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# 1 Radicalism in Maintaining Domination of Islamic Understanding

## (Case Study of Contestation Between Aswaja versus Muhammadiyah in Samalanga, Bireuen District-Aceh)

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### 1 ABSTRACT

This article discusses the hegemony and domination of Acehnese original Islamic identity in triggering the radicalism of the Aswaja Islamic group against followers of Muhammadiyah in Sangso Samalanga, Aceh. The siding of the government apparatus to the majority understanding group (Aswaja) in this conflict pushed the government to be unable to be a referee and authoritative so that in the end the conflict between the two parties could not be resolved. This study is a qualitative study. Data collection was carried out by means of observation, in-depth interviews and document study. This article looks at the conflict regarding the establishment of the Muhammadiyah Mosque in Samalanga, Aceh from the perspective of identity domination. Based on the case of the Aswaja group's radical action against Muhammadiyah in Sangso, this article argues that the attempt to dominate Islamic ideology to maintain the authority of the elite by using local Islamic identity instruments is a trigger for mass action against ideological groups that are considered inconsistent and threaten the hegemonic existence of the attacking group. The attitude of the state apparatus which is not neutral and even supports the domination of the Aswaja group in the Islamic framework of the Samalanga community has strengthened the foundation of the unsolved conflict between the two parties. No different from most literature related to the role of the state on religious freedom in Aceh, in the end the article concluded that identity politics has a very strong influence in the vortex of conflict in the name of religion in Aceh.

<sup>3</sup>**Keywords:** Radicalism, Contestation, Aswaja, Muhammadiyah, Samalanga, Aceh

### 1. INTRODUCTION

After Aceh became a province that applies Islamic law, the contestation of authority has strengthened again. The groups that seized each other's influence did not change much, traditionally represented by the dayah and modern groups represented by the Muhammadiyah and UIN / IAIN organizations in Aceh [1]. This contestation

has even in some cases ended with acts of radicalism that have resulted in victims of both objects and souls. As seen in the case of refusal to build the Muhammadiyah Mosque in Sangso Village, Samalanga Sub District, Bireun District, Aceh which ended with the burning of the construction of the mosque building that was being built.

Almakin's research findings [2] show that the conflict over places of worship in Aceh is caused by the fear that is felt from the presence of religious expressions other than Islam. [3] which looks at the rejection of the presence of the church in Banda Aceh, pays attention to the way the Acehnese see places of worship as part of the identity of the Islamic community. The conflict between traditionalism groups and Muhammadiyah organizations in Samalanga is not much different from Almakin's conclusion, where the labeling of Muhammadiyah as a Salafi-Wahabi adherent played an important role in the action against the construction of the Muhammadiyah Mosque. The Salafi-Wahabi concept is seen as dangerous by the majority of dayah Muslims in Samalanga who adhere to the Ahlu Sunnah Waljamaah ideology. Although the classification and boundaries of Ahlu Sunnah Waljamaah are still vague and unclear, the stigma against the Muhammadiyah organization remains prominent. What is different from [4] findings with this article is that the difficulty of building houses of worship in Aceh is not only felt by followers of Christianity or religions other than Islam. As shown in this article, minority Islamic ideology also experiences a similar condition.

This article looks at identity as a social construction built by a narrative structure that separates reality from nativism and outsiders [1]. As a concept that has been widely used by social scientists, identity has various traditions and approaches. There are at least two major traditions in the study of identity. The first is a group that sees identity as emerging because of the motivation of the individual or community's motivation (psychoanalysis) towards the presence of another in the world of reality. The second group sees identity as a result of social construction. This group argues that humans are bound by the structure of their world, and always define themselves through interactions with structures. As an inspiration in forming a collective movement, identity must be seen from the relationships that form individuals in a common perspective in seeing themselves.

