

Islamic Defense Action Movement 212 in the Perspective of Muslim

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Abstract

In quantity, Indonesia has the biggest Muslim in the world. However, the history is a proof that political identity labeled Islam has never succeeded in Indonesian presidential election. This is inseparable from the friction among Muslims who are divided when they come into contact with the territory. Besides, the purity of Islam, especially in the eyes of the laity, seems tarnished if Islam is associated with political attachments. This term is deliberately raised by certain stakeholders to win the public domain since Indonesia is democracy system. The presence of the Islamic defense action 212 was able to catch an eye of the public at large when the divided Muslims have one common enemy (blasphemy of the al-Qur'an). This phenomenon gives a large political power as a rival for the incumbent. This is qualitative research with literature study method and analysis of the phenomenology of Islamic defense action 212. The reference taken is closely related to the information media that describes the public discourse about Ahok's defamation of the Quran to various sustainable Islamic defense action movements. The results of the research show that the 212 movement is neither a political movement nor Islamic mass organization but is a calling of the Muslim community in Indonesia who feels that their religion has been tarnished in the context of defamation of the holy verse of the Qur'an. Furthermore, Islamic defense action 212 establishes not only a political map in Indonesia but also other dimensions in the form of a Muslim-based business spirit such as the Muslim entrepreneurial center (212 mart). *Koperasi Syariah* 212 was supported by community figures, and the forerunner of the establishment of Islamic banking system in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Action 212, Islamic Defense, Muslim Public, Islamic Thought*

Abstrak

Secara kuantitas, Indonesia memiliki jumlah muslim terbesar di dunia. Meskipun begitu, sejarah telah menjadi bukti bahwa identitas politik yang berlabelkan Islam tidak pernah menjadi pemenang dalam pilpres di Indonesia. Hal tersebut tak terlepas dari gesekan sesama muslim yang terkotak-kotak ketika sudah bersentuhan dengan wilayah kekuasaan. Selain itu kemurnian Islam khususnya dimata kaum awam seolah tercoreng jika Islam dikaitkan dengan embel-embel politis. Term ini sengaja dimunculkan oleh pemangku kepentingan tertentu memenangkan wilayah publik mengingat Indonesia yang berazaskan demorasi. Kehadiran aksi bela Islam 212 mampu menyita perhatian publik secara luas ketika muslim yang terpecah-pecah memiliki satu musuh yang sama (penistaan al-Qur'an). Fenomena ini melahirkan power politik besar sebagai tandingan dari kalangan petahana. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan metode studi pustaka dan analisis fenomenologi aksi bela Islam 212. Referensi yang diambil erat kaitannya dengan media

informasi yang memaparkan wacana publik seputar penistaan al-Qur'an oleh Ahok hingga berbagai gerakan aksi bela Islam yang berkelanjutan. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa gerakan 212 bukanlah gerakan politik ataupun ormas keislaman melainkan sebuah panggilan ukhrawi masyarakat muslim di Indonesia yang merasa agamanya sudah dinodai dalam konteks penistaan ayat suci al-Qur'an. Selanjutnya, gerakan bela Islam 212 tidak hanya melahirkan peta perpolitikan di Indonesia namun juga melahirkan dimensi lain berupa melahirkan spirit bisnis berbasis muslim seperti pusat wirausaha berlabel muslim (212 mart), Koperasi Syariah 212 yang didukung oleh tokoh-tokoh umat, serta cikal bakal dari lahirnya sistem perbankan syariah se-Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Aksi 212, Bela Islam, Publik Muslim, Pemikiran Islam

INTRODUCTION

Currently, political Islamic group is considered to have strong bargaining power and sells in a political contestation as a product of electoral democracy. This is evidenced by how the election for the governors of DKI and North Sumatra was strongly influenced by the political Islamic movement spearheaded by the 212 movement. Both candidates tried their best to represent themselves as representatives of Islamic group. It is clear that this is not without careful calculation. The victory of the governor which was promoted by the 212 Movement influenced the votes of candidates and the contribution of Islamic group, both moderate and militant groups. Both determined the vote acquisition. As for the cause of the emergence of the 212 Islamic defense action movement was the insult made by Ahok or Basuki Cahya Purnama to surah al-Maidah verse 51, he delivered his speech to the public during his working visit to Pramuka Island, he said, "It could be in your heart, you did not choose me because people lied to you by using Surat Al Maidah 51 and all kind of thing. That's your right, ladies and gentlemen. If you felt you couldn't choose because you were afraid to go to hell, being fooled, that's okay because this was your personal calling," he said. "This program (giving capital for kerapu cultivation) would just work, so you don't have to feel bad because your conscience couldn't choose Ahok."¹

It is a sentence that should not be spoken by a public official since he is not a person who believes in the teachings and its interpretation. It is his character, or because of the experiments he will conduct on the majority of the people in this country. The statement made by Ahok drew a reaction from the Muslim community as a whole and caused various mass organizations to take part in a protest against Ahok's statement and asked the government to take Ahok to court immediately. This Muslim movement was carried out several times and until reaching its peak on December 2, 2016, this date was then used as the name of the 212 Islamic defense movement.

