

TRAGEDY OF AL MAIDAH 51 TO SOCIAL CHANGE IN JAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

Allah SWT has managed Moslem people to do the best thing in the society or even in the hereafter through the holy Quran. Al Quran is specially prepared by Allah SWT as the best guidance for Moslem people in this world especially Moslem people in Indonesia. In the Quran, especially Al Maidah 51 asks Moslem people to choose their leader coming from Islam people. But in fact, it is not easy because there are many resistancies not only by people outside from Islam but also people from Islam themselves. One of the candidates to be a DKI governor, Basuki Cahaya Purnama (Ahok), asks people not to trust Al Maidah 51 and this statements rises many reactions from Muslim people starting from Aksi **Bela Islam I, II, and III** which happens not only in Jakarta but also at all provinces in Indonesia. They do demonstration asking to arrest Ahok, but unfortunately, the government does not care with this biggest reaction. It seems that government underestimates with this reaction though finally Ahok has been determined as a suspect in this case, but it must be paid expansive by Moslem people. This situation has given a great social change to the people especially in Jakarta.

Keywords: Al Maidah 51; suspect; Aksi Bela Islam; social change

INTRODUCTION

Blasphemy cases or known as Al Maidah 51 case done by non-active Jakarta Governor Basuki Thahaya Purnama (Ahok) when doing working visit to Pulau Seribu, rises a big problem. Two peaceful actions had been done by almost all of Indonesia Muslim, namely on November 4, 2016 (411) known as '*Aksi Bela Islam II*' in Monas managed to collect millions of Muslims from all parts of Indonesia and an action on December 2, 2016 (212) known as '*Aksi Bela Islam III*'.

Both of these actions ask to do an investigation to Ahok. It must be recognized, based on the amount of mass mobilization, action raised by the National Guard Movement of MUI Fatwa (GNPF MUI) led by FPI and other figures on November 4, that it is the largest mass action after the falling New Order. It is also larger than the mass defenders of Gus Dur at the end of his fall. Various sources say that the amount of mass presenting in 212 is more than 5 million people.

Besides surprising with so many people gathered, '*Aksi Bela Islam*' which is later popularly known as *Aksi 411* and *212*, has brought to unproductive debating among Muslims which does not touch the core problems faced by Muslims in Indonesia today: the absence of justice redistribution and lack of social services for the people as (Muhammad Iqbal). At the level of "grass root", the debate has turned into insults one another between Rizieq's supporters and Ahok's. The supporter of '*Aksi Bela Islam*' accuses those who disagree or do not support the action are not Muslim. While according to Ahok's supporters, regard '*Aksi Bela Islam*' which mobilized thousands or even millions of people on the streets, as unimportant thing as a waste of energy. Even, most of the critics of '*Aksi Bela Islam*' regard the mass action as not Islam way. The second point of view is that in my opinion needs to be taken seriously by the progressive movement-democratic in Indonesia, as well as efforts to seat issue '*Aksi Bela Islam*' is not merely a theological question, but read it as the dynamics of the fight as well as the convergence of interests among the oligarchs in the political landscape electoral. Likewise, the issue of how to read Al-Maidah 51, is in social change in Jakarta.

These two points of view need to be taken seriously by the progressive movement-democratic in Indonesia, as well as efforts to solve the issue of 'Aksi Bela Islam' which is not merely a theological question, but we may read it as the dynamics of fight as well as the convergence of interests among the oligarchs in the political landscape electoral, likewise, the issue of how to read al-Maidah 51 at social change in Jakarta.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In all of its complexities, Jakarta or in the colonial period, known as Batavia, is a charming place not only for Indonesia people but also in the eyes of ASEAN, even outside. The reason is quite simple. As already mentioned by some participants at *10 Days for ASEAN*, Jakarta is a secretariat place for ASEAN. Besides, Jakarta (Indonesia) is the only one country in ASEAN as a member of G20 countries. It already points out why Jakarta is has been voted as a Diplomatic City of ASEAN.

