

CHAPTER II

RELATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT

A. The concept of good government and good governance

1. Good Government

According to Koffi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, as quoted Ulil Abshar Abdalla in his book *Islam dan Barat Demokrasi dalam Masyarakat Islam*, stated that:

The definition of good government is the creation of institutions that function properly and responsibly (political institutions, law, and administration) are regarded as legitimate institutions by citizens, through which they can participate in making decisions that affect their lives, and through which they are empowered. Good governance in general also requires respect for human rights and legal certainty.¹

According to Bakti as where collected by Zainun Kamal in his book *Islam, Negara dan Civil Society Gerakan dan Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*, one of the definitions of good government is: “By good governance,² we mean the manner in the which power is exercised by the society in the management by various levels of goverment of the country's social, cultural, political, and economic resources. Good governance is reflected in the effective, efficient, honest, equitable, transparent and accountable performance of governing.”³

From the definition above, it is understood that of good government admitted that power is in the hands of the citizenry, but regulation by the government at various levels, where the state has always tried to show that the described system covers all aspects of human life in a country.⁴ In the opinion of the philosophers, good government is governance hierarkies. In this administration, transfer between levels to another level is difficult to do.⁵

¹Ulil Abshar Abdalla (ed). *Islam dan Barat Demokrasi dalam Masyarakat Islam*, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung Indonesia dan Pusat Studi Islam Paramadina, 2002, p. 108

²In this book, to stated “*pemerintahan yang baik*” used the term good governance. However here to stated “*pemerintahan yang baik*”, the authors use the term good government. (see Zainun Kamal, et al., *Islam, Negara dan Civil Society Gerakan dan Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*, Paramadina, Jakarta, 2005, p. 330)

³Zainun Kamal, dkk., *Islam, Negara dan Civil Society Gerakan dan Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*, Paramadina, Jakarta, 2005, p. 330

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 330

⁵Louise Marlow, *Masyarakat Egaliter Visi Islam*, Mizan, Bandung, 1999, p. 71

According Zainun Kamal and his friends in his book *Islam, Negara dan Civil Society Gerakan dan Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*, stated that good government can be divided into five essential elements, namely: transparency, consistency, intelligency, accountability, and comunicatibility. The fifth element besides a system of government as well as personal attitude.⁶ Meanwhile, according to Jazim Hamidi and Mustafa Lutfi in his book *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, stated that overall characteristics of good government are: participant, the rule of law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus orientation, equality, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, strategic vision.⁷

- a) Transparency, in order that each person or one element of a system of government that opens act in carrying out its duties. Each activity can always be proven by the data strong, legitimate, (valid), reliable, and accurate. Data and analyst nothing hidden and can be verified and reviewed professionally.⁸
- b) Consistency, concerns about mental attitude and personality. The entire implementing of state agencies should be firm stance. Not denying what he said, even trying to make it happen, even if faced with personal difficulties.⁹
- c) intelligency, a personal ability as it relates to intelligence. It is also commonly termed the strategic vision, the decision should have a range far ahead.¹⁰
- d) Accountability, related to the attitude of the leadership of a person. Another term often used is responsibility. A leader or bureaucrat or state agency staff are expected to maintain a working attitude full responsibility. What are the responsibilities are always working to the maximum.¹¹
- e) Comunicatibility, namely the ability to communicate with a member or head of state agencies at all levels of government. A bureaucrat or state agency staff are expected to have good communication skills, respect, respectful, polite and collegial horizontal.¹²

⁶Zainun Kamal, dkk., *op. cit.*,p. 332

⁷ Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2010, p. 156

⁸ Zainun Kamal, dkk., *op. cit.*, p. 332

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 332

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 333

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333

¹² *Ibid.*, p 334

- f) Participant, the role of the community in decision-making to formulate public policy. Society plays an active role in the administration of the country, not just accept all the decisions that have been issued by the government.¹³
- g) The rule of law, legal framework of fair and impartial to anyone. This can happen if there is a solid commitment between society, law enforcement agencies, and courts.¹⁴
- h) Responsiveness, public entities should be able to serve all its stakeholders. Policies issued by the government, is able to accommodate the needs of the community, so that the policy is for the entire community.¹⁵
- i) Consensus Orientation, good government become mediates differing interests to obtain the best option for a wider interest in terms of policies or procedures.¹⁶
- j) Equality, all citizens have the opportunity to improve and maintain their prosperity. State must provide assurance that all citizens have equal rights and can improve their standard of living according to the skills they had does not contradict with the laws.¹⁷
- k) Effectiveness and efficiency, public entities should be able to produce a "product" according with their ability to use the available resources as possible.¹⁸
- l) Strategic Vision, the leaders of a public entity must have a good government perspective and development of human resources are broad and far-sighted in line with what is needed for this kind of development.¹⁹

