

Snouck Hougranye Political Communication in Conquering Acehnese Resistance 1873 -1904

Riski Amal, Syukur Kholil, Katimin

Doctoral Student, UINSU Medan, Indonesia

Professor, UINSU Medan, Indonesia

Professor, UINSU Medan, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: Riski Amal

ABSTRACT; *This article discusses Snouck Hougranye's political communication in conquering the Acehnese resistance to Dutch colonialism. Snouck was one of the Dutch political weapons in dividing the unity of the Acehnese people during the war during 1873-1904. Snouck did political propaganda by pitting ulama with umara. Snouck also changed the construction of Acehnese thinking from the habit of carrying out Islamic Shari'a to customary implementation in every policy. Snouck's propaganda in other forms is also seen through the way Snouck classifies Islam in Aceh, according to him, the enemy of colonialism is not Islam as religion, but Islam as a political doctrine.*

Keywords: *Political Communication, Snouck Hurgronje, Aceh*

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I. INTRODUCTION

This article discusses Snouck Hougranye's political communication in conquering the Acehnese resistance to Dutch colonialism. Snouck was one of the Dutch political weapons in dividing the unity of the Acehnese people during the war during 1873-1904. Snouck as a scholar and researcher has made a major contribution to the Netherlands with political concepts to conquer the Acehnese militancy. History has noted, Snouck as a Dutch political adviser has succeeded in winning the hearts of the Acehnese through careful political intrigue. Although in the end, Snouck's rotten tactics were exposed and the Acehnese hated him. Snouck actually succeeded in creating a new situation in Aceh's history, after the publication of two very famous books, *De Atjehers*, which was published in 1893 by E.J. Brill. The book has been translated into English and Indonesian: Through the book, "Aceh understood by Snouck" as 'Aceh which is understood by anthropologists to be the main menu for Aceh can be understood by social scientists and humanities. Among Western scientists, he is considered a legendary figure (Kamaruzzaman, 2017: 345).

Starting his career Snouck received various important statements about Aceh from Habib Abdurrahman Zahir's collection of letters. Contains reports about Aceh that were submitted to the Dutch East Indies government in Batavia through J.A. Kruyt, who was a Dutch consulate in Jeddah about strategy tactics in conquering Aceh the secret report was submitted by Abdurrahman Zahir to Snouck in 1886, while conducting research in Mecca Al Mukaromah. Abdurrahman Zahir gave suggestions as a person who was appointed as the trust of the Dutch government. (Yusra, 2015: 22). The contents of the letter were then analyzed and well understood and developed by Snouck so that it became the theories of modern warfare. It even contributed greatly to building the mindset to launch the Dutch colonial mission in Aceh, especially after his request to enter Aceh was approved by the Dutch government and guaranteed by the Dutch military authorities in Aceh.

Snouck also had Arabic skills, and pretended to be a Muslim so that the Acehnese were made aware of Snouck's appearance. So that the Acehnese also dub Snouck with the nickname "Teungku Puteh". To convince the Acehnese Snouck to submit a proposal to the Dutch colonial government so that Aceh was given the freedom to hold religious celebrations and allow traditional traditions to continue to be preserved, such as "Moulot" reading "Zike", Saman, Bines, Dance Guel and Didong art in Gayo land . Even the Dutch themselves came to watch this program to distract Acehnese. (Yusra, 2015: 22).

After Snouck got the attention of the Acehnese and many Acehnese fighters and figures who died in the war. Snouck took advantage of this situation with cunning political intrigue with a frame of political communication to influence the Acehnese people to fall asleep with matters of worship and forget the spirit of the struggle to expel the Dutch colonizers.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Defining political communication is indeed not enough just to combine two definitions, "communication" and "politics". He has his own concept, even though it is simply a combination of the two concepts. Communication and politics in the discourse of human science are two search areas, each of which can be said to be relatively independent. But both of them have similarities because they have the same material object, namely humans. The similarity of material objects makes the two disciplines unable to avoid meeting the field of study. This is because each has an interdisciplinary nature, namely the nature that allows each discipline to isolate it and develop its contextual study. Communication develops its field of study which intersects with other disciplines, such as sociology and psychology, and the same thing applies to political science. (Nina W Syam, 2002: 18).

