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LAPORAN PENELITIAN



**POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION**  
**(A Case Study of Violence Tragedy in Rumoh Geudong,**  
**North Aceh, Krueng Arakundoe, East Aceh and**  
**Jambo Keupok, South Aceh)**

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Dengan ini menyatakan dengan sesungguhnya bahwa penelitian yang berjudul: **“POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION (A Case Study of Violence Tragedy in Rumoh Geudong, North Aceh, Krueng Arakundoe, East Aceh and Jambo Keupok, South Aceh)”** adalah benar-benar karya asli saya yang dihasilkan melalui kegiatan yang memenuhi kaidah dan metode ilmiah secara sistematis sesuai otonomi keilmuan dan budaya akademik serta diperoleh dari pelaksanaan penelitian pada kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional yang dibiayai sepenuhnya dari DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020. Apabila terdapat kesalahan dan kekeliruan di dalamnya, sepenuhnya menjadi tanggung jawab saya.

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# **POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION**

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## **Abstract**

This research describes and critically analyzes the post-war reconstruction in Aceh. A special attention is paid on the violence tragedy in Rumoh Geudong, North Aceh, Krueng Arakundoe, East Aceh and Jambo Keupok, South Aceh. The field research has been conducted by means of participant observation as the principal method of this empirical study. Besides a meticulous observation, in-depth discussions with informants who are competent and engaged directly on the problems have also been used. Library research has also been done to complement the research results from observation and in-depth discussion. The result showed that since the peace agreement was concluded by parties who hate each other, the government's function as the developer of the post-understanding process has not been shown substantially. This has further enhanced the new forms of violence that were carried out after the previous violence. This means nothing to the power of peace itself. Post-war reconstruction did not substantially occur, on the contrary, destruction. Reconstruction with a deeper meaning cannot solve the problem of the rights of war victims, but what is more important is the process carried out by the state. Rebuilding the psychological condition is at the core of post-war reconstruction, this research findings do not hit the main target, done but not intact, just as it is not done. The total reconstruction, which is still absent, will have an impact on the existence of war victims. Human values during the 14 years of peace are not programmed in priority at all. This is an obstacle to the creation of substantial sustainable peace. The collapse of the state's responsibility to unravel all cases of dehumanization, has an impact on the increasingly dominating pragmatic value, which means that the value of the existence of war victims is very minimal, even closer to nothing.

**Keywords:** *Post-War; Reconstruction; Violence Tragedy; Simpang KKA; Krueng Arakundo; Jambo Keupok*

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In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful,

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Banda Aceh, August 2020

The Chief of Research,

**Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, M.Sc, M.A**

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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### A. Research Background

Violence happened since Aceh was firstly determined as Military Operation Area (DOM) and afterwards, apparently still left an unforgettable scar. The Final Conflict Resolution Process mediated by Carti Management Initiative (CMI) led by Marti Ahtisaari and the achievement of an understanding, does not necessarily present improvements in the ruins of the mental and life aspect. It is very easy to do things that are full of rudeness and humiliation for the citizens, as if they are not part of the citizens. The state is hostile and revile with extreme brutality over the existence of the citizens themselves.

For about 20 years after the tragedy, until today the inner hurt that pervades their lives has not yet fully recovered. The unrecovered scars, the irrelevant of whole policies done by the elite on the mandate of the 2005 memorandum of understanding, and even the *Moril Giving* was mistakenly used as the form of arrogance shown by their army and police. At that time, the notion of humanity had reached their low level, when fellow nation children were against each other in full of hate, differed just by the outlook. Indeed, they are all equally the same; as both residents of the Republic of Indonesia.

The described circumstances are continuing today through all media and material done by the political policy seeming that Aceh has long forgotten the past tragedy. The core of the resolution of the bloody tragedy is depending on the central government and Aceh government. When we read the content of the memorandum of understanding, there is unseen statement conveying that Aceh autonomously and fully take in charge as Illiberal Peacemaker to solve and rebuild the civilization post-conflict.

There is quote stating "During condition of war, people are saved by weapon while during in peace, people are saved by law"<sup>1</sup>. The legal

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<sup>1</sup>The quote was cited by the author from one of the research informants when doing the interview about the violence of General Election 2014 in North Aceh. Interview was on May 15, 2014.

gate will never be available for two sides of people, (victims and doer). The devastated unfair law once again has shown a defective implementation of memorandum of understanding. Since 2005 until today, the insecurity happened frequently toward aggrieved group of people. The law has not touched the victims' souls; it just touches the surface. Law is not a drama and court is not the theatre, which can be dramatized by the policy maker for pleasure.

The thing that is commonly ignored after war is starting the reconciliation. Reconciliation is considered as the determinant whether the process is done successfully based on memorandum of understanding or not. From many conflicts happened in Aceh is not simply relieved by ordinary shake hand between people that mediate the understanding. This involves the dignity as human, all Indonesian people living in Aceh. Plenty tragedies often happened every day during 1989-2005, taking big and small quantity of casualties, the murder is still viewed as crime even done for the sake of country.

From all many tragedies, three of them occurred after the status of DOM had been called off on August 20, 1998. Tragedy of Krueng Arakundoe in Aceh Timur (February 3, 1999), tragedy at Simpang KAA in Aceh Utara (May 3, 1999) and tragedy at Jambo Keupok in Aceh Selatan (May 17, 2003). Those three tragedies happened in the similar pattern, the army in charge shot the crowded people unthinkingly. The reason behind the shot remained questionable.

The victims of those tragedies, on this day have not received a special attention from government of which is scapegoated of these all miseries. A concrete step to initiate the effort of reconciliation seemed unrealistically happened. Afterwards the conflict and Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), all the plans and ideas toward reconciliation were mysteriously faded. The reasons of apologizing are not enough; it requires a high level of sincerity especially for those who triggered the conflict (country).

The collapse of *Orde Baru* (New Order) in Soeharto regime, does not affect the typical repressive action done toward residents. It was proven from the series of violence done by state apparatus in several areas, for instance Aceh and Papua. After Soeharto had been replaced

by B.J Habibie and then Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) until Megawati, they could not end all the riots and confusions related to the citizens' manliness. During the era of Megawati, the humanitarian disasters got worsen. Her regime established the status of 'martial law' under the *Operasi Terpadu* (Integrated Operation). The word 'integrated' refers to the involvement of not only military component, but also humanitarian program, law enforcement, and the local government.<sup>2</sup>

The Integrated Operation itself was named under the previous repressive policy in which absolutely reflects neither the implementation of enforced law nor the management of local government. Up to this moment, not all the disgraced actions and attitudes from nation to its citizens, had resolved sociologically and juridically. The condition of post-war tended to "proliferate" a new social problem, even more worrying. According to the information explained above, the author will propose the study under the title POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION (A Case Study of Violence Tragedy in Simpang KKA, North Aceh; Krueng Arakundoe, East Aceh; and Jambo Keupok, South Aceh)

## **B. Research Problem**

Based on the background above, the number of research problems can be formulated as follows:

1. How did the rebellion war of Aceh occur?
2. How did the Government of Aceh (Illiberal Peacemaker) and the Government of Indonesia (Liberal Peacemaker) carry out post-war reconstruction in Aceh?
3. How can post-war reconstruction solve the victims' human rights problem?
4. What is the existentialist value of the victims in the post-war reconstruction era?

## **C. Research Objectives**

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<sup>2</sup><https://tirto.id/catatan-kekerasan-ham-pada-zaman-megawati-berkuasa-cwbD>, accessed on Monday, July 29, 2019.

From the formulation of the problem above, it can be seen that the objectives of this study are:

1. To find out how the rebellion war of Aceh occur
2. To find out how the Government of Aceh (Illiberal Peacemaker) and the Indonesian Government (Liberal Peacemaker) carried out post-war reconstruction in Aceh
3. To find out how post-war reconstruction can solve the human rights problems of victims;
4. To find out the existentialist value of the victims in the post-war era

#### **D. Significance of Research**

##### 1. Theoretically

Theoretically, this research must be able to contribute through theoretical studies to increase understanding of scientific foundations related to conflict resolution issues and post-war reconstruction. In addition, this research is then expected to be a reference material for similar research.

##### 2. Practically

The results of this study should be able to be one of the community's tools in responding to the conditions of the victims who have developed so far. This research must be able to provide an overview of the real conditions of the people affected by the tragedy.

## CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL BASIS

### A. Literature Review

This chapter presents previous findings regarding the process of resolving violations of *Hak Asasi Manusia* (abbreviated as HAM, the human rights). These findings certainly have similarities and differences with the research conducted by the author. Previous researches that were presented assist the author in developing the research being carried out.

Syamsuddin Rajab through the Journal of Prophetic Political of the Faculty of Sharia and Law at the Alauddin Islamic University in Makassar explained that the problem of solving human rights in Indonesia under the leadership of the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla regime was limited to mere political jargon. During the first five years of the period, none of the gross human rights violations was resolved. Moreover, that has never been a priority agenda for Joko Widodo. Consequently, there is a kind of flaw in the comprehensive law enforcement process in Indonesia's democratic era today. The promise in the vision and mission is very limited toward political will of the parties behind the scenes of Joko Widodo's government.<sup>3</sup>

Pieter Faith said that security is one of the most important requirements for development. The peace process is not only very important for reconstruction of post-tsunami disaster, but also for longer-term economic development in Aceh. Conflict and social unrest also slowly undermine social infrastructure and cause moral depravity, nourish criminality and can lead to all kinds of extreme behavior. Recovery from a long-term conflict or tsunami will require years of ongoing efforts. It is crucial to make efforts to integrate victims of conflict and combatants. Their opportunity to enter into that new and

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<sup>3</sup>Syamsuddin Rajab, "Politik Hukum Penyelesaian Pelanggaran HAM Berat di Era Pemerintahan Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla" in *Poitik Profetik* Vol. 6, No. 2. Fakultas Hukum dan Syariah Universitas Alauddin Makassar 2018.

productive capacity will be a big step forward to secure Aceh's long-term peace.<sup>4</sup>

Otto Syamsuddin Ishak stressed, reflecting on the Aceh case, the resolution of human rights in Indonesia has indeed become a tangled thing. The available instruments - especially with the cancellation of the TRC Act (UU KKR) - were unable to break through this stagnation. In fact, it is not just the victims and their heirs who are increasingly difficult to obtain the truth as their rights, but the president also has no legal mechanism when he wants to apologize to the victims. In the context of Aceh, the resolution of past human rights violations can be seen as a political arena where there is contestation between elite collusion against victims and civil society organizations. Since at the Helsinki negotiating table, the issue of past crimes has been put in the 'drawer'<sup>5</sup> of negotiations by Marti Ahtisaari, with the agreement of the Republic of Indonesia and GAM. This was then legalized by the Special Committee of the Aceh Government Bill.<sup>6</sup>

## B. Reconstruction Agenda

The reconstruction step as a priority in transition conditions is an effective way to reset civilization. This is marked by the process from negotiation to resolution. The deal is mandated to the authority to assume full responsibility for carrying out overall repairs, especially to those who have suffered serious impacts from the wars that have taken place. Tony Evans emphasized that there are at least two approaches in the process of conducting post-war reconstruction, namely a cosmopolitan approach and a static approach. The first approach is defined that the world in the present state of affairs is in a state of transition from the previous state in order to describe the world community.

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<sup>4</sup>Pieter Faith, "Mengefektifkan Kesepakatan Damai: Pengalaman Misi Memantau Aceh". Chapter 11. p. 243 in *Patrick Dali, dkk. Aceh Pasca Tsunami dan PascaKonflik*, translated by Arif B. Prasetyo. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan. 2012.

<sup>5</sup>Drawer means a place for storing goods whose usage schedule is still waiting for their turn. In this case, negotiating drawer means that there is an attempt to save the whole problem, until all parties forget to use it.

<sup>6</sup>Otto Syamsuddin Ishak, *Ikhtiar Mencuci "Karpas Marti Ahtisaari*, p. 39 in *Dignitas: Jurnal Hak Asasi Manusia*. Vol. VIII. NO. 1. 2012. Penyelesaian Pelanggaran HAM Berat Masa Lalu. Jakarta: Elsam.

Meanwhile, the second approach, static discourse assumes a sustainability of state society with the principle of no intervention on domestic problems carried out by the authorities. This is an old tradition of the realist mind, which places relations between the state and citizens (victims) so that there is no interference from another actor (international).<sup>7</sup>

Both approaches offered by Tony, the second approach shows, there is a suitability to be applied in the post-war reconstruction process in Aceh. He called this as static discourse. Static in this case is not an absolute process, the static meaning of a discourse means giving priority to all other priorities. This lies in the placement of state relations with citizens. It is very serious and not easy to re-establish relations between the two elements, after previously; their relations were destroyed based on national security. However, there is no interference from other parties in the process of autonomy in the development of human rights since the trembling of civilization was only understood by the two components involved when the war struck. The international role is limited to the level of meeting and making agreements to be scheduled after a resolution is agreed.

Yosef Jabareen expressed a different perspective, the substance of post-war reconstruction was to avoid the maximum failure after agreement and he assumed the most important project in the Post-Conflict Reconstruction agenda was to exist various roles to create the initial steps of development. The 'modern' state<sup>8</sup> is expected to provide a place to accommodate the national aspirations (victims' groups), security and the living interests of the sovereign citizens.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Tony Evans *Us Hegemony and the Project of Universal Human Right*, p 13. ST. Martin's Press, INC: New York 1996.

<sup>8</sup>Modern means that the state makes the interest of victims citizens a national long-term agenda. As long as there are still citizens who have not yet received their rights, the agenda is never complete. This indicates that modernity of a country is not only seen in the infrastructure, but also in the superstructure in accordance with the second principle of Pancasila (fair and civilized humanity).

<sup>9</sup>Yosef Jabaree (June 2003). *Conceptualizing "Post-Conflict Reconstruction" and "Ongoing Conflict Reconstruction" of Failed State*, p. 111 in *International Journal of Politics Culture and Society*, accessed on July 31, 2019. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/257571700\\_Conceptualizing\\_Post\\_Conflict\\_Reconstruction\\_and\\_Ongoing\\_Conflict\\_Reconstruction\\_of\\_Failed\\_States/link/54de1bd70cf2814662ed3ac0/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/257571700_Conceptualizing_Post_Conflict_Reconstruction_and_Ongoing_Conflict_Reconstruction_of_Failed_States/link/54de1bd70cf2814662ed3ac0/download).

The main role offered by Yosef is the involvement of all groups of victims as development targets. Previously, they clearly became the object of violence by the state; afterwards they also had to be the main target in terms of reconstruction. The lack of seriousness of policy makers for this matter, certainly, after the agreement was made the country will experience a very alarming failure.

Another figure arguing about this reconstruction is Francis Fukuyama, in his concept, he narrated that reconstruction must be done quickly and 'precisely', massive interventions from outside parties to stabilize conflict (constructive), rebuild infrastructure and superstructure and most importantly, resolve humanitarian issues. The Local Government is automatically incapable to provide all things described by Fukuyama above. Then it requires both role of NGOs, agency assistance and the role of the foreign military (UN).<sup>10</sup>

Sanam Naraghi and Judy El-Bushra explained, during the violent conflict, provision for humanitarian matters, such as food, shelter, and health services were becoming the priority aimed for two actors; national and international. The execution of signing process on peace agreement or other discourse that marks the end of the war is a gateway to the initial post-war reconstruction. Bilateral and multilateral agencies must be in that location and work closely with the local government. Those disburse funds to support social and economic reconstruction. The transition from war to peace is not easy. It is harder than seeking help, rehabilitating and working to develop the interaction of living side by side. When peace agreements are maintained, and military violence subsides, it will be easier to emerge a long-term social and economic assistance.<sup>11</sup>

Developments in most countries experiencing a political transition do not always prioritize what has begun. From many social problems of the past, this is a necessity to do. Military violence that has subsided as mentioned by Sanam, is public or opened violence. The legacy of military violence today in the case of Indonesia is still very strong. The authoritarian political transition to democracy always shows

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<sup>10</sup>Francis Fukuyama. (ed). (2006). *Nation-Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*, p. 7. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

<sup>11</sup>Sanam Naraghi and Judi El-Bushra. (September 27, 2004). *Post Conflict Reconstruction: Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Reconstruction*, p. 1. Washington: World Bank Group, accessed on July 31, 2019. [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMNAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/Post\\_conflict.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMNAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/Post_conflict.pdf),

modification, not the truth. Modification of the transition only shows the old face with the new regime, which has the potential to repeat old policies frequently. If this is the case, then there is no difference between democracy and vetocracy,<sup>12</sup> it is seen transitioned but it never being reformed.

### C. Theoretical Framework

Based on certain conflicts occurred, several stages of reconstruction could be issued as follows:

- a. Internal security restoration. This includes reintegrating of the entire population of victims, annihilating weapons, withdrawing troops and reuniting former combatants;
- b. Building government administration and capacity in the service of human rights matters. The Human Rights recovery and enforcement project is access to provide justice and strengthen the capacity of the government itself;
- c. Bringing up and empowering the potential of communities that have been returned to their social groups, after division. Economic instructors are needed to improve the existing system. Provision of sustainable capital and training of skills, the creation of independent industries and eliminating criminal acts;
- d. Presenting a stable legal system, including the process of making regulations, institutional restoration, legal sanctions for perpetrators of gross human rights violations and the fulfilment of justice for victims;
- e. Ensuring social welfare, including the need for health services, rebuilding the education system and curriculum.<sup>13</sup>

## CHAPTER III RESEARCH PROCEDURE

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<sup>12</sup>A term that is introduced by Francis Fukuyama, vitocracy means a system by prioritizing policy mastered by *Shadow Player*. Every state policy never touches on the substantive living fulfillment of the people. Lihat Fukuyama. (2018). *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and The Politics of Resentment*. Hal. 155. New York: Macmillan Corporate and Premium Sales Department.

<sup>13</sup>Sanam Naraghi and Judi El-Bushra (September 27, 2004). *Post Conflict Reconstruction...*, p. 2.

