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"Comparative Law System of Procurement of Goods and Services around Countries in Asia, Australia and Europe"

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Front Page ..............................................................................................................   i
Information of the International Seminar .................................................................  ii
Committee Composition ......................................................................................... iii
Preface ...................................................................................................................   iv
Greeting From The Dean Faculty of Law ................................................................. vi

## INDONESIA’S KPK AND NSW’S ICAC: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS
Prof. Simon Butt ....................................................................................................... 1

## CAN INDONESIA FREE ITSELF FROM CORRUPTION IN 2020?
Prof. Dr. Hikmahanto.,S.H.,LLM ........................................................................... 4

## AN ACT TO ESTABLISH THE ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCY, TO VEST POWERS ON OFFICERS
OF THE AGENCY AND TO MAKE PROVISIONS CONNECTED THEREWITH.
Rohimi Shapiee....................................................................................................... 7

## STRATEGY TO CREATE INDONESIA FREE CORRUPTION IN 2020
Dr. Jawade Hafidz, S.H., M.H ................................................................................ 11

## THE NETHERLANDS INGLOBAL CORRUPTION
Siti Malikah Marlou Feer, M.A. ................................................................................ 28

## ROBUST YET FRAGILE: EFFORTS IN COMBATING CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA
Laras Susanti.,S.H., LLM ......................................................................................... 33

## LEGAL STATUS OF AKTOR’S FOR CORRUPTION
*(In the Perspective of Islamic Law)*
Sumarwoto Umar .................................................................................................. 37

## THE ROLE OF LAW IN THE POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY
Lantik Kusuma Aji .................................................................................................... 46

## THE INDEPENDENCY OF THE INSTITUTION FOR THEPROTECTION
AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS TOWARDS
THE GLOBALIZATION ERA 2020
Khalid ...................................................................................................................... 55

## THE URGENCY OF ANTI CORRUPTION EDUCATION
FOR COLLEGES IN INDONESIA
Siska Diana Sari ...................................................................................................... 62

## THE PROBLEMS OF DIVORCE IN CUMULATION AT THE RELIGIOUS COURTS BASED ON THE
PRINCIPLES OF SIMPLE, FAST AND LOW COST
Elis Rahmahwati ..................................................................................................... 78

## DISPARITIES DECISION RELATED TO INTERPRETATION
OF ARTICLE 2 AND 3 CORRUPTION ERADICATION ACT
Agung Widodo ........................................................................................................ 87

## DIVERSITY ADULT AGE LIMITS POSITIVE LAW IN INDONESIA
(Studies in Multidisciplinary Perspective)
Muhammad Andri .................................................................................................. 102

"Comparative Law System of Procurement of Goods
and Services around Countries in Asia, Australia and Europe"
THE APPLICATION OF BALANCE IDEA IN SETTLEMENT
OF DOCTOR MALPRACTICE CASE THROUGH PENAL MEDIATION
Yati Nurhayati .................................................................................................................. 111

MODERNIZATION LAW AS A CRIME CORRUPTION VERY EXCEPTIONAL THROUGH ENFORCEMENT OF ETHICS
Dr. Sukresno, SH, M.Hum .............................................................................................. 118

CORRUPTION POTENCIES IN LAND USE POLICY (A Case Study in Kuningan Regency)
Haris Budiman ............................................................................................................... 126

CORRUPTION PREVENTION AND CONTROLS
INP Budiartha .............................................................................................................. 133

ISLAMIC LAW VALUES TRANSFORMATION IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LEGALITY PRINCIPLE OF INDONESIAN CRIMINAL CODE
Sri Endah Wahyuningsih ............................................................................................... 145

JUSTICE AND CHARITY IN JAKARTA’S NORTH COAST RECLAMATION PROCESS THAT WILL LEAD TO INDONESIA CLEAN OF CORRUPTION
Untoro ............................................................................................................................. 155

CORRUPTION CRIMINAL SANCTIONS WITH VALUES OF JUSTICE-BASED
Zulfiani ........................................................................................................................... 162

THE REFLECTION OF ISLAMIC BANKING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE
Anis Mashdurehatun ....................................................................................................... 171

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LOCAL WISDOM SIRI’NA PACCE AS AN EFFORT OF CORRUPTION ERADICATION IN INDONESIA
Muh. Afif Mahfud .......................................................................................................... 181

