

THE PHENOMENON OF FAJR ATTACKS IN THE ELECTIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF HASBI ASH-SHIDIEQY'S INTERPRETATION OF Q.S. AL-BAQARAH VERSE 188

Fazida Safitri*

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia;
fazida07@gmail.com

Article History: Received: 20 February 2024 Revised: 24 August 2024

Accepted: 26 August 2024



© 2024 by Author. Submitted for possible open-access publication under the terms and conditions of the Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20871/tjsq.v7i1.342>

Abstract: *This research focuses on the phenomenon of fajar raids in elections analyzed using Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy's interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188. As a country with a democratic political system, Indonesia holds a democratic party called elections every 5 years to elect representatives of the people. The People's democratic party, which is expected to give birth to honest leaders who are free from corruption, collusion, and nepotism, instead brings new corrupt seeds. This is based on the election system that has been corrupted by money politics. All means are used by prospective leaders to smooth their way to winning the election. Candidates distribute money to the public to buy people's votes covered with the word alms. The purpose of this study is to identify the relationship between the phenomenon of fajar raids that often occur before elections with Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188. The method used in this research is descriptive-qualitative by using literature review. The results of this study indicate that the narrative of the Qur'anic text in Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188 indicates the prohibition of taking and controlling other people's property in a way that is not justified by shara, including the practice of fajar attacks in elections because it is classified as rashwah. The gift is not based on sincerity because they expect the public to vote for the one who gave the fajar attack.*

Keywords: *Election, Fajar Attack, Tafsir An-Nur.*

Abstrak: *Penelitian ini berfokus pada fenomena serangan fajar dalam pemilu yang dianalisis dengan menggunakan penafsiran Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy terhadap Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188. Sebagai negara dengan sistem politik demokrasi, Indonesia mengadakan pesta demokrasi yang disebut dengan pemilu setiap 5 tahun sekali untuk memilih wakil rakyat. Pesta demokrasi rakyat yang diharap bisa melahirkan pemimpin jujur yang bersih dari korupsi, kolusi, dan nepotisme malah mendatangkan bibit koruptor baru. Hal tersebut didasari karena sistem pemilu yang telah dikotori dengan politik uang. Semua cara dilakukan oleh para calon pemimpin untuk melancarkan perjalanan mereka untuk menang di laga pemilu. Para calon pemimpin membagikan uang kepada masyarakat dengan tujuan untuk membeli suara rakyat yang ditutupi dengan kata "sedekah". Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi keterkaitan fenomena serangan fajar yang seringkali terjadi*

* Corresponding Author

menjelang pemilu dengan Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah deskriptif-kualitatif dengan menggunakan kajian kepustakaan. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa narasi teks Al-Qur'an dalam Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188 mengindikasikan larangan mengambil dan menguasai harta orang lain dengan jalan yang tidak dibenarkan oleh shara' termasuk di dalamnya praktik serangan fajar dalam pemilu karena tergolong kepada rashwah. Pemberian tersebut tidak didasari dengan keikhlasan karena mereka mengharapakan masyarakat untuk memberikan suara pilihannya kepada yang memberi serangan fajar.

Kata-kata Kunci: Pemilu, Serangan Fajar, Tafsir An-Nur.

Introduction

The term Serangan Fajar reminds us of a war movie that tells the strategy of Indonesian guerrillas in the early period of independence against the Dutch colonialists. Today, the jargon has shifted in meaning, which is aimed at expressing efforts to buy votes carried out in the moments leading up to the election until the morning of voting time. The phenomenon of 'fajr attack' is not a strange thing in today's life, especially when it comes to the struggle for political thrones. Many money politics strategies can be implemented, but the most common method in Indonesia is the fajr attack. Money politics has been a common phenomenon in Indonesian elections since the fall of the authoritarian New Order regime in 1998. The practice and spread of money politics have become increasingly complex. If we look back, one of the most shocking cases of money politics is Bowo Sidik Pangarso, a politician who was arrested by the KPK with evidence of 8 billion rupiahs that were allegedly bribes from PT Humpuss Transportasi Kimia. This member of the House of Representatives planned to rig the election by distributing 400 thousand envelopes containing money to residents in the electoral district II of Central Java.¹ Bowo's fajr attack is a perfect example of the corruption of politics, where he commits corruption so that he can continue to commit corruption.