2. Good Governance

To realize good government needed a leader who has a clear vision, strategic planning models, models of performance measurement, and reporting of performance (performance report) that will be used for both external and internal to the organization for continuous improvement of organization performance. Leaders

¹³ Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2010, p. 156

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158

who fulfill these requirements, will be able to carry out, fulfill, and realize good government, clean, and authoritative (clean and good governance).²⁰

The importance of leader is that people who exercise the powers in the real world, regardless of philosophy or ideology of power behind it. Aristotle's classification leader gives very strong evidence that the circumstances and the number of leader who determine the state of the country. He argues good and bad countries are determined by poor attention and importance given its leaders. If the leader concerned with the interests of the society, his country is good, whereas if he was concerned with the self-interest the country's was bad.²¹

According to Ibnu Khaldun as quoted Abdul Raman Zainuddin in his book *Kekuasaan dan Negara Pemikiran Politik Ibnu Khaldun*, in a society necessarily requires a leader because in human beings it remains animalistic nature and tendency to persecute others. If leader is not there, the life of human society will be in a state of chaos and anarchy situations which will eventually threaten human existence itself. So, for Ibnu Khaldun, is not the leader who imposes their willing on others, but someone who did an important social task whose purpose is closely related to the continuation of human existence itself.²²

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Ibnu Khaldun says that a good or bad leader depends on how he takes care of the interests of the people. If the power was carried out with gentle, all parties, including the leader and the society, will be in the best circumstances. And thus, the purpose of that power has been achieved, whereas if it is carried out with hard power, full of punishment and oppression, and always looking for small errors

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158

²¹ Abdul Raman Zainuddin, *Kekuasaan dan Negara Pemikiran Politik Ibnu Khaldun*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 1992, p. 187

²² *Ibid.*, p. 190

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 190

committed society, the society will be enveloped by a sense of fear and feel oppressed.²⁴

Therefore Ibnu Khaldun argues that a good leader is someone who in the midst of society, as well as good and gentle force against them. Thus, society will love him and will defend him to the last drops of blood in the fight against his enemies.²⁵ Ibnu Khaldun said that leader was an ordinary man who common with others. The difference is that he carries a heavier burden. Therefore, he needs a help from another person to assist him in carrying out the heavy duty.²⁶

In his book *Islam, Negara dan Civil Society Gerakan dan Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*, Zainun Kamal and his friend said, Al-Ghazali explained that the president's requirement include: intellectual, moral, and physical abilities, which are summarized as follows: (1) avoid the tyranny with: *mahabbah* to God and do justice to its people; equating among individuals without discrimination; (3) to avoid the shame and sin; (4) work according to conscience, emotional intelligence and his wits; (5) working unify the army, wealth, and religion that synergistic; (6) should reduce the opponent; (7) to emulate the way the previous government authorities; (8) does not interact with the depraved and evil in order to avoid the influence; (9) maintain law and carry it out.²⁷

Within a government, an important leadership role that determine the survival of a nation. One of the concepts of leadership offered by management practitioners in America is the concept of meaning serve. The main concept is that any formal office, the people who want to become a great leader should have an attitude of service to others. In the book *Secret Leadership* by Ken Blanchard and Mark Miller as quoted by Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi in his book *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, the serve is an abbreviation of five key words, namely:²⁸

The S-See the Future, have the meaning that a leader should have thought of innovative, dynamic, and open. That is, leaders must be willing and able to help the people they lead and were able to predict profits or losses stepping into the intended direction.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193

²⁷ Zainun Kamal, dkk., *op. cit.*, p. 340

²⁸ Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *op. cit.*, p. 154-155

Letter E-engage and Develop Others, leadership means in running a leader requires the help of others.

R-Reinvent continuously, means the leader must rediscover at least through three stages. The first phase, is private, meaning introspection. Is a leader in running leadership is not based on selfishness or interests. Second, related to systems and processes leadership: whether in accordance with the conditions of a nation or not. Third, involving organizational structure itself (the country). A leader in running leadership should take an action in developing countries.

V-Value Results and Relationship. A leader must appreciate the performance of subordinates, and the value it will lead leader behavior and ensure the success of his leadership.

E-Embody the Values. It is a fundamental and continuous. A good leader can show all the values that have been formulated and used as the basis of thinking.

