

Solidarity Theory in the Modern Government Development Plan

(A Study of The Thought of Ibn Khaldun)

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Abstract-This paper explains the importance of solidarity in development of modern government. According to Ibn Khaldun ashabiyah or solidarity (nationalism) becomes requirement in government. Solidarity that owned by the leader must stronger from the other, so he going to earn power and be able to lead his people. In lead the nation there are must one social solidarity in each individual, since if solidarity each individual did not admit the leader, then they will ready to obedient the order. Ibn Khaldun explains that problem of ups and downs of empire. According to him that will down if people forget about the solidarity of the group, conversely will long last if they keep the solidarity in the group. Solidarity going to encourage the people to reach their goals. The perspective from Ibn Khaldun can we use as of analysis the collapse of the power of New Order regime, in his view, the rule of new order regime is a type of dominative power and repressive. Society that under the kind of power, will life in the pressure of fear. This condition can trigger loss of solidarity in group community to the previous leader that the supported.

Keywords: *Solidarity, Development, Modern Government*

I. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, our society is undergoing a rapid change in social. The change in society trend, and machine trend, experts said that as the change of kinetic image. The social interactions become really complex. The relationship tends to be a combined pattern of brain and machine. This complex relationship is a reflection of the dynamics of (social change), science and technology (Efrinaldi: 2001).

In accord with that, the problems of human life increase rapidly and more complex. Society faces more problems and demanding a way out from governance. None of these problems can be deal with conventional approaches methods or methods used by former Western scientists.

Moreover, when in the end of the New Order regime, Indonesia experienced a high political turmoil in both the structure of the administration as well as in movement of people and student. Political face a variety of potential social discord in society. Emerging of the separatist movement that against the integration of Indonesia territory. The transmigration pattern implemented by the government was not company with handling

of social solidarity in the destination area. In the end, the disparity of social jealousy in economic level cannot be avoided by the society. This condition then triggered a demand to the central government to reform the pattern economic development. This demand then raises awareness to Indonesian people for the importance of reform for the life of the nation.

Governance by Kooiman (1993) is "a process of social and political interaction between the government with the community in various fields related to public interest and government intervention on those interests". United Nations Development Program (UNDP). In their document of "Governance for Sustainable Human Development" (1997). Explained that governance as follows: "Governance is the exercise of authority / power field of economic, political and administrative measures to manage the air like the affairs of countries in every level and is an instrument of state policy to encourage the creation of the integrity of the welfare state and social cohesion in the society".

Good governance in the perspective of reform is something that principle. The experts have agreed principle of "good governance" as a basic development of science. However, experts are quite polemical in determining the criteria of good government in general. Among the ideas that emerged and quite controversial in the theory of good government in the vision of this update was stated by Ibn khaldun. Waliudin Abdurrahman bin Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr Muhammad bin Khaldun al-Hadrami or Abu Zaid Abdurrahman bin Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun) he was born in Tunis in 1332 AD. He is descendants of those who had served important positions in government, both Spain and after the displacement of Muslims from Spain to North Africa in Tunis.

Ibnu Khaldun himself had mixed up thinking in the right to place him self as a scientist, with practice or experience in government, on the other hand. He did not stop studying science, and he assumed high positions in the government, either in North Africa or in Spain. His wanderings deliver him to Central Asia, such as Syria, where he served as royal Egyptian and meet, a Mongol hero. In Egypt several times he became a judge. In Egypt Ibnu Khaldun pass away in 1406 AD (Noer: 1996).

Muqaddimah is the famous of his book, an introduction to the book that is more broadly, the Book of Al-'ibar. It was written in Qal'at Ibn Salamah, a village located about halfway between Tunis and Fez, which is finished in Tunis. At the next opportunity, when the book was finished, he added improvements and expansion especially example that strengthen his theory. This theory was placed in Muqaddimah, and arguably, this theory is actually more important as a legacy to the modern era those described in the following principal book Kitab Al-'ibar - which is more an events in history. With gold-ink writing of Muqaddimah Ibnu Khaldun has wrote his name as founding father of sociology: vast and the actual nature of history, or at least a real primordial form of sociology (Philip K. Hitti).

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study is a literature study (library research) using a descriptive approach and methods Kualitatif. Data collection techniques are done by using the library and searching data online. The data was then analyzed by qualitative data analysis stage consisted of data reduction, presentation of data (data display), and conclusion (conclusion drawing).

III. RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Forms of Governance in Ibn Khaldun Theory

Ibn Khaldun thinks at three forms of government: **First**, the Government based reasoning (*siyasah 'aqliyah*), the government brought in accordance with the ratio of its people in achieving the benefit of the world and prevent bad impact. Government based on the Law made by scholars and clever people. This form of Government is praised on one side but is reproached on the one hand. This kind of government today is similar to the Republican government, or institutional realm that can manifest injustice to a certain extent. **Second**, natural Governance (*siyasah thabi'iyah*), the government brought the community in accordance with the purpose of lust. That is, a king in ruling the kingdom (*mulk*) more follow the will and lust alone and do not pay attention to the interests of the people who consequently the people difficult to obey the consequences of the onset of terror, oppression, and anarchy. This kind of government today resemble authoritarian, individualistic, bibs Krasi, or unconstitutional. **Third**, the Government which is based on religion (*Siyasah Diniyyah*), the government brought all its citizens in accordance with the guidance of religion, both worldly and socially. According to Ibn Khaldun this model of government is the best, because with the law that comes from the teachings of Religion will be guaranteed not only security and prosperity in the world but also in the afterlife. And because that is used as the principle of government policy is the teachings of Religion, especially Islam, then the head of the State called the Caliph and Imam. Khalifah, since he is the successor of the Prophet, in preserving the sustainability of the Religion and the earthly welfare of his people. Imam as a leader.

He is like Imam in praying that must be follow by the people as a congregation (Thoha: 191). From the division of the government, it appears that Ibn Khaldun pursued a new path over AlFarabi and Ibn Abi Rabi 'in the classification of government. He does not look to his personal side, as well as the Imam himself, but to the functional meaning of the priesthood itself. So according to him the substance of every government is a law that explains the character of a system of government.

B. Khilafah, Imamah, Sulthaniah

Khilafah according to Ibn Khaldun is a government based on the Religion that ordered his people in accordance with the guidance of Religion either in terms of mundane or afterlife. So the government is base on religion called the Khilafa, Imamah or Sulthaniah. The leader is called Khalifah, Imam or Sulthan. Khilafah is the successor of the Prophet Muhammad with the task of defending religion and exercising world leadership. The institution of Imamah is obligatory according to religious law, as evidenced by Abu Bakr's assumption as khalifah. However, there are also those who argue that Imamah must be due to human reason / necessity to social organization. However, the necessity of law fard kifayah (Thoha: 191-193). Ibn Khaldun himself set 5 conditions for the caliph, Imam, or Sulthan,: 1. Have knowledge. 2. Have the nature of 'fair. 3. Have the ability. 4. Healthy Five senses and body. 5. Descendants of Quraish. Based on the theory of ashabiyah, Ibn Khaldun argues with the earlier Muslim thinkers about the virtues of Quraysh descent. He points out that the Quraysh were the leading, original and eminent leaders of the Mudhar. With its large numbers and solid group solidarity and with its elegance the tribe of Quraish has a high authority. So it is not surprising that Islamic leadership is entrusted to them, because all Arabs recognize the reality of their authority, and they respect the superiority of the Quraysh. And if the leadership is held by another tribe, then what happens is defiance and leads to destruction. In fact, the Prophet wanted unity, solidarity and fraternity (Thoha: 194). But according to Ibn Khaldun this does not mean that leadership is monopolized by the tribe of Quraysh, or the condition of the descendants of Quraish takes precedence over ability. It was base only on the high authority and solidarity of the Quraish tribe at the time to the extent, which the Quraish tribe had been in a state of no authority. nor any other tribe who had high solidarity and high authority, and also the leadership of the Quraysh tribe could not again expected, then leadership can move to another tribe or group that has more authority, solidarity, and ability. Ibn Khaldun in this case is similar to the thoughts of Imam Al-Mawardi in *Al-Ahkam As-Sulthaniyyah* (the laws of the State in the implementation of Islamic law) (Bahri: 2012) or Al-Ghazali, that the Khalifah must be from the group of Quraysh. But Ibn Khaldun realizes it with the theory of 'Ashabiyyah as described above.

C. Solidarity Theory Ibn Khaldun

Ibn Khaldun argues that there are other factors forming the State (*daulah*), namely solidarity . His theory of solidarity that

makes his name famous in of modern thinkers, a theory that distinguishes him from other Muslim thinkers. Solidarity (*Ashabiyyah*) implies Group feeling, solidarity groups, tribal fanaticism, nationalism, or social sentiments. Solidarity (*Ashabiyyah*) born from relationships blood (blood ties) and ties grow. Blood ties bring up feelings of love towards you and the obligation to help and protect them from violence. The closer the blood relationship and frequency of contact with them then ties and solidarity will be stronger, but otherwise the relationship is more strained and the bond will be weaken. The love and affection of a human being to a brother or neighbor when one of them is treat unfairly or hurt. Ibn Khaldun in this case raises two fundamental social categories namely *Badawah* (k,i) (hinterland, primitive society, or desert region) and *Hadharah* (kj1) (city life, civilized society). Both are a natural phenomenon and undoubtedly (*dharury*) (Thoha: 120).

