

HISTORY OF BABUL MUKARRAMAH AND THE WHITE ROBE MOVEMENT IN THE NEW ORDER ERA

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Abstract

The White Robe Movement, a very brave heroic movement of santri dayah, was pioneered by aceh's charismatic ulama, Teungku Bantaqiah a leader of the Salafist dayah (Babul Mukarramah), Beutong Ateuh region. The purpose of this movement is to prevent various kinds of rampant toxicity in Aceh during the New Order era. This movement was inspired by the process of studying in depth the practice of Sufism and the order taught in Babul Mukarramah's father, namely the muqarabah and mujahadah methods. This method has been able to seep into the souls of the students who are applied through jihad in the way of Allah Almighty. This study aims to explain the history of Babul Mukarramah and The White Robe Movement. Data collection is carried out in four ways, namely by observation, literature studies, document studies, and interviews. The methods used are historical methods and qualitative approaches. The results of data analysis showed that The White Robe Movement only developed around 1987, besides it was named because of the vision and mission. The movement, led directly by Teungku Bantaqiah, is just a group of students who want to convey their aspirations regarding the government's policy of insurgent Aceh and leaving the Acehnese people in a backwardness and downturn.

Keywords: History of Aceh; Babul Mukarramah; The White Robe Movement; New Order era.

INTRODUCTION

Aceh is a very conservative region as upholding Islamic values. The percentage of its Muslim population is the highest in Indonesia and they live according to Islamic sharia. Unlike most other provinces in Indonesia, Aceh has its own regulated autonomy for historical reasons (Fahmi, 2014, p. 20). This is because Islam and Aceh are two things that cannot be separated in the daily life of the Acehnese people (Fazal, 2021, p. 31). However, there was a period that began an economic inequality in Aceh. In 1971, Mobil Oil company from the US, found a new oil and gas deposit in Arun, North Aceh. Soon, they have grants to establishing a factory and exploitation activities by Suharto's regime. But the opportunity obtained do not bring adequate prosperity to the local community.

It was this unease about the gap and its negative amplification of regional development that moved the Jubah Puteh group (the White Robes) to launch open protests on the streets. The Jubah Puteh lead by Teungku Bantaqiah, a charismatic ulama who mobilize his *santri* in the group to protests economic gap issues and other inequalities reasons (Zamzami, 2001, p. 11). Teungku Bantaqiah is one of many conservative clerics in Aceh who has a huge number of loyal followers. He once refused to join the Aceh branch of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia.

On May 15, 1987, or 17 Ramadhan 1408 Hijra, Teungku Bantaqiah and the group organize a huge protest movement in two different places: in Sigli (Aceh Pidie regency) led by Teungku Iskandar and in Meulaboh (West Aceh regency) led by Teungku Sabirin. In Sigli, the protesters wearing white robe which commonly known as the "Gerakan Jubah Puteh" (The White Robe Movement). While in Meulaboh, the protesters wearing black robe and various color which commonly known as "Gerakan Jubah Hitam" (The

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Black Robe Movement) (Rahmany, [2001](#), p. 13). In Pidie, the protesters were gathered at the Po Teumeureuhom Mosque and in Meulaboh at the Kuta Padang Mosque precisely at dawn (5 AM). However, the Black Robe movement does not last long since Teungku Sabirin died. So, The Black Robe Movement had been dissolved. The White Robe Movement led by Teungku Iskandar still exists today (Malikul Azis, interviewed on July 13, 2019).