B. Ideal state

The state is a continuation of desire between a man wants to get along with other people in order to complete all their needs.²⁹ As quoted by Samidjo in his book *Ilmu Negara*, Plato argues the state is a body that is constantly developed, evolved, consisting of those (people).³⁰

There are several models of the system of government which is regarded as the ideal state system, among others:

1. Democracy

Democracy comes from the word *demos*, meaning citizenry, *cratos* meaning power or governance. So *Demos-cratos* or democratic state is a state where the system of government, sovereignty belongs to the people, the supreme power was the collective decision of the people.³¹ According to Miriam Budiardjo as quoted by Philipus and Nurul Aini in his book *Sosiologi dan Politik*, democracy is a system of political and social organization championed by influential supporters. Hoogerwarf defines democracy as a way of shaping the wisdom of providing many possibilities for the group members to influence policy.³² Meanwhile, according to

²⁹ Samidjo, *Ilmu Negara*, cv Armico, Bandung, 1986, p. 27

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28

³¹ Inu Kencana Syafie, *Al-Qur'an dan Ilmu Politik*, PT Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 1996, p.

the International Commission For Jurist, democracy is a form of government where the right to make political decisions held by the citizens through representatives chosen by them and responsible to them through a process of free election.³³

Opponents of democracy is autocracy, which is a way of shaping policy only a leader who has the possibility of influencing policy, while the group members were not given the opportunity, either directly or indirectly. Autocracy can be done by dictators and totalitarian. The dictator is how to implement the policy with more coercion, while totalitarian is coercive policies covering many aspects of human life.³⁴

According J.J. Rousseau as quoted by Philipus and Nurul Aini in their book *Sosiologi dan Politik*, declare that that purpose of democracy is to make the human can live well. Therefore, let the human take care of himself and determine what the his desire, not be influenced. For the public welfare, the leader appointed by the citizenry to carry out that task. Thus, the authorities must work for the citizenry. However, the authorities often forget themselves. Therefore, there must be control of the citizenry. Furthermore, according to Rousseau, in a democracy contained two elements, namely equal and freedom. In the development, these two elements often collide. With freedom, the human can achieve what they want according to his ability. Because the ability and potential that exists in human beings is different, it then becomes not the same.³⁵

Democracy is a form of government which indicates the role the citizenry in the running of the government, and give priority to the public interest. In a democracy the people are the determinant in governance. The idea of democracy was born on the basis of the citizenry dissatisfaction against the system of government that liberalism and utilitarianism.³⁶

Democracy does not mean uncontrolled freedom, but a broad meaning. Culture which loves freedom and rights of individuals without regard to others is not a characteristic of a democratic culture. Comprehensively democratic culture contains elements include: (1) freedom, defined as the freedom to make choices or

³³ Winarno, *Paradigma Baru Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Panduan Kuliah di Perguruan Tinggi*, PT Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 2009, p. 91

³⁴ Philipus dan Nurul Aini, *op. cit.*, p. 115-116

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116

³⁶ Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2010, p. 207

do something useful for a common interest, without pressure from any party. Freedom does not mean freedom without limits, however, responsible freedom, beneficial to society and not harm the general public is the substance of freedom. (2) equality, democracy, the human look at the position equivalent to one another even though they are different. Value and dignity as human beings in society, the position of law, politics are the same.

3) solidarity, defined as a willingness to consider the interests and cooperate with others. (4) tolerance, that is to be appreciated that contradict or differ from his own principles. (5) respect the honesty, honesty is an attitude that is open to state the truth. Honesty is necessary for the establishment of solid solidarity between citizens of democratic societies. (6) respect the reasoning, (7) of civility.³⁷

There are three kinds of democracy.³⁸

1. Direct democracy. Namely ideology of democracy involving every citizen of deliberation to determine public policy and legislation.³⁹
2. Indirect democracy. Namely ideology of democracy implemented through a system of representation. Indirect democracy (representative democracy) is usually implemented through the general election.⁴⁰
3. Resembling democracy a direct way, the principle is the combination of the two systems above, which are based on two principles:
 - a. Citizenry have a certain part to get involved in the making of provision.
 - b. Establish an elected representative institution, whose members handle the law on behalf of the citizenry.

According to Carol C. Gould, there are three models of democratic theory, that is:⁴¹

- 1.) liberal individualism model

This model describes democracy as a protector of people arbitrariness on government power, and the seat of government as a protector of the

³⁷ Bambang Suteng, dkk., *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*, Erlangga, Jakarta, 2006, p.32 dalam Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2010, p. 189-194

³⁸ Abdul Ghany bin Muhammad Ar-Rahhal, *Fenomena Demokrasi; Studi Analisis Perpolitikan Dunia Islam*, terj. Kathur Suhardi, DeA Press, Jakarta, p. 27-28

³⁹ Winarno, *op. cit.*, p. 91

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91

⁴¹ Hendra Nurtjahjo, *Filsafat Demokrasi*, PT Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 2008, p. 59-64

freedom of all the people of the threats and harassment. This democratic model wants universal commonality for all people and equal rights for all the people and the political process.