## A. Research Design

This research will use qualitative methods. This qualitative research emphasizes the aspect of in-depth understanding of a problem rather than looking at the problem for generalization research. This research method prefers to use in-depth analysis techniques.<sup>14</sup> In addition, one of the characteristics of qualitative research is the interaction and communication between the subject and object of research or with the phenomenon under study. Qualitative research is aimed to understand a phenomenon in a social context naturally by prioritizing the process of deep communication interaction between researchers and the studied phenomenon.<sup>15</sup>

This qualitative research uses a descriptive analysis model. This research focus on describing and analyzing phenomena, events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, thoughts of individuals or in groups.<sup>16</sup> Researchers will conduct a study of post-war reconstruction in Aceh; tragedy in the Krueng Arakundoe in East Aceh; Simpang KKA in North Aceh and at Jambo Keupok in South Aceh. In addition, researcher will also use phenomenological methods that are not limited to things that are empirical (sensual), but also include perceptions, thoughts, wishes, and beliefs about something outside the subject; there is something transcendent besides being oposteritoric.<sup>17</sup>

## B. Research Location

This research was conducted in the districts of East Aceh, North Aceh and South Aceh

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<sup>14</sup>Sumanto, *Metodelogi Penelitian Sosial dan Pendidikan*, (Yogyakarta, 1995), p. 73.

<sup>15</sup>Herdiansyah, Haris, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif untuk Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2010), p. 51.

<sup>16</sup>Nana Syaodih, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2007), p. 60.

<sup>17</sup>Noeng Muhajir, *Metodelogi Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin, 1996), p. 12.

### **C. The Techniques of Sampling**

The sample in this research was selected by using purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is a method of sampling that is carefully selected, this guarantee the relevancy to the structure of the study, where the appearance of the sample by selecting specific and certain characteristics.<sup>18</sup> In this model, the researcher determined the research sample, which was then considered as an informant based on consideration of educational, occupational and gender qualifications. This consideration aims to produce representative research results. Therefore, the segmentation of prospective informants must be determined in advance, so that the data obtained can later represent the voice of the community.

The second data sources in this study were also used with Snowball Sampling. Becker argues, in case study, after deciding the location and time of research, researcher must determine the respondents to be studied. In certain cases, the group of people as respondents could not be determined clearly, in this condition, researchers found difficulties regarding who should be investigated. Some researchers overcome this kind of situation by using the Snowball Sampling technique. They use key informants to deliver researchers to group members who become the interviewees.<sup>19</sup>

Burgess also explained that key informants in the field research not only provided detailed and detailed data from a specific setting, but also helped researchers find other key informants or open access to the respondents to be studied.<sup>20</sup>

### **D. Data Collection Technique**

As for data collection techniques, the writer will do several stages, namely:

#### **1. In-depth Interview**

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<sup>18</sup>Djarwanto, *Metode Penelitian*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), p. 120.

<sup>19</sup>H.S. Becker. (1970). *Sociological Work*. New York: Transaction Book.

<sup>20</sup>R.G. Burgess (1982). *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*. London: Unwin Hyman.

In-depth interview is the process of obtaining information for research purposes by way of question and answer face to face between the interviewer and the respondent or interviewee, with or without using interview guides where the interviewer and the informant are involved in social life involved relatively long.

## **2. *Written Data, Documents and Media Clippings***

The researcher will also use some references that can be used as a guide in conducting this research. In addition, researchers will also collect several documents in the study area and look at the news reported by print and online media related to this research.

## **E. Research Design**

### **1. *In-depth Interview***

This technique is used to obtain accurate and complete information and represent the object of study under study. Some community groups that will be examined are active victims' groups, passive victims' groups and human rights activists' groups who have been kidnapped until enforced disappearance. The second community group is the group incorporated into the government system, as well as institutional officials who are related to the research project.

### **2. *In-depth Interview***

This data consists of reference books, media, documents and newspaper clippings related to the discussion by the author. Written data is also used to provide theoretical power to the arguments that researchers will build in this study. In addition, the existence of written data also serves to strengthen or provide a general assessment of the assumptions and temporary hypotheses that apply in the community later.

## **F. Data Analysis**

The data obtained in this study were analyzed using the Grounded Theory approach. The data obtained by the author in the field were juxtaposed with the hypothesis that has been made. The basic

theory lies between hypothesis and findings. Each finding is the form of an antithesis with a hypothesis; the theory is updated by developing new concepts from the findings. Vice versa, when the findings are synthesized with hypotheses, the theory is increasingly accurate to be used in dissecting each phenomenon.

## CHAPTER IV RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of three sub-chapters that will dissect the whole hypothesis used as a research guide.

### A. Result

There have been so many violent tragedies that have occurred in Aceh, to date, none of these cases have been resolved legally according to the mandate of the Helsinki MoU. In the findings of the researchers, many contradictions between the theory and the data were found. This implies methodologically, the theory with the findings produces paradoxicity. Meanwhile, the hypothesis with the findings results in a synthesis or conformity. The following is a description of the research findings.

#### 1. *Rumoh Geudong: A Tragedy Exploration*

*Rumoh Geudong* was just one of the biggest tens of military torturing camps in Aceh in the era of DOM. Normatively, *Rumoh Geudong* was one of the *Pos Satuan Taktis* (abbreviated as *Stattis*, the Post of Tactical Units) of *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (abbreviated as TNI, the National Armies of Indonesia) and *Polisi Republik Indonesia* (abbreviated as POLRI, the Indonesian Republic Police). In that respected traditional house of Aceh, the integrity of Indonesia Republic in Aceh was kept and glorified. The soldiers set the plan of militaristic actions. Either the soldiers bring home the result, in the form of property or human sacrificed as the *Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan* (abbreviated as GPK, the Security Disturbing Movement). The soldiers walked on their military carrier. The soldiers grabbed for their fortunes. The soldiers claimed themselves as the heroes of the country.<sup>21</sup>

Practically, *Rumoh Geudong* was the camp for torturing Acehnese people. People were taken and treated beyond the humanitarian limits for the sake of a country called the Republic of Indonesia. People were

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<sup>21</sup>Otto Syamsuddin Ishak. *Kata pengantar*, hal. VIII-IX dalam Dyah Rahmani (2001). *Rumoh Geudong: Tanda Luka Orang Aceh*. Banda Aceh. Cordova, Institute for Civil Society Empowerment

taken arbitrarily. The people were tortured. Women were raped. People were treated in contempt; people were blackmailed. The people were eliminated. In addition, the people could not sue because the soldiers hid some of the evidences and the generals manipulate the real reality.<sup>22</sup>

The torture beyond humanitarian limit and the torture caused the death of someone became the high level of violation toward the right for protection from arbitrary. Many methods or forms of violation were experienced by prisoners or the accused as GPK-AM at *Rumoh Geudong*.

Some of torturing actions were beatings on the body, limbs and head using various tools like long wood, rattan, bottles, and iron bars; overlapping with large logs on the body and legs; and banging heads on the beam. Other tortures were snatching bodies with a vehicle chain, electric cables and stingray tails; getting electric shock in various parts of the body, including the eyes and genitals; being ignited by cigarette smoke; being washed down and soaked with sewage water. In addition, other agonies were being hanged with head down while being hit; having sexual assault (genitals entered objects, women told to shave male genitals, pubic tongs pliers) and rape; having no sleep for few days; getting buried alive; given drinking hot water; told to drink urine. Additionally, the victims got other abuses like getting stripped naked; being called by the name of the animal; being entangled the neck until the tongue comes out; having nails pulled out; being sliced with a knife and razor blade and poured with orange juice.<sup>23</sup>

The assassins, executors and rapists in the era of conflict until today still pictured their objects as numbers instead of values. The word 'victim' or 'victimizing' truly were just associated with the price, which was separated from numbers. It was hard to find diction of word 'victim' in fascism's vocabulary. In the characteristic of fascism of New Order, if there was someone deserved to be called as victim, and then the word only applies to those of their peers who have had bad luck while carrying out their operations to eliminate prey. Such attitude did not only belong to one soldier. In the era of conflict in Aceh, we were

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>23</sup>Dyah Rahmani (2001). *Rumoh Geudong: Tanda Luka Orang Aceh*, pp. 41-42. Banda Aceh. Cordova, Intitute for Civil Society Empowerment.

reminded for several printed media, which supported the regime voluntarily by choosing which one marked as 'dead', 'killed', 'died', or 'aborted'. They gave the class upon the deaths. This such fascist state mentality legitimating the executors not to confess themselves as the war criminals. Without the acknowledgment of the offender, the prey was never restored to its status as a victim, as a human.<sup>24</sup>

Such condition became clearer when the author was directly in the location of torture and met the victims personally. The information obtained by the author during in the field sometimes more horrifying compared to the collected sources. The reconciliation contributed nothing toward my life, I pictured, I was as a wife from someone involved in GAM, was tortured, why if did they find out the real one? I could not imagine what would happen. What was the real meaning of reconciliation? Forgiving? Whom I should forgive? I have been tortured in 1992, and the memory left scars until today even when I die, seemed like it happened yesterday. Let God who will forgive those torturers and all the victims of the conflict.<sup>25</sup>

I never expected that it happened like this. I was not rich, our family earned a living by working in someone else's garden, and my husband worked an odd job. Yet, when the war happened, the violence took places in everywhere; I also got affected. I was forcedly taken from my home, taken to the *Rumoh Geudong*. Arrived there, few weeks later, I was tortured insistently. I was also pregnant at that time, until they put the tip of their weapon into my vagina. They terrorized me to reveal where my husband was, but I really did not know where he was. Speaking up or not, we were treated savagely.<sup>26</sup>

I was stripped naked, so was my husband, I witnessed the soldiers of TNI tortured my husband by clipping a pliers flowed electricity to his sexual organ and clipped it on my nipples, and that was not all. For

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<sup>24</sup>Reza Idria (11 April 2017). *Rumoh Geudong: Ingatan Korban dan Umur Panjang Kekejian*, accessed from <https://tirto.id/rumoh-geudong-ingatan-korban-dan-umur-panjang-kekejian-cmwr>

<sup>25</sup>Interview with TH (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 71 years old).

<sup>26</sup>Interview with RK (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 65 years old).

months, we and other people were locked up in here, eventually I was released, yet my husband still stayed there became the target of violation. Until DOM was revoked, I never met my husband anymore. Now, talking about reconciliation, I even did not understand what the reconciliation was. They should feel the pain of being shocked by the electricity on their sexual organs and suddenly talked about reconciliation? And being forgiven?<sup>27</sup>

I wanted to be admitted that I was the victim, always talking about forgiveness. The confession from the state that they committed the violence and I was the victim would never be done. Why was so easy talking about forgiveness? But there was no regret from the doer. I wanted all of them exposed, confessed, and then they could receive forgiveness. If it were not, until the end of the day, hereafter, I would never forgive them. It really hurt and I still remember.<sup>28</sup>

The representation of Acehnese women, also the people of Aceh, was more recognized as the victim of armed violence. In fact, thousands of women helplessly became the widows because their husbands were kidnapped and murdered. Even many of them suffered the sexual assault. Armed violence caused women became the shield from military violence when they had to protect their husbands and children accused becoming the sympathizer or member of GAM. The armed conflict also impoverished the female farmers causing them reluctant to work at the field and farm. The soldiers patrolled day and night in the villages, until many men were afraid to go out to work at field and farm. Women working in the field - even though in a relatively limited area - even more difficult to control their fields located far away, they were often interrogated for sweeping.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Interview with S (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 61 years old).

<sup>28</sup>Interview with ZY (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 60 years old).

<sup>29</sup>Irine Gayatri (October 2008). *Jejak Negosiasi Perempuan Aceh*, accessed from

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305434363\\_Jejak\\_Negosiasi\\_Pereempuan\\_Aceh/link/578eb6c408aebca4caad608/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305434363_Jejak_Negosiasi_Pereempuan_Aceh/link/578eb6c408aebca4caad608/download)

Women were included as one of the groups that were easily susceptible to become the victim during the war; they were seen valuable to dig more information related to the rebelling group. The function of women in several tragedy, they only lived to bear the torture and as the sexual slaves for the soldiers that ruled the location. Meanwhile, in the concept of humanitarian law, women should be protected in any circumstances, including during the war. Yet, not all countries obeyed the rule, including Indonesia by sending their armies to Aceh.

The rape and sexual assault toward women happened frequently in many conflicted areas. Sports complex of Partizan at Foca, Yugoslavia in 1992 became the place of detention, became the witness of systematic rape and sexual slavery happened during the night. The rape was done by people of Serbia Bosnian and Croatia Bosnian and the soldier of Yugoslavia toward Muslim women of Bosnia and Croatia Bosnia. The wounds of victim of rape and beating were not treated with medical treatment. In Sierra Leone, the abduction, rape and sexual slavery were done broadly and systematically. There were victims experiencing a very terrible suffering, their vagina was stabbed by knives as the consequences from refusing to be raped by the rebels. The violence against women in armed conflict generally was based on the traditional view that women as the property, and as sexual objects. Since long time ago, women were given the role as the successor of culture and as the symbol of nation and community. Therefore, the violence aimed for the women was considered as the assault toward them and as the assault toward the values and the honor of a society, hence such violence was potentially viewed as the tool of war.<sup>30</sup>

KKR once visited our place and collected all people whom became the victims, in its socialization about the existence and missions of KKR, they also told a little about the plans, which they would do, and then they asked us, could they forgive the doers? I personally thought that, this might become the beginning of the task of KKR, not officially, but

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<sup>30</sup>Variena J.B. Rehatta (2014). *Kekerasan Seksual Terhadap Perempuan di Daerah Konflik (Kajian Hukum Internasional dan Penerapannya di Indonesia)*, p. 53-54. In *Jurnal Sasi* Vol. 20, No. 2 July-December 2014.

they mentioned, official or not, the programs done by KKR, orally, I had and always said 'forgiven', but in our deepest heart, we could not stand it. I never had vengeance, but I also could not truly forget or even forgive.<sup>31</sup>

I was at *Rumoh Geudong* for four nights, when I was there, I was treated as if I committed a very chaotic mistake to this country, and they kept asking me and forcing me to answer of what they wanted. They asked me questions that I really did not know the answers. They asked me everything, and I just answered what I knew, but they were not satisfied. They wanted the answers that could become the reason for them to torture my husband. I was shocked with the electricity, groped and abused. I did not know what to do, because there were many of them, treating everyone as they liked. In addition, until today, I never felt the result of the peace.<sup>32</sup>

The impact of vengeance of the election of *Geuchik* (the village chief), my husband also became the victim at *Rumoh Geudong*. He was taken in 1998 by a group of soldier and directly carried there. There was no clear information at the beginning what my husband's mistakes are. Then, I finally found out that my husband maintained a hidden cooperation with the non-selected *Geuchik* candidate with the soldiers at *Rumoh Geudong*. Many reasons were given, which could not be in line with the reality. Because he could not stand anymore with the torture, my husband run and successfully escaped from that place, and after that I could not find the information about him anymore. There would be impacts when someone was taken and tortured there (*Rumoh Geudong*). Most of them, indeed, became the victims, not the member of GAM. After reconciliation, I had not received the compensation or anything of what happened to my husband and me.<sup>33</sup>

When remembering what I and other people had experienced at *Rumoh Geudong*, really, nothing that will be done to regret all that will

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<sup>31</sup>Interview with Y (January 2, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 60 years old).

<sup>32</sup>Interview with N (January 2, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 57 years old).

<sup>33</sup>Interview with NJ (January 2, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 58 years old).

be enough. Human was treated more than animal. It seemed like; they owned the life of human there. After the 2005 Agreement, I could not take anything from the peace agreement. There was no the recovery or restoration for both moral and formal. The politicians simply only wanted to talk without trying to actualize them truly. The peace was worth nothing if the efforts came for nothing.<sup>34</sup>

I never expected that I survived after series of tortured that I experienced. If we remember, they (military) were very barbaric, torturing without showing the mercy. DOM was really executed. That maneuver was massive operations, including operating human's dignity and honor. My sexual organ was shocked with the electricity for many times and they smiled while doing it. No one came to me to give me the medical treatment maximally. The result of reconciliation might be tasted for only the elite group; but for us, the common people, what did we get? Nothing at all, I had to work hard to feed my family. Where was the role of government? Where was peace?<sup>35</sup>

## 2. *Krueng Arakundoe: A Midnight Terror*

Idi Cut was one of the subdistrict located in Aceh Timur district. Beside Aceh Timur, Aceh Utara and Pidie also became the massive target operation of Indonesian government in the effort to extinguish the Aceh Freedom Movement (GAM). In those three districts, there was each figure becoming *Panglima Sagoe* of GAM. Aceh Timur led by Ishak Daud, Aceh Utara had Ahmad Kandang and Pidie had Abdullah Syafi'ie (all of them were deceased). According to national government's perspective, those three figures became the power of execution to separate Aceh from Indonesia and became independent.

The existence of those figures was considered able to influence people's mindset and point of views toward the independence. Here, the national government began to realize that there should be an effective solution to destroy that movement through violent methods, if

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<sup>34</sup>Interview with UH (January 3, 2020) (man, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 60 years old).

<sup>35</sup>Interview with T (January 3, 2020) (man, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 76 years old).

necessary. The demolition toward GAM in Aceh Timur since the beginning had created the terror and terrifying situation toward society that had nothing to do with the political crisis mentioned above. The military forces of government showed the arrogance toward civilians. They showed their anger and exacerbation to the local people when the target operation could not be captured. This tragedy was executed after the revoke of status of Aceh as Military Operation Area (DOM) on August 7, 1998. The revoke of DOM, people became the objects of the violence on behalf of the country.

This tragedy happened in Simpang Kuala, Idi Cut subdistrict, Aceh Timur. On early morning, Wednesday, February 2, 1999, exactly in front of the *Markas Komando Rayon Militer* (abbreviated as Koramil, the Headquarter of Military Regional Command) and the local office of *Kepolisian Sektor* (abbreviated as Polsek, the Sectorial Police Office). On Tuesday, February 2, 1999, the people of Matang Ulim village did the cooperation to prepare an event. Around 04.00 in the afternoon, some armed soldiers came and people thought that they were the member of Koramil. Military apparatus directly tore apart the stage that was being decorated. They also hit some people near the stage.<sup>36</sup>

Inevitably, the murder, abduction even the slaughtering followed. The tragedy in Idi Cut, Aceh Timur on 3 of February 1999 could be said as the opening of series of violence happened almost every month until today. On this day on that date, there was rapid shooting toward people that wanted to leave the location of meeting of *dakwah* (preach) with the preacher from GAM activist. After more than one hour, hundreds of bullets were aimed to the troupe and group of people, the action continued. The dead bodies were collected, put into an empty sack, carried by truck to the riverside of *Arakundoe*, and later were thrown after being given the weight. This tragedy shocked every people and gave the signal that DOM was back in Aceh.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Qahar Muzakkar, dkk (March 2011). *Fakta Bicara: Mengungkap Pelanggaran HAM di Aceh 1989-2005*, p. 99. Banda Aceh. Koalisi NGO HAM Aceh.