Depending on the point of view, communication is the transfer of information to obtain a response; coordinating meaning between a person and audience; sharing information, ideas or attitudes; sharing elements of behavior, or modes of life, through the instruments of rules; mind adjustment, the creation of shared symbol devices in the minds of the participants. In short, an understanding, an event that is experienced internally, which is purely personal that is shared with others; or transfer of information from one person or group to another, especially by using symbols of social interaction that people use to construct meanings which are their images of the world acting, (Nimmo, 2005: 6).

Political communication is a process in which relevant political information is passed from one part of the political system to another, and between social systems and political systems. This event is a continuous process, involving the exchange of information between individuals and their groups at all levels of society. Moreover, it not only includes the appearance of the views and expectations of the members of the community, but also the means by which views and origins as well as the recommendations of the ruling official are passed on to the members of the community and also involve the reactions of members. community towards views and promises and suggestions from the authorities. So political communication plays a very important role in the political system: political communication determines dynamic elements, and becomes a decisive part of political socialization, political participation, and political recruitment. (Rush, 2008: 42)

Political Communication is a form of communication, in this case in the form of giving messages / information that occurs in the political system. The political system is related to the political power of the state, the communication activities of the actors of political activities, including government communication. Political communication is used as one of the studies of political science. Political communication is communication that is directed towards achieving an influence in such a way that the problems discussed by this type of communication activity can bind all citizens through a sanction determined jointly by political institutions. (Susanto, 1980: 2).

Political communication focuses its study on material or messages of political weight which include the issue of power and placement in institutions of authority (authoritarian institutions). This can be strengthened by Sumarno's opinion which proposes a formulation of political communication as a process, procedure and activity to shape attitudes and political behavior that are integrated in a political system. Disclosure of more open political communication concerns the following: (1) delivered by communicators politics, (2) the message has a political weight that concerns power and the state, (3) is integrated in the political system. Based on the opinions stated above, it can be concluded that the notion of political communication is the process of delivering relevant political information from one part of the political system to another, and between social systems and political systems. In this case political communication is a continuous process, and involves the exchange of information between individuals and their groups at all levels of society.

The purpose of political communication is strongly related to the political message conveyed by political communicators. In accordance with the purpose of communication, the purpose of political communication is sometimes just the delivery of political information, the formation of political images, the formation of public public opinion. Furthermore, political communication aims to attract sympathetic audiences in order to increase political participation in the run up to general elections or regional head elections. (Ardial, 2010: 44)

Snouck Hugronye

Christian Snouck Hougranye was born on February 8, 1857 in Oosterhout, Netherlands, and died in Leiden on June 26, 1936. He was an Dutch orientalist, Arabic linguist, Islamic scholar, Indonesian linguist and culture, and advisor the Dutch East Indies government in Islamic matters (Abudin Nata, 2005: 226). Hougranye entered the H.B.S. secondary school. in Breda to learn Latin and Greek (Greek). Then he entered Leiden University in 1875, at the age of 18. First entered the Theology Faculty, then moved to the Faculty of Literature in the Arabic Language Department. On November 24, 1880 his studies at Leiden ended and he earned a doctorate degree in Arabic literature, graduating with the title cumlaude with a dissertation on *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (Celebration in Mecca). After completing his education, Snouck taught special education for prospective

employees for the Indies (Indologie), in Leiden. In 1885, Snouck went to Mecca to deepen his practical knowledge of Arabic for about 6 months (February-August 1885). (E. Gobe, and C. Adriaanse, 1990: v).

For Snouck Hougranye, researching and criticizing God as the creator of the universe did not seem to attract much attention for him. But discussing the personal views of the Prophet Muhammad as the recipient of revelations and Alquran is one of the many things that most get his highlight. Likewise the study of Arabic, Muslims, and their way of life got top priority in the view of Hougranye. He himself admitted frankly that learning Arabic and the spiritual life of Muslims is one branch of the most important historical knowledge of humanity. Looking back from the previous Orientalist view of the Prophet Muhammad it seems that the Hougranye cannot be said to be progressing. If medieval orientalist considered the Prophet Muhammad was not a prophet who had actually received revelation, then Hougranye still maintained that orientation in the 2nd century.