¹ BBC News Indonesia, *Pidato di Kepulauan Seribu dan Hari-hari hingga Ahok menjadi Tersangka*, diakses 17 November 2016 pad link <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-37996601>.

The 212 Movement continued to photosynthesize into the Ulama Fatwa Guard Movement (GNPF) until finally, it became the Alumni Brotherhood (PA) 212. This movement is a form of non-parliamentary political movement because this group is not only able to be a part that determines victory in regional head elections but also becomes a political part itself. In the ongoing case, especially in Jakarta, PA 212 has a strategic role in winning certain candidates who are considered capable of representing the interests of the people involved in PA 212. In the context of the non-parliamentary political movement, the group that is said to be not only able to succeed in the Jakarta area, but in other areas is also a decisive part in the ongoing political event which is also run by this non-parliamentary political movement group.

DISCUSSION

The History of the 212 Action Movement

"Islamic Defense Action" as a social movement² or a non-parliamentary political movement cannot be separated from two things, namely the Ahok's case and the "Islam Defense Action".³ The two are related to one another because the Ahok's case triggered the emergence of the Islamic Defense Action movement. The Ahok's case began on Tuesday, September 27, 2016, starting from a working visit to Pramuka Island, Seribu Island. In his speech while visiting the grouper cultivation empowerment program for the Governor of Jakarta at that time, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or better known as Ahok said:

"It could be in your heart. You did not choose me because people lied to you by using Surat Al Maidah 51 and all kind of thing. That's your right, ladies and gentlemen. If you felt you couldn't choose because you were afraid to go to hell, being fooled, that's okay because this was your personal calling, "he said." This program (giving capital for kerapu cultivation) would just work, so you don't have to feel bad because your conscience couldn't choose Ahok".⁴

² Assyari Abdullah, "Membaca Komunikasi Politik Gerakan Aksi Bela Islam 212: Antara Politik Identitas Dan Ijtihad Politik Alternatif," *An-nida' Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 41, no. 2 (n.d.): 202-12.

³ Rangga Kusumo and Hurriyah Hurriyah, "Populisme Islam di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Aksi Bela Islam oleh GNPF-MUI Tahun 2016-2017," *Jurnal Politik* 4, no. 1 (February 15, 2019): 87, <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v4i1.172>.

⁴ BBC News Indonesia, *Pidato di Kepulauan Seribu dan Hari-hari hingga Ahok menjadi Tersangka*, diakses 17 November 2016 pad link <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-37996601>.

A fragment from Ahok's speech to the fishing community in the Seribu Island, given that the election for the governor of Jakarta would take place in February 2017.⁵ The verse that Ahok means is:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصْرَىٰ أَوْلِيَاءَ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ
مِنْهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ

"O you who believe, do not make Jews and Christians your loyal friends; they protect each other. Whoever among you makes them loyal friends, then, in fact, he is one of them. Indeed, Allah does not give guidance to wrongdoers," (Surah Al-Maidah: 51).

It is a sentence that should not be spoken by a public official since he is not a person who believes in the teaching and its interpretation. This is the character he has, or because of the experiments he will conduct on the majority of the people in this country. Thursday, October 6, 2016, Buni Yani, a lecturer and researcher at the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology, Leiden University since 2010, uploaded a short 30-second video on his social account with the quote "Blasphemy against Religion?".⁶ The video he took from Public Relation staff of Jakarta's Provincial Government was questioned and got him sentenced to 1.5-year.⁷ The uploaded video that has been watched and shared by internet users has caught the attention of many people, especially Muslims in this country. As a form of protest, the Islamic Defender Front (FPI) and the South Sumatra MUI reported on Ahok to the police. Then it is followed by a number of Islamic mass organizations doing the same thing in several areas, including in North Sumatra. This incident began to be discussed a lot and became the subject of debate in several places.

On Monday, October 10, 2016, Ahok apologized to Muslims for his remark in the Seribu Islands last September. "I convey to all Muslims or to those who feel offended, I apologize. I don't mean to insult Islam or anything," said Basuki at the Jakarta City Hall, Monday (10/10/2016) (Rudi, 2016).⁸ Then the next Tuesday, October 11, 2016, the central Indonesian Ulama Council issued the

⁵ Saputra, M.B., *Ahok and Blasphemy Case In Kompas and Republika Online Media: A Clash Of Ideologies*, Al Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi, 5 (1), p. 59-94. <https://doi.org/10.22515/al-balagh.v5i1.1991>.

⁶ M.K. Amal, dkk, *Islamic Populism and Democracy in Post-New Order Indonesia*, Cantrik Pustaka : 2020, p.4 <http://digilib.iain-jember.ac.id/653/>

⁷ C. M. T. Dewi, *Buni Yani Dieksekusi, Ini Perjalanan Kasusnya*, Tempo, 31 Januari 2019. <https://metro.tempo.co/read/1170699/buni-yani-bakal-dieksekusi-ini-perjalanan-kasusnya>

⁸ A. Rudi, *Ahok Minta Maaf kepada Umat Islam*, KOMPAS.com, 10 Oktober 2016. <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2016/10/10/09245441/ahok.minta.maaf.kepada.umat.islam>

MUI's Religious Opinion and Stance regarding the alleged defamation committed by Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok.