<sup>37</sup>Agung Putri Astrid Kartika. *Sekapur Sirih*, p. viii in Otto Syamsuddin Ishak. (September 2001). *Peristiwa Idi Cut Aceh: Dari Tragedi Ke Impunitas*. Banda Aceh. Cordova dan LSPP.

My brother (deceased) became one of the dead victims during the firing in Idi Cut, by younger brother got a chance to grab and hold his hand, but stopped by the force doing the firing. He left his wife and a child. His wife was later married with another man. Until today, for about 14 years of peace agreement, our family did not get the compensation and care from the government in any form for his heir. There were just diyat funds, and it was just once.<sup>38</sup>

We did not keep vengeance, because if we did it, we had no idea how we could pay it back and to whom. The country was very responsible for what they had done. Although those tragedies had passed for twenty years ago, the memory when the last time I saw my child and still resided in my deepest heart. That was my child, my blood, and they (military apparatus) easily shot them to die. I would never and could forget all of this. At the beginning I hoped much to the government, but in reality, those all worth nothing. Were murders like this justified? Therefore, there was no trial for the perpetrators.<sup>39</sup>

Since being left by the deceased, my husband, I had to work extra to support my family. In fact, I really expected that government could help and accommodate all my needs and education for my children. I sometimes regret this life here with condition of being ignored by the government. Many people came to me asking for the same questions, but they never gave maximal assistance for my family. Certain people who once declared themselves as GAM, today they deliberately forget what they could do for their responsibility. I hated to be deceived in such condition repeatedly.<sup>40</sup>

Until today, the death of my child seemed to be easily ignored, without any fair legal proceeding toward the victims and perpetrators. Now, everything is the same, those who claimed themselves, as warriors had nothing to do with us, common people to fight for justice. If it was what it was, it was easy to get the power, just by killing people and let

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<sup>38</sup>Interview with Y (January 4, 2020) (woman, the sister of victim of Irwansyah Bin Usman (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 56 years old).

<sup>39</sup>Interview with A (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Nurdin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 60 years old).

<sup>40</sup>Interview with R (January 4, 2020) (woman, the wife of Hasbi Shaleh (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 45, years old).

the violence got through for long time, so everything would be fine. Just like what happened now on my family. I really hated myself sometimes, weeping just reminded my child.<sup>41</sup>

Since the independence of Indonesia, fighting together until today, I barely reckon if this country was really existed. I also witnessed the life of other common people when they became the victims of the politics. In fact, we had nothing to do with politics, so why we always received all the impacts. The war became the peak of prove of people became treated miserably. So did after the war, without our own efforts, we were dead already. There was no responsibility from country toward me for the death of my child in Idi, nothing at all.<sup>42</sup>

The end of horrifying war would also never the easiness for us, beside what we had done and fought for; there were no help and support from the government. What we had fought, if their belly was already full, they would forget about us. When the General Election came, the candidates promised and promised. Only God, we asked for help, please no more war.<sup>43</sup>

The apology was delivered simply during the ceremony, just like playing around. Fake war, but truly died, including my son. It was very hard to apology. I did not expect much, because it wasted my time hoping to the government. I wanted they sent their apology personally and directly, adjudicated the perpetrators, both the soldiers and the generals involved in. This is human life. We are not animal that could be eliminated as they liked and then let them just like that.<sup>44</sup>

### 3. *Jambo Keupok: An Arrogance Sketch*

*Jambo Keupok* village is located twelve kilometers from the municipal of Bakongan district (now part of Kota Bahagia subdistrict).

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<sup>41</sup>Interview with M (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Jamaluddin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 62 years old).

<sup>42</sup>Interview with M (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Irwan bin Matsyah (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 64 years old).

<sup>43</sup>Interview with N (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Jailani Muhammad (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 66 years old).

<sup>44</sup>Interview with M (January 5, 2020) (man, the father of Karimuddin Ibrahim (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 64 years old).

It is located at the end of the villages. This village was surrounded by the mountains. With an area of two square kilometers, Jambo Keupok has four hamlets, Keude Tuha, Hilir, Seuneubok Pareh and Dusun Tengah. On Saturday morning, 07.30, May 17, 2003, suddenly dozens of TNI members were already in each resident's house. They stood guard at the front and back.<sup>45</sup>

A moment later, the sound of car entering the village, just like a launcher car, along with the sound of the cars, the perpetrators were about to move to each house. They entered the houses, checking the house and forced the occupant to leave out the house. Men, women, old and young, all were carried outside, then collected into a place. Group of men was separated from women and children. They were place in a house made of wood, and they were beaten up.<sup>46</sup>

On May 17, 2003, around 07.00 in the morning, local people saw three military trucks entered and stopped; one truck stopped near the Gunung Batu, one was in front of *Sekolah Dasar Negeri* (Public Elementary School) Jambo Keupok, and last one was at Simpang Irigasi. The number of troops coming down from the truck was approximately hundreds, wearing complete military uniform, carrying long barrel weapon, and some of them followed Abdul Jalil. The armies that run the operation at that day was from *Para Komando* (PARAKO) and *Satuan Gabungan Intelijen* (abbreviated as SGI, the Merger Intelligence Units) that settled at Post at Simpang Raja, Bakongan.<sup>47</sup>

On May 17, 2003, there had been tortures, murders and burnings toward sixteen villagers of Jambo Keupok, Aceh Selatan done by security apparatus. This tragedy was part of series of military operations in Aceh. The violence that caused Human Rights violent occurred in several areas in Aceh province and one of them happened in Jambo Keupok village, Kota Bahagia subdistrict, Aceh Selatan. Until today, this case was investigated (Pro Justicia) by the Commission of National

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<sup>45</sup>Qahar Muzakkar et.al. Op. Cit. p. 188.

<sup>46</sup>Qahar Muzakkar et.al. Op. Cit. pp. 188-189.

<sup>47</sup>Koalisi Untuk Kebenaran Dan Pengungkapan Kebenaran (2014). *Menemukan Kembali Indonesia: Memahami Empat Puluah Tahun Kekerasan dan Memutus Rantai Impunitas*. Laporan tahun kebenaran KKP. p. 146. Jakarta. KKP.

Human Rights of Republic of Indonesia and the investigated files were taken up to the Attorney's General Office.<sup>48</sup>

The undecided situation of absence of legal certainty toward the humanitarian tragedy at Jambo Keupok, had wakened the solidarity of society that continuously held the event for commemorating the Humanitarian Tragedy to force the state of Republic of Indonesia to be responsible and to apologise to the people of Aceh. One of the efforts that were frequently done was by commemorating the tragedy of Jambo Keupok. On 17 of May 2016, was the thirteenth tragedy of Jambo Keupok. As previously done back in the years, in this year, the family of victims and the people of Jambo Keupok once again held the tragedy by making the recitation and sent the prayers in the mass graveyard. This activity was very meaningful for them and became the message to others. This commemoration was aimed for keeping the memory of happened tragedy, and as the actions to ask the compensation and responsibility from country upon the tragedy of Jambo Keupok.<sup>49</sup>

I was also hallucinated that in that morning felt like the day after, there were many security apparatus wearing a typical military uniform with a set of weapons, destroying our houses and neighbors'. All was forced to leave out the houses rudely. Then we were locked up in the school building. When we were in there, the men of village called would be kidnapped. A moment later, we just heard the gunfire. My father's dead body was also burned after shot dead along with other eleven victims. Until today, my family and others would never get the compensation in any form from the government.<sup>50</sup>

Today's condition, my husband had to work hard with his own business to feed us all. It has been seventeen years since that tragedy, and no one came for us giving the compensation, even from the government. The more I expected the government, the more I got hurt

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<sup>48</sup>Tifa Foundation (May 18, 2016). *13 Tahun Jamboe Keupok: Merawat Ingatan, Menuntut Keadilan*. Siaran pers. Accessed from <https://www.tifafoundation.org/13-tahun-jambo-keupok-merawat-ingatan-menuntut-keadilan/>

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Interview with H (January 8, 2020) (woman, the child of Tgk. Mukminin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 16 years old).

in our hearts. They had done this to us, seemed like there was nothing happened. The state was absent in Jambo Keupok, all was the same, either GAM of central government. Although many former members of GAM are in the governmental position now, yet their roles meant nothing to us. They are liars.<sup>51</sup>

It is hurt being like this. There was no one responsible for the murders that we had been through. Was this kind of law really existed? After all this, KontraS (Feri Malik Kusuma) that always came to see us, giving help and aids. Yet, there was no helps coming from the government or country that did this to us. There had never been a peace. All only concerned about each other's needs and interests. We often became the object of deception of political purposes played by the people who wanted to be the candidate. When they needed the people, they came and begged us to choose him/her, after that everything got back as usual.<sup>52</sup>

My thinking, half of it restored the past tragedy, my husband was innocent, and he was not involved in GAM, as accused by the TPO. I never expected that morning became the last day to meet. Until now, people were busy talking about peace, what was peace? I never felt that even though it was declared in 2005 as reconciliation for conflict happened in Aceh. There was no responsibility seriously or sincerely done by the government. I felt nothing about what they called as peace, nothing at all.<sup>53</sup>

I hugged my young brother very tightly, but the soldiers kept taking him by force from my hug. When it came off, the soldier asked him to run, when he run, that soldier shot him on head and its brains came out from the head, splattered on the house wall. I saw it very clearly and real. My brother's body lied around. They did it without

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<sup>51</sup>Interview with J (January 8, 2020) (woman, the child of Amiruddin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 26 years old).

<sup>52</sup>Interview with Y (January 8, 2020) (woman, the child of Dola Adat(deceased), died and burned in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 28 years old).

<sup>53</sup>Interview with J (January 8, 2020) (woman, the wife of Hasanuddin (deceased), dead victim of gunfire in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 31 years old).

guilt, were the soldiers educated? There was no mercy toward human. Nothing happened after that. The government viewed us dangerous, so they wanted to eliminate us. We were seen as individuals who did not deserved for helps after this war. There was no help and support. There was no responsibility at all from them.<sup>54</sup>

They shot my husband right on his head, on the left eye, until it broke and his brain spilled out on the ground. My husband worked as farmer, he had nothing to do with GAM. Without any wait, the soldier asked questions blindly and without waiting for the answers from him. Arrogantly, the apparatus shot him to die. His death was accused of all sorts and I never got any compensation. There was no responsibility from the government. Until today, I worked as usual, earned a living for my children, for their education. There was no one came in for delivering helps.<sup>55</sup>

## **B. Discussion**

The part discusses the history of rebellion war in Aceh, paradoxes in the peacebuilding of Aceh, the solution of the conflict, and the existences of the conflict and reconstructions' victims.

### **1. *The History of Rebellion War in Aceh***

Social disasters in the form of war had adorned the lives of the Acehnese people. Aceh is not only synonymous with Islam, but also with its harsh nature. Resilience in maintaining its dignity and dignity made Aceh the only area that was never colonized by the Dutch. The colonizers often encountered resistance from Acehnese fighters. The life of the Acehnese people was continuously decorated with chaos until Aceh became part of Indonesia.

Indonesia declared its independence in 1945 and Aceh supported the founding of which. Aceh gave various forms of support to Indonesia, even though on its way, Indonesia returned it in the form of conflict.

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<sup>54</sup>Interview with M (January 8, 2020) (woman, the sister of Burahman (deceased), dead victim of gunfire in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 43 years old).

<sup>55</sup>Interview with Z (January 8, 2020) (woman, the wife of Kasturi (deceased), dead victim of gunfire in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 49 years old).

Acehnese people accept various kinds of political policy defects in the process of managing their social independence. This has an impact on disharmony between Aceh and the national government.

Daud Beureueh with his Darul Islam or Indonesian Islamic Army DI/TII, then welcomed the mismatch of political promises made by Soekarno at the beginning, until the end of the turmoil.<sup>56</sup> Several series of promises of peace were also made, but this never touched the ontological essence of the Acehnese people. DI / TII ended in 1963 with the naming of *Musyawarah Keurukunan Rakyat Aceh* (abbreviated as MKRA, Aceh People's Harmony Conference), *Ikrar Lamteh* (the Agreement of Lamteh) in 1957, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) in Geneva, Switzerland, 2002, the Tokyo Meeting for Peace and Reconstruction in Aceh 2003. Besides, the most magnificent agreement was held in 2005, which was known as the international community recognized him as the Helsinki MoU, a peaceful understanding between the GAM and the Republic of Indonesia.

When Daud Beureueh declared his resistance against Indonesia using his DI/TII vehicle, in contrast to Hasan Tiro, he used a more global echo in voicing the rights of Aceh, which had long been taken away by Indonesia. Using the Aceh Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF) vehicle or the Aceh Sumatra National Liberation Front several times changed its name, but the last name until it actually ended it used GAM as its rebellion title.

a. *The Limitation of Chaos in Aceh Starting from 1976 to 2005*

Hasan Tiro considered that the Soekarno government was the beginning of a dispute from the rioting against Aceh's socio-politics. This was seen when Soekarno promised to give political independence to Aceh and it ended not in accordance with the promise he had made. In fact, the peak of Hasan Tiro's resentment was when he claimed to be the Ambassador of Aceh at the United Nations (UN).

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<sup>56</sup>Hary Adi Darmanto (Januari 28, 2014). *Pemberontakan Daud Beureueh (DI/TII Aceh) Tahun 1953-1962*. Fakultas Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan, koleksi Skripsi sarjana, UNEJ. Accessed on April 4, 2020 from <https://repository.unej.ac.id/handle/123456789/26483?show=full>.

After declaring Aceh on December 4, 1976, Hasan Tiro proved his role in the effort to liberate the Acehnese people. He went out into the forest with his troops in 1976-1979 to fight against the Indonesian government. In 1979, because of the unstoppable attack by the Indonesian army, he fled to various countries, before finally settling in Stockholm, Sweden. Now, after the issue of Aceh's independence has returned to the spotlight following the fall of Soeharto, his organization has emerged on the international stage. The Geneva Agreement on 'Humanitarian Break' between Indonesia and GAM on 12 May 2002, for some, is considered to have elevated GAM's position in international eyes.<sup>57</sup>

In the many series of wars that occurred in Aceh, the researchers took the restrictions from 1976 to 2005. The year 1976 was the beginning of Hasan Tiro's declaration of GAM, as well as a joint struggle for DI/TII Daud Beureueh. The history of the reason why Hasan Tiro wanted to fight Indonesia again was because he considered that Indonesia under Soeharto's control had exploited the natural resources owned by Aceh very massively without giving any positive effect from this exploitation.

The situation in Aceh was reviving because its leaders saw Suharto's New Order as not bringing any benefits to the Aceh region. Soeharto and Soekarno are no different. In fact, Suharto began to show his greediness to 'steal' Aceh's natural resources through plans for multinational projects in the 1970s. This Acehnese figure's concerns became even more evident, after seeing Suharto feel legitimized through the 1971 elections, which won by the political party *Golongan Karya* in full votes. Seeing this sign, a number of radical Darul Islam figures were determined to make a movement, by stealing a start before the 1977 General Election so that GAM was born.<sup>58</sup>

GAM's stance and resistance was based on the historical claim that Aceh was a free and independent country, until the time Dutch

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<sup>57</sup>Majalah Tempo. *Aceh Merdeka, Hasan Tiro dan Satu Tafsir Sejarah*. Jakarta. Diakses dari <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/selingan/114447/aceh-merdeka-hasan-tiro-dan-satu-tafsir-sejarah?>

<sup>58</sup>Neta S. Pane (2001). *Sejarah dan Kekuatan Gerakan Aceh Merdeka: Solusi, Harapan dan Impian*. Jakarta. PT. Grasindo, pp. 30-31.

colonialism declared war on the sovereign Aceh State. Therefore, the transfer of power over Aceh from the Dutch colonial government to the government to the government of the Republic of Indonesia was an illegal process or not based on the law (See ANLSF, Proclamation of Aceh-Sumatra Independence in *Suara Aceh Merdeka*, 15 November 1991). The loss of local authority as a form of control over Aceh's politics and economy, and the reduction of Acehnese (Islamist) culture to Javanese (secular) culture are narratives constructed to counter the New Order narrative.<sup>59</sup>

A very sharp critical attitude appeared at the end of the Old Order regime. This attitude arose from DI / TII figures led by Daud Beureueh who felt that Sukarno had outright cheated him. How could they not, in 1962 they wanted to return to the bosom of the Republic of Indonesia because the Soekarno government promised to implement Islamic law in Aceh. In fact, both parties have prepared the Law. However, that promise was never kept. Until the birth of the New Order regime, there were no signs of realizing this promise. What happened was that the Soeharto government was increasingly aggressive in establishing strategic industries in the 1970s. It was done without any clarity about what the benefits were for the Acehnese people. The people felt that the presence of sharing in the industry was not a part of him; instead, they began to undermine the natural wealth of the region.<sup>60</sup>

The difference is related to the objectives of the rebellion, in contrast to Daud Beureueh's rebellion, which initially only wanted autonomy in the field of education and the application of Islamic law. However, the application was still within the framework of Indonesia, Hasan Tiro's rebellion from the beginning was aimed at forming an independent Aceh state and separated from Republic of Indonesia. The aspiration for independence that motivated Hasan Tiro's rebellion was also strengthened by the existence of a sentiment of Acehnese

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<sup>59</sup>Daniel Hutagalung (Desember 2004). *Memahami Aceh dalam Konteks: Kajian atas Situasi Darurat Militer di Aceh 2003-2004*, p. 6. Accessed from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242251754\\_Memahami\\_Aceh\\_Dalam\\_Konteks\\_Kajian\\_Atas\\_Situasi\\_Darurat\\_Militer\\_di\\_Aceh\\_2003-2004](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242251754_Memahami_Aceh_Dalam_Konteks_Kajian_Atas_Situasi_Darurat_Militer_di_Aceh_2003-2004)

<sup>60</sup>Neta S. Pane (2001). *Sejarah dan Kekuatan Gerakan Aceh Merdeka: Solusi, Harapan dan Impian*. Jakarta. PT. Grasindo. p. 32.

nationalism, related to the construction of Acehese identity based on ethnicity, language, culture, history and geography.<sup>61</sup>

Since Hasan Tiro launched a rebellion against the center by declaring GAM and before peace was achieved in 2005, the Aceh conflict experienced an important phase. First, the period 1976-1979, when GAM was still a small group of about 70 members but had strong ideological ties. Members at that time consisted of educated people such as doctors, engineers, academics and businesspersons. In order to crush this rebellion, Suharto launched a military operation so that many members died and many of the leaders were jailed or fled. Second, the conflict was marked by the resurgence of GAM in 1989, this year GAM's military resistance showed an increase, so that the central government launched a more violent and offensive military operation, known as Operation Jaring Merah and made Aceh as a *Daerah Operasi Militer* (abbreviated as DOM, the Military Operation Area). During this DOM, the Indonesian military carried out cleanup operations against residents or villages suspected of providing logistical assistance and shelter for GAM guerrillas.