2.) pluralist model

This theory is the opposite of individualism that emphasizes personal interests of individuals who are disjoint . In this regard pluralism focus on the interests of the group as an aggregation of individual interests , and the appearance will lead to conflict in the political process . Thus, political democracy is interpreted as a system of government that mediate the conflict (competition) was to obtain social balance . According to this theory of political democracy to maximize the representation of individuals whose interests may not be adequately represented by a power group he joined . This theory also states that pluralism protect the individual freedom of choice by providing alternatives that are capable of representing a plurality of political interest groups or party . The relationship of social relationships that are a consequence of this model over an inter-group relations than relations between individuals.

3.) holistic of socialism model

Is a approach that emphasizes economy democracy and emerging to respond the rejection of the reality of social and economic relations that were raised by liberal individualism. The general view is represented by two main types of theories. First, the liberal democracy, emphasizes individual participation in the decision-making process for the economic and political life.

Second, socialist theory, namely to understand the community or society as a whole as the main, and saw the forms of government (politics) as things are under economic life. The interesting thing is the holistic view of socialism, that freedom appears as the freedom of the whole to actualize its potential through individual activities. Thus, the end goal is economic prosperity totality of society, because the economy is seen as the fulfillment of a condition for freedom.

According Inu Kencana, In general the principles of democracy are as follows:⁴²

- 1.) There is the separation of powers (legislative, executive, and judicial)

To avoid dictatorship, power separated or divided among legislators with law enforcement, to watch each other (checking power with power).
- 2.) constitutional government

To avoid the state based on power alone (*machtsstaat*), then the law should be placed on the highest basis, so citizens with the law and government.
- 3.) Government by a majority

To ensure no occurrence of tyranny, government implemented the majority. Because it is impossible the whole community to reign, then handed over to some of the elite group of government, however, the selection of the people in the group are determined by the the election.
- 4.) Government by discussion (government prioritizes deliberation)

For deliberative democracy should be guided by the wisdom of deliberation representatives (parliament).
- 5.) Free general election

For elected government leaders the desired by citizenry, or members of the representative institution shall represent the voice of the citizenry , there always needs to be a general election that is not influenced (free).
- 6.) There is more than one political party

To avoid the party dictator, needed some political parties compete freely express and articulate the interests of society in the country.
- 7.) Open the Management

To avoid create an iron curtain country rigid and authoritarian, need the participation of the citizenry, in assessing the government. It can be realized if the government accountable for the implementation of governance, development and community service in front of citizenry.
- 8.) Free Press

⁴² Inu Kencana Syafiic, *op. cit.*, p. 263-266

To ensure the life of the press in democratic countries, the press itself should be free to voice their conscience, expressed criticism of the government and the official himself.

9.) Recognition of minority rights

For the protection of minorities, there must be recognition of rights, for example against adherents of minority religions, or the economically weak groups such as street vendors.

10.) The protection of human rights

To protect the dignity of humanity, protection of human rights throughout the required attention to the noble moral values and religion.

11.) Independent judiciary

For state policy should be made by the political representative body, without coercion from any party.

12.) Control over administration

For the creation management and government organizations to achieve national goals, namely the welfare of whole communities is absolutely necessary to supervision on administration of the course and setting the state itself.

13.) Agreement

For every act of government decision-making and wisdom, especially, in a democracy required agreement of the legislature first.

14.) Individual freedom

To prove that the people have no fear, every layer of society should have the freedom of speech, freedom of worship and freedom to earn a living to fulfill their individual needs.

15.) Independent judiciary

In order for government officials not to interfere in public courts, the judiciary must be free from executive influence, so that the families of government officials or government officials themselves, if prosecuted, could be decided by a fair sentence.

16.) Consensus

To resolve conflicts such as the onset of protests and demonstrations, solved by consensus and negotiation, not by suppression and intimidation especially with armed violence.

17.) Constitutional government

To avoid state absolutism, that unlimited power, the administration should be based on the system constitution (basic law).

18.) Provisions on democratization

For the provision of democratization, the constitution of a country should be put in writing, that sovereignty belongs to the people.

19.) skills competition

For the position of officials in the government, must be completely according to their expertise, is not because of family or colleagues from the authorities. So as to create a system of hiring based on merit not spoil the system.

20.) political mechanism

For political mechanism should be changed between the political life of society to rule of political life.