DISCOURSE POLITICAL LAW IN INDONESIA ON A COMPLETION OF PLATO PHILOSOPHY
Adrianus M. Nggoro, SH, M.Pd .................................................................................. 189

STUDY OF INDONESIA’S PARTICIPATION IN ICSID
Agus Saiful Abib ........................................................................................................... 202

NOTARY ROLE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EXECUTION PROCUREMENT OF GOODS AND SERVICES ARE FREE OF CORRUPTION BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE
Aris Yulia ....................................................................................................................... 211

ANALYSIS WIRETAPPING AUTHORITY UPPER KPK LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Ariyanto, SH, MH .......................................................................................................... 221

SOCIAL WORKING PENALTY AS SOLUTION IN ERADICATING CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA
Desy Maryani ............................................................................................................. 232

LEGAL POLITICSOF EMPLOYMENT IN TERM OF PART OF TASK HANDBOVER TO OTHER COMPANIES IN INDONESIA
Endah Pujiastruti .......................................................................................................... 244
RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES OF OUTSOURCING WORK FORCE IN THE COMPANY EMPLOYING OUTSOURCING SERVICE
Pupu Sriwulan Sumaya ................................................................. 256

THE APPLICATION OF CORRUPTION LAW TO WARD CRIMINAL ACT IN THE FIELD OF FORESTRY
Ifrani ................................................................................................. 267

THE EFFORTS OF ERADICATING CORRUPTION THROUGH INSTRUMENTS OF MONEY LAUNDERING LAW AND RETURN ACTORS' ASSETS
Yasmirah Mandasari Saragih................................................................. 276

AFFIRM ROLE OF EXISTENCE RECHTSVERWERKING TO ACHIEVING LEGAL CERTAINTY IN LAND REGISTRATION
Rofiq laksamana, Setiono, I Gusti Ayu Ketut Rachmi Handayani, Oloan Sitorus........................................ 287

ANTI-CORRUPTION EDUCATION AT AN EARLY AGE AS A STRATEGIC MOVE TO PREVENT CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA
Ida Musofiana ............................................................................... 304

FREED INDONESIA'S CORRUPTION BETWEEN HOPE AND REALITY
Dr. Tongat, SH., MHum., Said Noor Prasetyo, SH., MH.................................................. 313

UTILIZATION OF INDONESIA MARINE RESOURCES IN AN EFFORT TO REALIZE INDONESIA'S ROLE IN WARS THE SHAFT OF THE MARITIME WORLD
Dr.Lathifah Hanim, SH.M.Hum., M.Kn. and Letkol (mar) MS.Noorman, S. Sos., M.Opsla..... 319

POTENTIAL CORRUPTION IN THE VALIDATION POLICIES ON ACQUISITION TAX OF LAND AND OR BUILDING
Lilik Warsito .................................................................................. 325

THE EFFORT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN COMBATING CORRUPTION IN SOUTH SUMATERA
Sri Suatmiati .................................................................................. 334

ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE AND THE MAPPING OF NORM IN CORRUPTION ACT
Siti Zulaekkhah ........................................................................... 344

AN EXPANSION OF CONCEPT THE STATE ECONOMIC LOSS IN CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA
Supriyanto, Hartwiningsih, Supanto ........................................................................ 354

JURIDICAL STUDIES ON SUBSTANCE AND PROCEDURE OF THE DISMISSAL OF THE PRESIDENT AND/OR VICE-PRESIDENT AFTER THE REFORMATION
Siti Rodhiyah Dwi Istinah ................................................................ 364

THE ROLE OF THE SHARIA SUPERVISORY BOARD IN THE FRAMEWORK ENFORCING SHARIA PRINCIPLES AT THE INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC BANKING IN SEMARANG
Aryani Witasari ............................................................................. 376

SEMARANG CITY GOVERNMENT ROLE IN CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION TO THE CAPITAL OF THE NATIONAL HERITAGE IN INDONESIA
Achmad J Pamungkas (Indonesia), Carlito Da Costa (Timor Leste) .................................. 390
STUDYING THE WISDOM OF ZAKAT
Moch. Gatot Koco (Indonesia), Basuki R Suratno (Australia) .................................................. 398

HOMOLOGATION RECONSTRUCTION IN BANKRUPTCY THAT IS BASED ON
DIGNIFIED JUSTICE
Agus Winoto ..................................................................................................................................... 410

