

"Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama: A Critical Study Of The Relationship Between Religion And Politics

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to discuss the issue of the relationship between Islam and politics in the "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama. this study was motivated by "Action to Defend Islam 212". Therefor in this first study, the author wants to give about the study of background the formation of "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama. second, critical review about the relationship between Islam and politics of "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama. the purpose of this problem has been to trying flowin is ini and critiquing "is there the relationship between Islam and politics of "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama?". Approsch and method in this research use social religion approach is needed and Qualitative method that is the descriptive analysis with library research genre. The result from this research indicates that analysis and critical review about the relationship between Islam and politics of "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama is that be found relationship from side religion and politics, considering that there are a number of factors that indicate "Alumni 212 and Ijtima Ulama contains elements of politics and religion in it. The Defending Islam Action I,II AND III has become a new phenomenon in Islam, especially for the conditions of religious life in Indonesia. Which then this action becomes the background of the formation of the reunion "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama, it is feared indicated incarnated as a religious movement mass, and could potentially be a movement on behalf of Islam as a

form of identity politics. Nevertheless need the existence of functional relationship in the relationship between Islam and state (politics), that is about how Islam can perform its functions in the region or community of the state on the one hand. And how the state (politic) can the state can perform its functions as the governing body of the organization of the citizens and its territory is majority Islam on the other hand.

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk membahas persoalan relasi Islam dan politik pada “Alumni 212” dan Ijtima Ulama. penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh “Aksi Bela Islam 212”. Oleh karena itu dalam penelitian pertama ini, penulis ingin memaparkan tentang kajian tentang latar belakang terbentuknya “Alumni 212” dan Ijtima Ulama. kedua, tinjauan kritis tentang hubungan Islam dan politik “Alumni 212” dan Ijtima Ulama. Maksud dari permasalahan ini adalah mencoba mengalirkan ini dan mengkritisi “adakah hubungan Islam dengan politik “Alumni 212” dan Ijtima Ulama?”. Pendekatan dan metode dalam penelitian ini diperlukan pendekatan sosial religi dan metode kualitatif yaitu deskriptif analisis dengan genre penelitian kepustakaan. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa analisis dan tinjauan kritis tentang hubungan Islam dan politik “Alumni 212” dan Ijtima Ulama ditemukan hubungan dari sisi agama dan politik, mengingat ada beberapa faktor yang menunjukkan “Alumni 212 dan Ijtima Ulama mengandung unsur politik dan agama di dalamnya. Aksi Bela Islam I,II DAN III menjadi fenomena baru dalam Islam, khususnya bagi kondisi kehidupan beragama di Indonesia. Yang kemudian aksi ini menjadi latar belakang terbentuknya reuni “Alumni 212” dan Ijtima Ulama, dikhawatirkan terindikasi menjelma sebagai massa gerakan keagamaan, dan berpotensi menjadi gerakan yang mengatasmakan Islam sebagai bentuk politik identitas. Namun demikian perlu adanya hubungan fungsional dalam hubungan Islam dan negara (politik), yaitu tentang bagaimana Islam dapat menjalankan fungsinya di wilayah atau komunitas negara di satu sisi. Dan bagaimana negara (politik) dapat menjalankan fungsinya sebagai badan

pengatur organisasi warga negara dan wilayahnya yang mayoritas Islam di sisi lain.

Keywords : Politics, religion and relationship

INTRODUCTION

Religion is a form of totality about wisdom, love and peace among human beings. However, in reality it presents a phenomenon that is contrary to the nature of religion itself. The events of the 212 Defending Islam Action, which occurred successively starting from the Defending Islam Action I, II, and III have become a new phenomenon in the Islamic world, especially for religious conditions in Indonesia. Which later this action became the background for the formation of the reunion of "Alumni 212" and Ijtima Ulama, and was later indicated to be transformed into a mass religious movement, and allegedly has the potential to become a political movement in the name of Islam as a form of political identity. For this reason, the writer would like to present the results of the analysis related to the theme entitled "Alumni 212" and Ijtima' Ulama: Critical Studies related to the relationship between religion and politics. In this case, the author limits the presentation of the paper so that it does not widen into other issues. In the first discussion, the author conveys material regarding the background of the formation of "Alumni 212" and ijtima ulama. Second, the presentation of a critical study of the relationship between religion and politics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study uses the study of discourse analysis theory. In discourse analysis, language is seen and utilized as having certain functions and interests, both ideological and political motives (Aris Badara: 2014, 11). In order to reveal the discourse analysis, the theory put forward by Kenneth Burke is used called Pentad analysis (Pentad analysis), in which the analysis has elements of *act* (symbol), *scene* (background), *agent* (user), *agency* (tools, media) and *purpose* (goals). If the pentad model is used in analyzing the critical study of religion and politics, it will show the components of the *act* as words, the discourse used, the *scene* as the background for the emergence of the event and why the user (*agent*) performs the action, and the symbols used and what the *purpose* behind the action and criticism of the event (Aris Badara: 2014, 12).