Democracy is a universal term. But no one democratic system that applies to all nations or all of the State. The term may be the same, but the content and its manifestations can vary from country to country. This is because: first, differences in cultural perspective that is used by every nation in seeing democracy. Second, because of the dynamic nature or changed. As with other human interests, which continues to grow in its history, the essence of democracy and therefore also means constantly changing according to the needs and demands of the times.⁴³ Democratization is different in each country, depending on how the state gives vastness to the people the rights and obligations in terms of governance.⁴⁴

2. *Khilafah*

Etymologically, *Khilafah* means replacement. And terminologically *Khilafah* is the replacement of the Prophet in keeping and maintaining religion and regulating the affairs of the world. Clearly *Khilafah* is an institution of power that

⁴³ Rafael Raga Maran, *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik; Suatu Pemikiran dan Penerapan*, PT Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 2001, p. 201-202

⁴⁴ Inu Kencana Syafii, *op. cit.*, p. 258

runs the task of Prophet in administer, develop, and maintain religion and regulate the affairs of the world of people.⁴⁵ *Khilafah* also can be called as *imamah* or *imaratul mukminin*.⁴⁶ Those three titles given to leaders of countries in Islam, though each title is different in terms of appearance and background and relate to each other are also different. But in the end, all point to the same people and also indicate the same meaning, and refers to people who sit in certain positions.⁴⁷ *Khilafah* is a common leadership for all the Muslims in the world, to enforce the laws of Islamic law and develop the message of Islam to all corners of the world.⁴⁸

According to Ibn Khaldun, *Khilafah* is to invite the people to obey the willing of religion for their interests in religious matters (Hereafter) and the state (secular), which its kindness is to their own.⁴⁹ According to him, a necessary condition for the government of *Khilafah* is the result of all government efforts must be returned as well to all people, so it is not only for a party of government man.⁵⁰

Khilafah is not a monarchy, nor the empire. *Khilafah* is the general leadership of the state to bring people on which is holy religion, suppress strong group not to act arbitrarily against a weak group in the state duties. While externally it protects Islam and reject outside attack, and it cannot stand except base on the will of the people.⁵¹

In summary conception of the *Khilafah* (state leader) which expressed by the Qur'an are as follows:⁵²

- a. Actually, every human power in the world is not his own, but only on loan from God. God has given man a position as *khalifah*, and with the position

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 423

⁴⁶ Abul Hasan al-Mawardi said, "leadership is put to replace the prophetic position in the maintaining of religious and worldly politics". See Muhammad Dhiauddin Rais, *Teori Politik Islam*, Gema Insani Press, Jakarta, 2001, p. 85

⁴⁷ Muhammad Dhiauddin Rais, *Teori Politik Islam*, Gema Insani Press, Jakarta, 2001, p. 82

⁴⁸ Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, *Sistem Pemerintahan Islam; Doktrin Sejarah dan Realitas Empirik*, terj. Moh. Magfur Wachid, Al Izzah, Jawa Timur, 1996, p. 39

⁴⁹ Zainal Abidin Ahmad, *Membangun Negara Islam*, Pustaka Iqra, Jakarta, 2001, p. 18

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20

⁵² Abul A'la Al-Maududi, dkk., *Esensi Al-Qur'an Filasafat Politik Ekonomi Etika*, terj. Ahmad Muslim, Mizan, Bandung, 1994, p. 87

man permitted to use it extent a predetermined by Him. Thus man is not an absolute leader, but only representative of God.

- b. Every nation which gaining strength and power of authority in some of the world was actually a representative of God.
- c. The Caliphate cannot be justified without obedience to the commandments of God. Without obedience to God's laws, a leader was not a *khalifah*, but merely acts of disobedience to God.

3. Parliamentary

Parliament comes from the French *parler*, means "to speak", so that parliament means "conversation".⁵³ Political parliamentary system is a system which combines the power of the executive and legislative powers in an institution named holder of sovereignty named parliamentary.⁵⁴

One of the main characteristics of a parliamentary system is a parliamentary position as the highest authority over the bodies and government representatives (supremacy of parliament). In a parliamentary system, the government is not above the representative body, and vice versa representative body no higher than the government, because the prime minister and the cabinet members are not directly elected by the people, parliamentary government only indirectly accountable to the voters. Therefore, in a parliamentary system of government not recognized direct relationship between the people and the government.⁵⁵

According to Jimly, the parliamentary system has the following characteristics:⁵⁶

- 1) Cabinet was formed and has responsibility to parliament.
- 2) Cabinet is formed as an integral part of the collective responsibility under the prime minister

⁵³ Originally the growth of the parliament is not in France, but in England, in the Age of King John Lackland in 1213. Initially named the Great Council, following the Assembly Vazal-vazal name (the landlord). Then in 1254-1264, then used the name parliamentum. (see, Zainal Abidin Ahmad, *Membangun Negara Islam*, PUSTAKA IQRA, Jakarta, 2001, p. 109)

⁵⁴ Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2010, p. 140

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141

⁵⁶ Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Pergumulan Peran Pemerintah dan Parlemen dalam Sejarah*, UI Press, Jakarta, 1996, hlm. 67 in Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Civic Education Antara Realitas Politik dan Implementasi Hukumnya*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2010, p. 142

- 3) Cabinet has the constitutional right to dissolve parliament before its period ending
- 4) Every member of the cabinet is elected members of parliament
- 5) The head of government (prime minister) is not elected directly by the people, but only elected by parliament of a member of parliament
- 6) There is a distinct separation between the head of state and head of government.