The protesters armed themselves with swords and spears. The red-green banner bearing the symbol of the crescent and star and the Quran also being their attribute. Local children of primary school age taught the *silat* (traditional martial arts) and to prepare the reserve youth force (Usman bin Muhammad's, interviewed on July 14, 2019). They also taught one of the verses in the Quran (An'am: 103) to pray and memorized. The spirit of Teungku Bantaqiah's struggle originated from his *dayah* called Babul Mukarramah and echoed throughout the villages. This study aims to explore the historical connections between roles of Teungku Bantaqiah, the Babul Mukarramah, his followers, and loyalists on political situation in Aceh at that time which culminates through The White Robe Movement.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach that aims to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the subject of the study for example behavior, perception, motivation, action and others, holistically, and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special context that is natural and by utilizing various natural methods (Moleong, [2006](#), p. 31). This type of research uses historical methods. The historical method is a problem-solving procedure by using past data or relics either to understand events or a state that took place in the past regardless of the present state or to understand the events or circumstances of the present in relation to past events or circumstances (Nawawi, 2005, p. 78). Historical research has five stages, namely: (1) topic selection, (2) source collection, (3) verification (historical criticism, validity of sources), (4) interpretation: analysis and synthesis, and (5) writing (Kuntowijoyo, [1999](#), p. 89). In addition, it also uses field research methods (field research), namely field research carried out in the real scene. Data collection obtained by conducting research in the place under study. This research is essentially a method of discovering specifically from the reality that occurs in society (Kartono, [1986](#), p. 32). The research location of this research was conducted in Beutong Ateuh Beunggalang, Babul Mukarramah, Nagan Raya Aceh Regency. The object of research is something that will be researched by obtaining data for a certain purpose and then conclusions can be drawn. The objects in this study are The White Robe Movement (Gerakan Jubah Putih), Babul Mukarramah and the people of Beutong Ateuh Beunggalang District, Nagan Raya Regency. Meanwhile, the techniques in data collection are carried out by observation, interviews, document, and literature studies.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

History of Babul Mukarramah

Beutong Ateuh Beunggalang is one of the sub-districts in Nagan Raya Regency, Aceh Province. This district is an area located in the Beutong plateau, it can be said to

be located between the Nagan Raya district and the Central Aceh Regency. Before the expansion of the territory, Beutong was more often considered part of the Central Aceh Regency, because it was closer to the district compared to the West Aceh (Meulaboh) district at that time. By passing through mountains that are very high and steep so that the height has reached the clouds, until the name Beutong Ateuh is often referred to as “the land upon the clouds”. The highest peak is called the hill Singgah Mata. The highest peak that can spoil the eyes, and millennials often explore this beauty through extreme adventure on social media, because it is a pride to be in that place. From the highest peak then descends to the lowest valley, with a travel time of approximately 2 (two) hours’ drive (Maudalena, [2017](#)).

A Salafist’s *Dayah* led by Teungku Bantaqiyah located in the middle of the village is also equipped with a clear and clear river flow, which divides between one village and another. It is truly a real and unmistakable beauty as its nickname “Nanggroe Lailatul Qadar”. The author can illustrate looking from the top of a hill, like a narrow and long glass and the base of the glass itself that is Beutong Ateuh. Such are the conditions that the author can describe about the existence of Beutong Ateuh, so it is naturally very isolated and far from the hustle and bustle of the crowd. The *dayah* was known as Babul Mukarramah, which is now named Babul 'Ala Nuurillah is a historic *dayah* for the people of Aceh in general and for the people of Beutong Ateuh Benggalang in particular. This *dayah* records the history of the movement of charismatic Acehese clerics, namely Teungku Bantaqiyah and his students to fight for religion and demand the rights of the Acehese people.



Figure 1. Portrait of Teungku Bantaqiyah and his wife

Source: author’s collection

Babul Mukarramah then changed the name to Babul 'Ala Nuurillah by Teungku Malikus Azis (the youngest son of Teungku Bantaqiyah). This name change itself is not without reason, but there are several strong and fundamental reasons that he considered as the new leader to replace his late father. One of them is that there is a lot of misuse of the *dayah* name by irresponsible individuals on the grounds of seeking relief funds on behalf of Babul Mukarramah for personal interests. This is the strongest reason for the change in the name of the *dayah* (Teungku Malikul Azis, interviewed on July 13, 2019). Long before Babul Mukarramah was known by the wider community

located in the village of Blang Meurandeh, in fact this *dayah* was the forerunner already existed, which was led by the Teungku Bantaqiah family for generations, starting from Teungku Lailatul Qadar in Lampuuk village, and furthermore the leader is no longer remembered by the community, this is because it has always been replaced and has been for a long time.