"Islamic Defense Action 212" is an action that was carried out on December 2. This action was related to mass raising effort because of the alleged blasphemy committed by an official, namely Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok. The "212 Islamic Defense Action" was also strengthened by the existence of a movement calling itself the National Movement for Fatwa Guards of the Indonesian Ulama Council (GNPF-MUI) which is a movement to oppose and simultaneously seek to prosecute religious blasphemy.⁹ So, the early history of the emergence of the "Islamic Defense Action 212" as a response to the attitude of public official committing blasphemy against Islam, namely surah al-Maidah / 5: 51 by saying that the verse is used as a "tool to frighten".¹⁰ Utterances originating from Ahok are considered to have hurt and insulted Muslims, so there was turmoil in the Indonesian people because they brought holy verses to the political realm, especially as a tool to win certain political interests.¹¹ This Islamic defense action 212 is a historical event in which the participants are orderly, peaceful in an intellectual leadership action, they even said that the PA 212 movement is a movement or reunion of high-quality common sense in demanding justice.¹² Rocky felt that there is an injustice towards Muslims in the country which seems to have made a contrast between Pancasila and Islam. One of the injustices against Muslims in the state was when the 212 action broke out. Even though they are demanding justice for Muslims in the country, strangely this action is actually quiet from the news.¹³

Regarding the alleged religious insult, certain groups made a report because there were allegations of religious blasphemy committed by Ahok. At that time, Ahok served as the Governor of DKI Jakarta. Based on report from the community, the authorities can actually carry out legal proceeding if there is a fatwa from the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) which states that what Ahok's utterance was a form of religious blasphemy. After obtaining an explanation from the authorities regarding the allegation of religious blasphemy committed by Ahok, there must be information from the MUI, so several scholars visited MUI to respond to public upheaval after

⁹ M.A. Khatthath, *Hukuman Penista Agama*, Personal Communication on 22 Desember 2020.

¹⁰ M. WoodWard, A. Nurish, *Quo Vadis FPI dalam Aksi Bela Islam*, Maarif: Jurnal Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial, 11(2), p. 105-112.

¹¹ A.S. Pamungkas, G. Octaviani, *Aksi Bela Islam dan Ruang Publik Muslim: Dari Representasi Daring ke Komunitas Luring*, Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi, 4(2), p. 65-87. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v4i2.28581>.

¹² Indonesia Lawyer Club (ILC) TV One, *Pasca Reuni 212: Menakar Elektabilitas Capres 2019*, accessed on 4 Desember 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6qAz3j584XI>.

¹³ P. Ariefana, *Rocky Gerung: Saya Merasa Ada Ketidakadilan Terhadap Orang Islam*, accessed on suara.com, <https://jakarta.suara.com/read/2020/11/01/100511/rocky-gerung-saya-merasa-ada-ketidakadilan-terhadap-orang-islam>.

pronouncements related to religion by DKI Jakarta official. Several ulama from various mass organizations came to MUI to get fatwa related to the blasphemy case, finally, a letter from MUI was issued in the form of a religious view, but not a fatwa related to allegations of religious blasphemy.¹⁴

After the meeting and getting opinion from various groups, an organization was formed in accordance with the spirit of struggle with the developing situation and condition, namely the National Movement for Fatwa Guard of the Indonesian Ulama Council (GNPF-MUI). The formation of the GNPF-MUI is an organization that aims to respond to everything that develops, especially those involving the interests of the Muslim community in it, especially in connection with the alleged blasphemy committed by Ahok as the main background for the establishment of the new organization. After GNPF-MUI was formed, several actions emerged to fulfill the wishes of Muslims on the streets. The legal process will not run smoothly as you wish if there is no guidance, then with the existence of GNPF-MUI, as well as action so that the Government is fair to anyone who stumbles into a case, must be neutral and there is no intervention. GNPF-MUI as the inspiration for the "Islamic Defense Action" which was carried out for the interests of the groups involved.¹⁵

Several actions appeared and drew the attention of the Government and residents, so that many people outside the Java participated, voted, and expressed their anxiety on the streets with other Muslims in the capital. Starting from September 30, 2016, Ahok, as the Governor of DKI Jakarta, gave opinion and conversation with residents in the Seribu Island. At that time, Ahok stated that he did not have a problem if there were residents who were "lied to by using surah al-Maidah verse 51, and all kind of thing related to religious issues," so that they did not re-elect him to become Governor of DKI Jakarta, at that time he again ran for Governor. Previously he was Deputy Governor because Joko Widodo was elected as President of Indonesia, so automatically the authority of DKI Jakarta was handled by Ahok.¹⁶ Initially, the emergence of the 212 movement was disapproval of prospective leader who was deemed to have insulted Islam. In my opinion, the appearance of this movement was spontaneous and could bring aspiration from some Muslims who felt insulted by Ahok's words.¹⁷

¹⁴ B. Nasir, *Hukuman Penista Agama*, Personal Communication on HP 22 Desember 2020.

¹⁵ I. Sambo, *Hukuman Penista Agama*, Personal Communication on HP 16 Juli 2020.