The break that occurred in all the upheavals in Aceh became a kind of space for reshaping the ways that must be taken in order to achieve the ideals of the warring parties. There has yet to be seen a period when it is not called a pause but a point; there is no more behavior that causes harm to the population. Nevertheless, in the process that has occurred so far, the total impact of this upheaval (war) is often felt by the residents as the recipients of the story. The party who made the story did not fully experience what the Acehese people experienced as direct victims of the rebellion war.<sup>62</sup>

The peak of the suffering of the Acehese people in this rebellious war occurred from 1989 to the present. When Soeharto was replaced by Habibie, the successor pioneered a slight paradigm shift. This paradigm shift in turn drastically changed the behavior of the Habibie government, especially the TNI towards Aceh. The year 1998 saw an open mass

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<sup>61</sup>Darmanyah Djumala (2013). *Soft Power Untuk Aceh: Resolusi Konflik dan Politik Desentralisasi*. Jakarta. PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama. p. 31

<sup>62</sup>Ibid, pp. 33-34.

movement that voiced anti-military and anti-Jakarta attitudes. During the era of Suharto, where political situation did not back TNI and demands for disclosure of human rights violations committed by TNI in Aceh happened, the Commander of *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* (abbreviated as ABRI, the Armed Forces of Indonesia), General Wiranto, is trying to regain public trust by revoking the status of DOM in Aceh on August 7, 1998. In addition to the revocation of the DOM, Wiranto and Habibi went to Aceh in March 1999 to apologize for the behavior of the security forces.<sup>63</sup>

During 1989 to 1998 was the first phase of humanitarian cleansing that took place in Aceh, during that phase there were various forms of torture, extortion, torture, murder and even massacres. One of the most famous tragedies that occurred in Aceh is the Rumoh Geudong tragedy, of the many tragedies that have been successfully revealed by Human Rights activists, this tragedy has become a central point in this research. The period in which human rights violations occurred which were defined by the Acehnese people as the era of ethnic cleansing in Aceh (Genocide). This conclusion is a logical consequence of the extraordinary brutality of ABRI's operations, which at the time of the operation turned thousands of civilians as the object of crimes against humanity, and the repressive situation that made various patterns and types of human rights violations unknown to the world outside Aceh.<sup>64</sup>

The era of the DOM has presented the surface that military operations carried out by security forces do not indicate that everything is according to procedure. Much arbitrariness was carried out to prove that all the Acehnese were GAM. The absence of classification by the troops in the field created social chaos during Aceh's emergency. No destruction of war has been fully compensated by the Government in the post-peace agreement situation in 2005. Thus, all forms of arrogance carried out by troops while in the field, display a message that all is

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<sup>63</sup>Darmanyah Djumala (2013). *Soft Power Untuk Aceh: Resolusi Konflik dan Politik Desentralisasi*. Jakarta. PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, p. 38.

<sup>64</sup>Otto Syamsuddin Ishak (2000). *Pembersihan dan Demoralisasi Etnik Aceh*. Analisis peristiwa. Dalam Koalisi NGO HAM Aceh. Catatan Peristiwa Kekerasan di Aceh Sepanjang Tahun 1999: Menjaring Hari Tanpa Air Mata. Banda Aceh. Koalisi NGO HAM Aceh, p. 3.

legitimate to do, because it is based on the sake of national security or to maintain national integration.

The accumulation and intensity of human rights violations in Aceh, qualitatively and quantitatively, reached a 'very concerning' stage, so *Komisi Nasional* (abbreviated as Komnas, the National Commission) of HAM opened its representatives for Aceh on September 30, 1999. Komnas HAM Aceh has a mandate to carry out monitoring (*pro justitia*) and mediation which is extended with a mandate education and counseling on human rights violations in Aceh. The limitations of the authority and structure of the Komnas HAM representative office and the small monitoring mandate given to Komnas HAM are unable to work optimally in the middle of the work area in Aceh, which has a high and massive level of human rights violations.

The violent methods used by the government to crush GAM during the DOM period put the success of security operations into question. Because what happened was that civilians became victims, and GAM was getting bigger. Therefore, it would be wrong for the Pangkostrad Commander, Ryamizard Ryacudu to say that the separatist movement in Aceh deserves to be militarily crushed in 1999. The seeds of resistance in fact continue to grow due to the violence and human rights violations during the DOM era, including the large number of civilians who sympathize with GAM.

Amid efforts for dialogue and a dignified solution as mandated by the GBHN, the government remains ambiguous by re-approving military operations in Aceh after the revocation of the DOM. Operation Wibawa is a joint operation carried out for the first time in Aceh after the DOM. The operation, which was declared on January 2, 1999, was led by Lt. Col. Iskandar Hasan (Kapolres Aceh Utara) with Colonel Inf. Johnny Wahab (Danrem Lilawangsa). Apart from the Operation of Wibawa, the military carried out several military operations including the Operation of Sadar Rencong I (May 1999 - January 2000), the Operation of Sadar Rencong II (February 2000 - May 2000), and the Operation of Sadar Rencong III (June 2000 - February 18 2001), Operation PPRM (Mass Riot Troops) in 1999, the Operation of Cinta

Meunasah (June 2000-2001), and the Operation of Cinta Damai (2001-2002). Post-DOM military operations resulted in mass displacement. Thousands of people started to leave their homes because of the violence and armed conflicts that occurred in various regions.<sup>65</sup>

The second phase in the bullet arena in Aceh was when Megawati became president replacing the late. KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur), at that time very firmly Megawati responded repressively to all failures of the peaceful discourse in Aceh; the military was again given access to grip the Acehnese with hot lead from their weapons. The author believes that what Megawati did was what connection was cut when the New Order ended as the country's ruler.

On July 2001, President Megawati Soekarno Putri replaced Abdurrahman Wahid as president. During his tenure, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement was signed in Geneva on December 9, 2002. This agreement required GAM to give up all of its weapons, relocate and redefine the role of the Indonesian security forces in Aceh as well as a joint decision to establish several peaceful areas. In the end, however, this agreement also failed.

Meanwhile, the strength of GAM at that time was still influential in Aceh. In addition, a number of elements of Acehnese society made demands for a referendum. Several incidents of armed rebellion occurred again. Finally, triggered by the failure of the dialogue effort through the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA), military operations were again carried out in Aceh where the essence of all the operations was to crush GAM's armed forces.

President Megawati terminated the agreement by issuing Presidential Decree No. 28 of 2003, which designated NAD Province as an area in danger with the level of military emergency. The martial law policy was considered by the government at that time to be the right way to end a number of violence and crush the number of armed groups in Aceh. In addition, this policy is seen as a method of restoring security and stabilizing local government functions.

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<sup>65</sup> KontraS (Februari 2006). *Aceh Damai dengan Keadilan ? Mengungkap Kekerasan Masa Lalu*. Seri Aceh II, pp. 77-78 . Jakarta. KontraS.

On May 2003, martial law was declared in the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD), Indonesia. In this state of emergency, the civil administration was suspended and a massive operation to quell the rebellion was launched against the pro-independence armed group, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). It was the bloodiest year in the 28-year conflict in NAD. In May 2004, the status of NAD was downgraded from military emergency to civil emergency. Although indeed the government was returned to the hands of the civilian authorities, military operations were still being carried out and human rights violations were still being reported.<sup>66</sup>

The current pattern of human rights violations is well known to the people of NAD who have experienced the suffering of gross human rights violations during previous counter-insurgency operations in the province. While dramatic changes in Indonesian politics have taken place since 1998 and the democratization process has taken place in the wake of the recent parliamentary and presidential elections, there appears to be little change in the way the security forces respond to both armed and civilian freedom movements. As in the past, in this case too there was little concern.<sup>67</sup>

Megawati's very strong political commitment to the Republic of Indonesia became the political foundation for the TNI in overcoming the Aceh conflict. Megawati's vision of nationalism emphasizes territorial integrity to become an 'ideological meeting point' with the TNI. As recorded in the history of the formation of the nation and territorial integrity, especially during the period of physical revolution and the period of regional rebellion, the TNI has always been at the forefront of maintaining the integrity of the nation and territory.

After 9 years (1989-1998), Aceh experienced a DOM period, which resulted in, among others, 128 guerrillas were reported rape cases, from

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<sup>66</sup>Sarah Nuraini Siregar (2012). *Pergeseran Masalah Keamanan di Aceh*. Ejournal politik LIPI. Vol 9. No. 2, pp. 52-53. Accessed from <http://ejournal.politik.lipi.go.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/230/104>

<sup>67</sup>Amnesty International (Oktober 2004). *Indonesia: Operasi-Operasi Militer Baru, Pola Lama Pelanggaran HAM di Aceh*, pp. 1-2. Accessed from, <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/96000/asa210332004in.pdf>

1999-2006, then a humanitarian break and cessation of hostilities (1999-2003), followed by a military emergency (2004-2005), Civil Emergency (2004-2005) and then entered the Helsinki MoU period (August 15, 2005) and finally now the period of implementation of Islamic law. Acehese women continue to face various violence, discrimination and restrictions related to policies that emerged during this period. In the period 19 May 2003-19 November 2003 through Presidential Decree No. 28 of 2003, the First Military Emergency was imposed which was later extended to the Second Military Emergency from 19 November 2003-19 November 2004 based on Presidential Decree No. 97 of 2003, which resulted in restrictions on civil liberties and made them vulnerable to human rights violations.<sup>68</sup>

Under the umbrella of presidential politics, which is strong in defending the unitary state, the TNI has returned to carrying out offensive military operations against GAM. The TNI's political attitude towards Aceh seemed to find a strong foothold. Then, the Minister of Home Affairs, Hari Sabarno said there was 'no more possibility of dialogue with GAM' and when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was then Coordinating Minister for Political, Social and Security Affairs in November 2001, emphasized that 'there is no compromise with the separatists and no more dialogue with GAM'.<sup>69</sup>

During the DOM and post DOM until the implementation of Military Emergency (DM), a number of cases of violence against civilians often occurred, and there was no definite legal handling. Various forms of trial have been discussed by parties with an interest in achieving justice, until now these discussions are still a mystery of its concrete manifestations. The accumulation of gross human rights violations occurred in Aceh during this period and even today. Of the many cases that occurred, the author divided them into three tragedies, which were classified as gross human rights violations.

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<sup>68</sup> Komnas Perempuan (Februari 2009). *Kondisi Tahanan Perempuan di Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*. Sebuah Hasil Pemantauan Komnas Perempuan, pp. 5-6. Jakarta. Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan

<sup>69</sup> Darmansyah Djumala, Op. Cit. pp. 46.

## 2. *Liberal Versus Illiberal Peacebuilding*

Political development targeting to prove the echo of new political environment and an authenticity of political culture became an extraordinary challenge faced by many countries experiencing a relative new conflict of political violence. The political reconstruction firstly understood the achievement about the agreement of power distribution and sharing; and political priorities. In addition, that conditioned a form and development of legitimation, accountability and the ability of institution that ensured the minimum level of security and right for all people. The peace that is continuous, sustainable, however, is also constrained in the proceeding of certain institution that is conducive and the social development and economic in term of participation and equitable foundation, regarding of ethnic, religion, culture, social and other defending that exist in society, which potentially cause the tension. In addition, all those factors certainly will affect the situation post-war until it will be hardly improvised.<sup>70</sup>

The context between Aceh and Republic of Indonesia, Aceh became the *Illiberal Peacemaker* and Indonesia was *Liberal Peacemaker*. The condition after 2005 peace agreement resulted to the understanding that Indonesia, mediator of reconciliation pioneered by *Crisis Management Initiative* (CMI) led by Marti Ahtisaari, centered the peace development to both governments; national and local (Aceh). It was caused that Aceh owned the special regulations after the negotiation, so that Aceh had a greater autonomy to create peace based on the culture of people of Aceh.

This was reflected in several points of MoU and the explanation in the Act No. 11 of 2006 issued by the Government of Aceh. One of the primary developments was the development and restoration of human due to war. Under the situation that made the government of Aceh to work extra, so it will be the crime if the mandate does not represent the

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<sup>70</sup>Birgitte Sorensen (Januari 1998). *Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources*. Article in social change, hal. 3. United Nation Research for Social Development Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies. Accessed from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265243633\\_Women\\_and\\_Post-Conflict\\_Reconstruction\\_Issues\\_and\\_Sources/link/55e80d6e08ae21d099c16269/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265243633_Women_and_Post-Conflict_Reconstruction_Issues_and_Sources/link/55e80d6e08ae21d099c16269/download)

crucial things from a peace development. Certainly, the peace is not just a handshaking moment amongst elites, but it had to be targeted for the society that became the victims from the previous repressive policy.

The *Illiberal Peacebuilding* was achieved by one of the countries, which encounters a 40-year war, Angola. The reconstruction process after war was managed fully by the local elites to achieve the civil freedom, legal regulation. By doing the hegemony and keeping the power of elite in the rule of economic, the freedom expansion of economic and the alleviation of poverty could be attained. After passing the 41-year war that killed one million people until 2002, Angola had to have a serious target into international scope as the effort of reconstruction.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, Aceh should receive a mandate in matters of handling the reconstruction of human rights war, and that is one of the most important elements to create *sustainable peace*. Since 2005 until today, the reconstruction post-war had not reached a maximal result. With various kinds of overlapping interests carried out by local actors themselves. The transformation of the situation to the present, more like a kind of autonomous oligarchy, was played by the elite in the name of struggle.

There was such *sustainable fallacy* in the implementation of reconstruction post-war in Aceh. The return of rights given the access by the mediator was the potential way for Aceh to rise from the ruins of destruction. *Illiberal Peacemaker* did not take the advantage from an opportunity that had been legalized to work in giving the best contribution for the people. From all information obtained by the author, there was no single person that could truly feel the maximum reconstruction done by the government of Aceh, as the main element of responsibility.

The reconstruction after war in Aceh had not yet overcome the issue of human rights of victims. This was proven with many victims

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<sup>71</sup>Ricardo Soares De Oliveira (Juni 2011). *Illiberal Peacebuilding In Angola*. Journal article. Departement of Politics and International Relations, Oxford University, hal , 288. Accessed from [https://www.jstor.org/stable/23018923?read-now=1&seq=2#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/23018923?read-now=1&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents)

that were interviewed by the researcher that implied the desperateness toward the government. This was caused by the excess conflict that they experienced would never be comparable of what the government had given. In this case, indeed, the government did not totally care toward the victims, but their rights had never been fulfilled maximally. As mentioned by Wardani whose house was burned by irresponsible apparatus until today, they had not received the aids.<sup>72</sup>

Samsul agreed that the rights that should be received by the victims of the conflict should be in line with the *Undang-Undang Pemerintah Aceh* (abbreviated as UUPA, the Act issued by the Government of Aceh) by allocating the funds of *diyut*, sharing the productive land to be worked on by the combatants. Since the peace agreement between Aceh Freedom Movement (GAM) and the Republic of Indonesia that resulted to the establishment of UUPA that provided less support for the victims of conflict, especially victims of *Krueng Arakundoe* conflict, as mentioned by the head of village of Gampong Bukit Dinding.<sup>73</sup> Actually, people who experienced the real conflict were many located in Desa Bukit Dinding, but the aid and help provided by the government were very far from enough. Many helps and aids given in the form of medical treatment for the victims of conflict from gunshot of apparatus/soldiers, building the semi-permanent house for villagers whose houses were burned.

One of villagers that had the wound of gunshot from apparatus, Nuraini said that during the peace agreement, she just received a medical treatment in total ten million rupiah, but that amount of money was out of reach in treating the medication cost, because the cost for surgery was very big, she finally turned to the traditional treatment.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the effect from that gunshot disabled him to work, earning for living maximally for their children and even he could not fix the

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<sup>72</sup>Interview with W (January 5, 2020) (woman, one of the villagers at Bukit Dinding village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 38 years old).

<sup>73</sup>Interview with AP (January 5, 2020) (man, the Head of village of Bukit Dinding village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 51 years old).

<sup>74</sup>Interview with S (January 5, 2020) (man, the husband of Nuraini, one of the victims of gunshot from Bukit Dindingvillage, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 49 years old).

house. This such condition certainly was opposite from the programs planned by the government in overcoming the victims of conflict.

Another victim from the conflict was Nurlela whose husband was shot by the apparatus. So far, he only received a semi-permanent house. To propose for the help and aid, we should get through a complicated administration process and took much time.<sup>75</sup> She felt disappointed toward such system. The government should directly come to the field to check the data of victims of conflict and helped them. For her, it seemed like the people begged for the helps, in fact, based on the regulation, the government should come directly to the field to help the victims, because their rights had been guaranteed by UUPA.

In addition to victims in the form of loss of property and lives, there were also victims who experienced physical violence from the forces. For such victims, they did not receive anything from the government. They generally felt disappointed because there was no care and concern from the government either from province or from central government. They should be consoled through the helps or at least provided the workshop and training related to the life skills.<sup>76</sup> According to the chief of Desa Bukit Dinding, actually, the government should pay attention and care to the victims of the conflict, but due to improper management, causing people thought negatively toward the government. Although it was admitted that the helps and aids provided namely, fishery assistance, house building, house reconstruction, rehabilitation, and aid for agricultural seeds. That kind of assistance was given once only. Considering the limited number of aids, not all the victims got it. The assistance in fishery sector was provided considering most of people at Desa Julok worked as anglers and fish farmers. Some of the people worked as gardener, farmer, and rest of them worked by planting palm oil.