As previously described, the critical approach views language as always having an involvement in power relations, especially in shaping the subject and various kinds of representational actions that exist in society. Therefore, critical discourse analysis which also uses a critical approach does not only analyze language, but also relates it to the context. The context referred to here is for certain purposes and practices. Fairclough (in Jorgensen) suggests that discourse is a social practice (Aris Badara: 2014, 25-26). One of the strengths of critical discourse analysis is the ability to see and uncover political ideology in a discourse of events. This is important because in critical discourse it is believed that a certain action is a form of ideological practice or a reflection of a certain ideology. Even classical theories related to ideology, among others, state that ideology is built by dominant groups for a particular purpose to produce and legitimize their domination (Aris Badara: 2014, 8) with the statement of the theory, it shows that a critical study of the relationship between religion and politics in the events of alumni 212 and *ijtima* ulama indicates the dominance of certain groups that underlie the relationship between religion and politics.

Starting from a mass demonstration with the mission of a peaceful act of defending Islam, which attracted the attention of the Indonesian people, even abroad. This action then became a mass mobilization that was formed in a structured manner, which later became a form of reunion of Muslims known as "Alumni 212", and later transformed into a mass religious movement, and is suspected to have the potential to become a political movement in the name of Islam as a form of symbol or political identity for those concerned (Rohmatin Bonasir: 2017).

METHODS

This study uses literature review research with a socio-religious approach, with qualitative research methods that are descriptive analysis. Qualitative research is defined as research that uses a natural setting with the intention of interpreting the phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving various existing methods. Qualitative research also seeks to find and describe in a narrative way the activities carried out and the impact of the actions taken on their lives (Albi Anggito, and Joni Setiawan: 2018, 7). Descriptive qualitative research is a type of research related to efforts to answer current problems and explain them based on data obtained by researchers. By collecting several sources of literature, such as articles, journals, books and so on (Wina Sanjaya: 2015, 67).

Data Collection Methods. The qualitative research data collection process includes the following steps, first, the researcher collects sources or data related to the research theme through library research (Library Research). The sources are obtained from news articles, journals, books, social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook and so on. The second step, the researcher critiques or analyzes the data, that is, after searching the source as explained above, the researcher criticizes the sources that have been obtained by doing a cross check, the point is to see the objectivity, validity and authenticity of the source. The third step, drawing conclusions and verifying the next step in the analysis of qualitative data according to Miles and Haberman is drawing conclusions and verification. The initial conclusions put forward are basically temporary, and will change if no strong evidence is found to support the next stage of data collection. However, if the conclusions are put forward at an early stage, supported by valid and consistent evidence, then the conclusions put forward are credible conclusions (Muh Fitrah and Lutfiyah: 2017, 84).

FINDING AND DISCUSSIONS

212 Alumni Background

Action to defend Islam 212 on December 2, 2016 was a colossal demonstration event carried out by Muslims in Indonesia, which they did to uphold justice on behalf of Indonesian Muslims. This action was attended by thousands of Muslims in Indonesia from various groups and levels of society, ranging from the *bourgeois* (upper), *Proletarian* (middle) to the lower classes, in which this action to defend Islam was promoted by Rizieq Shihab as the chairman of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) (Muhammad Wildan: 2016, 188). and then followed by GNPF-MUI (National Movement to Guard Fatwa-Indonesian Ulema Council) as the organizer of the action.

This demonstration was motivated by an alleged act of blasphemy committed by the non-active governor of DKI-Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) in the Thousand Islands for his statement alluding to the letter Al-Maidah verse 51 in September 2016. then it was viral by Buni Yani on his social media account, namely Facebook, which then resulted in a polemic among Muslims in Indonesia. The polemic gave rise to a movement or action to defend and enforce justice for Muslims by prosecuting Ahok, who was considered to have insulted Muslims and the ulama (Arie Setyaningrum and Gita Oktaviani: 2017, 67).

The mass mobilization was initiated by the FPI group and then followed by GNPF-MUI and other mass organizations such as Hizbut

Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), FUI, MMI Tarbiyah, Jakarta Servant Council/Jakarta Community Movement (GMJ), Jakarta High Council Sharia for Governor Muslim Jakarta, the Indonesian Islamic Boarding School Cooperation Agency, Al Irsyad, FS-LDK (Forum Silaturahmi Lembaga Dakwah Kampus), Wahdah Islamiyah, the Intellectual Council and Young Ulama, all of these are mass organizations that use Islamic symbols and discourses to mobilize the Action to Defend Islam II (411), III (212). Meanwhile, there were other mass organizations that took part in the 212 Defending Islam Action which also represented the symbol and unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), such as the Red and White Network (JMP)/Gerindra, National Defense Movement, Joint Action for the People (AKBAR), Betawi Rempug Forum (FBR), and the Civilized Indonesia Movement (Arie Setyaningrum and Gita Oktaviani: 2017, 68).