This article follows a tradition that sees identity as the result of social construction [4], domination is formed over control over culture, desire and identity. [4] quotes Gramsci that domination requires a process of absolute acceptance (legitimacy). As shown in this article, the dominance of the Islamic understanding of the Samalanga people has had a very strong influence on the traditional Islamic thought of the dayah (Islamic Traditional Boarding School) which has taken root for centuries. In contrast to Islam Muhammadiyah who is admittedly came to Samalanga in 1928. Moreover, the Muhammadiyah organization was brought by a Javanese who served as a Dutch employee in Banda Aceh. Apart from that, the teachings of the Muhammadiyah organization that are close to Wahabi are considered by traditionalism groups as part of a threat to Aceh's Islamic identity.

The difference between Acehnese Islam that was built by the traditionalism group and the teachings brought by Muhammadiyah is the belief in the ritual of tahlilan, pilgrimage to the grave, reading praise after the call to prayer, and amplifying the reading after prayer. This fact was rejected by Muhammadiyah because it was considered contrary to the Koran and Hadith. This view raises friction with Islamic traditionalism in Aceh which is no different from Islamic traditionalism in Indonesia in general, considering these rituals part of Islamic identity, especially Aceh's Islamic identity.

This article discusses the contestation between the Acehnese traditionalism group and the Muhammadiyah organization in Samalanga, Bireun-Aceh. For that, in the next section the article discusses the contestation of Islamic understanding in Samalanga. Samalanga is an important area for Islamic traditionalism in Aceh and also the Muhammadiyah organization. Dayah Aziziyah, as the largest dayah network in Aceh, is in this region. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah has a very strong history with this region because Ayah Harid, an important figure whose his modernist thoughts opened the door for the development of Muhammadiyah in Bireuen and Aceh as a whole. In the next section, this article discusses the actions of rejection by traditionalism groups towards the construction of the Muhammadiyah Mosque as a result of political conflicts that exploit contestation of authority. At the end of the article, we see that the labeling process of Muhammadiyah as Wahabi teachings has succeeded in constructing the identity of Muhammadiyah in Samalanga.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method. Qualitative research is conducted in natural conditions and is discovery in nature [5]. Qualitative research as a human instrument serves to determine the focus of research, select informants as data sources, assess data quality, analyze data, interpret data and make conclusions on everything. This qualitative method is open and dynamic, allowing informants to openly express their experiences. In this study, the qualitative method is considered by researchers to be able to study the radicalism of mass action in maintaining the dominance of Islamic understanding in Samalanga.

This study was conducted in Sangso Village, Samalanga Sub-District, Bireun District, Aceh Province. In this case, the writer analyzes mass action radicalism in maintaining the dominance of Islamic understanding in Samalanga. The topic of this paper is then examined through a descriptive qualitative approach, where qualitative information is described theoretically and analytically. Apart from these aspects, the researcher also describes the religious radicalism of the mass burning of places of worship and the dominant religion. The information obtained in this paper was obtained from eye witnesses from the scene directly at Sangso

Samalanga. The targets or objects of this research were the mass movement actors from Aswaja and the At-Taqwa building committee. While the informants in this study are subjects who understand information from the research object. Researchers obtained data and information about the radicalism of mass action from informants whom the researchers had met in the field.

Headings may be numbered or unnumbered (“1 Introduction” and “1.2 Numbered level 2 head”), with no ending punctuation. As demonstrated in this document, the initial paragraph after a heading is not indented.

### 3. DOMINATION AND CONTESTATION OF THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY OF THE DAYAH GROUP VS MUHAMMADIYAH

In Acehese society there are several religious groups. One of them that dominates and has broad authority is the Islamic dayah group. It is called Islamic dayah because the group develops Islam through dayah (pesantren) with monumental works that have an international reputation discussing "Al-Firqah al-Hasanah: Discussion on the Ahlussunah wal Jamaah Faith" [6]. The dominant religious authority possessed by the Islamic dayah group is not something rigid, usually based on recognition, support from the community and its followers manifested in the form of teungku dayah authority. Teungku dayah is a representation of religion to regulate values in managing society. Teungku dayah is a figure needed by the Acehese people to rectify what is considered heretical, back to the real path. Teungku dayah also acts as a controller or supervisor of all actions that cause division and enmity that can destroy the nation and religion.