However, Jakarta has a very long and important historical note. National figures which have been known internationally, is based in Jakarta such as Soekarno, Gus Dur and the seventh President of Indonesia Joko Widodo. These figures are considered to be able to make changes and can be used as role models. It is hoped it can bring the impact of changes to the ASEAN countries to re-united again and work together in order to welcome the ASEAN community cooperation.

Geographically, Jakarta is Indonesia main gateway. Indonesia is predicted to become the largest economic power in the world after China. Jakarta has become a megapolitan region where it is not only local residents who live in Jakarta. Jakarta's population consists of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, starting from the Indonesian people to foreign from several countries in Asia, etc. It is regarded as a truly ASEAN miniature. With a solid and firm government, Jakarta can build his dreams to become an icon of ASEAN in the eyes of the world such as the biggest mosque Istiqlal in ASEAN.

From a press release quoted by *prnewswire.com*, Sunday, April 27, 2014, one of the researchers A.T. Kearney and Andres Mendoza Pena, said Jakarta as the first rank by showing the improvement of its quality, especially in terms of safety, environmental protection, and the level of income per capita. "Jakarta has the potential to become a world-class city and became the center of future business within one to two decades," said Pena. Jakarta, he said, has many forte as the number of young workers and considered to have a high attraction by many companies in the world to invest. While Head of A.T. Kearney Asia-Pacific, John Kurtz, said to Bloomberg that Jakarta has a significant demographic advantage compared to other cities. In general, Indonesia has indeed been taken into account and has a good position in the eye of other governments or corporations in this world. The factors that make Jakarta becoming prestige and also Indonesia rose, he explained, that it causes of a great influence of Indonesia in world politics and international business schemes. Kurtz said, ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) which will take effect in 2015, creates a potential for Indonesia, especially Jakarta to develop higher. "You see, the ASEAN Economic Community will make change for goods, services, capital, investment, and labor easily, as in European Union. Jakarta and Manila will get a big profit from this MEA scheme" he said. Meanwhile, related to the challenges faced by Jakarta and Indonesia, according to Kurtz, is a matter of fighting corruption in the long term. Currently, Indonesia is still ranked 114 in the list of 177 countries of the cleanest in the world according to Transparency International.

THE ESSENCE OF AL-MAIDAH 51

On October 6, 2016, Jakarta Governor, Ahok alias Tjahaja Basuki Purnama, has been reported to the police. The reason, he has done a desecration of holy verses of al-Quran. Firstly, Ahok invites civil servants to Pulau Seribu to participate his business program. In the middle of his speech, he says: "... lied by Surah Al-Maidah 51 and etc."

Al Maidah Verse 51:

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

Meaning: " O ye who believe! take not the Jews and the Christians as *auliya* for you; some of them are *auliya* for others. Whoever amongst you takes them into *auliya*, then surely that person belonged to them. Indeed, Allah does not guide the people who is *dzalim*. "(QS. Al-Maidah: 51)

Here, there are some meaning of *auliyah* '. One of them, *auliyah* means a leader. Another term for *auliyah* is a leader for orphans, for children whose parents killed, for a woman, etc. Wali is meant here is primarily responsible for their affairs earlier. A sort of leader of the country also is in charge of taking care of his people and set in terms of command and forbid. (Al-Mawsu'ah Al-Fiqhiyyah, 45: 135). Syaikh Muhammad bin Salih Al-'Utsaimin explains that in Arabic, *auliyah* has the meaning of various kinds. So what does it mean by not taking *auliyah* from Jews and Christians? It means that as long as Jews or Christians do not help Islam, then we cannot at their side. But if they are in our position and give a benefit for the Muslims, we may help them.

THE EXPLANATION OF IBNU KATSIR

Ibn Kathir explains this verse, "Allah SWT forbids His servants to be loyal to Jews and Christians. They are enemies of Islam. Hopefully, the destruction of God for them. Then God proclaims that they are *auliyah* for them. Then Allah threatens and warns Muslim people who violate this prohibition, "Whoever amongst you takes them as a leader, then surely that person belong to them. Indeed, Allah does not guide the people who is *dzalim*. "(Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Azhim, 3: 417).