This mass mobilization was then carried out through social media by spreading *broadcast* messages to carry out peaceful actions or actions to defend Islam which was held on Friday, December 2, 2016 at the National Monument (MONAS) Jakarta. This action was colored by thousands of Muslims from various regions in Indonesia who participated in this peaceful demonstration, this action was dominated by urban Muslim groups. When calculated systematically, the number of Muslims who joined is around 500,000-757,000 people. There are differences of opinion regarding the number of participants in the action, some say it was 7.5 million people (Abdiatu Lintang P: 2016, 115). Thousands and even millions of Muslims thronged the National Monument in Central Jakarta to hold a long *march* in which a series of events were held, namely joint prayers accompanied by congregational Friday prayers (Nur Fitriyana: 2017, 10).^[14]

As for the beginning of the 212th Action, it had previously been preceded by the October 28, 2016, action which was carried out at the Jakarta City Hall, led by Habib Rizieq Shihab (the FPI High Priest) who wanted to demand the government to immediately conduct an investigation on allegations of blasphemy. what Ahok has done. However, then the action continued again on November 4, 2016, known as a phenomenal action because this action received direct news coverage, both from within and outside the country. This action is also still questioning why the government has not named Ahok as a suspect and removed his position as Governor of DKI Jakarta. And then the action that is no less important and the most phenomenal is the action of December 2, 2016, which was later known as the 212 action, as the culmination of various previous actions to defend Islam (Abdiatu Lintang P: 2016, 6-10).

However, although this action has stopped since Ahok was detained and Ahok was removed from his position as Governor of DKI Jakarta, the feeling of unity of Muslims after the 212 Islamic defense action event did not end there. Until the following year, on December 2, 2017, the 212 ABI (Islamic defense action) reunion was held at Monas or known as the "Alumni 212" reunion, which was attended by thousands of Muslims and a number of participating religious figures. In the previous peaceful demonstration, in the reunion held a prayer together with the figures, the ulama.

Ijtima ulama

The main representation of Islam in Indonesia is owned by NU (Nahdatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah, apart from that Indonesia also has an important fatwa institution known as MUI (Indonesian Ulama Council), recently a fatwa from MUI tried to be part of the process. legislative. It can be said that NU, Muhammadiyah and MUI are religious authorities on a national scale (Ahmad Sholikin: 2018, 21-23). Therefore, it is not surprising that all decisions regarding religion (Islam) depend on these three authorities.

However, this is different when the events of the Islamic Defense Action I, II, and III occur. Where two of the three religious authorities have different views. Where NU and Muhammadiyah do not seem to function, both of which are known as *role* models of Indonesian Islam or as a balance between radicalism and liberalism. There is another color of Islam that has emerged, which so far has not paid much attention to its actions, or tends to be ignored or even seen as a parasite which actually appears more dominant in ABI I, II, and III (Ahmad Sholikin: 2018, 23). The new color of Islam grew and continued to grow, which undermined two other Islamic authorities that had been dominant in Indonesia (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 204).

Ijtima Ulama in the sense of this context is a group of scholars who have the authority to decide and agree on the results of a decision that has been determined by their group. Their group consists of a number of religious leaders who are alumni of the 212 defending Islam action participants. As we know earlier that the Ulama Ijtima referred to in this context is an ijtima ulama which was formed by the groups participating in the 212 defending Islam action. The results of the agreement of religious leaders in This ijtima ulama then formed a new pattern in socio-religious conditions in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, when ABI 212, NU and Muhammadiyah as representatives of religious authorities in Indonesia strongly advised

NU residents not to join ABI 212, NU even issued a fatwa that Friday prayers on the highway were not legal, this was conveyed directly by Said Aqil Siradj, PBNU General Chair (Nahdatul Ulama Executive Board). Apart from NU, Muhammadiyah also did not encourage its citizens to take part in the action, this was conveyed directly by the general chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Haedar Nasir. However, instead of following the recommendation, many NU and Muhammadiyah members chose to join Riziq Shihab, AA Gym, Arifin Ilham Bachtiar Nashir, Zaitun Rasmin and other figures who participated in ABI 212 (Ahmad Sholikin: 2018, 203).

GNPF-MUI (National Movement to Guard Fatwa-Indonesian Ulema Council) as one of the organizers or initiators of the 212 defense of Islam claimed that the mass mobilization they had carried out was justified by the MUI fatwa which issued a statement regarding Ahok's actions as a statement issued by the Indonesian Ulema Council. The announcer insulted the Qur'an and the ulema, because it was conveyed by Ahok in public with a specific purpose. This was indicated as political, which at that time coincided with the advancement of the incumbent Ahok and Saiful Djarot in the DKI-Jakarta Regional head election (Arie Setyaningrum and Gita Oktaviani: 2017, 66).

As for the statement above, it can be drawn a line that between *ijtima ulama*, whether from the authorities of NU, Muhammadiyah and MUI, did not find a common agreement regarding the 212 Defending Islam event. call it the Indonesian Islamic model and there is no other model that is quite influential?" (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 203).

The series of events in the defense of Islam, followed by the reunion of Alumni 212 and the *ijtima ulama*, seemed to want to show a new map in religion in Indonesia, which may have seemed a bit blurry all this time, seems to be getting clearer. Moreover, with the addition of the new colors of Islam, which are non-NU and Muhammadiyah, it seems that the two colors of Islam are dominant in Indonesia (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 204).