Money political behavior in the context of Indonesian politics is now often named as aid, *infāq*, alms, and others. The shift of the term money politics into this religious moral term has indirectly resulted in social protection through the cultural norms of the community that indeed normalizes the action. When the community has considered it a commonplace action, the formal legal power of the law will have difficulty reaching it. Therefore, it takes care to understand every meaning hidden behind political behavior so that it can facilitate the analytical separation between gifts that are loaded with nuances of bribery and gifts in the true sense of assistance.

In the Islamic context, integrity and honesty in business dealings, including in the process of selecting leaders, are highly emphasized. One of the verses relevant to this issue is Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188, which reminds Muslims not to eat their neighbor's wealth through false means and not to bribe judges to eat part of other people's wealth through sin. This verse contains values that are very relevant to the

1 M. Faishal Aminuddin and Natasha Hassan Attamimi, "From Retail to Grocery: Money Politics in 2014 Indonesian Legislative Election," *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review* 4, no. 1 (2019): 99–120, <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v4i1.12609>.

phenomenon of fajr raids in elections, where giving money or goods to influence voters' votes can be considered a form of bribery and unfair actions.

In this case, the author would like to see the view of one of the Indonesian tafsir figures. Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy, a prominent Muslim scholar and ulama in Indonesia, has written many commentaries on Qur'anic verses, including Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188. His interpretation of this verse can provide deep insight into how Muslims should respond to practices such as fajr raids in the context of elections. By analyzing Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy's interpretation, we can understand how Islamic teachings can be applied to prevent and overcome this phenomenon and encourage a fairer and more dignified election process. This research is a type of library research in which the author uses tafsir books and books as references in writing this article. The primary data that the author uses is the book of *Tafsir an-Nur* by Hasbi ash-Shiddieqy, then the supporting data are journals, and articles related to the discussion. In this case, the basis of this research is how the Fajar Attack Phenomenon in the Election: Analysis of Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy's Interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah Verse 188.

Flashback of Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy's Life History

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy has the full name Teungku Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy. He was born in Lhok Seumawe, North Aceh Regency on March 10, 1904. His father was a chief judge named Teungku Haji Muhammad Husein bin Muhammad Su'ud, where his father was a descendant of the 36th Abu Bakar Ash-Shiddiq, whose ancestors came from Mecca, then settled in Malabar (India) which eventually migrated to the archipelago and settled in Samudra Pasai estimated in the 13th century. This is the reason Ash-Shiddiq was pinned behind his name, which is still the 37th descendant of Abu Bakar Ash-Shiddiq. While his mother was named Teuku Amrah bint Teungku Qadli Sri Maharaja Mangkubumi Abdul Aziz.²

At a young age, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy traveled to study at various Islamic boarding schools in Aceh. He first studied Nahwu and Shorof at Teungku Abdullah Chik's pesantren in Peyeung. Then in 1926, he continued his journey to Java, namely Surabaya. Upon arrival, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy studied with Shaykh Ahmad as-Sarkati, a modern scholar from Sudan. After approximately two years of studying there, by taking *takhasṣūs* (specialist) lessons in the fields of education and language, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy then returned to Aceh to begin his work by spreading his ideas of renewal. As an expert in the field of Jurisprudence, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy was appointed as a member of the Supreme Religious Court in Aceh. In addition, he was also active in politics by becoming a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1930.³

2 Fikri Hamdani, "Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy dan Metode Penafsirannya," *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Ushuluddin dan Filsafat* 12, no. 1 (2016): 17–34, <https://doi.org/10.24239/rsy.v12i1.75>.

3 Sudaryah, "Konstruksi Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nur Karya M Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy," *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary* 3, no. 1 (2018): 96, <https://doi.org/10.24239/rsy.v3i1.75>.

In the era of liberal democracy, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy was also active in the political movement marked by his joining the Masyumi party in the ideological debate at the Constituent Assembly. His movement in politics began in 1920 through community organizations and educational development through the Al-Huda madrasah but did not get support from the authorities at that time. Then, he joined the Nadi al-Ishlah al-Islam organization and Soera Atjeh magazine and became a leader at that time. In addition, he was also active as a leader in the Muhammadiyah Aceh organization. As a scholar with expertise in Islamic law and fiqh, he was appointed to the highest religious court in Aceh, the Aceh Regional House of Representatives, and also vice-chairman of the Islamic Council for Greater East Asia Relief.⁴ This lasted until he was elected as a member of the constituent assembly representing the Masyumi party faction and often conveyed his thoughts. One of his most famous works is “Guidelines for the Struggle of Muslims Regarding Statehood”.

