

POLITICS OF IDENTITY ON GREAT 212'S REUNION

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Abstract

Action 212 and Great 212's reunion were often discussed as a phenomenon of Muslims in Indonesia nowadays. Various labeling arose from Islamic identity politics in Indonesia, the rise of Muslims in Indonesia, even the manifestation of transnationalism in global politics. This paper aims to understand the real phenomenon of the emergence of action 212 that are not static, and continue to take a role in political government in Indonesia which is considered less than optimal in implementing rule of law in legal law in Indonesia. Pancasila democracy was the main foundation in assessing the reunion action that was held several months ago, so that there was relevance between the Grand Reunion movement 212 and the Pancasila ideology as the fundamental basis of Indonesia.

Keywords: Action 212; Grand Reunion 212; Politics of Identity; Muslims; Transnationalism

Abstrak

Aksi 212 dan reuni Akbar 212 menjadi hangat dibicarakan sebagai fenomena umat Islam di Indonesia saat ini. Berbagai pelabelan muncul dari politik identitas Islam di Indonesia, bangkitnya umat Islam di Indonesia, bahkan wujud dari Transnasionalisme dalam politik global. Tulisan ini berupaya untuk memahami fenomena sebenarnya atas munculnya gerakan aksi 212 yang tidak statis, dan terus bergerak mengambil peran dalam politik pemerintahan di Indonesia yang dinilai kurang

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optimal dalam mengimplementasikan rule of law dalam legal hukum di Indonesia. Demokrasi Pancasila menjadi landasan utama dalam menilai aksi reuni yang digelar beberapa bulan silam, sehingga terjadi relevansi antara gerakan Reuni Akbar 212 dengan ideologi Pancasila sebagai dasar fundamental negara Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Aksi 212; Reuni Akbar 212; Politik Identitas; Umat Islam; Transnasionalisme

Introduction

Dates back from the First Islamic Defendant Action movement on October 14 2016, then continued to the Islamic Defending Action II on November 4, 2016 or referred as the 411 action. It did not finish there, the third Islamic Defendant Action was repeatedly occurred on 2nd December 2016, which then continued to Islamic Defending Action on March 31 2017 which all have the same background are suing government to process and prosecute religious offenders, who at that time served as head of capital region. The actions were induced by a statement of incumbent in the DKI regional election contest, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in Seribu Island on September 27 2017 which was later considered a desecration of Al Qur'an, an insult to the scholars, as well as an offense to Muslims (Abdullah, 2017: 204).

GNPF-MUI as organizer and mobilizer of Islamic defense action, expressed its notion about the desecration of religion and scholars in the Governor's sentence on Surah Al-Maidah verse 51, that, (1) Ahok has humiliated *ulama* as someone who deceives the people by using verses of Al-Qur'an concerning the leadership of Muslims, (2) Ahok has insulted Al-Qur'an, especially QS. Al-Maidah verse 51 which according to him was used by the scholars only to achieve his political interests (Pamungkas & Oktaviani, 2017: 67). But the issue of defamation is actually a long tail of intolerance cases, inter-ethnic-religious conflicts, violent conflicts in the name of religion (Wildan, 2016: 189), legal injustices that are felt blunted above and only sharply downward, and other conflicts which eventually become a time bomb in the case of Basuki Tjahaja Utama who was then officiate as governor of DKI Jakarta. The accumulation of these events which culminated in the blasphemy of Al Qur'an by

him, turned out to mobilize Muslims moving in unison to demand justice against the government. This gave birth to the *Bela Islam* Action which continued to guard the accretions they submitted, to be realized immediately.

The act of defending Islam on February 21 2017 is a continuation of the 411 Islamic defense action that carries 3 main demands, as Bernard told to sindonews reporters the day before the action was held. The three demands are, (1) that the DPR / MPR immediately cast their rights to the President or Minister of Home Affairs to temporarily dismiss Ahok from his position as Governor of DKI because they have been designated as defamation suspects according to the applicable law, (2) Prosecute the government to stop criminalization of *ulama* that frequently occurs in several regions, due to the large number of scholars being processed by the law without clear reasons, and (3) Expecting the DPR / MPR to take quick steps in efforts to fulfill these claims (Sindonews, 20 Februari 2017).