RECONSTRUCTION OF EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY
IN MAKING GOOD GOVERNANCE (GOOD GOVERNANCE) VALUES BASED ON
WELFARE
Mohamad Khamim .......................................................................................................................... 420

THE TASK RECONSTRUCTION AND BPKP’S AUTHORITY IN THE CASE
OF JUSTICE VAUE BASED CORRUPTION
Sarbudin Panjaitan ............................................................................................................................ 429

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MADLIYAH AND IDDAH MAINTENANCE
AND MUT’AH IN DIVORCE CASE FOR JUSTICE AND WELFARE
Mustar ................................................................................................................................................ 438

JURIDICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ALLEGED CRIMINAL OFFENSE TO MANUFACTURE
A NOTARY DEED
Subiyanto ............................................................................................................................................ 446

REVITALIZATION DEAL IN AKAD HYBRIDS IN SHARIA BANKING VALUE BASED
ISLAMIC JUSTICE
Masduqi .............................................................................................................................................. 452

RECONSTRUCTION OF LEGAL PROTECTION DISTRICT HEAD IN THE ELECTION
IMPLEMENTATION OF VALUE-BASED JUSTICE
Kukuh Sudarmanto Alugoro .............................................................................................................. 462

ABUSE OF AUTHORITY OFFENSE THEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION LAW
ERADICATION OF CORRUPTION (LAW NUMBER 31 OF 1999
JO. LAW NUMBER 20 OF 2001) BASED ON VALUE OF JUSTICE
As’adi M. Al-ma’ruf .......................................................................................................................... 472

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DAILY PAID WORK AGREEMENT IN THE EMPLOYMENT
LAW BASED ON JUSTICE
Christina N M Tobing ...................................................................................................................... 479

THE LAW AND THE IMPACT OF MARRIAGE SIRRI
Sahal Afhami ..................................................................................................................................... 489

CRIMES AGAINST CHILDREN AS ACTORS
Muhammad Cholil ............................................................................................................................ 503

RECONSTRUCTION OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURAL LAW
(KUHAP) ABOUT THE DETENTION
Muhammad Khambali .................................................................................................................... 512
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BASED ON JUSTICE PROBLEMS OF DISPUTE RESOLUTION REGIONAL CHIEF ELECTION (GOVERNOR, REGENTS AND MAYOR)</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esti Ningrum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECONSTRUCTION REGIONAL MINIMUM WAGE (UMR) IN RENEWAL OF EMPLOYMENT LEGAL REMEDIES BASED INDONESIA THE VALUE JUSTICE PANCASILA</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urip Giyono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPLEMENTATION OF LAW AS TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF PROFESSIONAL POLICE POLMAS (CASE STUDY IN LAMPUNG POLICE)</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Yaman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECONSTRUCTION OF CRIMINAL SANCTIONS PENAL CODE ACTORS ON ABORTION CRIME BASED ON THE VALUE OF JUSTICE</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanuring Ayu Ardhani Putri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGISTRATION FIDUCIARY GUARANTEE REALIZE LEGAL PROTECTION OF CREDITORS AND DEBTOR</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansharullah Ida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECONSTRUCTION OF LEGAL DISPUTES MEDIATION IN HEALTH CARE FOR PATIENTS HOSPITAL BASED ON THE VALUE OF JUSTICE</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teguh Anindito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECONSTRUCTION OF CRIMINAL SANCTIONS AGAINST CRIME OF ACTORS AND MURDER MURDER IN PLAN BASED ON VALUE OF JUSTICE CRIMINAL CODE</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Marghareta Titiek Pudji Angesti Rahayu Teguh Anindito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPLEMENTATION OF PENAL MEDIATION IN CRIMINAL LAW</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aji Sudarmaji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAIR SETTLEMENT RECONSTRUCTION OF PROBLEMATIC CREDIT DISPUTE AT BANK RAKYAT INDONESIA (STUDY CASE AT MEDAN-SINGAMANGARAJA BRI BRANCH OFFICE)</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachtiar Simatupang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WASTE MANAGEMENT LAW BASED ON WELFARE VALUE</td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Hasyim Muallim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECONSTRUCTION LAW OF PUNISHMENT AGAINST CHILDREN NARCOTICS ABUSE-BASED PROGRESSIVE LAW</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salomo Ginting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEGAL PROTECTION PROBLEM OF WIFE AND CHILDREN OF POLYGAMY SIRRI IN INDONESIA</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhlas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IDEAL RECONSTRUCTION OF REHABILITATION PUNISHMENT FOR NARCOTICS ADDICTS AND ABUSER’S VICTIMS JUSTIFIED BASED ON THE LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA NO. 35 YEAR 2009 (CASE STUDY IN SUMATERA UTARA PROVINCE) Ahmad Zaini ................................................................. 648