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<sup>75</sup>Interview with N (January 5, 2020) (woman, one of villagers of Julok subdistrict, East Aceh whose husband was shot to die by apparatus, 35 years old).

<sup>76</sup>Interview with MD (January 5, 2020) (man, the victim of beating from forces. villager of Bukit Dindingvillage, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 42 years old).

The aid was given once only, which meant that there was not following or accompaniment of the aids, which later was considered ineffective. This would cause people to delay and limit the development their own business maximally.<sup>77</sup> In line with the statement of chief of Bukit Dinding village, the chief of Desa Lhok Seuntang also said that the providence of aids to the victims of conflict was very limited. He had no idea, was it really lacks of funds from the government, or there were other parties that are deliberately playing around that caused the distribution of aids were not completely received by people who deserved. The people of Lhok Seuntang village who became the victims of excess tragedy of *Krueng Arakundoe* should receive more attention from the government, especially Aceh government and from local government of Aceh Timur. That was because there were plenty villagers that lost their lives and left their wives and children to die. Until today, he felt that there was no significant action done by the government for over fourteen years after the tragedy. He really hoped the attention from the government from both provincial government and district to help the victims in form of scholarship for children of the victims, hoping that such assistance would sooth their psychiatric pressure.<sup>78</sup>

The victims of conflict meant here were categorised into two types, namely the victims from GAM who resisted the government and the victims of common people. The victims from GAM besides receiving helps from the government, they also should receive the assistance from the *Komite Peralihan Aceh* (abbreviated as KPA, the Commission for Transferring Aceh), aspiration fund and other supports from *Badan Reintegrasi Aceh* (abbreviated as BRA, the Office of Aceh Reintegration). Every *meugang* (a religious traditional event held in Aceh) before *idul fitri* (fest day of Islam) and fasting month, they got portion of meats.

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<sup>77</sup>Interview with M (January 5, 2020) (man, the one of the villagers of Bukit Dinding village, who experienced excess conflict, 28 years old).

<sup>78</sup>Interview with D (January 5, 2020) (man, the head of Lhok Seuntang village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 53 years old).

Special for this meat, it usually was given by the member of KPA who both experienced the excess conflict or not.<sup>79</sup>

### 3. *The Human Rights Solution through Reconstruction*

Factually, there were many evidences from the cruelty of violence committed by both TNI and GAM. Those authentic evidences could be the countless number of people that were defective and wounded due to the violence that had not been handled until today. Moreover, there were also many carelessly abandoned graves located in remote areas of the conflict. All the descriptions above could be the addition to strengthen the reveal the truth through the factual findings. However, in reality, the lives of victims after reconciliation could not generate meaningful changes, the fact also indicated that country was not sensitive enough to examine deeply about the factual truth.

The factual truth in this case was insufficiently providing the power to fight against politics, the reluctance of politics to support the truth was very dominating the socio-political life in Aceh after the reconciliation. Not just in war, during the transition period the political power invincibly won. The silence to sound the truth came from the former combatant himself. Seeing this reality, the central government should not maintain a new strategy to silence the factual truth that had been obviously exposed and showed across areas in Aceh.

Another problem was the evidences of location or the locations of violent actions done by the country had long disappeared. After the war ended, people flocked to destroy the buildings due to trauma, so that there would be no more soldiers or people who were traced and haunted every time they walked or crossed by those locations of violence. That was a mistake, because by wiping away the locations or buildings, so there was no need to make further actions, to be remembered or followed up. For instance, the house of *Rumoh Geudong*, it left nothing, it was just the yard and few lower parts of the walls of the building left. The fact was, for this place, not only in the house, but in the yard, there

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<sup>79</sup>Interview with ZF (January 5, 2020) (male, the secretary of Lhok Seuntang village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 44 years old).

were many graves dug up to bury the people, either already dead or alive.

Today, when people passed by the location, there was no evidence of history of violence at *Rumoh Geudong* since the evidence and remains of violence had been long buried by ages. The house should be preserved, be kept as what was left by the soldiers, so all the evidence would remain factual and could convince the arguments for further discussion about the disclosure of the truth, as well as the location of the tragedy of *Arakundoe* and Jambo Keupok. However, at Jambo Keupok village, there was a monument built to remember the victims, the monument was built by local people, not the government.

When the reconciliation was declared, all parties forced for the truth of their members and personnel, from either GAM, Indonesian government or the victims or even people from nowhere who wanted the profit and advantages from the compensation. All parties, especially former members of GAM and government kept providing the explanation and information that emphasize them that what had been done was for the sake of national security. On behalf of country, becoming the statement to be inserted for being asked about the tragedy of violence happened in Aceh.

If not forcing the truth, there might not be a voice about the disclosure of truth and reconciliation. Due to this, the disclosure of the truth and some concrete steps had not been realized until today. When the war was over, the guilty one did not want to be guiled, and kept roaring to hide their faults. Even in the community, there was a very determined confession that she had become a widow because her husband died during the conflict, but the reality was that her husband died during the conflict, but not because of the conflict.

KKRA was once overwhelmed handling this issue, and tried hard to select which were the true victims of conflict and which one was pretending. As the result of this case, many of real victims were reluctant to sound the truth that they had experience, so naturally there was a deception of truth caused by overemphasizing their own truths. One year after the establishment of KKRA, the dominance of personal truth

of governmental officials prevented the social truth and restorative truth.

It was very difficult to reach the social truth, a truth that was agreed together through dialogue, if all parties conflicted still struggled for their truths. Consequently, all the disclosure of truths and reconciliation in Aceh was just the discourse, plan, dreams over dream that would be impossibly realized. This social truth was a progress to the truth disclosure. If it had not achieved the truth of restorative like what had been achieved by the South Africa, at least the social truth must be reached, at least the formation of one equality upon one truth that could ease the disclosure of truth until the reconciliation.

The truth was broken by various forms of policies that fell down from the reconciliation seeming like an *impunity* (a condition where there were no witnesses toward the perpetrators of violence and torture). This would affect the life of society (life of victims of conflict), the pleasure of autonomy that was always heard by the Aceh government seeming like all the problems had been resolved and people could live in peace. That became fatal because in fact, those who enjoyed the money from the autonomy were few people who owned the position in political order in Aceh.

This truth also became the mystery to convince peace in Aceh. They did not restore the lives of conflicted victims effectively and maximally. This truth was also just a dream and hope that could not be achieved if there was no a high political desire from the government. The former GAM who currently became the officials of the government in Aceh at least should urge and force the central government to make the restoration toward the socio-political lives of the victims of conflict through this truth. If it was still stagnant with the personal truth of 'peace', that would not have the essence for the society.

Before directing to the restorative justice, the restorative truth became the opening path. Since this truth was the truth that articulated all the disarrangement of the cases. This truth could relieve some hurts and disappointment by restoring or fixing after all previous three truths had been done. When there was social truth, the truth was agreed about the past; hence, the restorative truth was the effort of truth agreed for

the further actions about how the past was overcome. There were levels that aimed to the first justice; restorative truth, fair transition, restorative justice and finally a justice.

However, in the case of Aceh, as mentioned previously, the process to achieve the social truth still did not perform a progress. Without reaching the reconciliation as part of conflict transformation, the restorative truth also contained the reconciliation without being realized, because the content had the element of truth disclosure.

Indeed, one of crucial parts of work of the commission of seeking the truth was to reassure the veteran of conflict to testify and witness orally and opened. In which one of the most familiar of them was the Commission of Truth in South Africa Reconciliation or also known as TRC formed and work from 1996 to 1998. This commission of truth seeker was a board that worked temporarily, formed by United Nation or authorized presidential department in related country, formed to investigate the phenomena happened in certain period, during the period of war and genocide. The work encompassed a set of functions, including interviewing the victims of Human Rights violation, investigating various crime cases, documenting the forensic evidences and providing the amnesty.

Each function had special role that must be played in the era after conflict. Yet, the focus in the important meaning of politics from the testimony from victims and in various forms of witnesses is in the form of emotionally 'difficult' statement, such as anger, hate and hostility and desperation into an uneasy room in political life. The witness of the victims often became an obvious part and more dramatic from the findings of a commission of truth seeker, especially because the violence and suffering that were articulated in a public room for the first time. Besides providing the details about the characteristics of the violence that they experienced, the victims, in their witnesses could also express many emotional responses toward the violence that they experienced and the impacts of the violence that still they felt in their entire lives. For

South Africa, more than 2,000 people witnessed openly in the context to hear the opinions held in schools and city hall across country.<sup>80</sup>

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa was considered as one of the KKR that successfully created the reconciliation in that country. Its establishment was very convincing, that was formed by the presidential division led by Nelson Rolihlala Mandela. He showed a religionist, Desmond Tutu to lead KKR. The role of KKR in every part of the world was the same, formed in certain country or territory after the international scale conflict with the level of violence had reached the genocide level, with no exception in Aceh. For two years, KKR of South Africa had successfully made the reports of findings toward the extraordinary war crime.

There were also weaknesses of KKR of South Africa, one of them was giving the amnesty for those who were proved guilty, was considered as another way to give the impunity, because a very cruel party during the apartheid received the amnesty rather than being sanctioned of equal penalty. Later, the failure of that division in suing the perpetrators that still had the influence in political stage after the triumph of ANC in 1994. After Mandela took over the number one figure in that country, the past political influence was still smelled that resulted to the presence of another political dynamic related to the overprovided amnesty toward the actors of violence in the apartheid system.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, some figures, both individually and in-group expected there would be a miracle through the existence of a commission of truth with a strongly reasonable bond. The miracles

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<sup>80</sup>S. Chakravarti (2012). *Agonisme dan Kekuatan Kesaksian Korban*. in A. K. Hirsch: *Teorisasi Rekonsiliasi Pasca Konflik, Agonisme, Pemulihan dan Perbaikan*, p. 25. Abingdon: Routledge.

<sup>81</sup>L. M Leod ( 12 Maret 2015). *Beyond Intractability*. Accessed on January 13, 2020, from *Reconciliation through Restorative Justice: Analyzing South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Process*: <https://www.google.co.id/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwie74mg9dPYAhUJrY8KHY2yB5sQFggoMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.beyondintractability.org%2Flibrary%2Freconciliation-through-restorative-justice-analyzing-south-africas-tru>

covered the national restoration, victims and perpetrators reconciliation, making sure a clear role of law in creating a culture of human rights. It was also frequently expected that the commission of truth could help to find gain the corruption of government and reconstructing the bridge of patriotic life between the past and the future through psychological approach without leaving the past instability. With the high hopes, sometimes we wonder could it be possible to be true? It is often that the disappointment came after the process of the commission of truth could not procedurally operate. The public was frequently faced with the fact that in order to normalize or to reconsolidate a conflicted community, it took much time.<sup>82</sup>

The political interest amongst local elite was getting stronger actually produced various forms of other crimes. The omission one of things was often done in purpose. This indicated that there was a good intention from the government of Aceh to put forward the moral of victims themselves. Human rights from the victims had not yet been touched a little in the political policy in Aceh, whereas for the sake of Human Rights should be prioritized compared to others.

#### **4. *The Existences of Victims of the Post-war and Reconstruction***

There was a disablement saying that the convenience was a peace. Strange phenomena happened many times in the era of convenience, the era where the promises were made to be broken, the untreated wounds, forgetting the past neatly just for forcing the desire that Aceh had truly been in a peace. It was a mistake if for fourteen years, no steps to frame a picture were taken since those were being faded and worn out by time. The chaotic history of violence in Aceh had jammed the future achievement for them whom expected to be surely realized well under the regime of war veteran itself.

After the MoU Helsinki in 2005, there were plenty homework of Aceh government and Indonesian government in succeeding the conflict transformation from the cruelty to be a peace. One of them was

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<sup>82</sup>Mark Freeman (2006). *Truth Commision and Procedural Fairness*, p. 42. New York. Cambridge University Press.

by making the reconciliation to replace the revenge and hatred that were still in the heart and soul of the victims through apology and together (mutual) acceptance.

The 'peace' would never be close to the 'development' if there were no initiated framing of reconciliation, because that would be a preservation and nurturing of craving of peace through a framed reconciliation. Peacebuilding existed and would develop in all opened condition, since it was exposed in previous discussion; a true reconciliation needed an openness. Nevertheless, all this time, the victims of conflict in Aceh had done self-reconciliation with their own selves and themselves should fight for the healing of all wounds.

The sensitive minimalism toward the challenges after conflict, based on the slight procedural's reconciliation, minimalist supporter focusing on today's demands by putting aside the past. The deficiency of reconciliation was obviously seen, a slight procedural did not handle the sustainable impunity and the victims' trauma. These procedural did not also say much about the substance of political discourse, or how the procedural contributed or not toward reconciliation.

Either with minimal reconciliation or maximal reconciliation, the context for Aceh was still vague. However, the authorities always said 'we are fighting for it'. Fourteen years ahead, after the signing of agreement, the matter of reconciliation was still in discussion. The struggle that was stagnant toward a possible reconciliation was caused by the actors did not want a confession, admission, and apologies. The reconciliation could be respected for each other between 'tormentor and tormented' if the will of perpetrators to initially honor the victims had never been actualized.

Because the fact was, the framing of reconciliation for the case of Aceh would be run effectively, if it was started by eliminating all ego and done voluntarily. To trigger the same will in order to be done by the centralized perpetrators, hence it would be more effective if the former of GAM that began to frame the reconciliation. Simultaneously, the ex-combatants should ask and urge even compel the national to do the

same thing to all victims under the mechanism provided by the division of Truth Commission and Reconciliation. All, which was involved in the chaos, so for those who were involved that now became the elite under bureaucratic and political, was an obligation for them to do either minimal or maximal reconciliation.

Do not try to deceive the public by always showing the shadows of reconciliation which its form would have never been existed. The former GAM who currently dominated the local government and understood the field condition of people of victims of conflict must fight for the reconciliation just like in the past fighting for the separation. Whatever it takes, the reconciliation should be places in the first priority, even though eventually, they who fought for it must be the actors, not in the field, but with the strategy. To be clear, the strategy to fight done by GAM and the strategy to preserve the national unity were done by the country, together objecting the civilians as the targeted violence and the cruelty for the political interests.

The society truly understood the past events to establish the responsibility and refuse the impunity continuously; surely, the truth could not simply reconcile the ex-enemies. The victims in Aceh that survived and openly told back their experience, asked to focus upon them. Since this was very important for them, many people looked for the improvement, justice for the guilt and they looked for the guarantee that they would be protected in the future.

In the transition setting, the historical investigation had the political risk. Understanding what was considered as “fair” valuation of the past would invite the troubles because the ethically political gamble that was involved and overwhelmed in combining various claims of truth and the claim of experience with the convincing and coherent way. The formation of historical narration that was informed factually that was rooted on the phenomenon was truly identified. Yet, it is still admitted the position of their subjects and is opened to change. We needed the essential history that presented the past as accurate as possible while making sure that the stories of victims were not erased, or the violation that was minimalized through the manipulation of ideology toward the past to minimize the responsibility. This thing

would interrogate the existed truth, and so that by starting the process should be difficult and the soft political process to reconstruct the past that was not based on the rejection and self-justification. This process became significant project that remained fragile toward the assumption and self-justification.

Indeed, it looked difficult for the Indonesian government to admit what they have done in the past toward Aceh. The violation toward human rights in Aceh was done by the army military units. This case obviously emerged when the commitment to clean up the history started to sound on. The voices of victims that had been muted for long time must be resounded so as Indonesia could reform the institutions involved as the agent of violence. However, whatever the reasons, this path was essential for a revival, healing, apology and reconciliation.

The frame that was started from the confession and later completed by the witnesses would form a clear reconciliation that was strong and full of truth, so that in creating the healing upon brokenness. The confession needed a sincere power and must be in the political will of Indonesia, as well as the testimony, it needed a power to endure of the return of the cruelty. Along with the country and its people sat together, they formed an honest future through framing of reconciliation. We would not know whether the actors would confess or the victims would testify. We also could not predict whether the perpetrators after the confession would apology sincerely and uttered. Now, the most important thing that should be done was the country would truly confess and did the repentance for all sins toward the people in Aceh. The apology was not really matter, but the most important thing was the process done by the country to achieve forgiveness from its people.

The group with the tie emphasized and convinced the public, after 2005, Aceh entered the era of 'peacebuilding' and everything that had caused the chaos during the war would be fixed and returned as before. However, that plan until today, still became the words that could not be achieved maximally. The main power of forming the future was through a powerful peaceful condition, not the comfortable situation. Peace in

Aceh would not be achieved when the 2005 agreement would have never been done. It just carried from the war to the non-war condition.

Nevertheless, to create peace like had been mentioned as promise, should be firstly executed, not omitted. The confession and witnesses were the main frame for reconciliation in Aceh, whereas the forgiveness, reparation and healing were the pillars that completed them. Because of those three main components were formed and created when the confession and witnesses were sounded to a truth. The country should enough make experiment by always scarifying the people, because the peace itself was a long way road, and impossibly achieved with a relative short way, even with the thorny ways of lies. Therefore, let us make it real for the peace in Aceh, not just a comfort.

The wait had been very long, we could not recon whether there was still patience that residing in the victims' minds to keep waiting for a sincere confession coming from the country as the effort to rebuild the dignity of human that had once been oppressed by the cruelty of war. The doomsday of country was brought in to Aceh sufficiently leaving the sorrow and sobs toward a life. That reality had been through by the people that became the victims of the conflict in Aceh. Should they wait for die for a confession? The country was not aware, or might be making things crazier as the effort to forget the history of violence was a national terror. The terror that kept being reproduced both directly or indirectly.

What exactly was being defended by the perpetrators, so that they were reluctant to admit their mistakes? Did mistakes and sins do not recognize the people with the ties? On the contrary, the white collar often sucked the blood of innocent people just for the satisfaction of desires. Was the systematic violence in the past going cleaner day by day and gone from the mind of the victims? Indeed, that never happened. A humiliation, indult and violence that were once framed would be only replaced by the frame of reconciliation, together being framed. It was just the reconciliation was considered dangerous for the rulers.

The victims that survived in the political violence was often being insulted and devaluated after the end of violence. Devaluation that kept going hardens the development of moral of honor, so did the reconciliation, because this action necessitated the former to come and

see one another as the equalized moral figures. To be responded, the effort of confession upon the victims became a really matter to recognize the moral status of victims as equal figures, healing the understanding of moral values and building their legal rights as citizens.