Following on from the 212 action on December 2, 2016, action 212 appeared on February 21, 2017 and Action 313 on March 31, 2017. Action 313 more specifically carried out three main demands as revealed in the press release one day before the action was held, those are (1) Accused of Al-Qur'an (Basuki Tjahaja Purnama) is still free to roam, which should be arrested immediately and thrown into prison, (2) Religious accused or Ahok still serves as the head of the region, which should be removed from his position, (3) Both two things which has mentioned above just harassing Muslims and showing injustice that must be dealt with decisively, and (4) Action to defend Islam 313 aims to demand the government to remove the position of regional head exactlyfor defendants who reject religion according to existing legislation (Republika, 30 Maret 2017).

Still in the context of defending Islam, this time the Muslims held an action called the *Mujahid* Reunion 212 on December 2, 2018, no longer because of the misuse of the Al Qur'an's interpretation as a political tool, but as a reaction to many things, one of which was the burning of a flag bearing the tauhid lafadz by Banser during the commemoration of the *Santri* day took place. In this case, participants of

the 212 actions of the Sukabumi highway Muslim alliance guarding *tauhid* sentence delivered eight assertions to the mayor of Sukabumi, Sukabumi Police Chief, and Sukabumi City DPRD, namely (1) The tauhid flag must be guarded by all Muslims, (2) can be legally justified for any reasons, (3) Strongly condemn for burning a flag written on the tauhid sentence by the Banser Garut district, (4) Demands the Banser organization to apologize to all Muslims and will not repeat the error again, (5) If the Banser leadership does not apologize, the masses will claim that the Banser organization be dissolved under the Law on Mass Organizations, (7) Urge the apparatus to guard religious symbols from those who want to harass, and (8) prompt Sukabumi Police Chief, Mayor of Sukabumi, and Sukabumi Regional Parliament to continue the statement ut to the authorized official (Detiknews, 26 Oktober 2018).

A series of actions from the Islamic defense movement and defending tauhid created a new atmosphere in political faces and the face of Islam in Indonesia, the pros and cons also flooded the actions attended by millions of people. Among those who rated the movement positively, considered the action as a phenomenon of the rise of Muslims in Indonesia which shows that the existence of *ummah* in Indonesia is still strong. While for those who are opposite, assessing the movement as something that does not need to happen because of fear that the action has the potential to divide the people, cause fear, and other negative stigma. Departing from the existing controversy, the question arises as to whether the phenomenon of the Defendation of Islam and the Action of Defending Tauhid as a manifestation of Muslims existence in Indonesia, or is it only a movement that has the content to divide the nation? What factors are able to move the actions that are followed by the masses in a very large number? Are there significant impacts arising from the actions? This is where the writer tries to limit the discussion in this discussion.

Existence of People and Integrity

Humans in social science are defined as monodualist beings, as individual beings as well as social beings. This means that humans as individual human beings will preserve their existence, but they cannot live alone in maintaining their existence because they will always need humans and even other creatures (Tumanggor, Ridho, Nurochim, 2015: 54-55). While in Islam, humans are categorized as the most perfect creatures of God, which are guaranteed to become leader on this earth in safeguarding *sunnatullah*. In context of humans as social beings, humans interact and try to provide their existence both individually and in groups. From this interaction too, which finally gave birth to the concept of society, nation, state and people.

The main element that differentiate between the concept of state and the concept of *ummah* according to Gamal al-Banna is government. People are born without any government, but the state cannot be told as a country without any elements of government and government requiring power to realize it. So that the state is always related to what is called power as the aims of state's establishment. So it is natural that Islam is said to be a religion of the *Ummah*, not a state religion (Al-Banna, 2006: 93). Who unites Muslims? Allah SWT who unites the hearts of Muslims, social phenomena show that the religion of tauhid (Islam) is in the hearts of the scholars and *fuqaha*, thus giving birth to the existence of Muslims

The above can also be seen in the event of the burning flag incident by the Banser, which encouraged the existence of *ummahto* appear. Why are people? Because the response to the arson was not only by Muslims in Indonesia, but also criticism from Muslims in various parts of the world who felt under one ideology namely Islam. That is, the existence of the *Ummah* is not only within the national territory of a country, but can penetrate international boundaries of all Muslims throughout the world. Because in its essence, what unites them is not the state, yet the ideology of *tauhid* in Islamic religion.