¹⁶ R.M. Yanti, dkk, *Reconciliation through Law and Democracy: A Case of Blasphemy by the Former Governor of DKI Jakarta "Ahok"*, *Jurnal of Local Governance and Innovation* 4 (1),2020, p. 329-342.

¹⁷ Bonggas Political Observer of the Tiga Roda Survey Institute, Personal Communication on 23 Desember 2020.

Ahok said al-Maidah verse 51 to his citizens because this verse of the Qur'an is often interpreted as a prohibition for Muslims to choose leader from among non-Muslims. Ahok's conversation about al-Maidah verse 51 was recorded and uploaded on the DKI Jakarta YouTube channel so that it became the talk of many residents who watched it. Then, many residents shared Ahok's conversation with the Seribu Island residents on social media, including Buni Yani, sharing the post on social media through his personal Facebook account. As a result of the increasing boisterousness in cyberspace related to Ahok's conversation about al-Maidah verse 51, many residents then criticized and thought Ahok had insulted the Qur'an, so that Ahok's conversation became a conversation on social media. Responding to the allegation of blasphemy, it encouraged to make a petition so that Ahok was arrested for allegedly insulting the Qur'an, even though Ahok's question itself had multiple interpretations in its meaning. However, the groups opposing Ahok, especially the GNPF-MUI, made it as a "tool" to overthrow Ahok.¹⁸

The central issue of the news made many people uneasy about Ahok's words.¹⁹ In addition, many people thought that Ahok was harassing the Qur'an and called al-Qur'an fooled Muslims. In responding to this, the Governor of DKI Jakarta raised his voice and stated that he did not intend to insult the Quranic verse, but only criticized those who used the Quranic verse for political purposes. However, several mass organizations continued to report Ahok's utterances to the authorities on the basis of Article 156a of the Criminal Code and the Law on Religious Abuse or Religious Blasphemy. The pressure was getting stronger and the community looked increasingly unfavorable with Ahok's words, finally, on October 10, 2016 Ahok apologized. However, the reports that have been given by several mass organizations were not revoked, so the police began to investigate regarding the report on religious blasphemy on October 24, 2016, so Ahok was finally invited by the police to Bareskrim to be asked for information regarding a growing issue of the alleged blasphemy.²⁰

The GNPF-MUI is a group that is serious about Ahok's case. Ahok insulted the Qur'an for mentioning inappropriate words to be expressed in public, in particular, there was expression that had the connotation of "stupid". Then a movement emerged to show that Muslims did not agree with the statement of the Governor of DKI Jakarta at that time.²¹ After Ahok's expression in the

¹⁸ F.M. Imamah, *Discourse on Penistaan Agama of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama's Blasphemy Trial in Twitter*, Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama, 7(1), 2017, p. 84-116.

¹⁹ Ahmad Sholikin, "Gerakan Politik Islam di Indonesia Pasca Aksi Bela Islam Jilid I, II dan III," *MADANI, Jurnal Politik dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 10, no. 1 (n.d.): 12-33.

²⁰ S. Ginting, *Interpretasi Gramatikal Sistematis Historis Kasus Dugaan Penodaan Agama oleh Ahok*, *Law Pro Justitia*, 2(2), 2019. <https://ejournal.medan.uph.edu/index.php/lpj/article/view/248>.

²¹ B. Nasir, *Hukuman*

Seribu Island in September 2016 regarding the al-Maidah verse 51, community demonstration emerged regarding Ahok's words. The various actions attracted attention so that the public spotlight has turned to the action centered in DKI Jakarta. In this action, the so-called "Islamic Defense Action" has attracted the attention of people all over Indonesia, so that not only residents of Jakarta, but also throughout Indonesia deliberately went to Jakarta just to carry out a joint action to respond, that they were "hurt" by Ahok's words which are considered to have insulted Muslims.

The Pattern of the Islamic Defense Action Movement 212

Key Figure (Icon)

It is undeniable that the urgency of leadership is an important thing in every organizational activity, both formal and informal. At least in Indonesia, a person's central figure really determines the progress and retreat of an organizational movement, and the member's acceptance is always loyal to him. In other words, the internal management function of the organization is not the only key factor in the success of the movement organization.

Likewise, the National Movement for Fatwa Guard - the Indonesian Ulema Council (GNPF-MUI) which has been at the forefront in guarding the Ulama Fatwa since 2016. A figure that has become the motor of the movement, each sentence as an enduro in giving impetus to every Muslim to defend Islam as his belief. He is Habib Muhammad Rizieq, Lc, MA, DPMS. The figure of the founder of the Islamic Defender Front (FPI) whose current position is the Grand Imam.

Mujahid as well as *mujtabid* are polite in character, qualified in knowledge and brave in truth. His assertiveness in upholding the principle of '*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*' brought him to the arena of the battle that repeatedly risked his life. Often, he had to feel the coldness of the iron bars from his determination in eradicating the rampant immorality. This all did not make him take a step back even though he was aware that the step he had taken did not amaze and sympathize with everyone.

Many figures rejected the actions they took in opposing the immorality and tyranny of the ruler who was full of risks. The result of his consistence in the way of Allah SWT had finally brought awareness from community, especially Muslims, that being silent in seeing evil is not an attitude that deserves to be maintained.