In Acehese society, ulama (Islamic Scholars) are often called Abu, Ayah, Abu Chik Abi, Abon, Tu, Waled, Abati and Teungku [7]. In particular, the teungku nickname is often found in the daily interactions of the Acehese people, the nickname teungku is also given to students or students who are demanding (meudagang) the science of Religion in Dayah (Pesantren). The call teungku in Acehese society is divided into 2 (two) meanings, teungku as the title of calling and the designation of teungku as a tribute to the scientific capacity of a person's Islamic religion.

In the perspective of Aceh, teungku dayah is a figure who is considered to have extraordinary abilities, even believed to have supernatural and miraculous abilities beyond ordinary human reasoning [8]. This belief actually underlies the religious authority in Aceh (Islamic dayah group) which is fully given by the community to teungku dayah. why muslims especially in Samalanga do not unite under a single religious authority so that there are no differences and disagreements, for example, which is most striking in furu'iyah (branch) issues. Questions like this often arise in various discussions in public. The debate regarding the contestation and domination of religious authority

between the Islamic dayah groups and Modernist Islamic groups continues because the Islamic dayah group considers the Muhammadiyah Islamic group to be an illegal and foreign group in Islamic practices that the Islamic dayah group has understood and believed so far.

The Islamic tradition of dayah in the pre-conflict period at least had formed the authority of teungku dayah as the single holder of religious authority in Samalanga which had a syafi'i school and was based on Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah. Despite having lived side by side with the Muhammadiyah group in Samalanga, the Islamic Dayah community still maintains its traditional beliefs. The ownership of Islamic authority was only in teungku dayah, making him a strong, brave and seemingly irreplaceable figure. Although it is not uncommon for the dayah Islamic community to use the power of the dayah teungku to control and direct a single religious authority in all interests.

Samalanga has long been known as the base area for Islamic dayah, although there is no clear literature recorded since what year. In the development of Islamic dayah in Samalanga, some historians say, the dayah in Samalanga has been established along with the construction of the Grand Mosque built by Sultan Iskandar Muda around the 16th century, Sultan Iskandar Muda (12th King of Aceh, reigned in 1607-1636 AD ). The existence of dayah in Samalanga has been around since (1607), this can be seen from one of the heritage mosques which was inaugurated directly by Sultan Iskandar Muda during the Uleebalang era Tun Sri Lanang is a mosque named Mesjid Raya Poe Teumeureuhom which is located in the complex of Ma'hadal Ulum Diniyah Islamiyah (MUDI) Masjid Raya Samalanga, Bireuen District, which functions as a place of worship and a place for religious prayer for students and the local community.

According to [9] Muhammadiyah was introduced in Aceh in 1923, by the late Djajasoeakarta a Dutch pawnshop employee from West Java. However, according to records, the Muhammadiyah organization was only officially established in Banda Aceh in 1927 which later expanded to the east coast and other Aceh areas. This movement also began to implement Islamic teachings in a modern way by establishing schools and other educational institutions. Muhammadiyah in Aceh also took part in the political field, apart from helping the poor and orphans to get a proper education in Aceh and Banda Aceh in particular. Apart from the main mission, namely to purify Islamic teachings according to the Koran and Hadith. Muhammadiyah is a modernist Islamic movement that carries out renewal and improvement of the welfare of Muslims through education and health. Muhammadiyah wants Muslims to return to al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah purely without being contaminated with things that are traditionally contrary to Islamic teachings.

It is admitted that the existence of Islamic dayah existed before the development of Muhammadiyah. The rapid development of Muhammadiyah is a major concern for the Islamic elites from the ahlussunnah wal

jamaah group. How not in the last two decades after the decline of Aceh Selatan District, the center for the development of Ahlul Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja) teachings in Aceh has now moved to Bireuen District. The center is precisely in Samalanga. In response to this, socio-culturally the people of Samalanga, the entry of new currents in the practice and understanding of religion is a threat to the integrity of religion.