The existence of *ummah* and publicity are increasingly seen in Islamic defense actions when the movement is able to break down barriers between Islamic organizations, Islamic political parties, and other Islamic groups, including independent Islamic societies in Indonesia. All joined together in the name of "Muslims", not in the name of NU, Muhammadiyah, PKS, FPI, and others. NU and Muhammadiyah, which have been two big groups in representing Muslims in Indonesia, seem to be no longer functioning in controlling their sympathizers, both to participate and not to participate in the action (Sholikin, 2018: 23-24). Appeal Said Aqil Siradj as Chairperson of the PB-NU so that the NU community would not participate in the action not to be ignored by some of the NU community. Even some of the participants who had previously refused the leadership of Habib Rizieq Shihab felt called to participate in the action with other ulama to jointly merge into one *ukhuwah*, namely *ukhuwah islamiyah*.

The bond that unites Muslims is often called by *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*. In Islam, *ukhuwah Islamiyyah* is the most important, strongest, most sincere, and has no restrictions. There is no compulsion in *ukhuwah Islamiyah* as explained by Syaikh Hasan Ayyub, that religion grows out of one's consciousness, not from coercion, and it is this religious bond that unites Muslims (Al-Fauzan, 2007: 325-326). This can be seen from the amalgamation of all attributes in the action, the participants no longer present the attributes of organizations or political parties, but all merge into one bond, the bond of Muslims who seek justice for blasphemy due to burning flags with *lafadz tauhid* and punishments too light for the arsonist. It turned out that the response to the burning of the flag was not only carried out by Muslims who were members of the *Mujahid 212* reunion, but also by Muslims in several parts of the world. This is where the existence of Muslims can be said to rise again, after so many centuries divided.

In Indonesia itself, Islamic values have taken root in the ideology of country itself. This can be seen clearly in the values contained in Pancasila ideology namely the first principle to the fifth principle. This is suitable with Novi Rizka Amalia's

expression, that the basic ideology of Pancasila which consists of 5 elements of value, those are Godhead, Humanity, Unity, Wisdom, and Social Justice are reflections of Islamic values in the state (Amalia, 2017: 36-38). In addition to the contents of the opening of third paragraph on Indonesian's Constitutional of 1945 which reads "*For the blessing of the mercy of Allah the Almighty and driven by noble desires, in order to have a free national life, the Indonesian people declare this their independence.*" The further expression reinforces how Islamic values have embedded in the concept of statehood, nation and state in Indonesia long before independence was proclaimed.

Depoliticization of Islam in the 1970s awakened Muslims to re-Islamize through personal piety towards the Islamic community in Indonesia by Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII) carried by M. Natsir. From the 1980s to the 1990s, Muslim tolerance has never been a crucial issue. In 1998 the reforms took place and ushered Muslim community no longer located in the private sphere, but it has entered the political realm of the public sphere through the establishment of Islamic parties. Since the existence of Muslims has increasingly become visible, no longer fostering the spirit of Islam in private contexts, but has entered the public domain (Wildan, 2016: 189-190) such as the birth of Islamic banks, Islamic TV programs, Islamic schools, halal food and halal tourism, Islamic hospitals, sharia hotels, including increasing of Islamic fashion that marks strong existence of Muslims in Indonesia.

The re-Islamization that has been built since the 1970s is unfortunately considered negative in current political years, particularly in the lead up to 2019 presidential election contest. Pro Counter is a necessity in every movement, as well as in action 212. Many positive statements are directed to Muslims who participated in a series of Islamic Defenders and Defendant Action, as well as negative statements expressed about the movement. But that is the nature and consequences of a democratic country.