Slow but sure, he got support from Islamic and nationalist figures. Initially, few people secretly supported him until they had the courage to openly support his steps. The credit points he had finally put sympathy, hope and support from the wider Muslim community. Some Muslims throughout Indonesia and also some other people were willing to be behind him in fighting for the aspirations showed to the ruler because of the rampant immorality that seemed to be ignored by the government.

Realizing that the struggle to advocate for the interests of the people must also embrace many parties with their organizational background, he took the initiative to form a new forum in a struggle against the arbitrariness of the government, especially DKI Jakarta. The organization was named the National Fatwa Guard Movement - Indonesian Ulama Council (GNPF-MUI).

GNPF-MUI is present as a new forum to accommodate the struggle for the Islamic Defense Action in demanding the honor of Islam that is being harassed. It is an entity that was born with some expectations from the people of the marginalization of Islam in this country. This hope simply arises from long daydreams of loneliness and longing for the spiritual atmosphere of communal Islam. It is not surprising that in each of its activities, GNPF-MUI gets a lot of sympathy from the people with the various contributions given voluntarily, both morally and materially.

The figure that has been elected to lead the GNPF-MUI is considered quite capable in his capacity and intellect. A young scholar with his modern Islamic thought represents most of the *firqob* of the Muslims in Indonesia. He is Ustadz Bachtiar Nasir, familiarly known as UBN. His collaboration with the phenomenal figure Habib Rizieq Shihab (FPI Grand Imam) is a traditionalist Islamic figure considered quite representative of the plurality of Islam in this country. So, the acceptance of the people towards this movement is so massive.

With a charismatic stature in this massive movement made this movement naturally centralized even though it is not balanced with a managerial organizational structure and administratively described. However, this movement was able to generate extraordinary sympathy and loyalty among Muslims throughout Indonesia. This is a good start in a sustainable movement in the future.

Internal Management

The organizational structure of the National Fatwa Guard Movement - Indonesian Ulema Council (GNPF-MUI) is not clearly outlined. The personification of each figure has not been clearly published. Do not ask the job description for each field. What exists is that each one moves in accordance with his *syakilah* and abilities, as well as the existing devices. It was temporary (ad-hoc).

The acceptance of the Muslims towards this movement is beyond the expectation. The intention of the driving figures was to fight as we can because the results were not our responsibility, and always put our trust in Allah SWT. The most solid field in management is publication. Because in this information technology era, it has become the spearhead in voicing and disseminating movement plans. A brief exclamation was drawn in inspiring flyers and quotes to spark enthusiasm for social media activists to participate in voicing this struggle. The short, light,

and crisp writings of many writers are like tit for tat, giving additional encouragement to continue this struggle.

Apart from financial management, to prepare the logistics needed in every movement, it is prepared as neatly and safely as possible by minimizing the impact of noise. With the simple but effective internal management of the conditions, it keeps the wheel of this movement rolling and grinding every injustice.

Dynamic Spirit

In this case the fuel for the movement to sustain the struggle is not logistic but spirit. Realizing this, the GNPF-MUI is consistent in maintaining the dynamic spirit of the people in the struggle for the defense of Islam. The technique for keeping this spirit in order to be consistent is to water the *ukhrowi* motivation at every opportunity through recitation, *tabligh akbar*, and announcements from central figures of the movement that can be disseminated through cyberspace.

No wonder we always find flyer, short video, and writing that affect our faith to be continuously maintained in any condition. In the world of social media, it is as if we are faced with a battle between the right and wrong, black-white, win-lose and so on. This raises the curiosity of the Muslims who have been ignoring their religious teachings. It makes them diligent and aware of following the religious studies, re-reading the Quran, more enthusiastic in looking for religious references. All praises be to Allah, so far it has succeeded in guarding the enthusiasm of the people so that it is maintained.

Issue Management/Action

Every events and blundering steps were taken by the ruler in stemming or minimizing the bad effects. It becomes new ammunition. Like a flood trying to be dammed by using proper tool would create wild multi-effects. This even makes it more chaotic in overcoming it. This analogy seems appropriate to describe the conditions Islamic defense action at that time.

The skills in solving each issue to be turned into a spirit are shown by a small number of Muslims, such as cartoonists, vloggers, YouTubers, editors and others. However, the creations of these few people had a big impact. It is added short speech of the preachers delivered through social media. The writers add the spirit of struggle in defending Islam.

Even the diction selection of the Islamic defense action becomes the narration that stimulates faith and encourages people to be more sincere in defending their religion. The scorn and slander were constantly addressed to every fighter of this movement. They just reacted calmly and even considered it as an additional supplement in their struggle.

Common Enemy

It is common to become an internal conversation among Muslims. If there is no external threat, there is a tendency for internal conflict to occur. On the contrary, if there is an external threat of the Muslim community, then the unity of movement becomes a necessity. Just call it the intersection of the *Tarbiyah* activist movement with the *syabah Hizb*. The two groups in the perspective of *thariqoh* of struggle often occur in the da'wah field. Between those who agree with the path of democracy and those who don't, they have argument and often lead to the emergence of individual sentiment.