IMPLEMENTATION OF ACCELERATION SYSTEMATIC LAND REGISTRATION FULL IN HUMBANG HASUNDUTAN DISTRICT Ruslan ................................................................. 658

RECONSTRUCTION OF STATUS AND AUTHORITY OF THE SHARIA COURT IN THE NATIONAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM BASED ON JUSTICE Jufri Ghalib ................................................................. 667

RECONSTRUCTION OF LIABILITY NOTARY PUBLIC OFFICERS TO ACT AS A VALUE-BASED JUSTICE Elpina ................................................................. 679

RECONSTRUCTION OF CONSUMER PROTECTION LAW IN MAKING THE BALANCE BUSINESS BASED BUSINESS AND CONSUMER VALUE OF JUSTICE Ramon Nofrial ................................................................. 693

RECONSTRUCTION OF LAND USED RIGHT EIGENDOM VALUES BASED ON JUSTICE AND LEGAL CERTAINTY Hakim Tua Harahap ................................................................. 706

RECONSTRUCTION OF DIVERSION CONCEPT IN CHILD PROTECTION OF CONFLICT WITH THE LAWS BASED ON THE VALUE OF JUSTICE Ulina Marbun ................................................................. 726

RECONSTRUCTION OF PARATE EXECUTION MORTGAGE RIGHTS TO LAND BASED ON THE VALUE OF JUSTICE Zaenal Arifin ................................................................. 740

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DIVORCE DUE TO MARITAL STATUS UNDER THE UNAUTHORIZED GUARDIAN AS VALUE OF JUSTICE Abdul Kholiq ................................................................. 751

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEGAL AID LAW FOR CHILDREN WHO GET CONFLICT WITH LAW IN PROCESS OF JUSTIFICATION FOR CHILDREN BASED ON THE VALUE OF PANCASILA Adi Mansar ................................................................. 767

MEDIATION RECONSTRUCTION AS ONE OF THE ALTERNATIVE SETTLEMENT OF DECLINE IN THE COURTS BASED ON THE VALUE OF JUSTICE (Study at the Simalungun District Court) Mariah S.M. Purba ................................................................. 778

LAW ENFORCEMENT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN PERSPECTIVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA
Sekhroni ................................................................. 798

THE PRINCIPLE OF NATURAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN’S RIGHT PROTECTION FOR CITIZENS IN ERADICATION OF CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA
Indriyana Dwi Mustikarini ........................................... 809

PREVENTING LAND MAFIA USING POSITIVE LAND REGISTRY SYSTEM
Bambang Sulistyo Widjanarko ..................................... 816

UNRULY PASSENGER IN AVIATION: THE REGULATIONS AND CASES IN INDONESIA
Adya Paramita Prabandari ........................................... 826

EDUCATION ANTI-CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA: PROBLEMS, CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS
Alwan Hadiyanto ........................................................ 839

SPIRITUAL URGENCY OF RELIGIOUS AND EXPENSES OF EVIDENCE IN COMBATING CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA
Sulistyowati ............................................................. 852

SUE FOR THE STATE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDONESIA
Sarjiyati .................................................................... 863

CONSISTENCY MODEL OF COURT DESIGNATION TO FOSTER PARENT RIGHTS AUTHORITY DUE TO DIVORCE ON CHILDREN
Erna Trimartini .......................................................... 873

AN INVESTIGATION AUTHORITY OF CRIMINAL ACT ON CORRUPTION IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN INDONESIA
Sukmareni .................................................................. 885

PRO CONS THE EXISTENCE OF DEATH PENALTY IN CORRUPTION ACT OF 1999 IN INDONESIA
Anis Rifai ..................................................................... 903

PENAL MEDIATION IN SOLVING MEDICAL MALPRACTICE CASES AS AN ALTERNATIVE OF PENAL SANCTIONS BASED ON LOCAL WISDOM
Sri Setiawati ............................................................... 913

SPECIAL PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM
Achmad Sulchan .......................................................... 922

MORAL REFORM BUREAUCRACY AS PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL PAYMENTS TO INDONESIA CLEAN OF CORRUPTION
Herwin Sulistyowati .................................................... 932