Religion and Politics

The 212 Defend Islam Action which led to the 212 Alumni reunion was not a spontaneous movement without any indication of its cause, which gave birth to a sea of people from various regions in Indonesia who gathered into one *long march* in Jakarta (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 209). The following is a critical study of indications of the existence of religious and political relations related to this phenomenon:

Religion

When viewed from the point of view of religious elements, several ulama figures took this action as a form of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar and a sense of justice, by raising the spirit of Muslims as the majority population in Indonesia, therefore it is necessary to have something as a trigger for the revival of Islam. in Indonesia (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 11).

Showing the quality of *ukuhwah* Muslims as a real brotherhood, not pretending. This is evidence that Islam in Indonesia continues to move dynamically (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 11). The movement of Islam in Indonesia is felt to have undergone a significant change, the entry of the dominance of salafi understanding, especially Indonesia, which this understanding refers to the middle class Muslim community whose dominance is mostly in urban areas. Therefore, the Action to Defend Islam is dominated by the urban Muslim middle class who incidentally are highly educated and moderate. Although Islamization in Indonesia has directed Islam to a conservative (puritan) attitude, Islamization and extremism are not the face of the future of Indonesian Islam (Muhammad Wildan: 2016, 188).

Alumni 212 and ijtima ulama want to try to voice the unity of the people and return to the Koran and *hadith* in understanding and solving problems of social life that exist in today's society. because it is felt that the development of an increasingly advanced era and the effects of external problems, such as secularization, westernization, and even fundamentalism are triggers that make many Muslims in particular ignore the Koran and hadith as solutions in dealing with social problems. This can be interpreted as a political communication of Muslims in responding to the dynamics of the life of the nation and state which have recently cracked. Coupled with the indications of discrimination against Muslims are increasingly clear. Pluralism that has been fostered for so long again looks barren by political passions and passions (power) and the interests of certain groups. To be honest, when viewed from the point of view of the religious aspect in the context of this problem, Muslims want to try to communicate to the government as the ruling elite, that Muslims want to ask for justice both in law enforcement and in the economic, social and cultural fields (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 206).

Therefore, the role of religion becomes very important when it is embraced by social groups as a form of fulfilling human spiritual needs, a religion that contains teachings about the highest and absolute truth about human existence. Even religion is felt to be a form of guidance for the safety of life in this world and the hereafter (Haedar

Nashir: 1997, 89). Especially when Ahok's religious blasphemy occurred, there were many reactions from several elite religious figures, especially Muslims who felt disturbed by their calm as the majority in the Indonesian state. Therefore, it is not surprising that Alumni 212 and Ijtima ulama are mostly against Ahok's side, as the defense candidate for the regional head election. Moreover, coupled with Ahok's character as a politician, it has been investigated in such a way, even the background of Ahok's belief as a leader is questioned.

Lately, an event or problem often occurs in the name of a religious face or symbol, or commonly referred to as the politicization of religion. This problem is often associated with conditions or situations leading up to the election. Whether it's in the form of physical violence, demonstrations, demonstrations or expressions of concern. In their view, religion should function to interpret and direct the reality of life, so it can be said that religion has an interpretive function and an ethical function in it.

In this point of view, religion does not drift and sink into politics, and politics does not try to use religion for its own sake. Interpretive and ethical functions are only possible if religion and politics are not confused, if there is independence and distance. Because in such a situation, the interaction between religion and politics will emphasize dynamism and intended change without interpretive and ethical functions, religion will be easily legitimized or used by political and economic practices that cannot be accounted for. Presumably conflicts or problems that have a religious face need to be seen from other perspectives such as political, economic or socio-cultural links (JB Banawiratma: 181-183).

Indeed, there is a concern regarding the position of religion being trapped in political and power circles because it is used by certain groups to erode the magnetism and attraction of religion. When conditions like that then religion is used as a tool to gain influence and gain support from the community in order to remain in power. Religion and politics in people's social life are often instruments to attract sympathy and support for the mission to be achieved (Muhammad Ramadhan: 2017, 37-38).

Moreover, coupled with the fading boundaries of Traditional Islam in the midst of society, urban moderate Muslims are starting to form in such a way, along with religious propaganda programs on television and social media, and celebrity Ustadz are emerging on the surface of Indonesian Islam. Therefore, a number of opinions from various levels of society consider that the actual political issues in the Action to Defend Islam which later led to the reunion of the 212

Alumni, are not enough to attract and mobilize thousands and even millions of people in Indonesia to gather to voice their aspirations in Jakarta, but there is another symbol behind it all, namely the issue of ethnicity and religion, therefore the Islamic Defense Action has made itself a national issue, even the international media (the Islamic world) has also covered it (Banawiratma, 189). The problem of identity politics in Indonesia is more tied to issues of ethnicity, religion, ideology, and local interests which are generally represented by the elites with their respective articulations (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 206).