Ibnu Kathir narrates a history of Umar bin Khattab. Once, Umar bin Khattab once ordered Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari by recording of expenditures and revenues of government done by a single person. Abu Musa had a Christian writter and appointed him to do the work. Umar bin Khattab was impressed with his work. Umar said, "The work of this guy's good." Umar continued, "Can you brought him to Syria to read the reports in front of us in a mosque?" Abu Musa replied, "He cannot enter the mosque." Umar asked, "Why ? Is it because he is junub? "Abu Musa replied," No! He could not because he was a Christians". Umar rebukes and hits Abu Musa by saying,"Fire him!" Then Umar read the verse (which means):" O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and Christians become your leaders; some of them are the leaders for part of them. Whoever amongst you takes them as a leader, then surely that person belongs to them. Indeed, Allah does not guide the people who is *dzalim*. "(Issued by Ibn Abi Hatim with a *sanad* and *matan*. Abu Ishaq Al-Huwaini stated that sanad this hadeeth is Hasan. See Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Azhim, 3 : 417-418).

EXPLANATION OF M. QURAISH SHIHAB

Is it true if Muslim people reject an infidel leader? The sentence above does not stand alone but has a connection with the preceding sentence. If just only chop off one verse and release other verses will creat another implication for the final conclusion. In fact, Al-Maidah verse 51 is a continuation or consequence of clues before (Shihab, Q: 80).

"The consequence of the hostile attitude of the Qur'an, is reluctant to follow its guidance ..." In the previous verse, the Qur'an is revealed to straighten what is wrong in Taurat and Injil made by the previous people. If they- Jews and Christians, are reluctant to follow the guidance of the Qur'an, it means they are giving 'opportunity' to Allah to drop the punishment against them for the sins they do.

"So, they are reluctant to follow the guidance of God but happy to follow guidance of ignorance - "And, O Muslim do not make the Jews and the Christians as your leader."

And it is continued by Al Maidah verse 51. If it is the character of Jews and Christians changing their holy book and do not want to follow Al Quran and they wish to follow *jahiliyah*-so for the muslim people not to take Jews or Christian as your leader (Shihab Q: 709).

According to Quraish Shihab, the relationship of this paragraph and the preceding paragraph are very tight. "Then their characters, do not make them as your *auliya*. Well, what does it mean?,"he asked the audience before continuing the discussion, '*auliyah* 'is plural form of 'guardian '. In Indonesia, this word is very popular that there is a word-*wali-kota*, *wali-nikah*, etc.,. **Wali**, originally meant "close". Therefore, **Waliyullah** can also mean a person who is close to God. **Wali-kota** means closest to the people. People who are most quickly help you, is the person closest to you. Well, from here it is said *wali* is a leader or a helper. While the meaning of *wali* in marriage-especially for girls - actually its function to protect the girl from a man who just wants to 'fad'. '*auwliya* is not limited to meaningful leader, said Quraish Shihab. "That is, once again, if they are reluctant to follow God and want to follow *jahiliyah* like the other verses." For example, if they want to get benefit from us, you should not take them as friends.

DISCUSSION

The debating of religion issue in Al-Maidah 51 spoken by the Governor of Jakarta, Ahok, last September at Pulau Seribu is the base of all the action of Bela Islam spearheaded by GNPF-MUI. Video which was uploaded by a netizen Buni Yani, eventually became viral in cyberspace and public consumption. Various opinions were emerging as the reaction of the video containing 'sacrilege' conducted by Ahok, including the reaction of the Indonesian Ulema Council by giving some statements relating to it. After few days without responding from the police on Ahok's action, it rises the movement called The Movement of Guard Fatwa Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI GNPF) led by Habib Rizieq, Ust. Bachtiar Nasir, Ust. Aa Gym, and some other famous scholars.