The situation was different after the case of religious blasphemy made by Ahok. All groups that have tapered off in the field can unite in this struggle for the defense of Islam. In GNPf-MUI everything can be fused. Forgetting the heated debate they had been facing. The principle of having one same enemy turned out to be power for the presence of this unifying movement.

This was understood by the driving figures at GNPf-MUI, especially Habib Rizieq, So in this case he does not insist on using the name FPI as the institution he has been leading although the mindset of each organization still adheres to its principles. However, they proudly put this aside for the time being for the sake of the newly created solidity.

The Effects of the 212 Islamic Defense Action Movement

Islamic Brotherhood

The extraordinary impact resulted as the output of the Islamic Defense Action movement was highly recognized by all groups in the harmonization of Islamic brotherhood. How could it not be, the world is presented with an all-powerful show that widens the eyes. With the presence of millions of people in one place and time without causing the noise. Of the millions of humans who were present, none of them touched each other's shoulder because each of them putting their brotherhood first. They helped and offered each other even though they didn't know each other yet.

A fruit seller was happy because he could sell his fruit although he got paid with smile only. He did it sincerely. The rice trader was busy offering his cook which he had prepared since dawn to the participants, saying: "Take it, it's free ... it's free". The baker deliberately parked his car with the open door and it was full of bread, and on it was written: "Free for *Mujahid 212*". Free bottled mineral water can be found every 5 steps.

No doubt that the miracle of that day is widely proposed to be World Brotherhood Day. The World Peace Committee (TWPC) determined the Islamic Defense Action December 2 (212) as World Brotherhood Day. The establishment of World Brotherhood Day received tremendous support and appreciation from the international community of 202 countries. TWPC President, Prof. Dr. HE Djuyoto Suntani in his written statement on Tuesday (3/12/2019) said that the existence of World Brotherhood Day has automatically dismissed the issues and cynicism of many people who call the designation of this special day a hoax as claimed by the fact-checker of site that called himself detector of facts but he refuted the fact about the determination of World Brotherhood Day.

Djuyoto said that the determination of World Brotherhood Day was based on the recommendation of several countries that were observing the 212 incident. This decision was supported by 202 countries, 90 percent of which are non-Muslim. There are 9 things that make 212 worthies of being documented in a special day to be celebrated throughout the year.

First, the spontaneous gathering of millions of people on 2 December 2016 was the first event in the world. Second, the millions of people who gathered willingly come on their own initiative. Third, the millions of people who gathered to convey their conscience. Fourth, the millions of people who gathered were responsible for themselves. Fifth, the millions of people who gathered were orderly, safe, and peaceful. Sixth, the logistics collected came from the elements of society. There were no hungry or thirsty people. Seventh, the millions of people who gathered silently prayed fervently with all beings in the universe. Eighth, the millions of people who gathered brought an aura of coolness and kinship, friendship, peace, a brotherhood that respected each other. Ninth, the universe throughout the earth planet gave glorious blessings to the millions of people who gathered at national monument on December 2 until the event was finished, the location was tidy. There wasn't even a shred of trash left. This happened because of God's pleasure and the blessing of the universe.²²

Conversion of Spirit to Business

The gift from the Almighty for the extraordinary blessing of every Islamic Defense Action starting from volume I to III gives infinite multi-benefits, including in terms of economy and business. Economic and business activists took this opportunity and immediately took action to

²² Gelora, *Presiden TWPC Prof. Djuyoto: Didukung 202 Negara, Aksi 212 Jadi Hari Ukhuwah Dunia*, 4 Desember 2019. <https://www.gelora.co/2019/12/presiden-twpc-prof-djuyoto-didukung-202.html>

make it as the capital in building a congregational business. By citing the tagline *Berjamaah, Amanah, Izzah* 212 Mart was founded.

Starting from the 212 action in December 2016, the pioneers then officially established the *Koperasi Syariah* a month later, precisely in January 2017. Although in the beginning many people doubted, 212 Mart proved to be able to survive and grow even though it was built when people's purchasing power was not good. Only in 1.5 years, 212 Mart had 207 outlets spread all over Indonesia.²³

Koperasi Syariah 212 was established on January 6, 2017. The Grand Launching of the *Koperasi Syariah* 212 was held in Al-Hambra Room, Andalusia Islamic Center, Sentul City, Bogor. The community leaders gathered, such as Ma'ruf Amin, Bachtiar Nasir, M. Zaitun Rasmin, Misbahul Anam, Didin Hafidhuddin, M. Syafii Antonio, and many other religious figures. The inaugural meeting of the founders was held on January 10, 2017, which was attended by 24 founders. This inaugural meeting resulted in the decision of the *Koperasi Syariah* 212 Articles of Association and its composition of the management for the first time. The results of the founders meeting through a Notary were reported to the Ministry Cooperation as representatives of the government in charge of cooperation.²⁴ It is a new way that provides an alternative for people to meet their daily needs with the hope of developing other business sectors.