SL Witman and JJ Wuest suggests four characteristics and requirements parliamentary system of government, which is as follows:⁵⁷

- a. It is based upon the diffusion of powers principle
- b. There is mutual responsibility between the executive and the legislature, hence the executive may dissolve the legislature or he must resign together with the rest of the cabinet when his policies are no longer accepted by the majority of the membership in the legislature.
- c. There is also mutual responsibility between the executive and the cabinet.
- d. The executive (Prime Minister, Premier, or Chancellor) is chosen by the titular head of State (monarch or President), according to the support of the majority in the legislature.

Based on Exposure about parliamentary system above can be deduced that the indicator system of parliamentary government, among others:⁵⁸

- a) There is a group of executives to run the government and responsible either individually or together. The Executive is led by a prime minister as head of government
- b) There is cooperation between the executive and legislative. Legislative to submit a confidence vote executives and vice versa
- c) The head of state only unifying symbol (government is the prime minister and his ministers), so that all actions performed by the head of the government administration. King only as a symbol.

C. The origins of Authoritarianism in the State

165 ⁵⁷ Inu Kencana Syafie, *Al-Qur'an dan Ilmu Politik*, PT Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 1996, p.

⁵⁸ Jazim Hamidi dan Mustafa Lutfi, *op. cit.*, p. 143

Nowadays many definitions offered by scholars about power. some of them said that power is the ability to influence others, some are saying the power was the ability to set up something, so that others obey what set it, but others say power is a political term for the word strength.⁵⁹

Power is the ability to influence others to think and behave in accordance with the willing that affect. Power seen as an interaction between affecting and affected parties, or that one affects and the other obey.⁶⁰

Power is generally defined as the ability to use sources of influence that, to influence the behavior of the other party so the other party to behave in accordance with the will of the parties that affect. More narrowly, political power can be defined as the ability to use sources of influence to affect the process of political decision-making and implementation of decisions favorable to him, the group or society in general.⁶¹

There is some meaning that closely related to power, the authority and legitimacy.⁶² According to Robert Dahl, there are some terms that have some meaning and those are; influence, authority and rule. Basic idea as above is because the general meaning is same, so that terms are interchangeable. And different sides may just intensity.⁶³ The source of power can be position, property, or religious beliefs.⁶⁴

In the period before Plato, even when he was alive and after that period, a lot of people who argue that the power source is a God. They are sure that they consider god or divine that is fit to be a source of power. Then there was another person who really idolizes possessions and wealth. It is undeniable that, since ancient times the rich with property of its leaders could regulate, therefore then they say that it is the power source property. In addition, there are also people who put the rank, the position on top of everything, so it is quite reasonable if there are people who say that it is a source of power rank, the position or job title.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Jan Hendrik Rapar, *Filsafat Politik Plato*, CV. Rajawali, Jakarta, 1991, p. 95

⁶⁰ Ramlan Subakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, Jakarta, 2007, p. 6

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58

⁶² Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasa Ilmu Politik edisi revisi*, PT. Ikrar Mandiriabadi, Jakarta, 2008, p. 64

⁶³ Abdul Raman Zainuddin, *Kekuasaan dan Negara Pemikiran Politik Ibnu Khaldun*, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 1992, p. 107

⁶⁴ Miriam Budiardjo, *op. cit.*, p. 62

⁶⁵ Jan HendrikRapar, *op. cit.*, p. 96

By Plato, the source of power is not a position rank or title, possessions and property, or anything that is considered a god or divine. Plato crowned philosophy or science that must be glorious to sit on the throne of the ideal state government, because only knowledge that can guide and lead men to come to the knowledge of all that there is in existence something perfect in the world of ideas. Knowledge is the only one thing that could restore people to the world of idea to back to know as well the thing that ever been known perfectly. If the knowledge that plays an important role, so knowledge will be a source of power.⁶⁶

The way to realize the power is different. The most effective efforts is physical violence (force). Power can also be held through coercion, through threat of punishment. A softer effort is through persuasion, it is convincing, argument or point to the opinion of an expert (expert advice). Moreover, it can be used also in other ways, it is to say no punishment, but give rewards or incentives, or compensation.⁶⁷

A discussion of the power of the State is related to sovereignty. If the power is constructed in the juridical framework, so it is referred to as sovereign powers.⁶⁸ The person who first addressed the issue of sovereignty is Jean Bodin, so he then known as Father of the theory of sovereignty in the state treasury of scientific study. Jean Bodin defines sovereignty as the highest authority that can not be restricted by law. This authority owned by leader of the state to overcome all citizens and other persons within the scope of its territory.⁶⁹