Throughout his academic career, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy received honorary degrees in education, including a doctorate (Honoris Causa) he received from the Islamic University of Bandung on March 22, 1975, then from IAIN Sunan Kalijaga on October 29, 1975, before which he was appointed Professor in Hadith Science in 1960. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy is a persistent figure in pouring every idea of Islamic thought, this can be seen from the many intellectual works he has. He has 73 book titles (142 volumes). Divided into various scientific fields, including the field of hadith (8 titles), tafsir (6 titles), and tawhid/kalam science (5 titles).⁵

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy breathed his last on December 9, 1975, after several days in quarantine to perform the pilgrimage, he was buried in the family cemetery of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. At the time of the release of the body, Buya Hamka participated in giving a speech and was released at the funeral by Mr. Moehammad Roem who was a friend of Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy and also Drs. H. Kafrawi Ridwan, MA on behalf of the Minister of Religious Affairs.⁶

Tracing the Trail of *Tafsir An-Nur*

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy is a scholar as well as an expert in Fiqh, Ushul Fiqh, Tafsir, Hadith, and Kalam science. He is a pioneer of tafsir in Indonesia. Hasbi is known as a Fuqaha (Jurisprudence) expert, which is evident in the writing of his tafsir. According to him, fiqh is defined as the collected laws or general rules that are extracted based on the text (nash) by using ijtihad. Hasbi has a principle of fiqh that is adhered to *maṣlahah mursalah* (general benefit). Where it has the principle

org/10.22515/shahih.v3i1.1282.

4 Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi, *Fiqih Indonesia: Penggagas dan Gagasannya* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997).

5 Aan Sufian, “Kontribusi Pemikiran Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy dalam Bidang Fikih,” *Media Syari’ah: Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial* 14, no. 2 (2012): 185–98, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jms.v14i2.1875>.

6 Andi Suseno, “Muhammad Hasbi ASH-Shiddieqy dan Pemikirannya Tentang Hadis,” *Wahana Islamika: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 10 (2024): 30–53, <https://doi.org/10.61136/46ma1g09>.

of justice for the benefit and *sadd al-dhārī'ah* (preventing damage). In exploring Islamic law, Hasbi gives freedom of *ijtihad* on issues that have legal provisions from previous *fuqaha* products by using educational analogies. The comparative method (comparison) is a method that Hasbi uses in the science of *fiqh* to know the agreed and disputed opinions and can explain the differences and similarities of both customary law and positive law in a country.⁷

One of the works of tafsir that he wrote was *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nur* and *Tafsir Al-Bayan* where both tafsir became a reference for Indonesian scholars. Here the author only describes related *Tafsir An-Nur*. But at that time, the scholars differed in opinion regarding whether or not it was permissible to interpret the Qur'an using a language other than Arabic. One of the scholars who prohibited was Ibn Taymiyyah because the language of the Qur'an couldn't be interpreted correctly in other languages. Unlike al-Shāṭibī and Hasbi, they can interpret the Qur'an in other languages because the Qur'an is a warning to all nature. To function properly, one of the effective efforts is to interpret/translate the Qur'an into a language that is easily understood, especially the Indonesian language.⁸

On the sidelines of his busy schedule, Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy remained enthusiastic in presenting a book of tafsir in Indonesian which he wrote from 1952 to 1961 known as *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nur*. *Tafsir An-Nur* consists of 10 volumes using the old spelling Latin. The part of volume II consists of juz 1 to 3, volume II consists of juz 4 to 6, volume III consists of juz 7 to 9, volume IV consists of juz 10 to 12, volume V consists of juz 13 to 15, volume VI consists of juz 13 to 15. d 15, volume VI consists of juz 16 s.d 18, julid VII consists of juz 19 s.d 21, volume VIII consists of juz 22 s.d 24, volume IX consists of juz 25 s.d 27, and the last volume X consists of juz 28 s.d 30.⁹