Once upon a time a flood hit the area so that all facilities and infrastructure were destroyed, including the *dayah* in Lampuuk. It was after the natural disaster that *dayah* moved to the village of Blang Meurandeh named Babul Mukarramah, and was inaugurated in 1975, led by Teungku Bantaqiah until the mass murder incident occurred in 1999. Looking at the family history of Teungku Bantaqiah itself, which comes from Teupin Raya, Pidie Regency. Because in addition to the conflict that occurred in the village which caused them to have to emigrate, also because of the philosophy of life of the Pidie people who like to wander (*meurantoë*), then Father Teungku Bantaqiah and his family moved to Tanah Beutong and established *dayah* in Beutong. They traveled step by step through the wild wilderness starting from Teupin Raya to Keumala Jim-Jim (Pidie), Tangse, Geumpang and ending at Beutong Cut. Arriving at the new place, which was also as their hiding place, they of course built some means to make ends meet, including the construction of religious education facilities for those who emigrated, an ordinary *dayah/bale*, maybe not *dayah* as it is now.



Figure 2. Dayah Babul Mukarramah

Source: author's collection

The *Dayah* was established only as a place of recitation of the local people which they referred to as the recitation hall (*balee seumeubeut*). The location of Babul Mukarramah is very beautiful to the eye, right in front of *dayah* there is a rocky river that is flowing water from the mountain. The *dayah* building has a stage with a character like the old Acehnese house. The roof is composed of old zinc and the walls are of an arrangement of boards that have begun to decay. Near the main building, there are also several other small buildings that have begun to tilt. Weathered eaten age. The condition of *dayah* is far from the word luxurious and very simple. There are no modern technological facilities except only the basic needs of the students and worship. The entire building is without paint, so it looks haunted and is in the middle of the lush forest of Beutong Ateuh, Nagan Raya Regency. Not far from the main building, there is also a four-sided building, which is almost the same in the shape of a *mushalla*. And it

is still in the same location, and it can be said to be side by side, but from the back side of the *mushala* there is a building that is as large as the *mushalla*, which inside is covered with green cloth, in which there is a mass grave of students who were slaughtered during the conflict, one of them is shrouded in a yellow striped white cloth, namely the grave of the deceased Teungku Bantiqiah itself.

The *Dayah* is precisely located in the interior of Mount Singgah Mata flanked by Mount Abong-Abong and Mount Tangga. The physical condition of Babul Mukarramah is still the same as before. However, during the leadership of Teungku Malikul Azis there were several concepts and activities of *dayah* that changed. The number of students has also increased to reach thousands from various corners of the region. Especially when you want to take the order and colonized, especially when the moon rises (*watee bulen e'k*) and do the fasting of circumcision for self-cleansing which is often referred to as "Fasting Tumpang". However, not all students stay overnight or live in the *dayah*. There are some of them who choose to stay overnight and there are some who choose to commute. The increase in the number of students has occurred in recent years, especially after the Aceh tsunami in 2004, previously most people were still traumatized by the tragedy that happened to Teungku Bantiqiah and his students in 1999 (Ummi Nurliyah, interviewed on July 13, 2019).

The reception of students in the Babul Mukarramah is a bit unique and different from other Salafist *dayahs*. Normally, new students who come are welcomed and given directions, location introductions, and *dayah* ordinances or disciplines. This is not the case in Babul Mukarramah. New students are only accepted, regardless of their condition for a period of six months. Prospective students were assessed by the leadership during the six months. with the aim of seeing the intention and seriousness of the prospective student. This is done so that suspicious things do not happen so that the leadership judges that the prospective students are sincere in their own wishes without any coercion or submission of any party. Carrying out routines and *dayah* development is carried out independently by *dayah* leaders and students without any financial assistance from the government or any NGOs. The assistance received is only from a few people who want to donate. In short, Babul Mukarramah has never received any financial assistance from the government and only relies on donations from students and guests who visit *dayah*.

