tiro is a *Wali Negara* (State Guardian) who seeks to restore Aceh's sovereignty on the basis of an Islamic state (*Delat Allah*).

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