It seems that he still doubts Muhammad's apostleship, rejects his personal health as the recipient of revelation, and questions about sincerity and honesty to spread the teachings of Islam. Muhammad who came later was compared with the other prophets. According to him only imitating and imitating previous religious teachings. The study of the shari'ah conducted by Snouck Hougranye is only for practical purposes, namely the purpose of colonialism and power. Snouck Hougranye wrote in the preface to J. Schacht's book in 1899, as follows: Shari'a in its practical conditions should express its massive withdrawal of its customs and the habits of people and the arbitrariness of judges. Along with that, Shari'a has kept its wide influence on the life of thought of Muslims. Therefore, Shari'a remains an important topic to study, not because of reasons related to the history of Shari'a, civilization, and religion alone, but also because of practical purposes. Every time the friendship relations between Europe and East Islam increased, then the fall of Islamic regions under European rule also increased.

At that time the important issue for us, the Europeans, was to know the life and ideas and concepts of Islam and the religious Shari'a. Christian Snouck Hougranye is the basic laying figure of the policy of "Political Islam" which is the policy line of the "Inlandsch politiek" run by the Dutch colonial government towards indigenous Indies. The concept of the policy strategy created by Snouck Hurgronje felt softer compared to the other strategic concepts of the Orientalist policy. But the impact on Muslims continues to be prolonged and even continues to the present. Based on the concept of Snouck, the Dutch colonial government could end the Acehese resistance and reduce the emergence of upheavals in the Dutch East Indies led by Muslims. Snouck's thinking based on his knowledge and experience became the basic foundation of the doctrine that "the enemy of colonialism is not Islam as a religion, but Islam as a political doctrine".

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In history, Aceh was known as the most difficult area to be conquered by the Dutch. It was stated that the Dutch suffered repeated defeats in the Aceh War. So, to overcome this, the Dutch also sent an orientalist or a person who studied eastern culture named Snouck Hurgronje to find the point of weakness of the people of the land of Rencong. Snouck Hurgronje is a Dutch scientist who graduated from Leiden University, Theology Department. Before coming to the Dutch East Indies Snouck had already gained an understanding of Islam while living in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. In a book called Islam in the Dutch East Indies, Snouck said in Mecca it was the first time he had received information about Acehese people.

On this basis, when he arrived in Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje was immediately accepted by Islamic groups. There, he disguised himself using Islamic symbols, such as changing his name to Sheikh Abdoel Ghafar, chatting in Arabic and wearing Muslim clothing. With such tactics, he succeeded in making the first report on Aceh entitled Atjeh Verslag. The report later became a book called The Aceh (1906) where he explained the anthropological and social systems of the Acehese people. Snouck explained that in Aceh, ulama and Uleebalang (local leaders) played a role in the local community. In the report, Snouck also mentioned that it was the ulamas who inflated the Aceh War with the spirit of jihad. Meanwhile, he said the Uleebalang could be invited to become a candidate for Dutch allies because their interests were in business.

The Netherlands was very impressed with the report and made it the basis of its political and military policies. So to destroy the spirit of Aceh's struggle, the Netherlands pursued two strategies, namely to embrace the Uleebalang and conquer the ulema. It was stated that the Uleebalang group was given privileges such as position, rank, and a large salary. While the ulamas were pursued and arrested to eliminate the spirit of jihad. According to Snouck, this was important because the ulama were the ones who stirred up the spirit of anti-colonialism among the people. From the thoughts and suggestions of Snouck the Dutch East Indies government succeeded in fighting the "fear" of the colonialists against Islam. (Abudin Nata, 2002: 227).

For Snouck, the enemy of colonialism is not Islam as a religion, but Islam as a political doctrine. So according to Snouck, in the field of religion the Dutch East Indies Government should give freedom to Indonesian Muslims to carry out their religion as long as they do not interfere with the power of the government, promote associations in the social sector, and take firm action against any factors that can lead to rebellion in the

political field. In that sense, Snouck Hurgronje distinguishes Islam in the sense of "worship" with Islam as "social political power".

In this case Snouck divided the Islamic problem into three categories, namely: 1. The field of pure religion or worship; 2. Community social fields; and 3. Politics; where each field demands a different alternative solution. In the field of pure religion or worship, the colonial government basically had to give freedom to Muslims to carry out their religious teachings, provided they did not disturb Dutch colonial power. Regarding this field the government should not offend pure dogma or worship. This dogma is not dangerous for the colonial government, according to Snouck among Muslims there will be a gradual change to leave the teachings of Islam. Snouck saw that full obedience in carrying out the pillars of Islam, doing five daily prayers and fasting, was a heavy burden for Muslims in this century. So Snouck pitted the cleric with Umara. Changing the construction of Acehese thinking from the spirit of jihad against invaders to the spirit of worship without any value of struggle.