Babul Mukarramah's Concept

Babul Mukarramah is a Salafiyah education *dayah*. In concept, the *dayah* teaches all education that is traditional Salafiyah without the slightest modern element. The Salafist tradition focuses on Sufism, namely *falsafi* and *akhlaqi* while still focusing on adhering to and practicing the Syattariah tradition in the cottage (Zamzami, 2001). The combination of these two concepts is what is practiced in the development of knowledge in this *dayah*. As the interview yang once the author did with *dayah* leader Teungku Malikul Azis, he revealed that in the process of taking the order there are several things that are applied in *dayah*.

Muqarabah

Muqarabah is to feel that he is always watched by Allah Almighty so that with this awareness encourages humans to always carry out orders diligently and stay away

from His prohibitions. Indeed, man is always desirous and eager for goodness and upholding the values of honesty and justice, even though no one has seen it. Mindfulness (introspection) is awareness. This awareness is increasingly maintained in a servant if one believes that Allah Almighty always sees him. *Muqarabah* is a person who worships Allah with the feeling that Allah is always watching over him. When he began the prayer, he was convinced that God was watching him when he was standing (Supriyatno, 2019, p. 17). Therefore, he will always pay attention to the movements in the prayer and displace them. A Sufi candidate from the beginning has been taught that he is never separated from God's watchful eyes. God was always there and was as close to all his life activities as possible. He was aware and understood that God was always watching and looking towards him. It is this attitude of consciousness that leads him always be introspective (*muraqabah*). Another term can be said, *muraqabah* is an attitude of self-introspection as well as at all times ready to research oneself.

Mujahadah

Mujahadah is a term formed from the origin of the word jihad, meaning to fight earnestly according to Islamic shari'a. Another term that also comes from the word Jihad, namely Mujahideen. Mujahideen is a term for (Muslim) fighters who participate in a war or are involved in an upheaval. Whereas the definition of *mujahadah* according to the meaning of the language of shari'a and the term expert of essence, the meaning of *mujahadah* according to language is "war", according to the rules of shari'a is a war against the enemies of Allah, and according to the term of the essence expert is to fight the lust of anger *bis- suu'*, and to put a burden on him to do something heavy for him that is in accordance with the rules of shari'a. Some Scholars said "*Mujahadah* is not to obey the will of lust", and others said "*Mujahadah* is to restrain lust from its pleasure" (Wulandari & Fuad, 2020, p. 232). Thus, we have understood, that all the activities of the spirit against lust are what are then called *mujahadah*, in other words, the spirit must always be woven upon the passions so that the passions do not interfere or can affect the limbs with deeds prohibited by shari'a. In addition, because so that Qalbu is not disturbed by despicable traits. At the same time, the spirit will seek to improve its own qualities so that it is always adorned with noble qualities that will radiate and again exert influence on Qalbu, the body and the limbs. The 5th level (*Maqam*) in the concept of Sufism is *mujahadah*, that is, to mean it. In terms, the *mujahadah* can be interpreted as a form of earnestness to carry out God's commands by fulfilling all obligations and fulfilling for His prohibitions by body and soul with a tangible form of trying to resist (control or subdue) lust.

Zikrullah

Zikrullah is the word "Dhikr" comes from the Arabic word "*Ad-Dzikru*" terminologically means remembering Allah Almighty with the intention of *taqarrub* (drawing closer) (Rusaini, 2019). While etymologically it means to mention, say, remember, keeping, understand good deeds, body movements, and vibrations of the heart in accordance with the ways taught by religion to draw closer to Allah (Solihin, 2011, p. 119). The recitation process carried out in the Babul Mukarramah begins with *zikrullah*, which is to make a pilgrimage to mention the names of Allah. The recitation of the *wirid* begins with the reading of *istighfar* 10 times which is initiated by the *dayah* leader and followed by the pilgrims. Then continued to recite *laa Hawla Walaa kuwwata*

until it was completed together also 10 times. The next stage is to recite prayers to the great Prophet Muhammad completely.