In the pre-conflict period. Islamic dayah groups have controlled religious authority throughout the region in Samalanga. Moreover, the power of Islamic dayah at that time was supported by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) group. The unity between GAM and Islamic dayah shows that apart from the understanding of Islam dayah cannot be applied in Samalanga, generally in Aceh. However, after the conflict and peace, the Islamic Dayah Authority began to scatter. At the same time it is this tendency to dominate that it creates an uncomfortable atmosphere for Islamic dayahs. The attitude of seizing mosque by the Islamic group ahlussunnah wal jamaah has had a major influence on people's lives. This influence is polarized by the people who previously lived in harmony, some of them between the groups are also close relatives, now seem to be competitive so that they turn into contestations.

According to [9] notes, the fundamental difference between Islamic dayah and Muhammadiyah is that the Islamic Dayah group likes tahlilan rituals, grave pilgrimages, morning prayers using qunut, reading praises after the call to prayer, and hardens the reading after prayer, as well as the shape of a mosque that has a beduk (traditional drum), kentongan, and the pulpit of the khatib using a stick and a throne like a king. While muhammadiyah are those who are anti-slametan, tahlilan, pilgrimage to the grave to ask for blessings, do not wear a turban or hajj cap in prayer, recite dhikr after prayers individually, without a loud voice, refuse qunut at dawn prayers, do not use praise after the call to prayer, and the shape of the mosque which does not use beduk (traditional drum), kentongan and the pulpit of the khatib which is more modern and without a stick.

Admittedly, the teungku dayah in Samalanga are increasingly famous in Aceh and even the archipelago are Ahlussunnah Waljamaah fighters, such as Abu Mudi, Waled Nu, Abu Sofyan Arongan and others. Therefore, it is not surprising that until now the people of Samalanga adhere to the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah faith. Moreover, Islamic dayah spread in Samalanga has existed since the time of the Iskandar Muda Kingdom, and has survived from the Dutch colonial era until now.

The teaching materials in the Samalanga dayah all follow the Syafi'i school of thought in the field of fiqh (law) and Ahlussunnah Waljamaah Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah in theology. So it is not surprising that the dominance of the Islamic dayah and the people of Samalanga is very thick with the Syafi'i school of thought and Ahlussunnah Waljamaah followers.

### 3.1.1. Radicalism Religious Mass Action of Islamic Dayah Vs Muhammadiyah

The radicalism of religious mass action is a reality that presents a comprehensive horror in the life of the world community today. The welfare and comfort of life for the world community as a consequence of the development of the rate of trade and technology go hand in hand with the suffering triggered by radicalism and its derivation. This reality presents both concerns and challenges in realizing a global life order that is nonviolent. Indonesia as one of the countries with the largest population and the most diversity of religious beliefs in the world cannot be separated from the social unrest resulting from acts of radicalism. Sadly, radicalism in Indonesia actually thrives in a social order built with high ideals of tolerance under the framework of Pancasila.

In the Indonesian context too, the radicalism of religious mass actions that took place in Aceh has become a reality that demands more attention. How could it not be, after more than 30 years of armed conflict wrapped in the label of separatism were successfully reconciled in mid-2005, now the radicalism of religious mass actions has actually blossomed and threatens the continuation of the peace that is blooming in Acehese society.

The religious mass action against Muhammadiyah to hinder the construction process of the At-Taqwa Muhammadiyah Mosque took place on Tuesday (17/10/2017) at around 20.00 WIB. Behind the mass action and the burning of the site of the Sangso Samalanga Mosque, there were differences in views on religion both normatively and practically. This is influenced by the power of Islamic dayah which is still very strong and dominating. On the other hand, the struggle of the supporters of Muhammadiyah was very strong in being able to change the Samalanga community which already had its own uniqueness in terms of understanding its mazhab. Starting from the Keude Samalanga Mosque or better known as the Baiturrahman Keude Aceh Mosque, Samalanga District, Bireuen Regency, 5 KM from the Medan-Banda Aceh highway. This mosque is a mosque of pride for the people of Samalanga in general, because the mosque was built on the initiative of Ayah Hamid and several Samalanga figures for the 4 Gampong community namely, Gampong Sangso, Kandang, Meuliek and Keude Aceh. Hamid's father is also known as a figure in the Ulama Union organization in Aceh (PUSA). This mosque is located in the center of Keude Samalanga, so that many people stop by to pray and rest especially on weekends.