In its writing, *Tafsir An-Nur* refers to the main tafsir books such as *Tafsir Ibn Kathīr*, *Tafsir Al-Manār*, *Tafsir Al-Qāsimī*, *Tafsir Al-Marāghī*, and *Tafsir al-Wāḍiḥ*. In the introduction of his tafsir, there is a background to the writing of his tafsir. He explains the development of Islamic universities in Indonesia where there is a new atmosphere, Then provides solutions and answers to the needs of tafsir lovers who lack an understanding of tafsir in Arabic so that it can guide readers in understanding tafsir properly. So, the emergence of *Tafsir An-Nur* to be used as a guide by using language that is easy to understand so that people can practice the teachings of Islam based on the Qur'an and Hadith.¹⁰

7 Fikri. Hamdani, "Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy dan Metode Penafsirannya," 17-34.

8 M. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Corak dan Metodologi Tafsir Alquran Al-Madjud an-Nur Karya Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy," *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Ushuluddin dan Filsafat* 14, no. 2 (2019): 395–426, <https://doi.org/10.24239/rsy.v14i2.361>.

9 Dheanda Abshorina Arifiah, "Karakteristik Penafsiran Al-Quran dalam Tafsir An-Nur dan Al-Azhar," *El-Umdah: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 4 (2021): 93–110, <https://doi.org/10.20414/elumdah.v4i1.3358>.

10 Muhammad Amin, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan dalam Perspektif Mufassir Aceh: Studi Komparatif Tafsir Terjemahan Al-Mustafid Karya Abdurrauf As-Singkily dengan Tafsir An-Nur Karya Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy" (Dissertation, Jakarta, Institut PTIQ Jakarta,

As explained in the previous discussion, in the background of Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy's writing the style of interpretation is *adabi al-ijtimā'i* to make his interpretation understandable and easily accepted among the people. The style of interpretation of the book of Interpretation *An-Nur* is a general pattern, meaning that no style dominates specifically in its interpretation. However, in his interpretation, there tends to be a *fiqh* style, which alludes a lot to Islamic law, and Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy himself is a saria academic.¹¹

The method of interpretation in *Tafsir An-Nur* is categorized into the *ijmāli* (global) method. This is seen in the tafsir only explains the content of a verse's meaning in general, not explaining it in detail. But if you pay attention to the method of interpretation in *Tafsir An-Nur* also uses the *taḥlīlī* method (analysis), because Hasbi explains various aspects contained in the verses he interprets, describing each meaning contained in his interpretation according to the ability of the mufasir. Then Hasbi interpreted the Qur'an 30 juz which was equipped with *asbāb al-nuzūl* and *munāsabah* between letters and verses.¹²

The system used by Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy in compiling his tafsir is:¹³

1. Mentioning one, two, or three verses in the Qur'an to bring to the intended meaning by the orderly arrangement of the Mushaf.
2. Translating the meaning of the verse into Indonesian in a way that is easy to understand, by paying attention to the meanings intended by each *lafaz*.
3. Interpreting the verses by pointing to their essence.
4. Explaining the verses found in other surahs or places that are used as interpretations for the verse being interpreted to make it easier for the reader to collect similar verses.
5. Explain the reason for the verse's revelation when a *athsār ṣaḥīḥ* is obtained.

Fajr Attack According to Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy in *Tafsir An-Nur* Analysis of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188

A person will do anything to get the results he wants. Be it in the form of objects or not (positions and power). One way to get access to positions easily is by doing money politics. Money politics is a way to become a "smoothie" in the process of

2022), 54, <https://repository.ptiq.ac.id/id/eprint/668/>.

11 Muhammad Anwar Idris, "Pemetaan Kajian Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Indonesia: Studi Atas Tafsir An-Nur Karya T.M Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy," *Al-Tadabbur: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 5, no. 1 (2020): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.30868/at.v5i1.733.30868/at.v4i01.427>.

12 Iffatul Bayyinah, "Madzhab Tafsir Nusantara: Analisis Tafsir Al Quran Al Majid Al Nur Karya M. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy," *Jurnal Ilmu Agama: Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, dan Fenomena Agama* 20 (2020): 263–75, <https://doi.org/10.19109/jia.v21i2.7421>.