Then reciting prayers for both parents (mothers) is also done together led by Teungku and followed by worshippers. Lastly read the *do'a* to all Muslim (man and women). To make it easier for worshippers to read several prayers and prayers, they are equipped with books (books). After opening by reciting a number of these thoughts, the recitation begins. The themes discussed in each meeting also vary depending on the content of the book (dissecting the book). The theme that is often discussed is the issue of worship and procedures such as, prayer, zakat, fasting and hajj. How to meditate and purify from *hadas* and unclean. However, outside the context that the pilgrims are talking about are free to ask about anything. This is because the recitation carried out in Babul Mukarramah is a Salafiyah (traditional) recitation. So, the questions asked by the pilgrims are sometimes out of the context of the discussion.

Of the three methods explained earlier that the most concerned of the author and many other people is about the concept of *mujahadah* practiced in this place, maybe this rarely happens in other places so that it often causes misunderstandings for those who do not know it clearly and surely the MUI once claimed that *dayah* spread heresy. Meanwhile, the issue of *muqarabah* and *dhikr* is not a concern, because it is still considered reasonable as in other Salafist *dayahs*. Even though after assessing the practice of *mujahadah* this is not the case, the concept of *mujahadah* carried out in Babul Mukarramah is a teaching that invites to carry out circumcision fasting outside of mandatory fasting, the fasting of circumcision is often referred to as overlapping fasting. Unlike other circumcision fasts, the intercropping fasts performed in Babul Mukarramah are a little unique (Malikul Azis, interviewed on July 13, 2019). In the case of carrying out the fasting of circumcision to take the process of *mujahadah* in this order, there are many errors and contra versions.

Even though they are carrying out the fasting of circumcision in the concept of *mujahadah*, not in the implementation of compulsory fasting as understood by the community. This is because the practice of fasting is carried out differently from other circumcision fasts. If the fast of circumcision is like the fast of Monday and Thursday, or the Day of Ashura and others, just like the others. What is different is especially for people who take the practice of *mujahadah*, purify themselves and restrain lust through fasting as mentioned above. The "fasting" method carried out in Babul Mukarramah has two important elements, namely the time and day of fasting determines the amount of food. First, the time is between the time of *suhoor* and the time of breaking the fast must be the same. For example, *suhoor* at 05.00 a.m, then the time for breaking the fast is exactly at 17.00 p.m. If *suhoor* is at 04.00 a.m, then the iftar time is 16.00 p.m. Second, the day of fasting determines the amount of food enjoyed at *suhoor* and *iftar*.

Intercropping fasting is carried out by looking at the position of the moon, which is when the position of the moon is rising (*buleun 'ek*) and the moon is set (*buleun treun*). So, for those who want to overcome themselves by means of colonization, this depends on the person, there are those who want to take one to three days, some are four days, seven days and there are up to fourteen days and so on according to the level of one's desire and ability in this stage. Fasting on the first day, then the amount of rice eaten at *suhoor* and iftar is as much as a lump of hands (*sigeupai bu*) each one fasts.

Likewise, fasting for circumcision on the third day then the amount of rice eaten is as much as three lumps of hands rice each fasting (*lhee boh geupai bu*) and so on until it is finished. The two elements of fasting are what then emerged various speculations and information that were not clarified by word of mouth both among the people of Beutong Ateuh Benggalang and other communities in general. The existence of these pros and cons is what finally exists in the community and even the MUI once claimed that the *dayah* recitation of Babul Mukarramah spreads a cult. However, this did not become a special response from the *dayah* leadership and students and even they took it easy to respond, because what they did not violate shari'a.

The White Robe Movement in the Spotlight

Babul Mukarramah is widely known for Teungku Bantaqiah. In *dayah*, he not only teaches religious science but also teaches martial arts and various other spiritual sciences (Teungku Umami, interviewed on July 14, 2019). And there are also those who want to learn to the *dayah* to get immune knowledge (*ilemee keubai*). The process of teaching and learning mechanisms is led directly by Teungku himself with the help of several *teungku* of his trust. However, now the leadership of Babul Mukarramah was taken over by his son, Teungku Malikul Azis who also became a filler for recitation studies which was also assisted by several other *teungku* who were there as late as the deceased. In addition to learning religious knowledge and various other spiritual sciences, the students also can carry out community activities in general, such as farming (planting rice, chili, and various vegetables). This aims to help reduce the cost of living for students daily in addition to being a *quality time* between fellow students to communicate or establish silaturahmi in the frame of togetherness. The daily activities of the students started from the dawn prayer in congregation, then continued with the pilgrimage (Muhammad, interviewed on September 6, 2019).