STANCE AND AUTHORITY OF PEOPLE’S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY DURING REFORMATION ERA 1945
Ahmad Mujib Rohmat ................................................... 944
TAXES AND ALMS SEEN FROM ISLAMIC LAW
Mohammad Solekhan ................................................................. 954

DIVERSION IN COURT (Case Studies in Karanganyar District Court)
Anita Zulfiani ............................................................................. 964

International Seminar
Photos......................................................................................... 971
A. BACKGROUND

One of the state-level institution within the governance system of the Republic Of Indonesia is the People’s Consultative Assembly (hereinafter, “MPR RI”, “the MPR’). Prior to the amendment of the Constitution of 1945 (hereinafter, “UUD 1945) during the early period of Reformation (1999-2002), the stance of MPR is considered as the highest state-level institution in Indonesia empowered with a very broad authority.

Based on the idea within the Article 1 sub article (2) of UUD 1945, the understanding as explained in the General Explanatory of UUD 1945 strengthened by the Presidential Decree dated 5 July 1959 as an inseparable part of the UUD 1945, mentioning that the President is responsible to the MPR. Thus, it is to be understood that MPR is the highest institution, or known as the highest state-level institution, so it is common to say that the existence of said institution is to be ruled in the very first part of the UUD 1945. The positioning of MPR RI as the highest state-level institution is strengthened by the TAP MPR
Nomor IV/MPR/1973 regarding the Stance and Relation amongst the Highest State-Level Institutions with/or Interrelation of Highest State-Level Institution.\(^3\)

The amendment of the UUD 1945 in the early reformation era, 1992-2002 had changed the very basic ground of the governance system of Indonesia, including the stance of MPR. Through said changes, the MPR is no longer placed as the highest state-level institution to execute the sovereignty of the nation [Article 1 sub article (2)]. It means that the MPR is no longer the source/institution of the state’s highest authority that distributes the authority to the other state-level institutions.\(^4\)

In regard to this notion, Jimly Asshiddiqie establishes that subsequent to the amendment of the UUD 1945, “Highest State-Level” institution is no longer acknowledged. In accordance with the doctrine of separation of power within the principle of checks and balances amongst the branches of state’s authority, MPR has the equal position to the other state-level institution.\(^5\)

The amendment of constitution is to be seen as the changes of fundamental aspects of governance system, from the vertical-hierarchy system with the principal of supremacy of MPR down to the horizontal-functional principal that balances and checks amongst the state institution.\(^6\)

The Chief of Central Representative Body (DPP) Golkar Party, Aburizal Bakrie suggested that Golkar desired to have a platform that can accommodate the people of Indonesia for the next 25, 50 and up to 100 years. He suggested, due to the absent of GBHN

\(^3\) in the Article 1 sub article (1) Ketetapan MPR “Yang dimaksud dengan Lembaga Tertinggi Negara dalam Ketetapan ini ialah Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat yang selanjutnya dalam Ketetapan ini disebut Majelis.” Article 1 subarticle (2) Ketetapan MPR considers the state’s institution as follows: Presiden, Dewan Pertimbangan Agung, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan, dan Mahkamah Agung. See detail of Ketetapan MPR in Himpunan Ketetapan MPRS dan MPR Tahun 1960 s/d 2000, penerbit Sekretariat Jenderal MPR RI, 2001

\(^4\) Sekretariat Jenderal MPR, loc.cit., hlm. 4. Article 1 sub article (2) subsequent to amendment, “Kedaulatan berada di tangan rakyat dan dilaksanakan menurut Undang-Undang Dasar.”

\(^5\) Jimly Asshiddiqie, Perkembangan dan Konsolidasi ..., ibid., hlm. 147

\(^6\) Ibid
hence the national policy-making process is lied upon the Presidential domain of work and can only reach maximum 5 years of service period. Even if said President is to be re-elected for the next five years of service period, the maximum range will only be extended to 10 years. This 10 years range is deemed too short to set out the national development plan. Hence, it is highly needed to have a national program for long term period for any Ruling President.\textsuperscript{7} From said explanation regarding the platform, it can be understood that Golkar Party wanted to have the GBHN re-implemented.