The struggle for or control of this mosque occurred around the 2000s. Initially before the struggle, this mosque was managed by the Jama'ah Muhammadiyah Sangso group. Although at that time there were also Islamic dayah communities praying in congregation there, especially on Fridays. Since then this mosque has been known to be orderly and always crowded with congregations praying there. It is not surprising that the

Muhamadiyah Jamaah is always familiar with the mosque, because most of the life and activities of the followers of the Muhammadiyah are traders and civil servants. These Muhammadiyah congregations are very fond of prospering the mosque by always filling in the five daily prayers in congregation and reciting short traditions after the obligatory prayer.

Over time, the mosque's activities were assessed as differences in the practice of worship from mosques and others in general in Samalanga. Islamic dayahs in Gampong Sangso are people who take part in recitation at the halls and meunasah led by Teungku Dayah. This grouping is based on the way this dayah Islamic group performs the ritual of tahlilan, pilgrimage to the grave, reads praise after the call to prayer, and amplifies the reading after prayer. The difference is considered by Islamic dayah to be contrary to the practice of the shafi'i school that has been developing in Aceh.

This contradiction harbored hatred between the two religious groups, not only Islamic dayah, Muhammadiyah also assessed that the Islamic dayah group tends to be monologue and rigid in the religious learning system which only accommodates explanations in the shafi'i school, even though in Islam it adheres to a four-school system, this can be seen from how to learn in the recitation hall which only listens to and listens to the book Teungku reads and explains until it is finished and after that it is fully accepted.

Each of these groups has its own influence in the Sangso community. The Islamic dayah group is more dominant in number than the muhamadiyah group in Gampong Sangso. However, as the development of Muhammadiyah groups began to multiply, this was inseparable from a part of the Islamic Dayah community who began to think rationally and modernly which was influenced by the current level of knowledge and education. The Islamic dayah group with the Muhammadiyah group began to become clear after the change in the Baiturrahman Keude Samalanga mosque took place. These changes caused differences in views between the community which led to a contestation between the Islamic Dayah community and the Muhammadiyah community of Gampong Sangso with each other, so that the community was polarized into two groups. This group is the Islamic dayah group with the Muhammadiyah group.

The Great Mosque of Samalanga was founded on the initiative of the local Muhammadiyah figure, Teungku Burhanuddin Amien. Through his persistence in raising funds with the Sangso community, in 1965 the Great Mosque of Samalanga was firmly established. Then, since 1965 Teungku Burhanuddin Amien became the Teungku Imeum Syiek (Grand Imam) of the Samalanga mosque until his death in 1994. After the death of Teungku Burhanuddin Amien, the leadership relay in the great mosque of Samalanga was continued by the figure and chairman of Muhammadiyah Samalanga, namely Teungku H. Ahmad Maun.

Not all of the residents of Gampong Sangso are Muhammadiyah members. However, some of the

residents of Sangso are followers of the Islamic dayah group located in Gampong Sangso, this began to be seen when the Islamic dayah's recitations in Gampong Sangso were not carried out at the Sangso mosque at that time. However, it was held at Bale Inti Keude Samalanga. Although if seen from each congregation there are more people in the mosque, so Bale Inti Keude Samalanga is not allowed for Muhammadiyah members and vice versa. The people of Sangso are a society that belongs to the modernist group because the Sangso community is a society that is heavily influenced by the figure of Hamid's father, after his death the most respected role model there was Ustaz Yahya.

At that time the Sangso mosque was fully owned by Muhammadiyah people. The holder of full nailing of the mosque <sup>22</sup> has been going on for quite a long time. However, the board continued to get pressure from the Islam dayah followers who initially asked for 20 cycles of tarawih prayers to be carried out in congregation because there were some mosque congregants who performed tarawih prayers for 20 cycles while the mosques performed 8 cycles.