According to Hendra Nurtjahjo terms of logical historical development, the theory of sovereignty can be classified into six theories with a comprehensive approach. They are:⁷⁰

a. God Sovereignty Theory

In this theory the supreme power or sovereignty is in God. God is considered the ultimate dependent. Therefore, all orders of the state must be an implementation of the will of God.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97

⁶⁷ Miriam Budiardjo, *op.cit.*, p. 61

⁶⁸ Hendra Nurtjahjo, *Filsafat Demokrasi*, PT Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 2008, p. 30 in Soehino, *Ilmu Negara*, Liberty Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, 1980, p. 79

⁶⁹ Hendra Nurtjahjo, *Filsafat Demokrasi*, PT Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 2008, p. 30

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31-38

On this point there is some doctrine or theory, all derived from theorist theocracy. Include: Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and Marsilius.⁷¹

b. King Sovereignty Theory

King usually convinces people that he and his descendants are have the right be appointed to the sovereignty or supreme power. It is supported by a power of charismatic confidence, dignity, sanctity of descent, as well as a representation of the power of God which is given by generations to his family. Lord gives the right to govern absolutely the king. Therefore, the political power possessed by the king can not be revoked by the commoners.⁷²

c. State Sovereignty Theory

The followers this theory states that the sovereignty of sovereignty does not exist in God, as said by the followers of the theory of the sovereignty of God, but there is in the country. The state that created the law, so everything must submit to the state. Countries considered as a whole that creates the rules of law, and so the law was due to the state, and there is no applicable law if it is not desired by the state. some adherents of this theory of state sovereignty, among others, Jean Bodin and Georg Jellinek. In essence, the theory of the sovereignty of the country, just declared that the highest power is in the state itself, whether its power is absolute or limited.⁷³

d. Law Sovereignty Theory

Theory of Sovereignty of the Law is arising as a denial of the theory of state sovereignty.⁷⁴ This theory was put forward by Krabbe which shows that the highest power lies not in the king, not the state, but it was in the law; law which is based on the legal consciousness of each person. Because the king, authorities, the people and even the state itself are all subject to the

⁷¹ According to Augustine, who represents God in this world (in a countries) is a *pope*. As Thomas Aquinas argued, that the power of the king and the pope is the same, only different duties, the king in worldly affairs, while the pope in religious affairs. While Marsilius argues, the king is the representative of God to exercise sovereignty or sovereign holds in the world. See Soehino, *Ilmu Negara*, Liberty Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, 2000, p. 153.

⁷² Hendra Nurtjahjo, *Filsafat Demokrasi*, PT Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 2008, p. 32 in Rauf, Maswadi, Kata Pengantar dalam Buku *Otoritas dan Demokrasi* karya April Carter, diterjemahkan oleh Sahat Simamora, Rajawali: Jakarta, 1985, p. xiv

⁷³ Soehino, *Ilmu Negara*, Liberty Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, 2000, p. 154

⁷⁴ Hendra Nurtjahjo, *op. cit.*, p. 37

law. All attitudes, behaviors and actions must be in accordance with the law.⁷⁵

e. People Sovereignty Theory

This doctrine arises from the people who are oppressed by the king's actions arbitrary, then feel the need, even a must look for new foundations of the king's power, so that by the power of the king could be limited, at least the king no longer acted arbitrarily, thus rights of the people guaranteed. This effort has been started by the monarchomaken and Johannes Althusius as vanguard. Althusius no longer teaching in the king's power base was the will of God, but on the power of the people, power to the people there were earned from an unwritten law, which is called the natural law nature. And the people that the king abdicates in an agreement called the subordination agreement.⁷⁶

Then arise new ideas about sovereignty, the people sovereignty which was pioneered by Jean Jacques Rousseau. He declared that in a country, the natural liberty has turned into a civil liberty where people have their rights. The people as the highest power in this case goes beyond representation by a majority vote of a joint will (general will / *Volente general*). *Volente general* must be based on the interests of the majority group. So, if just the interests of one group minority preferred, it is not a so-called public interest.⁷⁷ This theory is also followed by Immanuel Kant, who said that the purpose of the state is to enforce the law and ensure the freedom of its citizens.⁷⁸

f. Plural Sovereignty Theory

The basic idea of this theory is that sovereignty is not located on a single subject as to which the thought of the previous theories of sovereignty. Sovereignty is not placed or held in singular but in the plural.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Sochino, *op.cit.*, p. 156

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159

⁷⁷ Hendra Nurtjahjo, *op.cit.*, p. 33

⁷⁸ Sochino, *op. cit.*, p. 161

⁷⁹ There are two teaching or understanding which gives the notion of sovereignty. First, Monism, which states that sovereignty is single, can not be divided, and the sovereign is the holder of the highest authority in the country. Thus, the highest authority that determines the powers-powers that exist in the country. Second, pluralism, the doctrine that the state is not the only organization that has sovereignty. Many other organizations are sovereign to the people in the community so that the task of coordinating the organization of the state is only sovereign in

Sovereignty spread the power of community groups that influence public decision-making power and spread the institutions that carry out the functions of the state as a whole.