In the end of service period of MPR members of 2009-2014 period, the MPR set out a General Assembly (GA) Meeting in the end of September 2014 in Jakarta. The results of the \textit{Ad Hoc} II BP MPR that was validated by the GA are the seven recommendations of the next period of MPR. Said recommendations are the changes of UUD 1945 to strengthen the role of MPR as the institution in amending, establish and to elucidate the UUD 1945.\textsuperscript{8} In full, the recommendation of the Research Team of Governance System of Indonesia – MPR is “to strengthen the MPR as the state’s institution which has the highest authority in amending, establishing, elucidating the UUD and to give a directive of national policy to the other state’s institutions.”\textsuperscript{9}

\textbf{B. PROBLEM FORMULATION}

1. How is the stance and the authority of the MPR subsequent to the amendment UUD 1945 after the descent of its position and the reduction of its authority through said amendment?

\textsuperscript{7} Said statement had been delivered by Aburizal Bakrie during the opening speech of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) “Penguatan Sistem Presidensiil di Indonesia” in MPR together with DPP Partai Golkar, 4 Desember 2013. see http://kajian.ketatanegaraan.mpr.go.id/?p=1048, downloaded on 11 Juli 2014

\textsuperscript{8} “Tata Cara Pelantikan Presiden Dipertanyakan”, \textit{Kompas}, Selasa, 30 September 2014, hlm. 2.

\textsuperscript{9} Keputusan MPR Nomor 4/MPR/2014 tentang Rekomendasi Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia Masa Jabatan 2009-2014, hlm. 3-4
2. What are the consequences of the descent of position and reduction of authority of the MPR, for the MPR itself and for the governmental system of the Republic of Indonesia in general?

C. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

1. To research and analyze the stance and authority of the MPR subsequent to the UUD 1945 after the descent of its position and the reduction of its authority through the amendment of UUD 1945.

2. To research and analyze the consequences of the descent of position and the reduction of MPR’s authority, for the MPR itself and for the governmental system of the Republic of Indonesia in general.

D. ANALYSIS

1. Stance of MPR Prior and Subsequent to the Amendment of UUD 1945

Within the governance system of the Republic of Indonesia as regulated under the UUD 1945, MPR holds the highest position. Its position is the highest compared to the other existing state’s institution such as President, DPR and MA. This position places it as the Highest State-Level Institution whilst the other state’s institution such as President, DPR, DPA, MA, and BPK is placed in the lower position below the MPR and categorized as the High Level State Institution. Due to the fact that UUD 1945 gives the highest position to the MPR, hence the system that was implemented in the state’s administration was known as “MPR System” or the “Supremacy of the MPR”.

President was the one who—in the real implementation—rule out MPR through his political policies, including in regards to those who will be chosen as the Regional Representation (Utusan Daerah) and Party Representation (Utusan
Golongan), the members of the MPR including its leaders, and the issues that need to be decided by it.

The stance of MPR after the amendment of UUD 1945 is no longer to be the Highest State-Level Institution. MPR holds the equal position to the other State’s Institution (President, DPR, DPD, MA, BPK and MK). MPR voluntarily lower its position through the amendment conducted in the early time of Reformation (1999-2002).

MPR during the early era of Reformation realized that “MPR system” implemented during Soekarno and Soeharto era is no longer fit and in line with the democracy principles, openness and freedom. Due to that reasoning, the MPR implemented the amendment in the very basic sense by lowering its position to the state’s institution with equal position to the other state’s institution, and the difference would only be emphasized on the role and authority.

Based on those considerations, if in the early time UUD 1945 used to implement “MPR System” or “MPR’s Supremacy”, in todays time the UUD 1945 is to be implemented based by the “Supremacy of Constitution”. The Constitution, in this regard the UUD 1945, would be the highest part of the governmental system of Indonesia. Based on “Supremacy of Constitution” within the UUD 1945 thus there will be no more “highest state-level institution” in Indonesia.

2. Authority of MPR Prior and Subsequent to the Amendment of UUD 1945

UUD 1945 prior to the amendment in the beginning of the Reformation era ruled out and gave a very broad authority to the MPR. Even, in the Elucidation of the UUD 1945 mentioned that MPR had unlimited authority.

Despite the given authority to change and establish UUD, since the implementation period of UUD 1945 either in the Soekarno or Soeharto era, MPR
had never been done any changes of constitution. During the Soekarno era, there were indeed some changes of constitution, but they were more like adjustment from the UUD 1945 to the RIS (Indonesian Federal State) Constitution.