The confession of country toward the violence of human rights would affect the instability of heroism as the vital component to form the national imagination. Without a legal and official statement of country, reconciliation became thorny way full of resistance and very slow. The reconciliation was coming from humans' instinct, done as the cultural mechanism to re-bond the broken social relationship.

However, also, the confession toward the victims would be based on a broad understanding of Hegelian about the formation of identity based on the model of dialogic interaction. The confession was reciprocal in which subject saw one another as the equally respected creatures. Human became a complete individual through confession and admission, which emphasized the identity formation of intersubjectivity (or social). Many literatures of confession argued that the confession needed an ethical condition of complete self-realization from the society.<sup>83</sup>

The confession upon the victims should cover the material components and symbolic components with the purposes of securing the status of equality. Related to the symbolic confession, that confession must highlight the omission of cultural views that prevent the individual to recognize one another as the same people, to reach what was called as the intersubjectivity condition of participation parity.<sup>84</sup> The confession upon the victims was an important element in reconciliation. If the commitment for seeking the truth and accountability had the impact toward the victims, the special focus needed to be given to the individuals that were suffering due to enormous violence. Not only as the way to integrate them to the society as the same citizens, but also as

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<sup>83</sup>Charles Taylor et.al (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. p. 26. Princeton. Princeton University Press.

<sup>84</sup>Nancy Fraser dan Axel Honneth (2003). *Redistribution or Recognition: A Political Philosophical Exchange*, p. 11. Verso. London.

the media to recognize and confess the values and dignity as the equal human beings, that was as the way that referred to the social respect.

Reconciliation as the respect was to respect the tolerance and carry the form of peace of political contestation would never develop when the past was examined or if the horrifying violence was justified. An honest and sincere understanding about past was necessarily morally needed, even though this thing could hurt the victims and unsettling them that supported the perpetrators. The accountability was also needed for impunity of culture and language superiority and humiliation that were deep for rights of individuals. What was related to be the importance of admitting and confessing the victims as citizens that had the equal moral and as brothers and sisters. Without any effort of meaningful confession, they tended to keep being oppressed and ignored; there was no respect or well-deserved dignity they accept. The legal regulation had played around the important role to guarantee that personal and private rights would be respected, state would be attached by the law and the political difference must be resolved peacefully if there was still fight.

The truth provided the foundation to heal, forgive and reconcile. The benefits from the Commission of Truth after the happened collective violence had been a general practice, from Argentina to other countries in South America until South Africa, even in Aceh. Describing what had happened, the confession (perpetrators and victims) of hurts and sorrows. When violence had happened on certain side, not on other sides, it would tell that only truth that could validate the innocence of victims. It helped psychologically reducing toward the effects of becoming the victims, the survived victims tended to feel something wrong upon themselves. Expressing the truth also revealed the victims that the word did not consider accepting such attitudes. In which contributing toward the feeling of being secured and starting to restore groups related with the world community.

A forgiveness was something priceless, difficult, but still possible to do based on the requests from victims of the tragedy of *Rumoh Geudong*, Idi Cut and Jambo Keupok. A request would be granted, even though it was initiated with the fulfillment of wish. After a long period

and distanced between the war and the agreement of not involving in war, every victim requested the country to confess, truly the requests from victims were forbidden to be done because the status as the victims should be firstly restored, not requesting to be restored. Hence, the unnecessary requests could still be resided, as it was obliged to have access by the government because that became the beginning of the process of framing the reconciliation.

Healing the past wounds that had been long ignored would never be handled only with the psychological and physical treatment by presenting the doctors and medical practitioners. There was wound that could be healed by the treatment of honest confession, and that was a very rare medicine in every territory after conflict, no exception for Aceh. The medicine was available, but it was just difficult to be given, because by injecting that medicine, all political diseases would be gone and healed until Aceh as post-conflict zone could be in the era of transition to democracy. The confession from perpetrators (Indonesia and GAM) was very high value of kindness and even could exceed the reconciliation made by South Africa. Since the reconciliation achieved by South Africa was just from white people that were very possible of local people also helped the white people in implementing the racial policy in that country.

The reparation by offering money or natural resources was symbolic restoration upon violence. Restitution returned the properties, artefact and humanism. Restitution could be the most promising things in guaranteeing all materials that had been stolen during the violence, had essential meaning for all victims. The forgiveness demanded the confession toward violence and later gives them to the victims whether they would forgive or not. The official apology of the mass murder reduced the direct relationship between the perpetrators and victims that could help establishing the social dimension about reparation.

There would not be forgiveness without any narration of why the apology should be delivered, after the signing of peace agreement, the apology from the government looked vague even unclear. There had been long passed, not even for apologizing, a matter that gave sign to apologies would not be done, how the victims could forgive sincerely of

what they had experienced. Hence, do not be confused if some victims of conflict of those three tragedies would still have the intention to do something that had to do with conflict, because in the present, they preferred silence. They were far more exist in the era of conflict. In that time, at least they had job, even their jobs were to lift and fire the guns, but earning money to live their family.

The victims of conflict had asked enough, they just wanted the country confessed their mistakes and revealed the truth of real version even though it was difficult to be delivered by the country. Because it was often that the statement of truth uttered by the national apparatus with what had been expressed by the victims was very contrary. There would not be the same facts that occurred; all of them would claim each other of self-justification. Even though from several study of literatures that existed, the mistakes would tend to be on the side of the side that owned the power at that time, either GAM or TNI.

However, the authenticity of reconciliation would be pure if it was initiated by country. Someone who committed the violence for the first time must be brave becoming the pioneer to tat the future based on the truth. A logic request came from the group of humans that could not voice loudly because that voice had long been gone together with the loss of loves when the chaos attacked (now also chaotic). Whatever we wanted it or not, forced or not, country should immediately confess their mistakes for all crimes toward humans that remained along with lies.

There was no other way to begin the reconciliation for case, except by being initiated by the firm and sincere confession. The community of reconciliation that had been done by the departments or organizations moving in the sector of human rights enforcement could be the early information toward the country to collect all elements and official mechanisms that would be achieved. Country was guilty, and could not run from that. A great country could face the past by still doing the confession and revealing the truth. It was proved that there was the involvement of local elites and the country was the risk that should be accepted, if it was not like that, the condition of Aceh could never achieve the step of 'peace' or 'peacebuilding'. The agreement in 2005 just became the agreement for comfort, not peace. Since the era of comfort

would still create the other cruelties that were transformed from the brutality becoming 'soft violence'.

Reconciliation meant to restore, fix the broken pieces, that in fact could not be fixed just exactly like before, at least country as the main responsible side tried an effort of reconciliation through its confession, the reveal of truth and the beg for forgiveness to the people. A request that was simple, but very influential toward the condition post 2005, peace or comfort. A request that was simple, but echoing to entire world. The reconciliation that could be achieved for the case in Aceh and even the cases of violence once happened in other areas. Indeed, by admitting and confessing the bloody history, the frame of reconciliation little by little would express its real form, the shadows that had a real face.

The reconciliation became the way of peace to break the chain of conflict in the era post-conflict, reconciliation was not to forget the past, but to become the experience (to forgive and remember but not to forget). The conflict had become the social problems for lives of people. As the violence that was not only happened in the order of state and rebel, but also toward the society that had no relation with the politics. The victims of secondary violence were those who had the distance with something that became the matter of conflict. The society that did not know the problems but they became the most suffered object and being persecuted during the war was the main target from the program of reconciliation post-conflict in Aceh.<sup>85</sup>

The psychological wound was more hurt compared to the physical wound, because psychology was related to the *inner* of every individual. The *inner* here meant one thing that was invisible, yet could be felt by the personnel that experienced the trauma caused by something that was hurting, like war, cruelty and others. The healing toward the victims of conflict would not only do by the medic, but also done spiritually. Medical and spiritual treatment often fasten the healing of certain group

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<sup>85</sup>Teuku Kemal Pasya (October 25, 2017). *Mencari Model Rekonsiliasi Aceh*. Accessed on June 2, 2018, from Believe what you do, Do in what you believe: <https://kingagung.wordpress.com/2007/10/25/mencari-model-rekonsiliasi-aceh/>

of people experiencing trauma, although the healing could not be healed perfectly as before.

The self-healing was caused by the slow management of the government of Aceh itself. The slowness of the establishment of KKRA had caused the wounds for people of victims of conflict, healed without any treatment. It became dry by itself until the victims could not feel anything when they were faced to the discussion of conflict violence happened in the past. We could imagine that the illustration of one wound that was caused by the slice of knife or other sharp things that could hurt human's body, but that wounds were healed not by treatment, but through the long-time process of healing was done. In this case, there was no initiative from authority to push the reconciliation, but the society was encouraged by themselves to reconcile themselves through the time, not through the parties that had committed the violence against them.

To achieve forgiveness from victims that had been long-suffering due to state policy, so that country became the main actor that should go into the life of people and embraced them, asking for apologies upon them for repressive actions that they had once done until caused countless deaths savagely. Again, due to the long delay after the agreement, the organization of KKRA was formed. There were no hard feelings left in minds of the victims of conflicts. They had forgiven all the perpetrators by considering 'do not necessarily hope too much for country to begin apologizing'. Therefore, they would voluntarily forgive anyone that was guilty for their sorrows at that time. The victims of conflict in Aceh had formed themselves to become stronger individuals for what they had experienced directly or toward their families.

After the agreement was realized between GAM and Indonesian Republic, until today, there were still many unfinished homework, which became the responsible of the conflicted actors. The fulfillment of human basic needs that was disrupted during the war must be done to create a positive peace. It would have no more war, but the peace in which all people deserving their rights as human being; for instance, getting job, good education and other primary needs. However, that thing was not yet actualized maximally, while the agreement of peace

had been fourteen years since it was firstly declared on 15 of August 2005.

It was not necessarily when the agreement of peace had been through; all problems in the past were also resolved by themselves. Various kinds of inhumane actions and treatment carried out by the conflicting parties must be voiced again, not to bring up or bring back pain, but to be heard by the public, for the truth to be revealed to the surface. Many instruments should be rebuilt to create a positive peace during transition time. One of the most important instruments in building the foundation of peace was through reconciliation.

The people in society that became the victims of savage violence of conflict in Aceh had been framed by itself. A thought about how deal with the reconciliation or everything that related to the reconciliation. Since KKR was officially established, it was also followed by several organizations of human rights to collect the data, seeming like it would restore the condition as before. Frequently, the group of victims became the object. The violent object itself and the objects of data collection done by the institution that named them as the supporter of human rights enforcement. Under this circumstance, the victims became the victims treated by irresponsible parties.

Japan and North Korea until Argentina and Guatemala, and then to South Africa and Namibia, most countries worldwide had fought with the pieces of moral that had been left by the authoritarian regimes. The question was, "What had been done toward the perpetrators? The murderers and parties that exploited lives and cronies of dictators?" In those cases, the commission of truth had been officially established. In another side, sacrificing lives and personal bravery supported by the religionists to reveal these facts was continuously done. Giving name and well-deserved funeral for them buried by the savageness, identifying until doing the prosecution toward the perpetrators. This work was dangerous, but it was necessary for country to face the past before it was left behind and talking about how convincing it was to form the future.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>John J. Carroll, (1999). *Forgiving or Forgetting*. Osterval: Institute on Church and Social Issues/Life.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

#### A. Conclusion

A new hope, a new life seemed to have arrived at the same time as this historic Monday, the confusion and thicker mist of suffering seemed as if they had disappeared, disappeared and disappeared from the lives of the victims. With high hopes, they all walked towards a new page, a sheet that acknowledged that people in Aceh are true, and their existence is true. A dream that seemed to come true. A sincere comfort is felt by the survivors of the suffering provided by the state.

The immeasurable loss of the destruction of living buildings and inanimate buildings seemed replacing the presence of that historic Monday. The whole remnants of disappointment that were petrified and crystallized in the minds of those who were the targets of the anger of the men in uniform and armed, seemed to have no trace and replaced with a forgiveness to restore the harmony that once spread between fellow humans as messengers of goodness.

They were white collars, gathered at a table close to each other, joking and cheerfully pledging a promise of 'peace' with full reassurance and reassuring the people who witnessed it directly or indirectly. Two representatives face to face with the help of a person who gave way to the meeting, palms hugging each other, witnessed by millions of eyes around the world that war and violence in Aceh will be replaced by 'peace'. Ijab kabul is pronounced which means that GAM and Indonesia have married in an understanding of mutual trust, to form a new life based on true love.

The marriage bond that is knit between them is a promise to give birth to babies of kindness and peace in order to form a life that is truly alive and valuable. The pledge to live together and the promise to fix all the tangle of pasts and worries has been going on for more than a decade, but the invited victims have felt from the start that the bond of promise is not as sacred as the narratives. For more than a decade, there has been no birth of a virtue to fix all the stringy and scattered things when Aceh was hit by a very worrying war. Until now, the victims have

realized that in fact this historic Monday was nothing more than to expose and legalize the same lies in different circumstances.

The seeds of reconciliation, which should have been the first child born in the marriage, were on the contrary been shed many times, so that there is no reminder of the dark history of violence in Aceh. As a seed capable of forming peace, in the end he was born with a premature condition and had to fight tooth and nail to stay alive and bring about a creature called 'peace'. With the will and desire of the audience so that it can be carried out properly and with full honesty, the baby was repeatedly tried to be killed by the biological parents with neglect and other non-offensive regulations to restore the past.

Victims slowly begin to realize that they will continue to be victims. There is no peace between them in GAM's marriage to Indonesia. When they quarrel and flare up, it is the beginning of the innocent humans to become victims. However, when the two of them are married, they promise to live together in goodness, both joy and sorrow, nor does it change the status of the victims. Indeed there is peace, but it is only limited to those who declare it, it does not reach the community members who are swallowed up by violence.

Those who are disappointed then come with a certainty, it turns out that it is a shadow of unreal peace. The disappointment is irreplaceable but sits down and unites with the previous disappointment. They struggle to unite to create new sadness in a new era. Peace is not a simple thing, and it is not achieved and will never be achieved by simple means either. Obstacles and obstacles are a unity that will be faced for a peace. The price of a peace will not be paid simply by improving the present to shape the future. Past destruction is a priority that must be fixed in order to be able to repair the present and then create the future.

## **B. Suggestion**

The government of Aceh as the Illiberal Peacemaking must carry out its obligations based on an agreed understanding, and this had been legally legal in the constitutional law of the Republic of Indonesia. Post-war reconstruction did not only speak at the level of regional

infrastructure, but more importantly was the development of people themselves who were active victims of war. The Aceh government must be brave in maximizing the special regulations that it had to improve the human rights of war victims. It should not turn autonomy into a new political game, to make the victim continue to be a victim. Autonomy belonged to the community; there must be no conspiracy to collective autonomy; when that happens, it would act as a structural violence. It turns into a new form of violence that occurs after previous violence.

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### **Interviews**

Interview with TH (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 71 years old).

Interview with RK (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 65 years old).

Interview with S (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 61 years old).

Interview with ZY (January 1, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 60 years old).

Interview with Y (January 2, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 60 years old).

Interview with N (January 2, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 57 years old).

Interview with NJ (January 2, 2020) (woman, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 58 years old).

Interview with UH (January 3, 2020) (man, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 60 years old).

Interview with T (January 3, 2020) (man, direct victim of torture at *Rumoh Geudong*, 76 years old).

Interview with Y (January 4, 2020) (woman, the sister of victim of Irwansyah Bin Usman (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 56 years old).

Interview with A (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Nurdin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 60 years old).

Interview with R (January 4, 2020) (woman, the wife of Hasbi Shaleh (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 45, years old).

Interview with M (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Jamaluddin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 62 years old).

Interview with M (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Irwan bin Matsyah (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 64 years old).

Interview with N (January 4, 2020) (woman, the mother of Jailani Muhammad (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 66 years old).

Interview with M (January 5, 2020) (man, the father of Karimuddin Ibrahim (deceased), died in the tragedy in Idi Cut, 64 years old).

Interview with H (January 8, 2020) (woman, the child of Tgk. Mukminin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 16 years old).

Interview with J (January 8, 2020) (woman, the child of Amiruddin (deceased), died in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 26 years old).

Interview with Y (January 8, 2020) (woman, the child of Dola Adat(deceased), died and burned in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 28 years old).

Interview with J (January 8, 2020) (woman, the wife of Hasanuddin (deceased), dead victim of gunfire in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 31 years old).

Interview with M (January 8, 2020) (woman, the sister of Burahman (deceased), dead victim of gunfire in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 43 years old).

Interview with Z (January 8, 2020) (woman, the wife of Kasturi (deceased), dead victim of gunfire in the tragedy in Jambo Keupok, 49 years old).

Interview with W (January 5, 2020) (woman, one of the villagers at Bukit Dinding village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 38 years old).

Interview with AP (January 5, 2020) (man, the Head of village of Bukit Dinding village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 51 years old).

Interview with S (January 5, 2020) (man, the husband of Nuraini, one of the victims of gunshot from Bukit Dindingvillage, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 49 years old).

Interview with N (January 5, 2020) (woman, one of villagers of Julok subdistrict, East Aceh whose husband was shot to die by apparatus, 35 years old).

Interview with MD (January 5, 2020) (man, the victim of beating from forces. villager of Bukit Dindingvillage, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 42 years old).

Interview with M (January 5, 2020) (man, the one of the villagers of Bukit Dinding village, who experienced excess conflict, 28 years old).

Interview with D (January 5, 2020) (man, the head of Lhok Seuntang village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 53 years old).

Interview with ZF (January 5, 2020) (male, the secretary of Lhok Seuntang village, Julok subdistrict, East Aceh, 44 years old).