13 Teungku Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nuur Jilid 1 (Surat 1-4)*, ed. Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi and Ash-Shiddieqy Fuad Hasbi (Semarang: Pustaka Rizki Putra, 2000), 307.

getting a certain position by influencing the choice of voters (voters) or election organizers in exchange for material or other things. From this understanding, money politics is a form of bribery.¹⁴ Islam has regulated everything about life and social life in the Qur'an. This includes the system of government and leadership. Bribery or what is known in Islam as *rishwah* is an act of giving in an improper way to someone to get certain interests according to his will, this is of course directly related to the fajr attack. As in Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188:

وَلَا تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُمْ بَيْنَكُمْ بِالْبَاطِلِ وَتُدْلُوا بِهَا إِلَى الْحُكَّامِ لِتَأْكُلُوا فَرِيقًا مِّنْ أَمْوَالِ النَّاسِ بِالْإِثْمِ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

“Do not eat of the wealth between you by false means and do not bring it to the judges so that you may eat of the wealth of others by way of sin, while you know”. (Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188)

This verse prohibits the unlawful taking of other people's property and misusing the law to justify such actions. In the modern context, this verse is relevant to various forms of economic and social injustice, including corrupt practices and money politics. 'Serangan Fajar,' a practice of money politics ahead of elections in Indonesia, can be seen as one manifestation of what is prohibited in this verse.

According to Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, the above verse indicates the prohibition of taking and controlling other people's property in a way that is not justified by shara because mistreating other people's property means treason (crime) against the whole community. The word *مِنْكُمْ* which means 'your property' in the verse above gives the understanding that your ummah is one, and the ummah helps each other. To give a reminder that respecting and maintaining people's property means respecting and maintaining one's property, just as mistreating other people's property means committing treason against the ummah.¹⁵

Legalizing the property of people who are in our hands in the wrong way means legalizing others to take our property. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy categorized this into 8 types, namely:

1. *Riba*, because usury is eating human property with no commensurate reward.
2. *Rashwah*, which is bribe money (bribes) given to judges (government officials) to win their interests and assets obtained by deceiving and deceiving others.
3. *Ṣadaqah* to a person who is still able to earn a living that is sufficient for his needs.
4. Charity received by a person who is still able to work. Therefore, it is not permissible for a Muslim to accept charity when he is not in dire need of it.
5. Proceeds from the sale of amulets and charms, rewards for reciting

14 Lintang Prakusya and Fairuz Sabiq, "Risiko Risywah dalam Konteks Pemilu 2024 di Indonesia," *Rayah Al-Islam* 8 (2024): 296–305, <https://doi.org/10.37274/rais.v8i1.931>.

15 Ash-Shiddieqy, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nuur Jilid 1 (Surat 1-4)*. 310.

the Qur'an, and reciting Surah Yāsīn to fulfill a wish for the mercy of the dead.

6. Mistreating a person by depriving him of a benefit to which he is entitled, such as not paying wages to laborers or reducing the number of wages from a fair wage or a set wage.
7. Wealth that is acquired by deceiving and cheating people.
8. Wages for worship, such as wages for fasting and wages for praying.

After classifying the types of taking prohibited property, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy emphasis *الْحُكَّامِ* وَتَذَلُّوا بِهَا إِلَى الْحُكَّامِ so that no one takes advantage of judges who accept bribes to take some of the property of others with oaths and false witnesses so that the judge decides in favor of the charges. This also includes asking people or the government for help to fulfill one's intentions, which falls under the category of *rashwah* and violates religious law.¹⁶ Nowadays, *rashwah* is not only among the upper elite, but the public is also targeted, such as fajar raids. This practice has led to leaders who only care about their personal and group interests, not the people who elected them. He feels obliged to seek the benefits of his position, one of which is to return the capital that came out of the campaign. Because the candidates give money or goods to the community to win certain interests. *Rashwah* in politics is the act of buying and selling votes in a political process and power. Therefore, the phenomenon of fajar attacks carried out by certain candidates is one part of bribery which is prohibited in the Qur'an.

The phenomenon of Fajar Attacks, which refers to the practice of money politics ahead of elections or general elections, is very relevant if analyzed based on the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188. Fajar attack is the act of giving money or goods to voters to influence their votes. In Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy's view and by the interpretation of this verse, the practice can be categorized as an act of 'eating wealth by false means.'

From the perspective of Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188, Fajar attacks not only damage the integrity of the individuals involved but also damage the social fabric. When money politics becomes part of the political culture, it erodes people's trust in the democratic process and the legal system. It teaches people that justice can be bought and that individual rights can be negotiated with money. This is a form of moral degradation that is dangerous to the survival of a nation. This verse also highlights the threat to social justice when money and power are used to steal the rights of others. In the context of elections, Dawn Attacks steal voters' right to vote freely and threaten fairness in political competition. Candidates with large financial resources can dominate the electoral process, while candidates with good work programs and integrity but without strong financial support find it difficult to compete. This leads to deepening social inequality and reinforces the cycle of injustice. In line with the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188, leaders elected through the practice of Fajar Attacks have a high risk of committing corruption after being elected. As they feel they have 'invested' in winning the

16 Ash-Shiddieqy. 312.

election through money politics, there is an urge to return that capital through illegitimate means, including corruption and abuse of power. This reinforces the cycle of injustice and undermines public trust in government.