In Nurcholis Madjid's view, it is necessary to reflect on the forms of relations between Islam and the state in modern Indonesia in the future (Siti Nadroh: 1999, 172). Religion as a system, religion functions to provide direction and orientation, as well as the meaning of life and the legitimacy of social order. Religion is always involved in providing direction and influence on human consciousness, attitudes and actions for the occurrence of changes in human history and the world. If we look further, the rise and fall of a nation's history and civilization is determined by the extent to which religion contributes spiritual vision, ethical and moral paradigms, and prophetic powers that can support that civilization (Siti Nadroh: 1999, 175). Therefore, in the 212 alumni incident, many things were in the name of religion, where religion was used as a weapon to fight against government injustice. They (unscrupulous persons) take advantage of this heated situation for their own personal and group interests by using the name of religion as a shield .

Actually, it is not easy to talk about Islam in Indonesia, because religion is a sensitive issue. Indonesia's political vocabulary has been enriched with the abbreviation SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Inter-Group), which describes the political sensitivity in Indonesia (Nurcholis Majid: 2008, 62). The role of Islam in the political process in Indonesia also determines the future movement of Islam, this is why, since its inception, "the nationalist movement in Indonesia has an anti-colonial, anti-Chinese, Islamic and socialist character" which later Islam soon became the ideological weapon of various movements. against the "infidel" invaders, and the Islamic movement to assist and advance the interests of the *santri* (representation of Muslims) (Nurcholis Majid: 2008, 65-66).

There has been growing concern by the government against the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and intensified action by the Indonesian authorities to stop the expression of Islam that has radically criticized the government has resurfaced in recent years. These issues are not too dramatic to say, they are central to the rise of political Islam

in Indonesia. In terms of understanding fundamentalism also contains meanings that are positive and negative. Although many people think that fundamentalism is negative, it is possible that fundamentalism also has a positive function in it in the whole process of the social system. Quoted from the book Nurcholis Madjid, John Obert Voll said that “the pattern of fundamentalism acts as a corrective regulatory mechanism. In the context of change and adaptation, fundamentalists seek to keep the basic message fully influential on the people. If the regulation of local conditions and the use of new ideas and techniques threaten the distinctive and original elements of Islam, fundamentalist pressures begin to form. In one sense, the mission of Islamic fundamentalists is to keep the arrangements for change within the trajectory of clearly Islamic options (Nurcholis Majid: 2008, 67-68).

In alleviating the prejudices that arise between the government and the people with an Islamic orientation, it is important that Indonesian Islam be defined more inclusively. Nevertheless, Islamic symbols must be open and understandable to all Muslims, inside and outside the government. This is not a form of excuse to compromise and abandon the high ideals of Islam. However, the problem is that there must be a new method of da'wah, emphasizing the *wisdom of wisdom* and *mauizhah hasanah* (good appeal), according to the instructions of the Qur'an and Hadith. This is considered capable of being done by religious authorities in Indonesia, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI as promoters (Nurcholis Majid: 2008, 73).¹

The role of a religion is great towards state policy as a political ruler towards a just and civilized government even though it is a secular government so that the state is recognized by the people. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the people through an ethic (moral) also of course play an active role both critically and correctively against the course of state power. Nevertheless religion is believed to be a source of inspiration. Placing and making religion a form of *check and balance* as a corrective function against worldly empirical realities (power and politics), as well as an stimulant (*elective affinity*) to power itself. This of course can happen if the rulers do not intentionally make religion marginal and profane domestic .

However, it is hard to imagine if the ruler (politics) has been dissolved in worldly anxiety and unrest. They will no longer hesitate to intimidate the people and the masses in order to get what they want as a justification for the policy of their power. Religion then becomes politicized for the sake of or only for a momentary interest in the name of common interests and stability. The role of religion itself is actually

very dominant, where religion is expected to reform the bad political order (*dark politics*) into a clean political order (*clean politics*) which is certainly a main agenda in this regard (Zuly Qodir, 166-168).

Political

The action of Defending Islam is essentially demanding justice, where they demand that Ahok be immediately processed and detained in accordance with applicable law in Indonesia. Because until several times the actions carried out by Indonesian Muslims have occurred, Ahok has not been arrested by the authorities. Whereas similar cases were immediately processed legally. Which of these then gave rise to political presumptions behind the postponement of Ahok's detention. Where at that time coincided with the election of Regional head election or the Governor of Jakarta which attracted a lot of public attention, with several candidates being nominated, one of which was Ahok as the incumbent governor (Fitriyana: 2017, 6).

The second reason is that where Ahok is a suspect in the blasphemy case, Ahok is still and will be allowed to serve as the Governor of DKI Jakarta, coupled with Ahok's advancement as a defense candidate in the next Regional head election. This caused more reactions from Muslims, they demanded President Joko Widodo to immediately implement the Indonesian Constitution by removing the accused Governor from his position (Fitriyana: 2017, 7). There is a symbolic message to be conveyed, considering that in overcoming the problem of Ahok's blasphemy, the government's inability to overcome and investigate further the many problems that are increasingly complex in society (Fitriyana: 2017, 23). Considering that the DKI Jakarta area is still democratically unstable, with the presence of leaders who don't care about the emotions of the masses, this makes the foundation of democracy even more unstable (Fitriyana: 2017, 24).