According to Inu Kencana there are several ways that need to be known, why a person or group of people have the power, as follows:⁸⁰

a) Legitimate Power

Legitimate means of appointment, so legitimate power is the acquisition of power through the appointment

b) Coercive Power

Coercive means of violence, so coercive power is the acquisition of power through a violent way, even may be a struggles or seizure of armed, which is certainly beyond constitutional. This is usually called a coup (coup d'état).

c) Expert Power

Expert means of expertise, so expert power is the acquisition of power through one's expertise, it is means that those who to take power does have the expertise to manage the office. Obtaining of power like this is applicable in a democracy state.

d) Reward Power

Reward means the provision, so reward power is the acquisition of power through a grant or for a variety of administration.

e) Reverent Power

Means reverent fascination, so reverent power is the acquisition of power through one's attractiveness. Although the attraction is not a major factor why a person determined to be the head and then control the situation, but the appeal of such posture, beautiful face and appearance and interesting clothing can decisive in taking care of others, in an effort to become the leader.

f) Information Power

their respective fields. This situation is referred to as Polyarchism. See Hendra Nurtjahjo, *Filsafat Demokrasi*, PT Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 2008, p. 39

⁸⁰ Inu Kencana Syafiic, *Al-Qur'an dan Ilmu Politik*, PT Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 1996, p. 92-97

In the progress of science increasingly which is sophisticated, we entered the era of globalization. Start from communication global up to authorization, even until globalization mode. Human curiosity makes people who have information visited by others.

g) Connection Power

Connection means relationships, those with extensive relationships and many will gain greater power, both in the political and economic field. In everyday terms we are familiar with the term of relationships.⁸¹

According to Ramlan Subakti to understand the phenomenon of political power completely, then the power in terms of six dimensions, include:

1) Potential and Actual

A person regarded to have a potential power if he had sources of power, such as wealth, land, weapons, positions, and so on. Conversely, a person regarded to have actual authority when he has to use its resources to political activities effectively (reaching the goal).⁸²

2) Positive and Negative

General purpose power holders are to obtain obedience or adjustment of the affected parties. The general objective is grouped into two, namely positive and negative purposes. Positive power is the use of power resources to achieve the goals that are considered important and required. While the negative power is the use of power sources to prevent others achieving the goal that is not only regarded unnecessary, but also detrimental to it

3) Consensus and Coercion

In analyzing power relations, someone must run distinguish power based on force with powers based on consensus.⁸³ Generally the reason for obeying the power constraint is in the form of fear. In this case the fear of coercion can be physical and non-physical, such as hit and killed, ostracized,

⁸¹ Ramlan Subakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, Jakarta, 2007, p. 60-63

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 60

⁸³ Political analyzer which stressing aspects of coercion, of power will tend to view politics as a struggle, conflict, domination and conflict. They see the goals to be achieved by the political elite does not concern society as a whole, but of interest to small communities. Instead, political analyzer which stressing aspects of the consensus rule will tend to see the political elite as people who are trying to use power to achieve the goals of society as a whole. See Ramlan Subakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, Jakarta, 2007, p. 60

intimidated and so on. Meanwhile, the reason to obey the rule of consensus is generally a conscious consent of the parties affected.⁸⁴

4) Position and Personal

In a society that has been developed and established, the power contained in a tightly positions, such as president, prime minister and so on. However, the use of powers contained in the job effectively depends completely on personal qualities possessed and displayed by any person who holds the office. Therefore, position and personal qualities are the source of power.

5) Implicit and Explicit.

Implicit Power is an influence that can not be seen but can be felt, while the explicit authority is clearly visible influence and felt.

6) Direct and Indirect

Direct control is the use of resources to influence the political decision-makers and implementers to make contact directly, without going through an intermediary. And indirect rule is the use of resources to influence the political decision-makers and implementers through the medium of others that are predicted to have a greater influence on political decision-makers and implementers.

According to Paul Conn as quoted by Ramlan Subakti in his book *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, in general there are three ways of authority transfer, it is generation to generation, selection and coercion. From generation to generation authority transfer of office and authority is transferred to descendants or former family of office holders. This happens in the traditional autocratic political system, such as kingdoms and the empire.

Transfer of authority to the election can be made directly through field representatives of the people. It is practiced in a democratic political system. Transfer of power and authority positions coercion is forced to be transferred to another person or group is not in accordance with the procedures that have been agreed upon, but with the use of violence, such as revolutions and coups, and the

⁸⁴ Ramlan Subakti, *op. cit.*, p. 61

threat of violence. Generally this sort took place in the way people state that their political system is not stable.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Ramlan Subakti, *op.cit.*, p. 89