Some observers argue that Action 212 is a manifestation of the appearance politics identity in Indonesia. Some stated that the action was political *jihad* or constitutional *jihad*, and others argued that the action was a manifestation of

religious politics. The discourse about identity politics actually borrows a term from philosophy that has already been used. Etymology means identity, while politics is defined by knowledge of constitutionality (KBBI Daring, 8 Desember 2018). Based on understanding, identity politics can be interpreted as the constitutional identity of nation and state. While in terms of terminology, Muhtar Haboddin explained that identity politics refers more to political processes or mechanisms that make identity a political vehicle in organizing political resources and means in power struggles. While political identity is a political construction to determine the position and role of someone in a political community. Political identity gives a strict limit to the community of a group, who is part of their group and who is not. So membership is permanent (Habodin, 2012: 119). According to this understanding, the Action for Defending Islam and the Action of Defending *tauhid* cannot be said as a manifestation of identity politics, because the movement does not give a limit to the participants who want to participate in the action and free from being bound in an organization, but based on consciousness heart. But if seen from the mass gathering in one shade in the name of "Muslims," regardless of political, economic, and social cultural elements, then this action can be categorized as identity politics

The politics of identity in Indonesia allegedly began to emerge along with the issuance of Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Decentralization of Politics in Indonesia (Habodin, 2012: 116). Initially, identity politics was used to name inclusive political groups and minority political groups, which later gave birth to the political term ethnicity. Politics of identity was originally intended to promote freedom of politics and tolerance of minority groups who wanted to be considered as being in society. But now, identity politics is punished as an intolerant political mechanism and can endanger pluralism state, so that the purpose of identity politics becomes a refraction resulting from the meaning of conflicting goals with conflicting interpretations.

Identity politics are commonly used by leaders of a group as "us and them," which are used to mobilize a political power to achieve their interests, both in the

economy and politics (Habodin, 2012: 120). If it is based on this understanding, then the peaceful action will be more or less in line with identity politics with the mobilization of the masses to realize common interests, namely the interest for the creation of social justice for all the people of Indonesia. Yet unfortunately, identity politics is frequently regarded as a negative composition in politics.

The politics of identity in action 212 is in tune with the meaning of identity politics in Gutmann's opinion borrowed by Syafii Maarif, that is identity politics in the church revolutionary movement by Martin Luther along with Catholic bishops in America is not based on religious reasons, but is based on assertion for the realization of social justice in society. The manifestation of extreme identity politics is when the idea of separatism arises or separates itself from a container that is not in accordance with its principles or ideology (Ma'arif, 2012: 5). This was not found at all in the series of actions that existed, so it was too rushed to categorize 212 Peace Action as a manifestation of extreme identity politics.

The Islamic Defending Action and the Tauhid Protect Action is the only action that has the most participants by showing the ethics of a high civilized nation, because it shows how they express their aspirations without any slight damage and are able to maintain a peaceful situation from the beginning of the action to completion. Action 212 shows the existence of *ummah* and integrity in a social movement, that is in prosecuting a social justice for all Indonesian people in the context of enforcing the rule of law through a democratic state system.

Regarding on the description above, the form of identity politics basically depends on how a person's point of view evaluates a group or organization from which side. In this case, the author is more inclined to judge the Action of defending Islam and Defending *tauhid* as an image of the existence of Muslims who want justice to be upheld in Indonesia, because there are no indications of radicalism or separatism in the movement. But fundamentally, this movement aims to erect the fifth Precept of Pancasila, namely social justice for all Indonesian people in the realm of legal justice.

Concept of Integrity, Politics of Identity and Transnationalism

The term of transnationalism is one product of the globalization birth. Transnationalism is closely related to the complexity of international relations, that is the waning of barriers between countries due to global interactions. Transnationalism itself can be in the form of human relations across countries, cross-national ideologies, business between countries, and transportation between countries.

Masdar Hilmy stated that the concept of the *Khilafah Islamiyah* brought by HTI was a concrete example of Islamic transnationalism in Indonesia. According to him, the concept of *Khilafah Islamiyah* brought by HTI experienced transmutation, both from artificial and substantive side, ergo that it entered without going through the process of acculturation and assimilation of Indonesian culture (Hilmy, 2011: 55). In this case, Masdar Hilmy only focused on the theory of *khilafah Islamiyah* as a product of value without looking more broadly at Islam as a value system. Islam as a value system, becomes the foundation of ideology that can be applied in the daily lives of all humanity. In contrast to Islam as a product of value, which Islamic values can be applied in a system of government.