In the perspective of law, to prevent and to blocks the changes of the UUD 1945, the government through the MPR established the TAP MPR regarding Referendum. Based on this TAP MPR, if there is any attempt whatsoever to change the UUD 1945, there should be an initiation of declaration for referendum to know the public opinion upon said changes. If the majority of the people agree to that notion, then the changes can be executed and implemented.

Through that strict measures to obtain people’s acceptance for the amendment of UUD 1945, it can be deemed that there was only a few chances to change the UUD 1945 through referendum hence it cannot be further responded to the executonal level. Even if the referendum allows the changes of UUD 1945, there is only a slight chance that the MPR allow said attempt because most of MPR members are under the influence of the ruling authority at that time.

The authority of the MPR to appoint, elect and to dismiss President and/or Vice President in they period of service is a part of the biggest authority of the MPR. During its development in the Soekarno period, this institution had established Soekarno as the Lifetime President. During that period of Soeharto Era, MPR always agreed to re-appoint Soeharto up to seven election times.

The election process of President by MPR during the Soeharto Era shows us that this institution is not independent in executing its function, but rather more dependent to the will of Soeharto who in the real political sense was more dominant than the MPR. Based on that fact, Soeharto had always been re-elected as President up to seven times of period of service and finally decided to step
down from his position after the wave of protesters raging the Capital City of Indonesia in Mei 1998.

Based on the rules in the elucidation part of UUD 1945, two President of Indonesia ended they time of service through impeachment of MPR namely the Soekarno and Abdurrahman Wahid. During the dismissal of those two leaders, the political reasoning were more dominant to the legal reasons.

Subsequent to the amendment of UUD 1945, the authority of the MPR had been reduced significantly. The authority of that had been remove from MPR namely the right to elect the President and Vice President, including the removal for the right to establish GBHN.

MPR had no longer in its authority to elect the President and Vice President as the logical consequences of the election process of President and Vice President of Indonesia through a direct election in the amendment of the UUD 1945 (Article 6A). The implementation of the direct election of President and Vice President is a rather significant breakthrough in the election system of Indonesia, which prior to the amendment was conducted by the MPR. Many criticism had been passed when the MPR with a mere hundreds of members possesses the right to elect the President and Vice President to rule out Indonesia for five years period of service.

Practice of the President and Vice President direct election (implemented three times in 2004, 2009, and 2014) that had been implemented democratically, honest and fair, safe and sound, with clean record, despite there were still many weaknesses spotted, proof that the readiness of Indonesian people to choose their leader. Through direct election, President and Vice President had been strengthened legitimately for their power.
MPR subsequent to the changes of the UUD 1945 is no longer authorized to establish GBHN. This situation is the consequence from the election system of President and Vice President directly by the people. Vision, mission and working programme of the President and Vice President are the directive for the implementation of development and state administration.\(^{10}\)

E. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

A. Conclusion

1. MPR prior to the amendment of UUD 1945 is placed as the Highest State-Level Institution, which regulates and divides the authority of the nation to itself and to the other state’s institutions under it (known as *Lembaga Tinggi Negara*).

2. MPR prior to the changes of the UUD 1945 holds very huge authorities, even according to the Elucidation of the UUD 1945, MPR holds an unlimited power due to the idea that MPR as the representation of the will of the people.

3. The stance and authority of MPR prior to the constitutional changes had opened the opportunities of UUD 1945’s violation, legal breach and human right abuse without any chance to prevent, block nor to solve it by the other state’s institution.

4. After the implementation of the UUD 1945, the position of the MPR had been equal to the other state’s institutions such as President and DPR. The differences between those institutions are merely lied on the tasks and authorities.

\(^{10}\) Within the last few years there are many suggestions to re-establish similar program to GBHN made by MPR. This is one of the recommendation of the MPR of the Period of Service of 2009-2014.
5. The changes of UUD 1945 had also caused the reduce of MPR authority hence it can no longer in possession of a very wide authority that may cause certain abuse of power and human rights violation.

B. Suggestion

1. It is necessary to run certain research and analysis in a deeper manner regarding the implementation of the stance and authority of the MPR subsequent to the changes of the UUD 1945 including the consequences to the governance system..

2. MPR need to be given certain authority in its relation to Pancasila, UUD 1945, NKRI and Bhineka Tunggal Ika.

3. It is necessary to consider whether or not MPR needs to have certain authority to run a GBHN model that can be implemented and adjusted with the presidential system and democracy level of Indonesia.
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