This proposal was rejected by the mosque management and several mosque congregations because the mosque had been established since the beginning of the tarawih prayer ritual at the Sangso 8 rakaat. The mosque management offered if the congregation praying 20 cycles of prayer wanted to perform tarawih prayers in congregation at the mosque, then go ahead. However, after the mosque congregation who performed the eight cycles of prayer was finished, they continued to carry out the witr prayer in congregation. Until 1998 the tarawih prayers at the Sangso Mosque were still carried out with a total of eight cycles. So that some Sangso people who are followers of Islam dayah no longer participate in prayers at the Sangso mosque, after this incident the bale inti was made apart from being a place for the best prayers in the month of Ramadan as well as a place for the majlis ta'lim recitation.

Since then the Islamic Dayah group has made various efforts to restore the procedures for worshiping in mosques in accordance with the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah (Aswaja) school of thought. Subsequently, this attempt ended with a mosque coup which was taken by force with the replacement of the entire management structure of the Mosque Prosperity Agency (BKM). The struggle for the sangso mosque occurred in the 2000s involving the strength of the GAM group, which at that time was still in a state of conflict. Until now, the mosque has been controlled by the Islamic Dayah community.

After this struggle, Islamic dayah traditions such as the celebration of the Prophet's birthday began to be carried out again. This group is more dominated by people who initially separated themselves in Bale Inti, Keude Samalanga and other parts of the Samalanga Community of Settlements and only a few people from outside the Keude Samalanga. Nowadays, the group of mosque congregation members is studying Islamic studies related to the views of the Syafi'i school of

thought. Generally, the studies carried out are related to fiqh, tauhid, tasauf which are carried out three times a week, namely on Wednesday, Friday and Sunday nights. This recitation was covered by Islamic dayah leaders.

### **3.1.2. Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah and Labeling Muhammadiyah as Wahabi**

The Islamic understanding of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah in general has been introduced since the time of the Prophet Muhammad in accordance with the contents of the Al-Quran and Hadith. In the Indonesian context, especially in Aceh, it is more popularly abbreviated as Aswaja. The Aswaja sentence is a postulate of the Prophet's expression, "Ma'ana 'alaihi wa ashabi" because at that time the Prophet clearly stated that Muslims would be divided into 73 groups, all of whom would go to hell except for one group, namely Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah.

AS-Sunnah is a term that refers to the path of the Prophet SAW and his friends, both knowledge, charity, morals, and everything that covers various aspects of life [10]. The Muhammadiyah group identifies itself as a group of followers of this Sunnah. In Samalanga, Aswaja is not only understood as an ideology or a sect, but has also become the legitimacy of a certain group of people regarding who is worthy to say that they are religious praxis who bear truth. Aswaja has been justified by each community's religious group or movement. This phenomenon raises various problems in Aceh. The case of Sangso Samalanga is one that claims the truth originated from a fierce battle between the thoughts of Asy'ariyah and Wahabiyah regarding who deserves to be called Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah, the two groups insist on each other by arguing their respective understanding in responding to the opinions of their followers. The Islamic dayah understanding in Samalanga about who Ahlussunnah walajama'ah is based on a study of the results of mubahasah (discussion that is followed by the public) which is carried out openly to explain an ijthad to the public.

Islam Muhammadiyah considers their group to be more moderate and more positive thinking in promoting rationality so that their group rejects tahlilan, burial pilgrimages to ask for blessings, and recites dhikr after prayers individually, without loud voices. The Islamic group Muhammadiyah Samalanga was heavily influenced by the thought of Ayah Hamid as the most respected and mentioned figure by Ustaz. Yahya as a role model for Muhammadiyah members at this time. Muhammadiyah claims that in his learning system the Muhammadiyah group is more likely not to be a monologue like recitation in halls but to use a discussion system in learning to answer all community problems about religion.