Ahok already apologized for the noise generated from his words (Ahok insisted there was nothing wrong about what he said, but only apologized for the noise arising), and the apology has been accepted, but these cases prosecuted, because Muslim organizations had brought the issue to the realm of law. Ahok's mistaken is not on Al-Maidah, but because the use of the word "lie" and he connected it with Surah Al-Maidah 51. " So do not believe to the people, It can be in your heart, can not choose me, yes – you are deceived by Surah Al Maidah 51... ", he said. Ahok did not say Surah Al-Maidah was a lie, or the Koran was a lie. No. However, juxtaposing the word "lie" with holy verses is very big impact.

The word "lie" has a negative meaning. Ahok's sentence can be interpreted in two kinds: (1) The scholars who teach the verse in religious speech means have done a lying. So if scholars discuss Surat Al-Maidah 51 in the recitals to the community means that they have been taught lies. (2) The term "disposable" is usually followed by the object. For example, "cut with a knife", then the knife is a tool for cutting. In Ahok statement above means Surat Al-Maidah 51 is a tool to do lying.

If Ahok does not mention the word "lie" so the sentence can be like this: "So do not believe to person, it can be in your deepest hearth not to choose me, yes - because Surah Al Maidah 51 is a tool to lie. ", then there will be no noise arising. But rice has become porridge, the spoken word cannot be drawn again. Forgiven but not forgotten. Ahok attitudes citing a letter from the Koran which contains rules about leadership, it shows that he was playing the issue of ethnicity, religion, race and groups (SARA). He has alluded to taste Muslim fate around the world, especially in Indonesia. Attitude is very imprecise performed by an incumbent candidate for governor of Jakarta

According to Indonesia Muslim, there is nothing wrong with Surah Al-Maidah 51. It is the revelation of Allah who makes demands for Muslims in choosing a leader, or close friends Because it is as a guidance for Muslim people, then anyone who believes in God, should obey it. But if you do not want to follow it, it is up to you, because the responsibility of each individual is on the hereafter (Arifin Z, : 153).

AHOK AND AHOKER AT PULAU SERIBU

Ahok is as candidate of governor DKI Jakarta in 2017 and ahok has a faithful supporter called Ahoker. They spread in whole DKI Jakarta region, including in Pulau Seribu. Actually, this Ahoker supports the couple of Joko Widodo-Ahok to be a DKI Governor before. Ahoker is not only seen in the middle of society but also in social media. The movement of Ahoker cannot be underestimated. They are trained people in IT and social media. We know JASMEV (Jokowi-Ahok's Sosial Media Volounters) which also try to attack public opinion in social media such as facebook, twitter, instagram, and other social media, and television station also tries to support this candidate.

But the fact, there is a surprising confession on Al Maidah 51 case in Pulau Seribu, Tuesday, November 27th 2016. From hundreds supporters, 60 % is the community brought by Ahok and 40% is Ahok supporter from Pulau Seribu brought by some parties supported Ahok. So, 40% is not pure society, it is just politic party supporter to support a leader chosen in DKI Jakarta. They are indigene chosen to attend. It can be said that they are Ahoker living in Pulau Seribu. This confession is declared by Pramuka people in Pulau Seribu while they are asked directly by Ustadz Bachtiar Nasir when visited there. It is the reason why Ahok is safe by Moslem while he insulted the holy Koran at that place. The calm and quiet in conveying the sentence can be watched from the video spreaded in social media.

JAKARTA AND AHOKER'S BASE

Jakarta is the first region for the appearance of Ahok- especially when there is DKI governor election at the previous period joining with Jokowi Widodo-as the main basis of Ahoker's existency. Ahoker not only can be seen in the society but also in website or social media. One of them is JASMEV funded and exists in Jakarta. Ahoker is not only from non Muslim, but also from Muslem themselves, especially teenagers. To see how many Ahokers, we can see from how many supporters help him to collect Jakarta identity card of Jakarta when he wants nominate himself as governor DKI Jakarta through independent. Many stands are constructed at some big malls in Jakarta but the big payment for collecting identity card is considered not success because it is out of the expected, by most prediction of competitor. Finally Ahok nominates himself again by looking a big party.