Transnationalism also led to a transnational Islamic movement. According to Aksa, the transnational Islamic movement emerged due to several theories, those are (1) the failure of Muslims in dealing with modernity, (2) a sense of solidarity with fate that befell in common, and (3) especially Indonesia, a failure of the state to realize social justice for all people of Indonesia (Aksa, 2017: 8). In this case, the second and third theories are more able to represent the reality of the emergence of the transnationalism movement rather than the first theory. The second theory, better known as the concept of *ukhuwah Islamiyah* in Islam, is the basic foundation that is able to revive the existence of Muslims. While the third theory is more representative of the reactions faced by a nation. In this case, the third theory can be one of the theories that drives the action 212 in Monas, Jakarta.

The concept of the ummah itself is a real representation in the form of transnationalism itself. The concept of the *ummah* was first used by the Prophet Muhammad SAW in rendering the government of Medina. Rasulullah Saw succeeded in eliminating primordialism in Medina and changed it with a sense of nationality (Bhatti, 2004-2005: 182-183), so that Muslims were able to live peacefully alongside Jews and Christians. Then he reduced the concept of nationality and developed it into the concept of the ummah, so that the Messenger of Allah was able to unite Muslims from various nations and countries. This means that the concept of transnationalism has been taught by the Prophet Muhammad long before globalization itself was born. So that Islamic transnationalism is not a new thing, but is a re-existence of Muslims today. This has become a distinctive identity for Muslims, both in politics and social in society.

Urgency of Islamic Politics as Spirit of Action 212

In Islam, there is no special benchmark in the election of leaders as well as in the implementation of democracy, because Islam itself is a religion that strongly emphasizes the principle of deliberation in determining every decision. But in terms of raising a leader, the law is *fardu kifayah*. This means that the selection of leaders is a necessity, but the process of selecting leaders is left to Muslims by basing 2 things, (1) Based on the text, namely the Qur'an and Hadith, and (2) Based on direct elections by the people (Yasid, 2007: 48-49). This means that in the context of a democratic country, the people have the full right to make choices, based on their choices in accordance with the main foundations those are Al-Qur'an and Hadith.

Taking an understanding from Yusuf al-Qardhawi, Abu Ridha explained the characteristics of a unique Muslim community, both based on the elements of formation and specific elements of character, that Muslim society is a *rabbani*, humane, and balanced society (Abu Ridha, 2004: 7). The interaction of Muslims with the challenges of anti-Islamic political ideologies - *Islam with the Quraysh, Muslims with Jews, Muslims with Western nations, Muslims with ideologies of other religions* - gave

birth to distinctive Islamic political characteristics. Abu Ridha explained in his book, that the characteristics of Islamic politics are a reflection of the characteristics of Muslims themselves, namely *rabbaniyah* (divine), *Syar'iyah* (according to Islamic law), *tawazun* (balanced), *'adalah* (fair), *wasathiyah* (moderate) , *'alamiah* and humane, egalitarian, free, moral, oriented to *ukhrawi* (afterlife), and oriented to the service of the Ummah (Ridha, 2004: 11-169).

Asyryari Abdullah calls the series of actions 212 as political *jihad* in the context of enforcing legal justice in Indonesia. A political jihad that does not look at status, religion, and other factors all of which are united with the aim of establishing justice. Moreover, Asyryari also categorizes this movement as part of the people's identity politics in suing justice for anyone who commits defamation against religion (Abdullah, 2017: 202). While Imron Rosidi, stated that peaceful actions 212 as public piety were carried out openly by Muslims who indicated the strengthening of Islamism in Indonesia (Rosidi, 2016: 192-193), as well as political *jihad* and identity politics. Asyryari also interpreted the movement 212 as an open political communication of Muslims to the government through alternative political jihad "*Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*" for events which were considered tarnishing the diversity of life of the nation and state, because indications of discrimination against Muslims were increasingly felt in the context of social reality the community through various events that occurred (Abdullah, 2017: 206-208) including inequality in law enforcement and indications of criminalization of the ulamas. While Dewi Masithoh, stated that the Islamic Defendation Action 212 movement was a form of constitutional *jihad* in efforts to uphold the law based on applicable legislation in order to maintain the integrity of Republic of Indonesia and safeguard the values of Pancasila (Masithoh, 2018: 11). However, each individual has to assess the phenomenal movement 212 with their respective perspectives. Basically, the series of actions of Bela Islam and Bela Tauhid are inseparable from the religious sentiments of Muslims as the majority of the people in Indonesia who are actually cornered in their majority position.