Coupled with the political leadership and political elite who are deemed not to uphold justice (*dzalim*), and of course the element of ethnicity is again a problem, considering that Ahok is of Chinese (Chinese) descent, which many people think of as having a communist *image*, which then becomes an intimidation for the people. Muslims in Indonesia. In addition, Muslims also want to revive the political passion of Muslims by directly participating in politics in Indonesia (Ma'mun Murod A: 2017).

Quoted from a BBC Indonesia article in the journal, "And this is Muslim politics, and Muslims now want to rule through constitutional channels, through local elections, general elections and presidential elections". This has confirmed that the "Alumni 212"

reunion event was indicated to contain political elements, which was conveyed by the coach of the Alumni 212 persidium, who is also a member of the GNPf-MUI advocacy team, Kapitra Ampera, to BBC Indonesia (Rohmatin Bonasir: 2019).

Meanwhile, according to some social observers, the Defending Islam Action is a "demonstration" mobilization model with the act of imposing a will or "mobocracy", where this mobilization action was carried out by the GNPf-MUI in particular, which from the beginning was supported by the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) to impose their will so that their political agenda can influence the results of political decisions, as well as the law by constructing public discourse and disseminating support, especially through religious identity as the basis for unifying political interests among the mass organizations involved.

In addition, some of the public considers that the mass organizations that organize the Action to Defend Islam are radical Islamic groups, where they not only have a mission to imprison Ahok, but they also carry out "political treason" whose goals are directed to the legitimate government, namely during the reign of President Joko Widodo, because this action had the mission of replacing the constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with a transnational radical Islamic ideology, such as "Khilafah Islamiyah" (Arie Setyaningrum, 68-69).

The tendency to mobilize religious communities in the socio-political process is a fact that always occurs and is considered quite effective for the exchange of political interests between parties. Meetings between religious leaders and politicians, visits to ummah base offices, mass events, and various other forms of mobilization using idioms, symbols, and religious logic, can be witnessed especially in important political moments leading up to the election. . The tendency to mobilize religious people is indeed natural in any political process, especially in Indonesian society, the majority of which are still relatively strong in religion. However, the political process in such a way becomes an agenda as well as raises a dilemma in the meaning and function of diversity among religious people themselves (Haedar Nasir: 1998, 171).

It is indicated that some of the riding groups want to establish a caliphate in our homeland, legitimize the caliphate in the country, in order to achieve their vision and mission, the elite figures. Besides that, elections or regional head elections become a dimension in which religion, in this case, is used as a shield or a tool in achieving power. Moreover, with the event of the Action to Defend Islam, which

then continued to the reunion of Alumni 212, this indicates that there are political elite parties who take advantage of the situation as a form or tool to weaken their rivals in the struggle for leadership in the capital.

In terms of legitimacy, there is a parallelism between religion and the state (power). Religion, doctrinally-dogmatically (ideologically), has the power (authority) to justify its teachings because it comes from the authority of revelation or the word. Meanwhile, the doctrinal-dogmatic-political state has the authority to justify the policies it takes (Zuly Qodir: 1998, 165). In the political discourse, the elements that become the object of study are the state and power. As a representation of the crowd and the gathering of individual interests. So the main purpose of this event seems a bit vague, whether the main goal of the state is only for the benefit of individuals or groups personally, or actually to create the general good as a whole (Abdul Halim: 2013, 2).

The issue of religion and the state, especially politics, seems to have existed from a century ago and even more, and is still an important subject of highlight in the world of Islamic thought studies that has not been completely resolved. Especially since after World War II which resulted in awkward relations between Islam (*Din*) and the state (*Daulah*), or even politics (Khamami Zada: 2002, 100). Even in the historical record of Indonesia, the issue of the relationship between Islam and the state began since the assembly of the constituent assembly (1956-1959), since then the issue has become increasingly ideological and political. In the end, the problem is incomplete and it is as if the problem is stored in historical memory whose key is passed down from generation to generation (Komarudin Hidayat and Ahmad Gaus AF: 2005, xi-xii).

The relationship between religion and politics seems unavoidable for some Muslim-majority countries. Secularization in the context of formal separation of religion and state is still difficult to do in the body of Muslims. In fact, the trend that has strengthened so far is the encouragement of Muslims to strengthen the integration of religion and politics, and Indonesia is no exception. This., 6. Although Pancasila is a final basis in its function as the basis and philosophy of nationality that has been agreed upon by the majority of the Indonesian population, in reality there are still a group of Indonesian Muslims who are determined to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia (Abdul Halim, 6).

Actually, long before the 212 Defending Islam Action incident which led to Alumni 212. The Indonesian state has experienced conflicts with SARA (ethnic, religious, racial, and inter-group nuances) nuances, for example, a religious conflict occurred in 1999 which was

originally in Ambon, and then extended to Maluku and North Maluku. As for conflicts that have a religious tone, they will be protracted and can even extend to various objects, because religious emotions are easier to provoke than ethnic, racial and inter-group emotions. In fact, according to sharia, religion has never taught its followers to be hostile to people or groups of other religions. This also happened again in Indonesia, precisely in 2017, where the *Long March* event was held by Muslims in Jakarta which was then known as the "Action for Defending Islam 212" (Tebba: 2001, 138).