The issue of Wahabi has become a very sensitive issue, even some of the people of Samalanga are directly labeled as Wahabi because they do not do what has become a custom or custom that has been prevailing so far in Samalanga. For example, people with long beards, short pants, do not celebrate the birthday of the

Prophet Muhammad, do not pray at the graves of the saints and do not want to tawassul to Rasulullah SAW, take istighasah and others. Even though Muhammadiyah and Wahabi are different, even though Wahabi is an understanding or thought that contradicts Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah. The Wahabi issue has become an internal conflict among Muslims. The thoughts of Wahhabi and Muhammadiyah have many similarities in terms of worship, even though Muhammadiyah is not a Wahabi. In fact, there are some people who hate Wahabi so much that they are unable to see his goodness, and some others love Wahabi so much that they are unable to see his faults.

In the Islamic tradition of dayah in Samalanga, the law is not decided by a scholar or tengku dayah alone. However, every decision related to i'badah and muamalah matters, the opinion of teugku dayah is always based on the discussion by means of Mubahasah (an attempt to self-evaluate the good and bad) solving the problem by presenting all components of dayah ulama including presenting the relevant government, including in formulating discussion of khilafiah problems that occur in society. So that the interpretation of the Koran and hadiths is not solely from an individual clerical perspective which is unilaterally explained to his followers [11]. However, the agreement was taken through a universal decision-making process through mubahasah by explaining the arguments and statements of legal experts referring to books and other references. The mubahasah process emphasizes ikot peutuah gure (listening to teacher advice).

The labeling of Muhammadiyah as a Wahabi group that is considered heretical and because in the historical and empirical context in the Arab region their strict religious practices and anti-local wisdom that are considered incompatible with Islamic teachings are the basis for the concern of the Samalanga community, especially the village community, if Wahabi is allowed to develop, it can threaten the establishment. their way of worship which tends to accommodate local culture and tradition from a long time ago. This fact has become a stimulus that binds the masses so that they can mobilize to attack the Muhammadiyah group and burn the Muhammadiyah mosque building in Sangso Village. A mosque as a medium for transforming Islamic understanding, a place to gather and worship is the main instrument that can easily become a medium for da'wah to increase the number of followers. So, the Muhammadiyah mosque was burned down and not allowed to stand up so that the growth in the number of Muhammadiyah followers could be controlled in Samalanga.

## **4. CONCLUSION**

The Aswaja Islamic tradition in the pre-conflict era at least has dominated as the holder of religious authority in Samalanga, which refers to the syafi'i mazhab and the sect based on Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah. This ownership of authority and existence has strengthened the role of Islam Aswaja in Samalanga as if it were irreplaceable.

Aswaja Islamic power is getting stronger and more courageous to take a stand, it is not uncommon for the Aswaja Islamic group to conflict and take a radical stance by using the power of the ulama to dominate and direct religious authority in the interest of maintaining religious domination. The separation of Muhammadiyah members from the Grand Mosque was considered by the elite who led the Samalanga Grand Mosque as an act of refusing to obey their Islamic authority. This was considered as "treason", causing anger and hurt feelings among the Aswaja Islamic elite who led the Grand Mosque of Samalanga. At the time, Muhammadiyah who led them still participated in congregational prayers at the Great Mosque of Samalanga but when it was their turn for them to lead the Muhammadiyah congregation, they separated and went to worship at another mosque. This treachery attitude cannot be tolerated. Because it disturbs the sense of prestige and authority of the leadership authority in the great mosque.

The attachment to the Muhammadiyah label as Wahhabi has become a strategic issue because its momentum is in line with the anti-Wahhabi issue that is boisterous in Aceh. Thus, this issue was able to quickly get the masses to be mobilized by an elite with an interest in the action against the establishment of the Muhammadiyah mosque in Sangso. This fact shows that the mass radicalism which led to the burning of the foundations for the construction of the At-Taqwa Muhammadiyah mosque which took place in Sangso village, Samalanga, Bireuen District, Aceh Province, was an action that was not driven by Muhammadiyah's deviant Islamic ideas, but was triggered by a feeling of being threatened with dignity and domination of Islamic discourse of local traditional Islamic religious elites.

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