Driving Factors of Action 212

Allah said which means, "*And hold fast to you with the rope of Allah and do not divorce the leaves, and remember the blessings of Allah to you when you were in the time of the Jahiliyah enemies, then Allah unites your heart and makes you because you are like brothers.*" (Surah Ali Imran: 103). Mobilizing extraordinary numbers of people in a peaceful, cool and unifying atmosphere and without damaging public facilities or polluting anything is extraordinary and deserves appreciation. Any human will not eligible to do it except for the X factor that is able to unite the hearts of the people. Only Allah, the owner of the human heart who able to turn the human heart upside down, and able to unite the hearts of His servants in faith. This was also emphasized by Sayyid Quthub, that only faith is able to unite the people, and no one is able to realize it except by the will of Allah, so that a hard and vulnerable heart can be united in the rope of *ukhuwah Islamiyyah* (Al-Fauzan, 2007: 330). Furthermore, it is not false if the sense of *ukhuwah Islamiyyah* participated in uniting the people in such a large number.

The enormous mass movement cannot happen by itself, there is a driving force that is able to move the hearts of Muslims to gather in one point without any destruction of nature. As the success of the Islamic state system during *Khulafaur Rashidin* as the successor to the glory of the state of Medina during the time of Rasulullah pbuh., which was driven by a factor of priests or strong leaders and able to represent the aspirations of its people, even though it was halted when the caliph Uthman bin Affan caused nepotism to arise. The period of the Caliph Ali wanted to restore the success of Islamic politics such as the time of the first two caliphs, Abu Bakar and Umar, but because the driving force was tarnished and further away from the leadership of the Prophet, thus making Islamic political degradation from the Islamic political system turned into Islamic politics based on power and monarchy. It is not wrong if Gamal al-Banna states that power has corrupted ideology, especially when entering through the gates of the state and united with state power

(Al-Banna, 2006: 91), so that power destroys the actual political system of Islam, as has damaged Jewish ideology into Zionism and Christian ideology becomes a secular state.

While in this event of the actions 212, it is not excessive if their driving force is the presence of leaders/priests who are able to call for spirit and stop *ukhuwah* between Muslims. In this context, it is undeniable that Habib Rizieq Shihab has this role, so that he is called the High Priest. This is suitable with the statement of Imron Rosidi who openly stated that the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) led by Habib Rizieq Shihab was the driving force of the Islamic Peace Action 212 (Imron Rosidi, 2016: 193). Dewi Masithoh also confirmed that the 212 actions were coordinated by Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) chiefed by Habib's Rizieq Shihab based on *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* under the name of the National Movement for Guards for the Fatwa of the Indonesian Scholars Council (GNPF-MUI) (Masithoh, 2018: 2) which claims to be the front guard of religious defenders and scholars. The names of other famous scholars also influenced the action, including KH. Abdullah Gymnastiar, Ustadz Arifin Ilham, Ustadz Felix Siauw, Ustadz Abdul Shomad, and many other prominent scholars who participated in these actions.

If it is understood from the verse of Mars 212, then the act of defending Islam and tauhid are moved by the spirit of the Qur'an as the Muslim holy book. In the march it is clearly stated, "*Al-Qur'anis our faith, Al-Qur'anis our guidelines, Al-Qur'anguides us, Al-Qur'anunites us ...*". As it is known that Al-Qur'an is the holy book of Muslims, and Allah Almighty himself maintains the purity of Qur'an. So that these factors are able to unite the hearts of Muslims to gather at one point and voice the defense of Holy Qur'an. There are no significant differences from the Action of Defending *tauhid* on December 2018, there was an attitude of reluctance by Muslims when they saw the "Lafadz Tauhid" written on the flag burned by Banser. The sentiment towards the sentence which was highly upheld in the Islamic religion, moved Muslims to request justice for the case again. Considering that the flag burner

with the tauhid lafadz labeled was only rewarded with 10 days in prison and a fine of Rp. 2,000, - or included as a misdemeanor (Detiknews, 5 November 2018).