This movement is then interpreted as a form of political communication of Muslims in responding to the dynamic situation of the life of the nation and state which has been fractured lately due to certain parties who want to divide the unity of the Indonesian nation. Indications of discrimination against Muslims, plus pluralism which is considered arid due to political lust and the interests of certain groups are the triggers. Which actually Muslims want to communicate to the relevant government that Muslims want to ask for justice, be it in the form of law enforcement, economy, social and culture. Because in Indonesia, identity politics is more related to issues of ethnicity, religion, ideology, and local interests which are represented by the elite in general with their respective articulations (Asyari Abdullah, 2017, 206).

Therefore, if there is a conflict that has a religious nuance, it must indirectly look for causes that are in the external area of religion, such as indications of political, economic, or other interests. As for the conflict of political and economic interests, whether it is at the elite or mass level, it is possible that it can lead to a religious conflict, especially if the person or group has different interests or even different beliefs (religion) (Tebba: 2001, 138).

The relationship between Islam and the state is, of course, still an interesting discourse to be discussed. The discourse of Islam and the state as a debate has actually existed since before Indonesia's independence. The relationship between religion and politics in the two events of Alumni 212 and Ijtima 'ulama certainly re-opens issues and debates regarding Islam and the state in Indonesia that have long been buried and unresolved. In connection with this, many scholars express their opinions or thoughts from their point of view on the relationship between religion and the state. For Muslims, the teachings of Islam have taught their people about the obligation of Islam in a *kaffah* manner, Islam is interpreted as practicing Islamic law properly and correctly in accordance with the guidance that has been taught. Whether it's the Shari'a that regulates the relationship between

humans as creatures and God, as well as humans and other humans, such as being in social problems, the economy, education, politics, government and state procedures (Cecep Supriadi: 2015, 200).

According to Ibn Khaldun in the relationship between religion and the state, religion occupies the most important position as a truth that must be realized in reality and becomes a form of foundation for the development of a country as a unifier and source of political legitimacy that makes the state invincible. Religion has four important roles in a country, namely religion as a unifying factor, religion as a driving force for the success of the political process and power, religion as political legitimacy, and religion as a source of morality. According to him, religion must of course remain in an important position that occupies a truth that must be realized in reality (Abdurrahman Ibn Khaldun: 2003, 188).

Meanwhile, according to Abu A'la Maududi, in which he conceptualized the two goals of the state in Islam, namely as an enforcer of justice in human life and stopping tyranny and destroying arbitrariness. second, namely upholding the Islamic religious law system such as the benefit of the people (prayer, zakat) through all the power and means owned by the government (Abul A'la Maududi: 1996, 75-76).

The existence of religious and political relations in an event or a mass mobilization, of course later it will be feared that it will shape Islamic political rationality. between the two entities, namely Islam (religion) and the state, there is a "political" content. This politics then formed the theory of "Islamic politics" and "state politics". Therefore, separating or juxtaposing religion (Islam) and the state (politics) is not an easy matter. As we all know, the discourse or thought and practice of political Islam or political Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from efforts to adapt political thought, the relationship between "religion and the state", ranging from Liberalism, Socialism, Secularism, Marxism to democracy (Hamsah Hasan: 2015, 22-23).

Political problems related to "Alumni 212" and ijtima ulama are caused by two things, namely efficiency and quantity, efficiency here means that the ulama or religious figures who participated in the Action to Defend Islam, and later became members of the "Alumni 212" or religious leaders Ulama who are members of the Ijtima Ulama are self-aware of public office as an efficient means of fulfilling the ideals and vision of a nation, repairing Indonesia's house from the crisis and trying to direct it to the true ideals of the nation. Because when viewed from the track record of past state elites who have failed to idealize the nation's journey. Armed with reflection and prayer, religious leaders or

Ulama feel that they will be better than rotten politicians who have been circulating in society for a long time.

Quantity is one important point that is not overlooked, the attitude of quantity is the placement of the support base on the masses and not on the ability and experience of governing. Religious leaders or ulama actually place the charisma and support of their people in doing political *bargaining*. That way, they are able to get their people to support their political activities, and then they are able to convince their political supporters and partners to always swing the political struggle together (Komaruddin Hidayat and Yudhie Haryono: tt, 2).

The relationship between religion and the state (politics) is often a hot topic in society today. many opinions about or say Islam is just a religion that has nothing to do with political issues, then others say that Islam is an inseparable state and religion (Moh. Roriquddin: 2009, 68). Islam is not just a religion, but a system of life. Islam in it covers the problems of all areas of human life. Islam is a social order that contains the main points of human life. In this case, the relationship between religion in Alumni 212 and Ijtima is to want to convert to Islam kaffah, namely by practicing good and correct Islamic law in accordance with the demands taught. Whether it's the Shari'a that regulates the relationship between humans as creatures and God as the Creator. Or regulate human relations with other humans (*Muamalah*) as well as issues of economy, education, politics, government and state procedures.