AL-MAIDAH 51 IN AHOKER'S POINT OF VIEW

Since Ahok considered insulting Al Maidah 51, many statemments occur among Moslem and Ahoker. It can not be disavowed that there are Moslem people which are really support Ahok though according to MUI Ahok has insulted Islam, especially the holy Quran (Al Maidah 51), but this fatwa based on investigation of ulema, has made Ahoker angry. They think that Ahok's speech in Pulau Seribu is not an insulting toward Holy Koran. They convey many arguments. The Holly Quran said that Al Maidah 15 is one of the Muslim's doctrin (Al Qathani, M: 262).

Now there is a movement done by Ahoker to attact MUI, because MUI has announced that Ahok has insulted Islam and ulema, even this movement tries to attack MUI by making petition to disperse MUI Indonesia. Ahok supporter makes a petition "Disperse MUI Indonesia" in website change.org and it occurs controversion.. The petition is addressed to President Joko Widodo to disperse MUI Indonesia soon. In this petition, Ahok's supporter said that MUI Indonesia is as a culprit institution which spreads hate, enmity, and terros to the society. Even, MUI Indonesia is accused as a slander and provocator.

AKSI BELA ISLAM I AND II

The case of religion insulting, done by Governor DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, is longer than we expected. Various elements of people ask Ahok to be prisoned because he has hurted Moslem people, ignores Pancasila and Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Whereas MUI has informed his attitude toward Ahok's statement. So on October 14th 2016, MUI and his supportes do demonstration in Jakarta. This biggest action is conducted by doing long marc to Bareskrim Polri, town hall in Jakarta, DPRD Jakarta.

The planning of this action is decided at the meeting of Jakarta People Movement (GMJ), attended by ulema and people religion leaders. This action was done on Friday October 14th 2016, begun by praying Jum'ah in Istiqlal mosque and continued long march in Bareskrim Office, Jakarta. It is mentioned that the participants of this action do not only come from Jakarta but also some delegations of Indonesia moslem. This biggest action is conveyed by Islamic Moslem Defender (FPI), Habib Ali Alatas. He said that this action coordinated by Moslem Forum (FUI) and Islamic Moslem Defender (FPI) force Ahok to be arrested, on October 14th, and it is called *Aksi Bela Islam I*.

By running time, what demanded is never done by police, even they consider that Ahok will be saved. Because of it, they do a demonstration called *Aksi Bela Islam Jilid II*, by mobilizing many people that before, even the participants come from the whole of Indonesia region. Their demand is only one, the police brings Ahok to justice and decide him soon as accused. Responding *Aksi Bela Islam Jilid II* is so huge, the police takes an action in this case by determining Ahok as a suspect.

SUPER PEACE ACTION IN MONAS

Feeling not satisfied with police's action toward Ahok case, supporters of GNPF MUI declare *Aksi Bela Islam III* and promise to invite the biggest Moslem people from many places in Indonesia. As reflected at Aksi Bela Islam II ending with little problem, police tries to stop this action or at least by minimizing the people. Various efforts are taken by police, starting by distributing papers by helicopter till forbidding bus carrying demonstrators to Jakarta.

But Indonesia moslem's willpower has been strong that they must defend Islam. It makes the participant keeping spirit and not tired. All of the obstacles can be throw away. It can be seen that there are many demonstrators attend in Monas. They come from various region in Indonesia, west till east. Another participant comes from Ciamis by foot about more than 200 km and they rent one plane because the bus company is forbidden to carry the participant to Jakarta. This condition has touched everybody's heart, especially Moslem in the world (Sirjani, Raghib: 106).