In addition to the mentioned-factors, social media today could not be overlooked. So powerful is the power of media to preach and blow up every event that occurs. So that social media has an important role in moving first actions to defend Islam to defend tauhid. Social media is an extraordinary driving force. The beginning of the issue of defamation of al-Qur'an began with Facebook, through a video uploaded by Buni Yani to a sentence indicated as insulting the verses of the Qur'an as well as scholars. Secondly is instagram which has no less role in disseminating the news through captions and hastag to increase news popularity (Pamungkas dan Oktaviani, 2017: 74-75). Likewise with Whatsapp that was strongly reporting events that were rolling and response to the events that took place, through whatsapp groups the peaceful action 212 received a very extraordinary response from Muslims who felt called to participate in defending religion.

Regarding to description above, it can be concluded that the emergence of Islamic defense actions was based on several factors, those are (1) The existence of forces beyond human strength, the power that is able to move the human heart to participate in moving the purity of His book, that power is nothing but Allah SWT. One thing that is considered almost impossible to gather that many masses and to unite people who in the last few years have been divided and fragmented, (2) A sense of Islamic brotherhood that is able to bind a sense of brotherhood, capable of fusing selfishness, helping each other, remind each other, and protect each other. Only the bonds of *ukhuwah Islamiyah* are able to replace blood ties or other ties, (3) Scholars leadership becomes one of the factors that cannot be ignored, because the position of *ulama* in Islam is the successor of Prophets and Apostles. Without strong leadership, it is impossible to move the enormous masses, (4) There is a heart call in defending the al-Qur'an and the banner of Tauhid, so that participants are willing to leave with their respective efforts to get to their destination, and finally (5) The role

of social media is no less important than the success of movement 212, it was Media that was able to compare the event 212.

Phobia of the Pride Action

Muslims are divided into two groups due to the ideology of nationalism, i.e (1) a secular group that seeks to align Islamic political history with Christian political history in the West, thus separating Islam from the state and politics, as in the West Christianity has been separated from the state and politics. because it makes their civilization in the dark ages, and (2) the Islamic stronghold that continues to try restoring Islamic values into a comprehensive Islamic ideology that cannot be separated between religion and the state, so as to create the integration of Islamic concepts and values into concepts and value in state (Ridha: 2004: 3). As the Prophet Muhammad applied when the state of Medina was born as an actual form of civil state. Unfortunately it is this secular faction that has become a thorn in the flesh in the political contestation of Islam in Indonesia, as seen in the actions of publicity both in 411, 212 in defense of Islam, and in the defense of tauhid.

There were negative opinions that were rolled out to the participants of actions 212, ranging from accusations of radicalism, intolerance, full of political content, full of utterances of hatred, indications of divisive national unity, and so on. In response to this, it needs to be understood in advance the radical meaning of godliness. Today the community is frequently confused in distinguishing between radicalism and piety, because not a few of the scholars who called for *tauhid* are straightforwardly considered radical scholars. Radicalism departs from the existence of excessive fanaticism, so that other groups are wrong and must follow it. The radicalism that continues to be fostered can develop into extremism and has the potential to become terrorism in the form of violation (Muhammad Sheharyar Khan, 2018). While piety shows the attitude of a Muslim to apply *aqidah* and *syariah* according to *manhaj*. A Muslim will be seen from the behavior he shows, or in Islam it is often referred to as *ihsan*. This is in harmony with the opinion of Imron Rosidi in

distinguishing the two, for him, radical Muslims have strong potential to change the social and political order according to what they want, including any violence. While good Muslims have high humanism character and values, even this side of humanism is used to counteract radicalism (Rosidi, 2016: 189). This shows that the characteristics of Islam in Indonesia that are hospitable and tolerant are still maintained (Wildan, 2016: 200), as evidenced by the peaceful action that was followed by millions of participants who were able to maintain peace, cleanliness and tolerance among participants from the beginning of action to completion. This image is also recognized by the international audience who highlight 212 action.