New Domestic Map

This is a common phenomenon in a country that adheres to a multi-party democracy system, where the power is limited to elite circles. Elites here are party owners/leaders, businessmen, officials, and their members. This atmosphere has been going on for a long time. Soeharto's fall marked by the reform era did not provide significant changes. The rotation of power is limited to network owners and colleagues. Law enforcement is still selective and even tends to discriminate against a certain group. The owners of capital and the apparatus are more vulgar in demonstrating the role between master and servant. With the privileges that are presented to violate existing norms and regulations, it is common to witness.

This condition invites a form of resistance from the owner of the country who feel defeated. Then it comes a moment which makes all people mad. The accumulation of arrogance and arbitrariness met at a point of the impasse and people's anger in the 212 action. With the command

²³ G. Gumelar, *212 Mart, Buah Manis dari Aksi Protes Ucapan Al Maidah Ahok*, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20181202042731-92-350446/212-mart-buah-manis-dari-aksi-protos-ucapan-al-maidah-ahok>

²⁴ Profil Koperasi Syariah 212, 2019 <http://koperasisyariah212.co.id/profil-koperasi-syariah-212/>.

of the fighter who had sufficient insight and accessibility in the eyes of the people. Making this movement as powerful movement.

The calculation of the resulting impact becomes a new calculation in the strategy of controlling the wealth of resources available in this country. Without capital from any partisan political power, it is capable of becoming a new force that deserves to be compromised in this partnership and of course with an unconventional method, due to the background and status of this power.

For those in power, the hard approach is taken. Since the beginning, this movement has positioned itself as an opponent of the ruler. In addition, the shadow power in the power circle feels "angry" by the presence of this power, so this is seen as the only way that is considered the most possible. The technicalities that are carried out may vary but have similar patterns. The data:

Slander

The reversal of facts, from being to not being or not being at all is made into being. That is a practical technique to do in the beginning, namely to provide bad propaganda against figures who drive the power of the *ummah*. Framing is always disseminated with the intention of forming a heretical opinion in the midst of society which results in decreasing people's trust in figure and movement. Anti-Pancasila and NKRI movements. For example: Habib Rizieq's nasty chat, money laundering by Bachtiar Nasir, etc.

Crime

The emergence of private individuals, they reported the figures and clerics to the police with fabricated cases. The ITE Law is a powerful weapon to target the figures and scholars who always provide enlightenment via the internet. Also, in the open *dakwah*, it frequently happened that scholars were reported because they were considered to cause chaos and unrest in the community. Until this research was conducted, Habib Rizieq Shihab was still unable to return to his beloved homeland. Some of the parties met by the researcher said that there was great force blocking Habib Rizieq's return to Indonesia. For example: Habib Rizieq in the case of defamation of Pancasila, Bachtiar Nasir, Alfian Tanjung, Gus Nur, Al Khattat, Buni Yani, Jonru, etc.

Persecution

Several ulama who wanted to attend the invitation to religious speech in several places were blocked and persecuted on unwarranted accusation. Mass organizations that could be directed to

do so were maintained for this purpose. For example: Habib Rizieq Shihab was forced to move to Mecca and could not return, Abdul Shomad in Bali at the end of 2017 (Abdillah, 2020)²⁵, Tengku Zulkarnain at Sintang airport, West Kalimantan.²⁶

Divide and Conquer

It seemed like they directed certain mass organizations to hate and even attacked mass organizations and leaders. Because it is impossible to use formal state power, this seems to have succeeded. For example: GMBI attacked FPI in Bandung when the FPI followers were guarding Habib Rizieq. They were interrogated by the West Java Regional Police as a reported witness for alleged defamation of Pancasila.²⁷

Counter Movement

Since the action on December 2nd, 2016 took place, the people who didn't like the peaceful demonstration made counter action to break the concentration and readiness of the participants in the action. They made a call to attend the 'Kita Indonesia 412' action which they made 2 days later.²⁸ Several leaflets appealing to participate in the 412 action circulated among journalists and social media, Saturday (3/12/2016), both ministries and private institutions. The same thing was done by political parties supporting the government.²⁹

Regulatory Torpedoes

This is the ultimate way for the rulers to act as state regulators. On the basis of securing the State and its foundation, the government took shortcuts to eradicate ideas against Pancasila. This method is also needed as a scapegoat in covering up its weaknesses in running the country. Also, they took accusations to legitimize offensive actions. For example, the issuance of Perppu No. 2

²⁵ F. Abdillah, *Arya Wedakarna: Penyulut Persekusi UAS, Anti Wisata Halal dan Perbankan Syariah*, SUARAISLAM.ID. 22 Januari 2020. <https://suaraislam.id/arya-wedakarna-penyulut-persekusi-uas-anti-wisata-halal-dan-perbankan-syariah/>

²⁶ Waras Media, *Komisi Hukum MUI: Tengku Zulkarnain Diserang Senjata saat hendak Dakwah di Kalimantan*, <https://warasmedia.com/komisi-hukum-mui-tengku-zulkarnain-diserang-senjata-saat-hendak-dakwah-di-kalimantan.html>

²⁷ Portal Islam, *FPI Diserang Massa GMBI, Siapa DALANG dibaliknya?*, <https://www.portal-islam.id/2017/01/gmbi-serang-fpi-siapa-dalang-dibaliknya.html>