City residents think he deals a lot with a good life. They used to live a life of luxury and follow a lot of passions. Their souls have been muddied by a variety of disgraceful morals. While the Badui people, although it is also dealing with the world, but still in need, and not in luxury, sensuality and pleasure (Thoha: 123). The fertile area affects religious issues. The Badui who live in poor compared to that citizen, live in hunger, and leave the luxury food is better in religion than those who live in luxury and excess. Very few religious people live in cities because the city has been filled with violence and ignorance. Therefore, some people living in the desert are *zuhud* people. The Badui are bolder than the townspeople. Since the city, residents are lazy. They dissolve in pleasure and luxury. They entrust the affairs of self-security and property to the ruler. While the Badui live isolated from the community. They live in wild places far out of town and never get the army's control. Therefore, they themselves defend themselves and not ask for help on others (Thoha: 125). To survive the inland people must have a group sentiment (*ashabiyyah*) which is the driving force in the course of human history, the plant of a clan. Clan that has a strong solidarity (*asabiyyah*) may develop into a country (Thoha: 120). The nature of leadership is always owned by people who have social solidarity. Each tribe is usually tied to a special (typical) or common (*'aam*) descendant. The solidarity of this particular breed is more flesh-rooted than the solidarity of generic descent. Therefore, lead can only be exercised with power. So the social solidarity of the leader must be stronger than any other solidarity that exists, so that he will gain power and be able to lead his people perfectly. Social solidarity is a requirement of power (Thoha: 131). In leading the people, there must be a social solidarity that is above the social solidarity of each individual. Because, if the solidarity of each individual to recognize the benefits of social solidarity: the leaders, it will be ready for the submissive and obedient to follow (Thoha: 132). Wild Nations better able to power than any other nation. The life of the desert is a source of courage. Undoubtedly, wild tribes are braver than others are. Hence, they are better able to have power and seize everything that is in the hands of other nations. The reason is that power is possessed through courage and violence. If these parties there is greater accustomed to living in the desert and wilder, he

would be easier to have the power than other groups (Thoha: 138). Ibn Khaldun's opinion in this case is not surprising, because he did research on the 'Arab and Barbarian community especially those who live a difficult life in the sand. The ultimate goal of solidarity is sovereignty. Because it is the social solidarity that unites the goal; defend yourself and defeat the enemy.

As social solidarity gains sovereignty over its class, it seeks the solidarity of other classes that have nothing to do with it. If social solidarity is equal, then the people under it will be comparable. If social solidarity can conquer solidarity, the two will mix which together lead to a higher purpose of sovereignty. Finally, when a country is old and its magnates composed of social solidarity no longer support it, new social solidarity will take over the sovereignty of the state. Can also, when the country is old, then it takes solidarity. In such a situation, the state will include strong followers of social solidarity into its sovereignty and serve as a tool to support the state. This is what happens to people who go to the sovereignty of Turkey Bani Abbas (Thoha: 139-140). However, barriers path of achieving sovereignty is a luxury. The greater the luxuries and pleasures they are getting closer them from being destroyed, not added gain sovereignty. Luxury has destroyed and eliminated social solidarity. If a country is destroyed, it will be replaced by people who have solidarity intervene in social solidarity (Thoha: 140). According to Ibn Khaldun when a nation is wild, its sovereignty will be vast. Because the people who thus better able to gain power and hold full control in the conquest of other groups (Thoha: 145). The ultimate goal of social solidarity (*'ashabiyyah*) is sovereignty. *'Ashabiyyah* is contained in human nature that can essentially vary; blood ties or equality of deity, neighboring or neighboring dwellings, alliances or alliances, and the relationship between the protector and the protected one. Especially the Arabs according to Ibn Khaldun, the divine equation that made them succeed in establishing the Dynasty. Because according to him, Arabs are the nations who least willing to submit to each other, rude, arrogant, ambitious and each wants to be a leader. *'Ashabiyyah* is only' tribal *ashabiyyah* / *qabilah* that is not possible to establish a dynasty because of their nature. Just because the religion brought by Prophet they could eventually be united and controlled (Thoha: 151). However, according to him that the motivation of religion is not enough, which is still need, group solidarity (*'ashabiyyah*). Religion can strengthen the group's solidarity and increase its potency, but still he needs another motivations that relies on things outside of religion (Thoha: 159). Homogeneity was also influential in the formation of a great Dynasty. It is rare for a Dynasty to exist in an area of diverse ethnicities, because in such circumstances each tribe has different interests, aspirations and views so that the possibility of forming a great Dynasty is difficult. Only by Homogeneity will lead to strong solidarity, and to create a great dynasty (Thoha: 163). In relation to (Solidarity) *asabiyya*, Ibn Khaldun considers that a King must come from the dominant group's solidarity. For in controlling a state, maintaining order, and protecting the state from the threat of the enemy both from outside and within he needs the support, great loyalty of his people. And this can only happen if he comes from a dominant group.