The practice of Fajar Attacks has a relatively uniform pattern across different regions in Indonesia. Generally, this practice is carried out in villages or areas with weaker supervision, where voters are more vulnerable to the influence of money. These gifts can be in the form of small amounts of cash, necessities, or daily goods. The value of the gift is often adjusted according to local economic conditions and the level of political competition in the area. For example, in poorer areas, a small amount of money may be enough to influence voters' choices, while in better-off areas, the amount given may be larger or accompanied by certain political promises.

Fajar attacks also do not happen spontaneously; this practice is the result of careful planning by the candidate's success team. In many cases, candidates or success teams work with local community leaders, such as neighborhood leaders, religious leaders, or traditional leaders, to distribute money or goods. These figures have a strong influence in their communities, so they can ensure that the gifts reach voters and influence their decisions at the voting booth. By using these local networks, the practice of Fajar Attacks can be more efficient and difficult to track by law enforcement or election supervisors.

Fajar attack is a term that has emerged in Indonesian politics, a term used to refer to a form of Money Politics to win political contestation. Using terms from the history of the Indonesian revolution, the fajar attack is a form of money politics carried out by certain individuals before the election in the form of distributing money or goods to the public to influence and make people vote for certain candidate pairs. This practice is usually carried out in the early hours of the morning before voters go to the polls, hence the term 'fajar raids.' In the Islamic view, such actions clearly contradict the values of honesty, justice, and integrity. The term fajar attack is no longer a secret, where the power of money in elections is at the center of the kingdom. Indonesia is a perfect example of this practice.

Giving money to voters to buy votes is an act that harms others. In this case, the voter's right to vote honestly is compromised. The voter can also be considered to have 'eaten' wealth by false means because the wealth was not given in a legitimate transaction but for the manipulation of election results. This practice often involves those in positions of power or authority. In some cases, the politicians or candidates involved may use legal channels to protect their actions or manipulate the law to escape punishment.

This is in line with the warning of Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188 about taking matters to a judge to legitimize wrongful actions. Fajar attacks are usually carried out with full awareness on the part of both the giver and the receiver. Even though both know that this action is wrong and has the potential to damage the democratic system, they still do it for the sake of momentary gain.

Money politics in Indonesia consciously paves the way for corrupt practices that lead to other types of corruption. Vote buying is a systematic practice, that involves complex voter lists and is carried out to obtain a large target vote. It

is called systematic because there is a massive mobilization of teams to collect data and distribute thousands of money envelopes, as well as guerrilla movements to ensure that the recipients vote for the envelope giver.

Fajar attacks have been carried out since the New Order era and seem to be part of Indonesia's democratic process. During the New Order era, strong political control by the government made the practice of money politics more covert. However, after reformasi, along with the decentralization of power and increased regional autonomy, the practice became more overt, especially in local elections (Pilkada). Candidates with access to large funds are increasingly using Fajar Attacks to gain support.

This is evidenced by a survey by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) in 2019, which stated that people view the democratic party as a place for "sharing sustenance". The survey found that 40% of respondents admitted to receiving money from election participants but did not consider voting for them. Meanwhile, 37% received money and considered voting for the giver.¹⁷ Indonesia's electoral democracy is corrupted by vote-buying. Elections at the village to national level have become a wetland for vote buying. Secretly, they distribute gifts in the form of envelopes or necessities a few days before voting, even a few hours by the success team of parties or candidates by going around to houses. At least a third of voters in all corners of Indonesia are exposed to this money politics practice. The average level of money politics in the world is 14.22%. Indonesia is in the top three countries with the highest intensity of money politics Uganda (41%), Benin (37%), and Indonesia (33%). That is what makes Indonesia worth studying in the discipline of money politics studies.¹⁸

Fajar attacks cannot be separated from the social and cultural context in Indonesia. Several factors make this practice difficult to eradicate. In many areas, voters live in difficult economic conditions, so they are easily tempted by money or goods on offer. For them, Fajar Attacks can be a much-needed, albeit temporary, source of additional income. In some local communities, giving money or goods can be seen as part of the social norm, rather than an unlawful act. This is especially true in areas where patronage and patron-client relationships are still strong. Low political education among voters also contributes to this phenomenon. Many voters do not fully understand the importance of voting based on a candidate's work program or integrity but instead tend to be swayed by short-term material benefits.