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

#### The Guidance of Interview

1. Bagaimana Pemerintah Aceh (*Illiberal Peacemaker*) dan Pemerintah Indonesia (*Liberal Peacemaker*) melakukan rekonstruksi pasca perang di Aceh ?
  - a. Apa yang bapak/ibu rasakan secara nyata setelah dilaksanakannya perjanjian damai dari tahun 2005 hingga saat ini ?
  - b. Apa makna perjanjian damai bagi bapak/ibu selaku korban aktif dari tragedi tersebut ?
  - c. Apakah bapak/ibu melihat Pemerintah bertanggung jawab atas apa yang mereka mulai ?
  - d. Selama hidup dalam pengharapan pada tanggung jawab negara, apakah bapak/ibu merasakan kekecewaan ?
2. Bagaimana rekonstruksi pasca perang bisa menyelesaikan masalah hak asasi para korban ?
  - a. Sebagai antropologis maupun sosiologis dalam sebuah organisasi negara, apakah hak dasar bapak/ibu mulai dikembalikan atau ditegakkan ?
  - b. Hak dasar apa selain hak untuk tidak diusik ketika perang, yang dirampas oleh mereka yang berperang dan hal tersebut harus menjadi program prioritas Pemerintah semenjak 2005
  - c. Bilapun ada, apa bentuk bantuan baik itu *materil giving* dan *moril giving* yang diberikan

Pemerintah secara berkesinambungan kepada bapak/ibu ?

- d. Saat ada pelaksanaan program-program yang memiliki korelasi dengan rekonstruksi, seperti rekonsiliasi yang difasilitasi oleh KKR Aceh, apakah hal itu bisa melerai beban yang bapak/ibu derita ?
3. Bagaimana nilai eksistensial para korban pada era rekonstruksi pasca perang ?
- a. Apakah bapak/ibu diakui keberadaannya saat ini ?
  - b. Apakah otonomi khusus yang didapat Aceh dari 2006 hingga saat ini sebagai akses pemulihan bagi bapak/ibu, atau hanya menjadi jalan yang semakin mengorbankan bapak/ibu ?
  - c. Pada peringatan hari perdamaian 15 Agustus setiap tahun dimulai tahun 2006 hingga saat ini, bagaimana bapak/ibu menanggapinya ?
  - d. Apakah ada keinginan bapak/ibu untuk melakukan perlawanan kembali ?

## Appendix 2

### Surat Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh

SURAT KEPUTUSAN REKTOR UIN AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH  
Nomor: 22/Un.08/R/Kp.00.4/01/2020

TENTANG

PELAKSANA DAN JUDUL PENERIMA PEMBIAYAAN PENELITIAN  
KLASTER PENELITIAN TERAPAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN NASIONAL  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH  
TAHUN ANGGARAN 2020

*BISMILLAHIRRAHMANIRRAHIM*

REKTOR UIN AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH,

- Meningkat :
- a. bahwa untuk menjamin kelancaran pelaksanaan kegiatan penelitian pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, maka dinilai perlu adanya penetapan Pelaksana dan Judul Penerima Pembiayaan Penelitian pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020 untuk Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional;
  - b. bahwa nama-nama pelaksana serta judul sebagaimana tercantum dalam Lampiran Surat Keputusan ini dinilai memenuhi syarat, tahapan, dan ketentuan untuk ditetapkan menjadi Pelaksana dan Judul Penerima Pembiayaan Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020;
  - c. bahwa berdasarkan pertimbangan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam huruf a dan huruf b, perlu menetapkan Surat Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh tentang Pelaksana dan Judul Penerima Pembiayaan Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020.
- Mengingat :
- 1. Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional;
  - 2. Undang-Undang Nomor 14 Tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen;
  - 3. Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2012 tentang Pendidikan Tinggi;
  - 4. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 37 Tahun 2009 tentang Dosen;
  - 5. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 4 Tahun 2014 tentang Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi;
  - 6. Peraturan Presiden RI Nomor 64 Tahun 2013, Tentang Perubahan IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Menjadi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
  - 7. Peraturan Menteri Agama RI Nomor 12 Tahun 2014, Tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
  - 8. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 55 Tahun 2014 tentang Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat;
  - 9. Peraturan Menteri Agama RI Nomor 21 Tahun 2015, Tentang Statuta Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
  - 10. Peraturan Menteri Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Nomor 44 Tahun 2015 tentang Standar Nasional Pendidikan Tinggi;
  - 11. Peraturan Menteri Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Nomor 20 Tahun 2018 Tentang Penelitian;
  - 12. Peraturan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 127/PMK.02/2019 tentang Standar Biaya Keluaran Tahun Anggaran 2020;
  - 13. Keputusan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 293/KMK. 05/2011 Tentang Penetapan Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ar Raniry Darussalam Banda Aceh Pada Kementerian Agama Sebagai Instansi Pemerintah Yang Menerapkan Pola Pengelolaan Keuangan Badan Layanan Umum;
  - 14. Peraturan Direktur Jenderal Perbendaharaan No. Per-7/PB/2019 Tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Direktur Jenderal Perbendaharaan No. Per-15/PB/2017 Tentang Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Pembayaran Anggaran Penelitian Berbasis Standar Biaya Keluaran Sub Keluaran Penelitian;
  - 15. Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Nomor 2952 Tahun 2017 Tentang Petunjuk Teknis Pembentukan Komite Penilaian dan/atau Reviewer dan Tata Cara Pelaksanaan Penilaian Penelitian Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam;
  - 16. Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Nomor 6994 Tahun 2018 Tentang Agenda Riset Keagamaan Nasional (ARKAN) 2018 – 2026;
  - 17. Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Nomor 702 Tahun 2019 Tentang Petunjuk

Page 1 of 2

- Teknis Pengelolaan Dana BOPTN Penelitian pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam;
18. Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Nomor 728 Tahun 2019 Tentang Penyelenggaraan dan Pengelolaan Portal Penelitian, Publikasi Ilmiah, dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat (LITAPDIMAS) Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam;
  19. Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Nomor 5 Tahun 2019 Tentang Tata Kelola dan Pelaksanaan Penelitian, Publikasi Ilmiah dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
  20. DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor : SP.DIPA 025.04.2.423925/2020, Tanggal 12 November 2019.

#### MEMUTUSKAN

- Menetapkan : Surat Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tentang Pelaksana dan Judul Penerima Pembiayaan Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020;
- Kesatu : Menetapkan Pelaksana dan Judul Penerima Pembiayaan Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020 sebagaimana tercantum dalam Lampiran yang merupakan bagian tidak terpisahkan dari Surat Keputusan ini;
- Kedua : Kepada Pelaksana dan Judul Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional sebagaimana tercantum dalam lampiran diberikan bantuan sebesar Rp. 125.000.000,- (*Seratus Dua Puluh Lima Juta Rupiah*);
- Ketiga : Pelaksanaan kegiatan Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020 dilaksanakan mulai Tanggal 13 Januari s.d 10 Juli 2020;
- Keempat : Dalam melaksanakan kegiatan, Pelaksana Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional pada UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020 bertanggungjawab kepada Kepala Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan (Puslitpen) LP2M UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
- Kelima : Pelaksana Penelitian wajib menghasilkan *output* serta *outcome* sesuai dengan ketentuan yang berlaku pada Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional yang selanjutnya dituangkan dalam Surat Perjanjian Penugasan Pelaksanaan kegiatan;
- Keenam : Semua pembiayaan sebagai akibat dari dikeluarkannya Surat Keputusan ini dibebankan kepada DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020;
- Ketujuh : Surat Keputusan ini mulai berlaku sejak tanggal ditetapkan, dengan ketentuan apabila di kemudian hari terdapat kekeliruan dalam Keputusan ini, maka akan diubah dan diperbaiki sebagaimana mestinya.

Ditetapkan di : Banda Aceh  
Pada tanggal : 8 Januari 2020

REKTOR,

  
P. I. WARUL WALIDIN AK

#### Tembusan :

1. Sekretaris Jenderal Kementerian Agama RI di Jakarta;
2. Dirjen Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI di Jakarta;
3. Direktur Pendidikan Tinggi Islam Kementerian Agama RI di Jakarta;
4. Kepala Biro Kepegawaian Kementerian Agama RI di Jakarta;
5. Dekan-Dekan Fakultas dalam Lingkungan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
6. Ketua LP2M UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
7. Kepala Kantor Pelayanan Perbandeheraan Negara di Banda Aceh;
8. Kepala Bagian Keuangan dan Akuntansi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
9. Yang bersangkutan untuk dimaklumi dan dilaksanakan.

Lampiran Surat Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh  
 Nomor: 22/Ua.08/R/Kp.00.4/01/2020 Tanggal: 8 Januari 2020  
 Tentang

Penetapan Pelaksanaan Perencanaan Penbiayaan Penelitian Kluster Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional  
 Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Tahun Anggaran 2020

No	No. Registrasi	Judul Penelitian	Pelaksana	Fakultas	Ket.
1	20111000029256	Transformasi Kurikulum Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Berbasis KK3H dalam Pengembangan Mutu Pendidikan	Dr. Saifulah, M.Ag. (KETUA) Dr. Fikri Sulaiman Ismail (Anggota)	Tarbiyah dan Keguruan	
2	20111000038191	Penelitian Bagi Hasil pada Penggarapan Sawah dalam Adat dan Tradisi Masyarakat Tani dalam Upaya Pengentasan Kemiskinan (Analisis Adat Tani Aceh, dan Sunda)	Dr. Muhammad Maulana, S. Ag., M. Ag. (KETUA) Aulif Amri, S.HI., MH (Anggota)	Syariah dan Hukum	
3	20111000040741	Formative Analysis Islamic Analysis in The Era of Disruption and Its Relationship Toward Students' Attitude	Zahaidah (KETUA) Sarniya, S.Ag. M. Pd (Anggota)	Adab dan Humaniora	
4	20111000030280	The Impact of Bullying On Students' Academic Achievement At State Islamic Universities in Indonesia	Safini Mutuk (KETUA) Saiful Akmal (Anggota) Habiburrahim, M.S., Ph.D (Anggota) Syarifah Dahliana (Anggota)	Tarbiyah dan Keguruan	
5	20111000032167	Implementasi Revolusi Mental pada Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri dan Muhammadiyah di Indonesia	Prof. Dr. Warul Walidin AK, MA (KETUA) Imran, M. Ag (Anggota)	Tarbiyah dan Keguruan	
6	20111000039826	Legislasi Qumum Hukum Keluarga (Ahwal Al-ahkiyah) (Analisis Metode Penalaran Hukum Islam Dalam Proses Taqin di Aceh)	Dr. Jailani, S.Ag., M.Ag (KETUA) Fakhrurrazi M. Yumus, Lc., MA (Anggota)	Tarbiyah dan Keguruan	
7	20111000039071	Efektifitas Dan Keunggulan Sistem Informasi Manajemen Badan Amil Zakat Nasional (SIMBAZNAS) (Studi Kasus di Propinsi Aceh dan Nusa Tenggara Barat)	Dr. Armiadi, S.Ag., M.A. (KETUA) Nazaruddin A Wahid (Anggota)	Syariah dan Hukum	

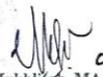
No	No. Registrasi	Judul Penelitian	Pelaksana	Fakultas	Ket.
8	20111000038073	Analisis Stabilitas dan Kinerja Penbiayaan pada Industri Perbankan Syariah Nasional (Analisis Pengaruh Kebijakan Moneter terhadap Pertumbuhan Syariah Nasional)	Bismi Khalidin (KETUA) Nahara Eriyanti (Anggota)	Syariah dan Hukum	
9	20111000033922	Game PUIG dan Dampaknya terhadap Perkembangan Spiritualitas Generasi Milenial Indonesia (Tinjauan tentang Fatwa MPU Aceh dan MUI Pusat)	Dr. Mukhibuthaby, M. Ag (KETUA) Abdullah Sani (Anggota)	Tarbiyah dan Keguruan	
10	20111000035706	Evolusi Penumbuhan Gelombang Melalui Analisis Semi Analitik Orde Tinggi Persamaan KdV pada Pembangkit Gelombang Ekstrem	Budi Azhari, M.Pd. (KETUA) Vina Apriliani (Anggota)	Sains dan Teknologi	
11	20111000031011	Implementasi Program Beasiswa Tahfiz Al-Qur'an di Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam (PTKI)	Dr. Syabuddin, M. Ag (KETUA) Fajriah (Anggota)	Pascasarjana	
12	20111000029054	Era Revolusi Industri 4.0: Tantangan dan Peluang PTKIN di Indonesia	Dr. Muhammad AR, M. Ed (KETUA) Subaini (Anggota)	Pascasarjana	
13	20111000035768	Post-War Reconstruction (a Case Study of Violence Tragedy in Jambu Krapok, South Aceh; Krueang Arakandoe, East Aceh; and Simpang KKA, North Aceh)	Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, MSc, MA (KETUA) Abdul Hadi (Anggota)	Adab dan Humaniora	
14	20111000036385	Pengaruh Etos Kerja Masyarakat Desa dalam Pemanfaatan Sumbah Dupa Alam (Studi di Desa Lancuota Kecamatan Seulimeum Aceh Besar dan Desa Silalahi Kecamatan Silahisabungan Kabupaten Dairi Provinsi Sumatera Utara)	Fanziah Nurdin (KETUA) Maimunah (Anggota)	Adab dan Humaniora	

Rektor,

  
 Warul Walidin AK

## Appendix 3

### Surat Tugas Penelitian

	<p>KEMENTERIAN AGAMA UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH Jl. Syekh Abdurauf Kopelma Darussalam Banda Aceh Telp/fax : 0651-7552921 Situs : <a href="http://www.ar-raniry.ac.id">www.ar-raniry.ac.id</a> E-mail: <a href="mailto:humas@gmail.com">humas@gmail.com</a></p>
<b>SURAT TUGAS</b> Nomor : 198/Un.08/LP2M/kp.01.2/01/2020	
Menimbang	<p>a. bahwa dalam rangka kegiatan Penelitian Terapan dan Pengembangan Nasional, maka perlu adanya penugasan untuk kegiatan tersebut;</p> <p>b. bahwa berdasarkan pertimbangan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam huruf a, nama tercantum dalam surat tugas, mampu dan cakap untuk melaksanakan tugas sebagaimana dimaksud;</p>
Dasar	<p>: 1. Peraturan Menteri Agama RI No. 12 Tahun 2014, tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh. 2. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 21 Tahun 2015 tentang Statuta UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh; 3. PMK Nomor 113 Tahun 2012 tentang Perjalanan Dinas 4. DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor : SP DIPA 025.04.2.423925/2020, Tanggal 12 Nopember 2019</p>
<b>Memberi Tugas</b>	
Kepada :	<p>1. Nama : Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, MSc, MA NIP : 197206212003121002 Pangkat/Golongan : Lektor/III/d</p>
Tujuan	: Aceh Utara dan Aceh Timur, yang dilaksanakan pada tanggal 19 s/d 22 Februari 2020
Untuk	: Kegiatan Penelitian dengan Judul "Post-war Reconstruction (a Case Study of Violence Tragedy in Jambo Keupok, South Aceh; Krueng Arakundoe, East Aceh; and Simpang Kka; North Aceh)".
Selesai melaksanakan tugas segera menyampaikan laporan kepada pemberi tugas sesuai ketentuan.	
<p>Banda Aceh, 23 Januari 2020 Ketua,  Dr. Mukhlis, MA</p>	
Tembusan :	
1. Kabag. Keuangan dan Akuntansi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh; 2. Kabag. Organisasi dan Kepegawaian UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.	

Lampiran I  
 PERATURAN MENTERI KEUANGAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA  
 NOMOR 113/PMK/09/2012  
 TENTANG  
 PERJALANAN DINAS JABATAN DALAM NEGERI BAGI PEJABAT  
 NEGARA, PEGAWAI NEGERI, DAN PEGAWAI TIDAK TETAP

MENTERI KEUANGAN  
 REPUBLIK INDONESIA

KEMENTERIAN AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA  
 DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENDIDIKAN ISLAM  
 UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY  
 BANDA ACEH

Lembar ke :  
 Kode No :  
 Nomor : 199/Un.08/LP2M/ko.01.2/01/2020

**SURAT PERJALANAN DINAS (SPD)**

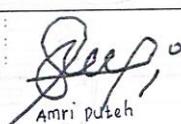
1.	Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen	Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh	
2.	Nama / NIP pegawai yang melaksanakan perjalanan dinas	Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, MSc, MA 197206212003121002	
3.	a. Pangkat dan Golongan b. Jabatan / Instansi c. Tingkat Biaya Perjalanan Dinas	a. Lektor/III/d b. Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora c. =C =	
4.	Maksud Perjalanan Dinas	Untuk melaksanakan Penelitian Post-war Reconstruction (a Case Study of Violence Tragedy in Jambo Keupok, South Aceh; Krueng Arakundoe, East Aceh; and Simpang Kka, North Aceh)	
5.	Alat angkutan yang digunakan	Darat	
6.	a. Tempat berangkat b. Tempat tujuan	a. Banda Aceh b. Aceh Utara dan Aceh Timur	
7.	a. Lamanya perjalanan dinas b. Tanggal berangkat c. Tanggal harus kembali / tiba di tempat baru *)	a. 4 (empat) hari b. 19 Februari 2020 c. 22 Februari 2020	
	Pengikut : Nama	Tanggal Lahir	Keterangan
8.	1. Abdul Hadi 2. - 3. -		
9.	a. Instansi b. Akun	DIPA UIN Ar - Raniry Banda Aceh	
10.	Keterangan lain-lain		

Coret yang tidak perlu

Dikeluarkan di Banda Aceh  
 Tanggal : 23 Januari 2020  
 Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen

Nurasiah

MENTERI KEUANGAN  
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

	<p>I. Berangkat dari : Banda Aceh (tempat kedudukan) Ke : Aceh Utara dan Aceh Timur Pada Tanggal : 19 Februari 2020 an, Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Ketua LP2M  Dr. Mukhlisah, MA NIP. 197609012007102001</p>
<p>II. Tiba di : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p> 	<p>Berangkat dari : Ke : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p> 
<p>III. Tiba di : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p> 	<p>Berangkat dari : Ke : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p> 
<p>IV. Tiba di : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p> 	<p>Berangkat dari : Ke : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p> 
<p>V. Tiba kembali di : Banda Aceh (tempat kedudukan) Pada Tanggal : 22 Februari 2020  Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen  Nurasiah</p>	<p>Telah diperiksa dengan keterangan bahwa perjalanan tersebut di atas benar dilakukan atas perintahnya dan semata-mata untuk kepentingan jabatan dalam waktu yang sesingkat-singkatnya. Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen  Nurasiah</p>
<p>VI. Catatan lain-lain</p>	
<p>VII. PERHATIAN : PPK yang menerbitkan SPD, pegawai yang melakukan perjalanan dinas, para pejabat yang mengesahkan tanggal berangkat/tiba, serta bendahara pengeluaran bertanggung jawab berdasarkan peraturan Keuangan Negara, apabila negara menderita rugi akibat kesalahan, kelalaian, dan kealpaannya.</p>	

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY



### BIODATA PENELITI PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENERBITAN LP2M UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH

#### A. Identitas Diri

1.	Nama Lengkap <i>(dengan gelar)</i>	<b>Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, MSc, MA.</b>
2.	Jenis Kelamin L/P	Laki-laki
3.	Jabatan Fungsional	Lektor Kepala
4.	NIP	-
5.	NIDN	2021067201
6.	NIPN <i>(ID Peneliti)</i>	197206212003121002
7.	Tempat dan Tanggal Lahir	Alurambut
8.	E-mail	abdul.manan@ar-raniry.ac.id
9.	Nomor Telepon/HP	085276587863
10.	Alamat Kantor	Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora UIN Ar-Raniry
11.	Nomor Telepon/Faks	-
12.	Bidang Ilmu	Antropologi
13.	Program Studi	Etnologi
14.	Fakultas	Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora

#### B. Riwayat Pendidikan

No.	Uraian	S1	S2	S3
1.	Nama Perguruan Tinggi	IAIN Ar-Raniry	Universitas Twente, Belanda Universitas Leiden, Belanda	Universitas Muenster, German
2.	Kota dan Negara PT	Banda Aceh/ Indonesia	Enschede, Belanda Leiden, Belanda	Muenster, Jerman
3.	Bidang Ilmu/ Program Studi	Bahasa Inggris	Pendidikan Teknologi	Etnologi

			Islamic Studies	
4.	Tahun Lulus	2007	2001 dan 2003	2010

### C. Pengalaman Penelitian dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Tahun	Judul Penelitian	Sumber Dana
1.	2017	Evaluating Paper-based TOEFL Preparation Program Using the Context, Input, Process, and Product (CIPP) Model	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh
2.	2018	Banda Aceh As A Civilized City Model: Theory and Reality Study	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh
3.	2019	Halal Tourism: A Proposed Model for Implementation (An Evaluation Based on Halal Tourism in Aceh, Indonesia)	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh
4.	2020	<i>POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION</i> (Studi Kasus Kekerasan Pada Tragedi Jambo Keupok Aceh Selatan, <i>Krueng Arakundoe</i> Aceh Timur dan Simpang KKA Aceh Utara )	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh

### D. Pengalaman Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Tahun	Judul Pengabdian	Sumber Dana
1.	-	-	-
2.			
3.			
dst.			