The students are taught how to prosper while doing other side activities, such as farming and mutual aid to improve and clean the *dayah* environment. This activity has such a great meaning for *dayah* and *santri*, it is considered as a religious force that has an important role in efforts to form love and devotion to Allah. The purpose of the *mujahadah* or *jihad* and earnestness carried out in Babul Mukarramah is to combat the whispers and invitations of worldly passions and so on. Combat the desires and spiteful envy of fellow human beings on God's earth. This is the object that must be resisted in the *mujahadah* practiced in Babul Mukarramah. Furthermore, Teungku Malikul Azis said that the *mujahadah* as mentioned in the *hadith* that "whoever purifies himself by the way to Allah, then he will obtain Allah's in his heart."

Santri in Babul Mukarramah is also as *mujahid* in The White Robe Movement (in Acehese), if in Indonesian it is called the White Robe Movement. This movement is not a brand new in Aceh. It is certainly inseparable from the long historical frame of Aceh. This movement was first widely known in 1987, when it took to the streets through the wilderness step by step to protest the discontent of the Acehese people represented by The White Robe against the policies of the New Order government at that time. The name White Robe Movement is not only that the members wear white robes, but there are also those who wear different colors such as black and others. So, the name of this movement is not pure representing the color of the robe but on its vision and mission. White color representing holy or sacred. Members of the White Robe Movement were

scattered throughout Aceh. They are everywhere and mingle with the rest of the public. It's just that the members of this Movement are known as students who are in the *dayah*. The locations of the most members of this Movement are spread in two places, namely in Pidie and Meulaboh. In 1987, during the movement, one of the leaders of the White Robe Movement died, namely the leader of the White Robe from the Meulaboh area, namely Sabirin (Teungku Malikul Azis, interviewed on July 13, 2019).

The White Robe Movement is not an anarchist organization let alone a separatist against the central government. The movement, led directly by Teungku Bantaqiah, is just a group of students who want to convey their aspirations regarding the government's policy of instilling Aceh and leaving the Acehnese people in lagging and falling behind. This movement only refuses to be colonized economically by the central government such as refusing to manage the produce (natural gas in Arun, Lhokseumawe) which is managed by a foreign state and returned to the center without involving the Acehnese people themselves (Syafuddin, interviewed on July 14, 2019). Then the sensitivity of the central government to the movement led by Teungku Bantaqiyah began when there was a refusal of assistance for the establishment of *dayah*. This happened because Teungku felt that the government did not keep the promise according to the agreement between them. According to the agreement, the establishment of *dayah* for Teungku Bantaqiah (Babul Mukarramah) was established on land owned by Teungku himself, namely in the village of Blang Meurandeh (the present location of *dayah*). However, *dayah* was established on another land, namely in the Krueng Isep area and not in the promised place.

So, Teungku refused the assistance because it was considered not in accordance with the agreement, and in the end, he preferred to build *dayah* with personal funds instead of receiving government assistance. It was this refusal that made Teungku Bantaqiah's relationship with the government become more tenuous and heated. The government felt that Teungku Bantaqiah refused the assistance of the establishment of *dayah* and at the same time was considered a counter to the government. So that all activities in *dayah* were considered as an effort to fight against the New Order government at that time (Teungku Fatimah, interviewed on July 13, 2019). This is not the case, because Teungku Bantaqiah is an *ulama* who adheres to principles in accordance with the teachings of the Islamic religion, the promise is "the price of death and the authority of a Muslim and the promise is a debt to be paid", because according to him a hypocrite does not need to be used as a reference and has the right to be resisted, according to Islam. In response to this, the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) of Aceh Province, tried to calm the atmosphere and invited him to join, but he refused the offer because according to him they were clerics who were already pro-government, this assumption was reflected in several issues that hit at that time and the government applied evil to the people of Aceh even worse than that about the attempted silting of *aqidah* and Christianization. But what happened at that time, no cleric dared to resist, most of them was silent.