Snouck also launched political propaganda. In playing political propaganda Snouck Hougranye was very clever and cunning. He described the Acehese hero Teuku Umar as a bad person. The last three years of the "convergence" period were a bad time, with the name "Uma" period. This adventurer whose character has been described in the first volume of our book, comes from the country of Meulaboh: he is typical of Aceh. It is enslaved to opium and gambling, but it is different from most Acehese leaders in terms of work activities and the ability to get along with all kinds of people, because he managed to get a very strong influence on the west coast region and in one of the three sagi in Aceh Great with ruse and intrigue and all forms of violence while the "concentration" theory rejects any idea of removing it from the power it has acquired in a despicable way so that it is an enemy that troubles the Dutch government even though through a careful wisdom from the authorities, he can be a useful ally for the government (Snouck Hougronje, 1985: 27).

The statement above shows that Snouck wanted to portray an Acehese hero as a person who was very bad at acting, cunning, deceptive and unreliable, and said that all Acehese characters were the same that they could not be trusted even though the snouck praised him for only playing cunning propaganda in the field, because by dropping the Acehese leader spirit, Snouck hoped that the Acehese resistance to invaders would recede. Snouck also described all leaders in Aceh as worthy cunning people who were exterminated to the roots. Snouck who really understood the life of the Acehese used his ability to conquer the Acehese from within the Acehese themselves, because by using the Acehese themselves the snouck plan to weaken the Acehese would succeed, he used various propaganda methods to conquer the Acehese.

Dutch efforts to control the Indonesian sultanates with *devide et impera* politics and thanks to political advice from Snouck turned out to succeed in making Indonesian sultanates subordinate to the Dutch East Indies government. The Dutch East Indies government deliberately did not destroy the traditional sultanates so that they could be used as a means of business exploitation. The limited Dutch East Indies government personnel were unable to handle such vast areas. So, the Dutch use the hands of traditional bureaucrats, and can effectively exploit the Indonesian people. The annexation of the territory by the Dutch East Indies government caused a narrower land area of traditional rulers. So their income was increasingly limited, and the traditional rulers were increasingly dependent on the Dutch East Indies government. Economic dependence encourages the increasingly shifting orientation of the people to increasingly vulnerable. They have functioned as colonial employees rather than community leaders.

IV. CONCLUSION

Political propaganda by Snouck Hougranye in conquering the nation of Aceh 1873 -1904 was first; fight ulama with umara. The Ulama as the driving force of the struggle against the Dutch was struck by Snouck with Ulee Balang as the ruler who seemed to not care about the struggle. Second; changing the construction of Acehese thinking from the habit of carrying out Islamic Shari'a to customary implementation in every policy. It means weakening the Shari'a and strengthening adat, so that in everyday life the people of Aceh leave the obligatory ones and focus on the things that change. Snouck also carried out black propaganda through labeling badly the leaders of the Acehese struggle like Teuku Umar.

Through his book Snouck described Teuku Umar as a cunning, deceitful and untrustworthy person. Snouck's propaganda in other forms is also seen through the way Snouck classifies Islam in Aceh, according to him, the enemy of colonialism is not Islam as Religion, but Islam as a political doctrine. So according to Snouck, in the field of Religion the Dutch East Indies Government should give freedom to the Acehese Muslim community to carry out their religion as long as they do not interfere with the power of the government, promote associations in the social field, and take firm action against any factors that can lead to rebellion in the political field. Snouck Hougranye in conquering the resistance of the people of Aceh 1873 -1904 dictated Islam as a political doctrine dividing Islam into 3 categories namely; Islam in pure religion or worship, Islamic social society and political Islam. Since the division, the resistance of the Acehese has gradually weakened because the division of Islam made the Acehese people split religiously and that was what the Dutch East Indies

government wanted. Then recommending the killing of clerics and forming a special corps of the Dutch East Indies so that there was a genocide in Aceh and the birth of Aceh Pungo as a manifestation of the frustration of the Acehese against the Dutch East Indies invaders.

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