²⁸ A. Khumaini, *Membandingkan Aksi 212 dan 412*, *Merdeka.com*. <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/membandingkan-aksi-212-dan-412.html>

²⁹ Era Muslim, *Inikah 421 Demo Tandingan Aksi 212, Ikhhlaskah Pesertanya Bila Dipaksakan?*, 3 Desember 2016. <https://www.eramuslim.com/berita/nasional/inikah-412-demo-tandingan-aksi-212-ikhhlaskah-pesertanya-bila-dipaksakan.htm>

year 2017 concerning community organizations.³⁰ Responding to this, this movement fought back by taking another action against it. And the strategy of changing the name GNPf-MUI to GNPf Ulama, with the intention of not burdening MUI in vis a vis with the government.³¹ After that, the management changed from UBN to Yusuf Muhammad Martak.

The methods above were not successful enough in dampening the enthusiasm of the ulama and community leaders to speak out more loudly for resistance. In fact, the people became more challenged to defend the ulama who was targeted by the ruler. The result was the defeat of Ahok-Djarot in the second round in the election of Jakarta governor. They succeeded in winning Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno. Not only lost in the governor election, but the North Jakarta District Court also sentenced Ahok to 2 years in prison because he was proven to have insulted Islam. This is considered as a small victory from the big goal to be achieved, namely the formalization of Islam within the framework of the state or *NKRI Bersyariah*.

It is in contrast to the political opponents of the authorities in their view of this enormous movement of the ummah. The soft approach is precisely used by the opposition political elite in following this movement. Competitors from the ruling party saw this as a good opportunity by making this movement an intermediate target for smoothing the desire to rule. Merging with the mainstream of the movement requires that political parties have the same feeling and frequency. The acceptance with open arms was successfully obtained from this movement. Due to a genuine intention to defend religion for the defamation committed by the Jakarta leader with the full support of the national authorities, this collaboration finally took place. Over time, the chemistry generated by the 2 entities is increasingly finding harmony in one goal to be achieved, namely the transfer of power.

The scholars realized that this elite interest emerged. To get legitimacy and strength from the ulama and figures of the GNPf-MUI community who had changed their name to GNPf Ulama, they held a grand event which increasingly showed its existence in the domestic power map. *Ijtima' Ulama* was held in July 2018. The agenda discussed not only political issues, but also other fields in the form of commissions such as: Da'wah, Economics, Mass Organizations, Institutions and Fatwa. This activity suddenly stole the attention of political elites, considering the 2019 presidential election was getting closer. The parties outside the government hope to be invited by the committee, including Prabowo, who is eager to substitute Jokowi. Escalation is getting more

³⁰ I. Defianti, *Pro-Kontra Perppu Ormas*, liputan6.com, 16 Juli 2017. <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3023763/pro-kontra-perppu-ormas>

³¹ Imam S., *GNPF MUI jadi GNPf Ulama, Begini Penjelaskannya*, Kiblat, 30 Oktober 2017. <https://www.kiblat.net/2017/10/30/gnpf-mui-jadi-gnpf-ulama-begini-penjelaskannya/>

difficult to predict the direction of political policy of the 212 movement. Speculation arose over the results of the recommendations to be issued at the meeting. Each party chairman was given time to deliver speech, as well as conveying his hope for this 212 movement.

CONCLUSION

The 212 movement influenced the political map in Indonesia with the formation of a political entity. The 212 movement was actually neither a mass organization nor a party, but its existence led to the formation of great political rivals from the previous rulers. The weakness of Muslims today is due to a large number of schools and groups. Muslim groups are divided both external and internal aspects of religious thought. Even so, when Muslims have the same enemy (blasphemers of the Qur'an), various Islamic schools could unite to become a serious scourge of political power. This was also the basis for the 212 movement so that it was successful in its time, especially in winning the political stage at the DKI Jakarta level. In addition, in this theological aspect, it is a miracle of al-Quran which is still clear today, as in His Word; actually, Allah SWT sent down the al-Qur'an and Allah SWT also looks after it (al-Hijr verse 9). Ahok's words, whether intentionally or not, politically or not, still couldn't defeat the might of the Qur'an that is guaranteed by Allah SWT in maintaining its purity.

Most of Muslim stated that the 212 movement did not solely stimulate the political-government sphere. More than that, it also contributed to creating a Muslim-based business spirit. As a result of this turmoil, various entrepreneurial centers with Muslim labels were established, such as 212 mart which had successfully developed up to 207 outlets throughout Indonesia. Likewise, the establishment of the *Koperasi Syariah 212* which was supported by community leaders, such as Ma'ruf Amin, Bachtiar Nasir, M. Zaitun Rasmin, Misbahul Anam, Didin Hafidhuddin, M. Syafii Antonio, and many other religious figures.

The Indonesian Muslim unity movement is actually a manifestation of the successful Islamic political movements in the previous period. During the Soeharto era, Muslims became a frightening specter for the running of the ruling political system. Avoiding the rise of Islam in politics, there have been parties who deliberately segregate the existence of Islam so that Muslims are divided and racist with each other. The strategy was carried out by certain stakeholders by means of slander, crime, persecution, divide and conquer, counter-movements, and regulatory torpedoes.

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