### E. Publikasi Artikel Ilmiah dalam Jurnal dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul Artikel Ilmiah	Nama Jurnal	Volume/Nomor/ Tahun/Url
1.	Evaluating Paper-based TOEFL Preparation Program Using the Context, Input, Process, and Product (CIPP) Model	Studies in English Language and Education (SiELE) Journal (SCOPUS)	Vol 7 (2), 342-355, 2020. <a href="http://jurnal.unsyiah.ac.id/SiELE/article/view/16467">http://jurnal.unsyiah.ac.id/SiELE/article/view/16467</a>

2.	Banda Aceh As A Civilized City Model: A Theory and Reality Study (WoS)	SCAD Independent	Vol. 8, No. 2, May 2020. <a href="https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jip euradeun/article/view/489">https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jip euradeun/article/view/489</a>
3.	Islamic Educational Values in Life-Cycle Rituals: An Ethnographic Study in Kluet Timur Community, Aceh, Indonesia.” in Global Perspectives on Teaching and Learning Paths in Islamic Education	Pennsylvania, PA: IGI Global.	tahun 2020. <a href="https://www.igi-global.com/chapter/islamic-educational-values-in-life-cycle-rituals/234915">https://www.igi-global.com/chapter/islamic-educational-values-in-life-cycle-rituals/234915</a>
4.	Swear Words Used by Coastal People of Pidie Aceh	Studies in English Language and Education (SiELE) Journal.	terbit tahun 2019, <a href="http://jurnal.unsyiah.ac.id/SiELE/article/view/13886">http://jurnal.unsyiah.ac.id/SiELE/article/view/13886</a>
5.	Historical Development of Tax during the early Islamic Period: Jizyah and Kharaj (A Historical Analysis)	Jurnal Al Tamaddun (SCOPUS)	Vol. 14 No. 2. 2019 (Scopus). <a href="https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JAT/article/view/10832">https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JAT/article/view/10832</a>
6.	The Morphology of Rencong Aceh in the Museum of Aceh	Journal IBDA’	Vol. 17. No.2 Oktober 2019. <a href="http://ejournal.iainpurwokerto.ac.id/index.php/ibda/article/view/2941">http://ejournal.iainpurwokerto.ac.id/index.php/ibda/article/view/2941</a>
7.	The Ritual of First Infant Bathing in Aceh: An Ethnographic Study in West Labuhan Haji, South Aceh	Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies	Vol. 3 No.2 July-December 2019. <a href="http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/JCIMS/article/view/5466">http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/JCIMS/article/view/5466</a>
8.	Cultural Tradition in Death Rituals within the	Miqot Journal	<a href="http://jurnalmiqotojs.uinsu.ac.id">http://jurnalmiqotojs.uinsu.ac.id</a>

	Community of Pidie, Aceh-Indonesia		/index.php/jurnalimiqot/article/view/670 Vol.43 No. 1 January-June 2019).
9.	The Influence of Tarekat Syattariyah towards Political and Social Aspects in the Regency of Nagan Raya, Aceh-Indonesia	International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR). India,	<a href="http://www.journalijar.com/article/18537/the-influence-of-tarekat-syattariyah-toward-political-and-social-aspects-in-the-regency-of-nagan-raya-aceh-indonesia/">http://www.journalijar.com/article/18537/the-influence-of-tarekat-syattariyah-toward-political-and-social-aspects-in-the-regency-of-nagan-raya-aceh-indonesia/</a> Vol. 5, No. 7. July 2017, pp: 258-267
10	The Ritual Calendar of South Aceh, Indonesia	Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun-International Multidisciplinary Journal.	<a href="https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/120">https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/120</a> Vol. 5, No. I. January 2017, pp: 59-76.

#### F. Karya Buku dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul Buku	Tahun	Tebal Halaman	Penerbit
1.	Pengantar Konflik Aliran Sunni Syi'ah dalam Sejarah Islam (Studi Deskriptif Analisis pada Kerajaan Usmaniyah dan Safawiyah)	2020	136	Bandar Publishing
2.	Mahathir Muhammad & Aceh	2019	82	Bandar Publishing

3.	Samadiyah dalam Studi Etnografi,	2018	122	Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya Banda Aceh
4.	Alfian Ibrahim: The Conceptor of Higher Education from West Coast of Aceh,	2017	120	Bandar Publishing
5.	Teungku Inong & Tradisi "Pengajian di Aceh	2017	115	Lembaga Naskah Aceh (NASA).
6.	Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Dalam Ritual Daur Hidup Kluet Timur, Aceh Selatan	2016	145	Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya Banda Aceh
7.	The Ritual Calendar of South Aceh, Indonesia	2015	335	Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster, Reihe X, Band 22, MV-Verlag-Germany.
8.	Syari'at Islam di Aceh (Realitas dan Respon Masyarakat)	2014	115	Ar-Raniry Press
9.	Ritual Kalender Aneuk Jamee di Aceh Selatan (Vol II)	2013	136	Ar-Raniry Press
10.	Ritual Kalender Aneuk Jamee di Aceh Selatan (Vol I)	2012	126	Ar-Raniry Press

### G. Perolehan HKI dalam 10 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul/Tema HKI	Tahun	Jenis	Nomor P/ID
1.	Public Responses Toward The Sufi Tenet Of Syekh Amran Wali and Al Jilli Sufism ( A Study of Public Responses Within Northern and Eastern Area of Aceh Toward MPTT and Rateb Siribee)	2019	Laporan Penelitian	EC0020197 7784

2.	Evaluating Paper-based TOEFL Preparation Program Using the Context, Input, Process, and Product (CIPP) Model	2020	Laporan Penelitian	EC0020203 2080
3.	Cultural Tradition in Death Rituals within the Community of Pidie,	2020	Artikel pada Jurnal	EC0020201 0894

Demikian biodata ini saya buat dengan sebenarnya.

Banda Aceh, 21 September 2020  
Ketua Peneliti,



**Dr. Phil. Abdul Manan, M.Sc, MA.**  
NIDN. 2021067201



**BIODATA PENGUSUL  
PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENERBITAN LP2M  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH**

**A. Identitas Diri**

1.	Nama Lengkap <i>(dengan gelar)</i>	<b>Iping Rahmat Saputra, S.IP., M.Sc.</b>
2.	Jenis Kelamin L/P	Laki-laki
3.	Jabatan Fungsional	Dosen
4.	NIP	-
5.	NIDN	1302059101
6.	NIPN <i>(ID Peneliti)</i>	-
7.	Tempat dan Tanggal Lahir	Desa Pundi Matangkuli, 02 Mei 1991
8.	E-mail	iping_rahmat@yahoo.com.
9.	Nomor Telepon/HP	085260546054
10.	Alamat Kantor	UIN Ar Raniry Banda Aceh
11.	Nomor Telepon/Faks	-
12.	Bidang Ilmu	Resolusi Konflik
13.	Program Studi	Hukum Tata Negara
14.	Fakultas	Syariah dan Hukum

**B. Riwayat Pendidikan**

No.	Uraian	S1	S2	S3
1.	Nama Perguruan Tinggi	Universitas Syiah Kuala	Universitas Gadjah Mada	
2.	Kota dan Negara PT	Banda Aceh, Indonesia	Jogjakarta, Indonesia	
3.	Bidang Ilmu/ Program Studi	Ilmu Politik	Ilmu Resolusi Konflik	
4.	Tahun Lulus	2014	2018	

**C. Pengalaman Penelitian dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir**

No.	Tahun	Judul Penelitian	Sumber Dana
1.	2019	Post War Reconstruction : Studi Kasus Kekerasan Pada Tragedi Jambo	Kementrian Agama

		Keupok Aceh Selatan, Krueang Arakundoe Aceh Timur dan Simpang KKA Aceh Utara	
2.	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-
dst.	-	-	-

**D. Pengalaman Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir**

No.	Tahun	Judul Pengabdian	Sumber Dana
1.	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-
dst.	-	-	-

**E. Publikasi Artikel Ilmiah dalam Jurnal dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir**

No.	Judul Artikel Ilmiah	Nama Jurnal	Volume/Nomor/Tahun/Url
1.	Role Optimization of Indigenous Institutions for Case of Violence Against Women and Children (Analysis Study in Aceh and Padang Provinces)	Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal) : Humanities	Vol 1, No 4 (2018)
2.	-	-	-
dst.	-	-	-

**F. Karya Buku dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir**

No.	Judul Buku	Tahun	Tebal Halaman	Penerbit
1.	Mapping Conflict Aceh Dalam Persepektif Multidisiplin	2019	169	Samudra Biru
dst.				

### G. Perolehan HKI dalam 10 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul/Tema HKI	Tahun	Jenis	Nomor P/ID
1.		2018	Hak Kekayaan Intelektual	EC00201853258
2.				
dst.				

Semua data yang saya isikan dan tercantum dalam biodata ini adalah benar dan dapat dipertanggungjawabkan secara hukum. Apabila di kemudian hari ternyata dijumpai ketidaksesuaian dengan kenyataan, saya sanggup menerima sanksi.

Demikian biodata ini saya buat dengan sebenarnya untuk memenuhi salah satu persyaratan dalam pengajuan Penugasan Penelitian pada Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan LP2M Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.

Banda Aceh,  
Anggota Peneliti,

**Iping Rahmat Saputra, S.IP., M.Sc.**  
NIDN. 1302059101



**BIODATA PENGUSUL  
PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENERBITAN LP2M  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH**

**A. Identitas Diri**

1.	Nama Lengkap <i>(dengan gelar)</i>	<b>Dr. Abdul Hadi, MA</b>
2.	Jenis Kelamin L/P	Laki-laki
3.	Jabatan Fungsional	Lektor
4.	NIP	-
5.	NIDN	2129068201
6.	NIPN <i>(ID Peneliti)</i>	100001200108002
7.	Tempat dan Tanggal Lahir	Nangroe Timu, 29 Juli 1982
8.	E-mail	abdulhadiys@gmail.com
9.	Nomor Telepon/HP	081263369833
10.	Alamat Kantor	
11.	Nomor Telepon/Faks	
12.	Bidang Ilmu	Pendidikan Agama Islam
13.	Program Studi	Pendidikan Agama Islam
14.	Fakultas	Tarbiyah

**B. Riwayat Pendidikan**

No.	Uraian	S1	S2	S3
1.	Nama Perguruan Tinggi	IAIN Ar-Raniry	IAIN Ar-Raniry	UIN Ar-Raniry
2.	Kota dan Negara PT	Banda Aceh/ Indonesia	Banda Aceh/ Indonesia	Banda Aceh/ Indonesia
3.	Bidang Ilmu/ Program Studi	Bahasa Arab	Kependidikan Islam	Pendidikan Agama Isla
4.	Tahun Lulus	2017	2009	2017

### C. Pengalaman Penelitian dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Tahun	Judul Penelitian	Sumber Dana
1.	2017	Model Pembelajaran Berbasis Jeder dan Implikasinya terhadap Proses pembelajaran	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh
2.	2019	Respon Masyarakat Aceh terhadap tasawuf abu amran dan rateb siribe	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh
3.	2020	<i>POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION</i> (Studi Kasus Kekerasan Pada Tragedi Jambo Keupok Aceh Selatan, <i>Krueng Arakundoe</i> Aceh Timur dan Simpang KKA Aceh Utara )	Puslit UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh

### D. Pengalaman Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Tahun	Judul Pengabdian	Sumber Dana
1.	2018	Sebagai pemateri dalam Pelatihan Positif Parenting berlandaskan nilai-nilai Islam dan Kearifan Lokal terhadap pemkab dan penyelenggara pendidikan PAUD se Kab Aceh tengah	APBA
2.	2018	Sebagai pemateri dalam Pelatihan Positif Parenting berlandaskan nilai-nilai Islam dan Kearifan Lokal terhadap pemkab dan penyelenggara pendidikan PAUD se Kab Aceh Barat	APBA
3.	2019	Pemateri pada Majelis Ta'lim STAI Tgk Chik Pante Kulu Banda Aceh	STAI Tgk Chik Pante Kulu Banda Aceh

### E. Publikasi Artikel Ilmiah dalam Jurnal dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul Artikel Ilmiah	Nama Jurnal	Volume/Nomor/Tahun/Url
1.	Dinamika Sistem Institusi Pendidikan Di Aceh	SCAD Independen	Edisi September 2014, <a href="http://journal.scadindex.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/48">http://journal.scadindex.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/48</a>

2.	The Internalization Of Local Wisdom Value In Dayah Educational Institution	SCAD Independen	Edisi Mei tahun 2017, <a href="http://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/128">http://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/128</a>
3.	Dimensi Pendidikan Islam (analisis terhadap Konsep Al-Nas, Al- Basyar, dan Al-Insan dalam Al-Qur'an)	Jurnal Sintesa	tahun 2014, <a href="https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3462/">https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3462/</a>
4.	Ketokohan Tgk Muhammad Daud Beureueh	Jurnal Sintesa penerbit Kopertais Wil. V Aceh	terbit tahun 2015, <a href="https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3767/">https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3767/</a>
5.	Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Akidah Akhlak	Jurnal Mimbar Akademika	tahun 2016, <a href="http://mimbarakademika.com/index.php/jma/article/view/01">http://mimbarakademika.com/index.php/jma/article/view/01</a>
6.	Pengaruh Pembelajaran Akhlak Dalam Pembentukan Prilaku Siswa	Jurnal Mimbar Akademika	Vol. 1 No. 2 tahun 2016, <a href="http://mimbarakademika.com/index.php/jma/article/view/06">http://mimbarakademika.com/index.php/jma/article/view/06</a>
7.	Metode Pengajaran Akidah Akhlak	Jurnal Mimbar Akademika	tahun 2016, <a href="http://mimbarakademika.com/index.php/jma/article/view/11">http://mimbarakademika.com/index.php/jma/article/view/11</a>
8.	Strategi Implementasi Kode Etik Mahasiswa FTK UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh	Jurnal Intelektualita , Penerbit Prodi MPI FTK UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh	Tahun 2015, <a href="https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3766/">https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3766/</a>
9.	Eksistensi Lembaga Pendidikan Dayah dalam Ekskalasi Politik Bangsa	Jurnal Al Ijtima'i Fakultas Fisip UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh	Tahun 2017, <a href="https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3657/">https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/3657/</a>
10	Pola Hubungan Guru-Murid Dalam Al-Quran (kajian terhadap konsep sabar)	Jurnal Mimbar Akademika	Vol. 2 No. 1 Edisi Juli-Desember 2017,

			<a href="http://mimbarakademi.ka.com/index.php/jma/article/view/23">http://mimbarakademi.ka.com/index.php/jma/article/view/23</a>
11	Nilai Edukatif Dalam Pelaksanaan Shalat Ber Jama'ah	Jurnal Mimbar Akademika	Vol. 2 No. 2 edisi Juli-Desember 2017, <a href="http://mimbarakademi.ka.com/index.php/jma/article/view/34">http://mimbarakademi.ka.com/index.php/jma/article/view/34</a>

#### F. Karya Buku dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul Buku	Tahun	Tebal Halaman	Penerbit
1.				

#### G. Perolehan HKI dalam 10 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul/Tema HKI	Tahun	Jenis	Nomor P/ID
1.	Public Responses Toward The Sufi Tenet Of Syekh Amran Wali and Al Jilli Sufism ( A Study of Public Responses Within Northern and Eastern Area of Aceh Toward MPTT and Rateb Siribee)	2019	Laporan Penelitian	EC00201977784

Semua data yang saya isikan dan tercantum dalam biodata ini adalah benar dan dapat dipertanggungjawabkan secara hukum. Apabila di kemudian hari ternyata dijumpai ketidaksesuaian dengan kenyataan, saya sanggup menerima sanksi.

Demikian biodata ini saya buat dengan sebenarnya untuk memenuhi salah satu persyaratan dalam pengajuan Penugasan Penelitian pada Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan LP2M Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.

Banda Aceh, 23 Juli 2020  
Anggota Peneliti,

**Dr. Abdul Hadi, MA**  
NIDN. 2129068201