Responding to negative responses directed at the act of defending Islam and the act of defending *tauhid*, KH. Abdullah Gymnastiar or usually called by Aa Gym expressed his feelings and opinions in the Tvone ILC program which aired on December 4, 2018, more or less as follows:

"... For Muslims, one pain when I hear the word radical that seems to be directed to us (the participants of the action 212). The terms of radical, intolerant, anti-Pancasila, terrorist, and others even though they are not directly accused, but this is directly implied. Why? Even though we all love this country so much, we are even willing to die in guarding this country. And because of this feeling of being cornered, Muslims come through behavior that is peaceful action. Because Muslims are not a destroyer of this country, we (Muslims) are not violent, rude and cruel people. So that we present this action with various values of affection in the bond of *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, including those who are not Muslims who can also feel in the action ...".

The statement is in response to those who disagree with Peace Action 212 and view the movement from a negative perspective. Aa Gym's statement emphasized that Peace Action 212 was a form of publicity that was able to materialize from the bond of hearts of the participants while emphasizing that the action was purely a peaceful act by showing the behavior of public piety far from the stigma of radicalism, extremism, and anti-Pancasila.

The Political Impact of State From Action 212 Against Indonesian Political Economy

Some parties justify that the action 212 is radical and intolerant, so, it can endanger the existence of diversity of nation. But this cannot be proven, because in fact the action went peacefully and showed the piety of the participants in the public space. The piety is shown through the behavior of the participants of the action, such as reminding each other to maintain cleanliness, un-damaging the environment, helping between participants even to non-Muslims from the beginning until the end of action. This was also approved by Imron Rosidi, that the majority of the participants of action were Muslims. The participants were purely participating in their heart call in demanding legal justice, although the driving force was Islamic groups which were often categorized as radical Islamic groups (Rosidi, 2016: 202).

It is also un-deniable that action 212 contributed to the increase in economy in Indonesia, particularly DKI Jakarta. This can be seen from the incline in various fields of business economics, especially transportation and hospitality. Furthermore, some local Muslim products also took the moment as a marketing strategy, as seen from the presence of brands offering discount products using the "Defend Islamic Action promo". In addition, the mass media also received fresh air for their journalism, because the action 212 was a trending topic of national, even international news, which was able to increase the media rating in presenting news about the action 212. Framing news from various media perspectives also colored the news of the action movement peaceful 212, including news 212 by BBC Indonesia which was more impressed in the negative framing of the 212 movement, and Republika who was considered to frame the news about the peaceful movement in a positive frame (Kristanto, 2018: 123). This also happened in television media in Indonesia, which partly supported the action and several others were counter to the action.

Conclusion

A country with a democratic system with diversity of people like Indonesia certainly has its own internal challenges. The action 212 with the title *Bela Negara* and *Bela Tauhid* is one appearance that the climate of democracy in the country of Indonesia is still well implemented. The 212 movements that arise as a result of the feelings of Muslims who feel that they are being treated unfairly legally, make them move to prosecute that the rule of law be properly enforced according to the prevailing laws and regulations in Indonesia. The reality of the existence of the *Ummah* appears, with the presence of all elements of Muslims in Indonesia regardless of status, group, organization, party or race. Islamic identity is also very visible as a peace-loving people and still maintain ethics in conveying aspirations.

But all of that are inseparable from the pros and cons of society in assessing action 212, given the democratic system that is applied in the Indonesian government system. So that the tug of war between supra-structure and political infrastructure cannot be denied. Society through political infrastructure has a role in changing the policy of supra-political structures, those are through community organizations, non-governmental organizations, pressure groups, and political parties. The politics of Islamic identity and the existence of sovereignty are tested, does it able to make Islam as a value system that underlies the life of the nation and state, not making Islam as a product of value that must be included in a state system.

The existence of the *ummah* as *wasathiyah* (mid) people must always be internalized in daily life, mainly in the era of globalization as it is today. So that Islamic values as a system are able to support human well-being transnationally. Not the other way around, Islamic values are forced into a state system, so that it is considered radical and inclusive by other groups. Muslims must be able to restore the concept of sociability as taught by the Prophet, so that they can achieve the goal of *rahmatan lil' alamin* as it has been manifested in a great civilization in its glory days.

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