Al-Ghazali said that religion and state are like twins, need each other. Therefore the two are inseparable from each other. Religion is like the foundation, while the state is the guardian. Something without a Foundation will easily collapse, however something without a guard will be lost (Cecep Supriadi: 2015, 204-205). Nevertheless, there needs to be a functional relationship in the relationship between Islam and the state, namely how Islam can carry out its functions in a region or community of a country on the one hand, and also how the state can carry out its function as an organizational body in which citizens and its territory is a Muslim-majority community, on the other hand. Normatively and juridically, the Indonesian state has accommodated the principles of religion and civilized social life in Pancasila, as the basic form of the Indonesian nation state (Hamsah Hasan: 2015, 35).

Even in his book, Harun Nasution explains that there is no single argument that explains the necessity of establishing an Islamic state. not only about the Islamic state, even about the state, there is no verse or hadith that explicitly mentions the formation of a government

or state in Islam. When viewed normatively, Islam does not provide strict provisions regarding the system of government of a country that is formed, whether it is in the form of a republican system, caliphate, imamate, monarchy, authoritarian or democratic. Islam only emphasizes more on how a system is able to give birth and deliver a nation to a just, prosperous condition, free from tyrannical pressure or others (Abdullah: 2014, 26).

However, whether it's a religious or political issue, religion (Islam) should be defined more inclusively-which includes anyone in their faith system, including Muslims. In terms of politics for Muslims, Nurcholis Madjid views that the ideological content in Islam should be discarded. With this, Islam as al-Din does not experience a reduction in its meaning (Muhammad Hari Zamharir: 2004, 107).

CONCLUSION

The 212 Defending Islam Action is a democratic phenomenon that occurs in Indonesia by Muslims. This action occurred due to blasphemy committed by Ahok, the Governor of DKI Jakarta. This action then happened several times to demand justice. Based on the events of the Islamic defense action, then the background for the formation of the "Alumni 212" reunion as a form of representation of Muslim solidarity.

Ijtima' ulama was formed based on an association of religious leaders who wanted to agree on the results of decisions made by religious leaders participating in the action to defend Islam. Even NU and Muhammadiyah, as role models of Islam in Indonesia, seem to be dysfunctional, both of which are known as models of Indonesian Islam or as a balance between radicalism and liberalism. There is another color of Islam that appears, which so far has not paid much attention to its actions, or tends to be ignored, which in fact appears to be more dominant in the act of defending Islam. Therefore, the question arises about "Is it still relevant to see NU and Muhammadiyah being referred to as models of Indonesian Islam and there are no other models that are quite influential?"

Regarding the relationship between religion and politics in the 212 Defending Islam Action, several indicators of religious and political elements were grouped in the action. Namely, when viewed from the religious aspect, Alumni 212 and ijtima ulama want to try to voice the unity of the people and return to the Koran and *hadith* in understanding and solving problems of social life that exist in today's society. because it is felt that the development of an increasingly advanced era and the effects of external problems, such as

secularization, westernization, and even fundamentalism are triggers that make many Muslims in particular ignore the Koran and *hadith* as solutions in dealing with social problems. Second, because of the lack of satisfaction with the government in power, they feel that the government and power have experienced a lot of decline in leadership. third, namely Lately, an event or problem often occurs in the name of a religious face or symbol, or commonly referred to as the politicization of religion. Fourth, the fading of the boundaries of Traditional Islam in the midst of society. External influences such as secularization, westernization and fundamentalism trigger divisions among Muslims.

Meanwhile, in the political element, there is a coalition between Islamic mass organizations that participated in the 212 defense of Islam, in which there are several mass organizations who act in the name of religion as a symbol of political identity. This is then indicated by another element, according to some social observers, the Defending Islam Action is a "demonstration" mobilization model with the act of imposing a will or "*mobocracy*", which was designed by GNPF-MUI and FPI to impose their will so that their political agenda can influence the result of political decisions, through religious identity as the basis. In addition, some of the public considers that the mass organizations that organize the Action to Defend Islam are radical Islamic groups, where they not only have a mission to imprison Ahok, but they also carry out "political treason" whose goals are directed to the legitimate government, namely during the reign of President Joko Widodo, because this action had the mission of replacing the constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with a transnational radical Islamic ideology, such as "Khilafah Islamiyah". The tendency to mobilize religious people is natural in any political process, especially in Indonesian society, the majority of which are still relatively strong in religion, especially in the important political moments leading up to the election.

Nevertheless, there needs to be a functional relationship in the relationship between Islam and the state, namely how Islam can carry out its functions in a region or community of a country on the one hand, and also how the state can carry out its function as an organizational body, where the majority of its citizens are Muslims. on the other. Normatively and juridically, the Indonesian state has accommodated religious principles and civilized social life in Pancasila, as the basic form of the Indonesian nation state. It is necessary and

important for the community, the ruling elite and religious leaders to view religion and politics in a more mature and inclusive manner.

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