So why finally Teungku dared to jihad in the Way of Allah, to voice the truth by taking to the streets with his students. After this rejection, he was often subjected to slander by those who opposed his principles. Teungku Bantaqiah with his White Robe Movement is accused of being the one who founded and spread the cult in Aceh, worse the atmosphere became more murky when Teungku and his students were invited to

Banda Aceh, at that time there was still Ali Hasjmi as the chairman of the Aceh MUI, they had a dialogue in a discussion to the point that they were accused of heresy by the MUI, then they asked the MUI to issue a written statement (decree). If they are heretical and their guarantees go to hell, and those who claim to be righteous will enter and guarantee heaven. Finally, the MUI did not dare to issue a letter until the dialogue was finally over. The cross-section of opinion continues, where according to Teungku, everything must proceed in accordance with Islam which is sourced to the Quran and Hadith. While the government says otherwise, this nation must be run based on the ideology of Pancasila. It was this difference of views that later became the worst point of Teungku Bantaqiah's relationship with the government and was considered rebels to be secured.

The conflict continued until the conflict between GAM and RI, where at that time it was believed by the authorities that the students who were in Babul Mukarramah were active members of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and hid from the pursuit of the TNI or in the period of escape and they were also convinced that it was also in this *dayah* that they were protected by Teungku Bantaqiah under the pretext of being a student. The next charges were that Teungku was considered rebellious, storing firearms in his *dayah*, supplying, and storing marijuana plants and so on, but on the day of the raid by the TNI officers, it turned out that all the allegations were not proven at all. According to the confessions of the community and family, not a single illegitimate plant existed and was found on the day of the raid, but what he wanted to do was not, the authorities still had excessive suspicion of him and did not believe his testimony. Even though in that place, there are only recitation activities as usual, to be precise on Fridays. The students did not do any activities other than getting ready to participate in the recitation led directly by Teungku on that day.

The desire of the TNI officers is increasingly stirring to prove all the allegations addressed to Teungku Bantaqiah and his students and the more curious the public is made. At the time the authorities told them to dig a weapon storage area, which turned out to be no weapon. Precisely in front of *dayah*, that's where the bullets hit the body of Teungku Malikul Usman (the elder son of Teungku Bantaqiah), and then because he had fallen into the hole, his father came to try to lift him until Teungku rolled into the same hole and at the same time was followed by 25 other students. A thumping of hot lead permeated their bodies, and all martyrdom because of the cruelty of the slander of the New Order Government at that time. Blood smears also occurred like flowing river water, this is a bloody tragedy and mass murders that occurred in Aceh during the 1999 conflict. Meanwhile, some of the victims were killed in kilometers seven and eight, heading to Takengon, Central Aceh (Teungku Ummi, interviewed on July 14, 2019). Their sudden and simultaneous departure, of course, left deep scars and tears for anyone who remembered him until now. May Allah put them in the best place by His side and give birth to a thousand new Bantaqiahs who are brave in doing *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*.

CONCLUSION

The White Robe Movement was a phenomenal jihadist movement in 1987, involving brave, heroic, and resilient *dayah* students in voicing a truth in order to quell the evil, and various other forms of impossibility that occurred in Aceh. It was this anxiety about

the negative effects that moved The White Robe group to be formed to launch open protests by proselytizing down in line with the concept method used in Babul Mukarramah. The most underlying practice in this movement is the *mujahadah*. As mentioned above, that a person will become a true servant if he is able to fight his own passions, put aside worldly passions and fight the enemies of Allah on the face of the earth, so that they are willing to jihad and are willing to martyrdom to establish *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar* in the way of Allah Almighty. But before the death of Teungku Bantaqiah in 1999, The White Robe Movement was quite developed among the Acehnese people at a time when this movement carried out its aspiration by taking to the streets to eradicate the toxicity on the face of the Acehnese earth. But The White Robe Movement in 1999 began to be tight-lipped and was briefly frozen. The White Robe Movement has an influence on the wider community, but The White Robe Movement also gives rise to various interpretations according to the interests of each party. Starting from political interpretations, cultural interpretations by social scientists to religious interpretations that are utilized.

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