Fajar attacks involve giving money or goods to voters to influence their choice in an election. In the context of Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188, these actions can be considered as an attempt to 'eat wealth by false means.' The money given is not

17 Azlin Faqih Mutolib et al., "Analisis Fenomena 'Serangan Fajar' dalam Pemilu Melalui Pandangan Islam," *Misykat Al-Anwar Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Masyarakat* 6, no. 2 (2023): 143, <https://doi.org/10.24853/ma.6.2.143-154>.

18 Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "Politik Uang dan New Normal dalam Pemilu Paska-Orde Baru," *Integritas : Jurnal Antikorupsi* 5, no. 1 (June 27, 2019): 68, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v5i1.413>.

legitimate compensation for labor or services, but rather a tool to sway the will of voters, who should be free and not bound by material things. In the interpretation of this verse, the act of consuming wealth through false means includes any form of unlawful taking of another person's rights, including through fraud, cheating, or manipulation. Fajar attacks are a form of economic manipulation that capitalizes on social vulnerability to achieve political goals, the essence of which is to take away people's right to vote freely and independently.

The verse also warns against the abuse of legal power to legitimize wrongdoing. In the context of Fajar Attacks, this abuse can occur when perpetrators of money politics use their power or connections to circumvent the law or to cover up their actions. For example, in some cases, perpetrators of money politics may use legal channels to pressure the reporting party or even to avoid punishment. Here, Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188 underlines the dangers of a corrupt legal system and how it can reinforce injustice in society. A legal system that is weak or susceptible to corruption will allow Dawn Attacks to flourish, as perpetrators feel safe from punishment. In the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188, the *نَوْمِلْ غَتَ مَثْنَاوْ* indicates a moral awareness that the act is wrong, yet it is still carried out. Fajar attacks are often carried out with full awareness by both parties: the givers who know that they are trying to manipulate the election results, and the receivers who are aware that they are selling their votes for momentary material gain. This practice reflects a serious moral offense, as it is done deliberately and involves a perversion of the values of justice and honesty that are at the core of Islamic teachings. This realization also shows how corrupted political morality is when Fajar Attacks are taken for granted or even accepted as a 'habit' in the electoral process.

Unlike other countries that assume that the party is the determinant of the way and process of distributing money, in Indonesia, it is individual candidates who carry out vote-buying operations. This is because intraparty competition is so intense that candidates see their party colleagues as the main threat to achieving their dream of being elected representatives of the people. Finally, candidates are forced to rely entirely on personal networks rather than party machines. Like the Baratayuda War, the election is like Kurukshetra, a battlefield for fellow party brothers with money as the ultimate weapon.¹⁹ However, the pursuit of victory through fajar raids is not the only reason candidates still engage in vote-buying. The confusion of going with the flow offers a potential answer to why vote-buying is widespread in Indonesia. Stung by a heightened concern that their opponents will be handing out envelopes and gifts, candidates then find it in their interest to enter the vote-buying fray.

¹⁹ Burhanuddin Muhtadi, *Kuasa Uang: Politik Uang dalam Pemilu Pasca-Orde Baru*, (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2020), 307.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion that has been presented above, the phenomenon of *fajr* attacks in the implementation of general elections which is often referred to as money politics is one of the practices of *rashwah*. This is as stated in Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 188 is one of the acts of betraying the people. Hasbi ash-Shiddieqy says in his tafsir that the act of taking and controlling other people's property in a way that is not justified by *shara* because mistreating other people's property means treason (crime) against the people, including using *rashwah*, namely bribes (bribes) given to judges (government officials) to win their interests and assets obtained by deceiving and deceiving others is prohibited. Influencing choices with money politics will ultimately be bad for the community itself. This practice will produce leaders who are not fit to lead. The policies and decisions they make are less representative and accountable. The interests of the people are secondary to the interests of themselves, their donors, or their political parties.