THE BIGGEST FRIDAY PRAYER IN THE WORLD

Friday prayer held on 2 December 2016 at Monas on Aksi Bela Islam 212, is the action and the implementation of Friday prayers with very many pilgrims in the world. It is the biggest Friday prayer compared with Friday prayer at Masjidil Haram which only holds 2 million pilgrims. This action goes far beyond the expectation. Inevitably, this action makes the enemies of Islam fear. When it is viewed from the available *shaf* from Monas to Tugu Tani, it is predicted that number of pilgrims on Friday prayer consists of 5 million people, or even more. Pilgrims who attends in this action are not only from Jakarta but also present from all over Indonesia, including Papua and Aceh. It proves the love of Indonesian Muslims to their religion. Proving their love to Republic of Indonesia. NKRI is a death price. Even a General Gatot Nurmanto on one occasion at a live event in a private TV station, mentions that Muslims are the last bastion of Indonesia. No one if he says so, it has been proven since the colonial era where a lot of Muslims who also fought for the independence of Indonesia. Thus, the actions taken on the monument that day can be said to be only a small part of the actions undertaken by Muslims in Indonesia. Through live broadcasts, Al-Jazeera, an international TV station, also broadcasts the action and also other international mass media. It's really a Friday prayer thrilling anyone who witness it (Al JazeeraNews: Dec 3, 2017).

GNPF MUI DEMANDS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE AND LAW

When seeing *Aksi Bela Islam I, II* and *III*, it is not as a form of hatred of Muslims against one of the races or religion existing in Indonesia. However, this action is actually a flood of oppression for the injustice felt by the majority of Indonesian people, starting from a sense of social justice to legal justice. Law is sharp at down and blunt at upward. The leaders and the great people who live at the expense of the little people, are considered to be immune from punishment for their mistakes. It is a new model of

'colonization' they do to the poor people in Indonesia. The poor people is excluded and marginalized. While the great people is increasingly privileged from all things. It will rise unexpected social problem which had ever happened in 1997-1998.

ADVISORY OF GNPF MUI M.RIZIEQ SIHAB: MAN OF THE YEAR

M.Rizieq Sihab deserves to be regarded as *Man of The Year*. He is one of the originators of GNPF MUI. His position as a chairman of the Islamic Defenders Front which has been underestimated, even by Muslims themselves, is ultimately regarded as a new hero who has a bravery to speak the sense of oppression felt by the majority of Indonesian population. So it is not if we see his present support of all circles, except the hypocrites. His figure is respected by many people in Indonesia to attract million Muslim's attention coming from all regions in Indonesia to be gathered in Jakarta. Even management experts believe his action is so great. It is very peaceful. Through social media, he can mobilize many people and manage them, not only in Jakarta but also in some provinces in Indonesia.

The existence of Rizieq as a pioneer of this action brings new supporters for him. But not only that, his haters will fight against him. He is regarded as the destroyer of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in Indonesia.

FROM QURAN DEFENCE TO RUSH MONEY

In the middle of preparation for *Aksi Bela Islam III*, on social media and TV and newspaper appear an issue inviting Muslim society in Indonesia to withdraws money massively from conventional banks as a form of protest against the government considered unfair to Muslim people. Of course, this action gets many responses, particularly from economic experts and minister of economy related to the statement. Because the action is considered to undermine the economy of Indonesia. Although this action does not happen, but some Muslims really take their money and move it to the Islamic banks in Indonesia. This such situation makes the government afraid. Not until here, few days after the action held at Monas, another clarification appears from one of the well-known manufacturers of food products because their products became viral on social media. Where their products are free to be consumed by participants of this action. Actually, the product has been bought by one of the rich man in Indonesia to be consumed by participants at *AKSI BELA ISLAM III*. The reaction arises by doing boycott to the food. As a result, in the afternoon since the declaration of a boycott, the food company's stock price went down by 2%. Again, Muslims shows their strength when they are treated un-fair by the government.

CONCLUSION

Aksi Bela Islam I,II, and III done by Moslem people is as the expression of disappointment for the unfair treatment given by the authorities, president, police and court to the Moslem people in Indonesia. Moslem people as the majority in Indonesia treat as a victim in their own country and it happens for many times. *Aksi Bela Islam* is a description of how disappointed the people against the government.

This action shows how peaceful Islam in Indonesia, it is seen how Islam is really *rahmatan lil Alamin*, as a mercy to all the worlds. Through this action, the community has managed to peacefully express their displeasure against all the injustices they receive. It happens without violence, anarchy, or even revolution which is feared by government. This situation has given a social change to the people especially people in Jakarta.

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