D. Relevance Theory of Solidarity for Development of

Modern Government

Ibn Khaldun explains the issue of the rise of power. In his view the power will fall if he forgets the solidarity of his support group, on the contrary will persist as long as the solidarity is well preserved. It is this solidarity that moves and encourages people to move forward and reach their goals.

Perspectives of Ibn Khaldun in top authors think it can be used as a *tool of analysis* of the collapse of the New Order regime, in his view, the power that is ran by the New Order are the dominating type of power, and repressive. Communities under such power will live under the pressure of fear. Such conditions can cause loss of *ashabiyyah* a community group to the leader who previously supported. Along with it, his power became more one side. New Order government in implementing the system of government is centralized, meaning that all spheres of national and state life are set centrally from central government (Jakarta), so the role of central government is very determine in various areas of community life. The implementation of this centralized politics is very visible in the economic field, most of the region's wealth is brought to the center and local governments cannot do much because the central dominance of the region is very strong. That matter causing dissatisfaction with the government and people in the region against the central government. The monetary and economic crisis is widening and becoming a crisis multi dimensional. In the midst of a situation of increasingly weakening of the rupiah, mass action, labor action, and student action took place everywhere. They demanded the government immediately make economic recovery, so the prices of basic foods down, not anymore No layoffs and others (Gaffar: 2000).

New Order government abandons the solidarity of the people as a political capital and replaces it with the solidarity of the army and bureaucracy as the main base of supporters. Moreover, the New Order regime has been immersed in a luxurious lifestyle, and consequently the power no longer stands on the people's mandate, but through the forces of the army and the bureaucracy that engineered power in the name of the people. According to Ibnu Khaldun, if a rule has been immersed in the luxury of living with corruption and the confiscation of the property of the people, then '*ashabiyyah*' that originally drove its summit of state power will soon be destroyed.

If the *ashabiyyah* possessed by the ruler has weakened then he will soon be replaced by another stronger *ashabiyyah*. Even in the struggle for state power, there will be a battle between the characters with different supporter's base. Yet only those who have strong *ashabiyyah* can seize power. The most powerful *ashabiyyah* formed through the merger of several small *ashabiyyah*. Alternatively, a leader who has a weak *ashabiyyah* does *ashabiyyah* weak coalitions across each other to form a stronger *ashabiyyah*.

Here, it can be concluded that there are at least three things in Ibn Khaldun's perspective which led to the fall of the New Order's power, first, as his power was increasingly centered; second,

leaving the people's *ashabiyyah* and replacing it with the army and bureaucracy as the main base of its power supporters increasingly centralized; and thirdly, because the New Order power was immersed in luxury by corruption and depriving the people of the people.

It is no wonder that the phenomenon now happening is the separatists sue integration in Republic of Indonesian. Separation of East Timor from the unified territory, demands for independence in some areas, raising the flag GAM in Aceh. To watch the rise of the independence movement carried out by the Free Papua Movement (OPM). To date a secret petition demanding new West Papua independence referendum has been submitted to the United Nations (UN). The government banned the petition but the documents were smuggled into the villages and claimed to have been signed by 1.8 million West Papuans. The petition sue for voting freely about the independence of West Papua and the appointment of a UN representative, to investigate report about human rights violations by the Indonesian security forces had (Eramuslim.com). From the range of motion is clear evidence of how weak our national solidarity.

IV. CONCLUSION

Ibn Khaldun was a politician who understood the world of politics in the Islamic world in the fourteenth century. By looking at the collapse and weaknesses that afflict the Islamic world in general when it and watch himself setback culture Arab-Islam in Andalusia under the pressure of the Spanish forces, it is not surprising that his thoughts on the state and government are very realistic and are affected by the social setting politics going on that time.

In his view Ibn Khaldun divides the government into three forms *First* government based on reason, the government brought in accordance with the ratio of its people in achieving the benefit of the world and prevent bad impact, Second, natural government is government that brings people in accordance with the purpose of lust. In addition, the three governments are based on religion is the government that brings all its people in accordance with the religion of religion, both worldly and afterlife. The three forms of government Ibn Khaldun acknowledge it is better to use the teachings and religious laws as the basis of State policies and regulations.

While in the theory of solidarity (*ashabiyyah*) Ibn Khaldun contributed thought in modern scholarship. The *asabiyya* theory which can be interpreted as group solidarity will then form a community or organization that promotes the succession of a State both as a controlling party and who runs the government, and will eventually strengthen national solidarity. What is interesting is when we look deeper ideas developed by Ibnu Khaldun, presumably we can see the relevance of such theories when applied into everyday life. Therefore, the thoughts of Ibnu Khaldun, need more in-depth elaboration and critically debated.

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