Fajar attacks in elections in Indonesia, when viewed through the lens of Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 188, is an act that is prohibited in Islam because it undermines the integrity, justice, and morality of society. This practice not only threatens the democratic process but also reinforces social injustice and encourages a cycle of corruption among elected leaders. Therefore, combating Dawn Raids requires a holistic approach that includes moral and political education, fair law enforcement, and systemic reforms that support the principles of justice as taught in the Qur'an.

REFERENCES

- Aminuddin, M. Faishal, and Natasha Hassan Attamimi. "From Retail to Grocery: Money Politics in 2014 Indonesian Legislative Election." *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review* 4, no. 1 (2019): 99–120. <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v4i1.12609>.
- Amin, Muhammad. "Kepemimpinan Perempuan dalam Perspektif Mufassir Aceh: Studi Komparatif Tafsir Terjemahan Al-Mustafid Karya Abdurrauf As-Singkily dengan Tafsir An-Nur Karya Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy." Dissertation, Institut PTIQ Jakarta, 2022. <https://repository.ptiq.ac.id/id/eprint/668/>.
- Arifah, Dheanda Abshorina. "Karakteristik Penafsiran Al-Quran dalam Tafsir An-Nur dan Al-Azhar." *El-Umdah: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 4 (2021): 93–110. <https://doi.org/10.20414/elumdah.v4i1.3358>.
- Ash-Shiddieqy, Teungku Muhammad Hasbi. *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nuur Jilid 1 (Surat 1-4)*. Edited by Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi and Ash-Shiddieqy Fuad Hasbi. Semarang: Pustaka Rizki Putra, 2000.
- Bayyinah, Iffatul. "Madzhab Tafsir Nusantara: Analisis Tafsir Al Quran Al Majid Al Nur Karya M. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy." *Jurnal Ilmu Agama: Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, dan Fenomena Agama* 20 (2020): 263–75. <https://doi.org/10.19109/jia.v21i2.7421>.
- Hamdani, Fikri. "Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy dan Metode Penafsirannya." *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Ushuluddin dan Filsafat* 12, no. 1 (2016): 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.24239/rsy.v12i1.75>.
- Idris, Muhammad Anwar. "Pemetaan Kajian Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Indonesia: Studi Atas Tafsir An-Nur Karya T.M Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy." *Al-Tadabbur: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 5, no. 1 (2020): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.30868/at.v5i1.733.30868/at.v4i01.427>.
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin. *Kuasa Uang: Politik Uang dalam Pemilu Pasca-Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2020.
- . "Politik Uang dan New Normal dalam Pemilu Paska-Orde Baru." *Integritas : Jurnal Antikorupsi* 5, no. 1 (June 27, 2019): 55–74. <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v5i1.413>.
- Mutolib, Azlin Faqih, Pinkan Hana Jofami, Raden Arini Nishrina S. R., Raditya Putra Efendi, Sarah Aurania Fatiha, and Jenuri Jenuri. "Analisis Fenomena 'Serangan Fajar' dalam Pemilu Melalui Pandangan Islam." *Misykat Al-*

Anwar Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Masyarakat 6, no. 2 (2023): 143. <https://doi.org/10.24853/ma.6.2.143-154>.

Prakusya, Lintang, and Fairuz Sabiq. “Risiko Risywah dalam Konteks Pemilu 2024 di Indonesia.” *Rayah Al-Islam* 8 (2024): 296–305. <https://doi.org/10.37274/rais.v8i1.931>.

Shiddiqi, Nourouzzaman. *Fiqih Indonesia: Peggagas dan Gagasannya*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997.

Sudariyah. “Konstruksi Tafsir Al-Qur’anul Majid An-Nur Karya M Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy.” *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary* 3, no. 1 (2018): 93–106. <https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v3i1.1282>.

Sufian, Aan. “Kontribusi Pemikiran Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy dalam Bidang Fikih.” *Media Syari’ah: Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial* 14, no. 2 (2012): 185–98. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jms.v14i2.1875>.

Suseno, Andi. “Muhammad Hasbi ASH-Shiddieqy dan Pemikirannya Tentang Hadis.” *Wahana Islamika: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 10 (2024): 30–53. <https://doi.org/10.61136/46malg09>.

Wahid, M. Abdurrahman. “Corak dan Metodologi Tafsir Alquran Al-Madjid an-Nur Karya Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy.” *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Ushuluddin dan Filsafat* 14, no. 2 (2019): 395–426. <https://doi.org/10.24239/rsy.v14i2.361>.