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Progress and Decline of Legal Thought: Ex-Corruptor as a Legislative Candidate (Analysis of General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 20/2018)

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Article Info

Abstract

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Keywords: Ex-Corruptor, Legislative Candidate, KPU Regulation, Human Rights KPU Regulation Number 20 of 2018 is one of the rules that must be adhered to regarding legislative candidates who will be registered as participants in the legislative elections. The KPU regulation was decided by the Supreme Court as a statutory regulation that is not in accordance with the laws and regulations related to the election on it. In fact, normatively, the provisions in the KPU Regulation are in accordance with the rules for the formation of legislation. Normatively, banning legislative candidates who are former prisoners of corruption is a progressive effort from the government to create a government free of corruption. The prohibition does not violate the concept of human rights protection.

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INTRODUCTION

DEMOCRACY is one of the principles of the rule of law and Indonesia legally in Article 1 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (hereinafter abbreviated as the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, UUD 1945) states explicitly that the State of Indonesia is a rule of law. Democracy is a value of life in a good society, a pattern of social interaction, and is the result of a compromise of the interaction of interests in the form of public policy (Sanit 2015). Democracy is also widely mentioned as a system of government originating from the people or in short based on popular sovereignty.

The real form of a democratic system of government is through elections. Democratic political systems can be seen from the most powerful collective decision makers in the system and are elected through general elections (Huntington 1997). Therefore elections become a means of carrying out people's sovereignty based on indirect democracy or representation. The decision-making process in the form of public policy does not involve the

people directly but is represented by those who have been elected in the general election.

Sirajudin & Winardi (2015) said that to get a consolidation of substantial democracy is through the electoral system. This is important because it is a means or tool for the people to select their representatives to make decisions. Political parties also have an important role in democratic law. The basic function of the political party itself according to Subekti (Sirajudin & Winardi 2015) is to lead to the formulation and implementation of public policies that will regulate society. Political parties as organized groups aim to gain political power and fight for political positions to carry out the policies they make.

The sovereignty of the people as stated in Article 2 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia must be manifested in a tangible form through a direct, general, free and confidential general election. To carry out such elections, an independent election organizer is needed. Independence of election organizers is needed because elections are an instrument or means that can be engineered to achieve good goals while being manipulated for purposes that are contrary to good intentions (Sirajudin & Winardi 2015). Electoral institutions are those responsible for implementing elections smoothly and fairly.

Election Commission as stated in Chapter VIIB Article 22E paragraph 5 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. As an election organizing institution guaranteed and protected by the constitution, KPU is categorized as a state institution that has constitutional importance (Asshiddiqie 2006). As an election organizer, the General Election Commission (KPU) has the task of compiling a KPU regulation for each stage of the election (Art 12(c) Law No.7 of 2017). In addition, it was also given the authority to establish KPU Regulations which had been followed so as to become a regulation that applies to each eligible participant (Art 13(b) Law No.7 of 2017).

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As a concrete manifestation of the duties and authorities given by the law, the KPU issued a KPU Regulation for the stages of legislative elections in 2019. In early July 2018, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights has enacted Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 concerning the Nomination of Legislative Members prohibit the nomination of former drug

dealer prisoners, child sex crimes, and corruption (Andayani 2018). According to the Commissioner of the Commission, Hashim Ash'ari, the establishment of this Commission regulation is to support the President Joko Widodo program to combat corruption (Andayani 2018). This is also a breakthrough from the KPU to minimize the number of corruption committed by legislators in previous periods.

Commission Regulation concerning a ban on convicted legislators nominate Corruption is getting opposition from various parties. According to Bambang Soesetyo (DZA 2018) as Chair of the Republic of Indonesia Parliament, the General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 is contrary to the prevailing laws and regulations. Further, he states that the regulation depriving a person's rights to be elected and a government agency should not deprive citizens. A similar reason was also stated by Refly Harun that the Election Commission Regulation eliminated the constitutional rights of people intentionally and consciously (Chairunnisa 2018). Rejection was also expressed by the Minister of Law and Human Rights, Yasonna Laoly (Ihsanudin 2018), that Regulation Election Commission is contrary to the provisions of Act No. 17 of 2017 on General Elections which states that an ex-convict who was serving a sentence for five years or more, may nominate themselves on the condition that they are concerned to announce their status as prisoners to the public (Art 240(1)g Law No.7 of 2017).

Jimly Asshiddiqie (Nugraheny 2018) argues differently when the General Election Commission Regulation has not been promulgated in the state gazette. According to him, the Election Commission can enact its own draft Election Commission Regulation nomination of legislative candidates are otherwise promulgated by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Furthermore, it was said that there should be no intervention in the enactment of one of the technical rules of the election from the government. At the end of the promulgation of the General Election Commission Regulation, Widodo Ekatjahjana, Director General of Laws and Regulations at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, stated that the enactment of the Election Commission Regulation was for the sake of democracy and election administration so as not to be disturbed (Gatra 2018).

Therefore the author wants to analyze further the General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 concerning the Nomination of Members of the House of Representatives, Provincial Regional Representatives, and Regency /City Regional Representatives. Is the General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 in accordance with the normative rules for the formation of legislation in Indonesia? Next, the legal issue is whether the provisions of article 7 letter h Election Commission Regulation No. 20 of 2018 violate the rights of citizens?

The method used to analyze the problem is to use normative research methods. The study is conceived as what is written in the legislation and become a benchmark in the society behaves towards what is considered proper (Efendi & Ibrahim 2018). Soerjono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji (Efendi

& Ibrahim 2018) mention that normative research is conducted legal research by examining the literature that includes general principles of law, the legal systematics, synchronization of law, comparative law and legal history. The approach used to discuss the problems in this study is the legislative approach, conceptual approach, analytical approach, historical approach, and philosophical approach.

SUITABILITY ELECTION COMMISSION REGULATION NO. 20 OF 2018 WITH THE NORMATIVE RULES FORMATION LEGISLATION

THE LAW becomes valid if it is made by an authorized institution and is sourced and based on higher norms (Indrati S. 2016). Hans Nawiansky (Indrati S. 2016) complements this opinion that legal norms are not only layered and tiered, but the legal norms of a country are also grouped into four major groups. The division of groups by Hans Nawianski includes Staatfundamentalnorm, Staatsgrundgesetz, Formell Gesetz, and Verordnung & Autonome Satzung.

The normative rules for the establishment of attributes in Indonesia are attributive to the Constitution which is regulated by Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Legislation. The hierarchy of laws and regulations in force in Indonesia is regulated in Article 7 of the Law Establishing legislation. While the General Election Commission Regulation fulfills the elements stipulated in the provisions of article 8 paragraph 1 of the PUU Law, which includes regulations made by commissions that are of the same level established by law.

The General Election Commission as the organizer of the general election gets the attributive authority of the constitution which is national, permanent, and independent (UUD 1945, Art 22 E(5)). To hold general elections, the General Election Commission has the duties and authorities granted by the Election Law. One of the duties and authorities of the General Election Commission is to draft and stipulate the rules of the General Election Commission for each stage of the election (Art. 12C, 13B, Law No. 7 of 2017). The general election itself consists of 23 stages including at the stage of election dispute resolution for the legislature and also the election of the President and Vice President ("KPU-Portal Publikasi Pemilihan Umum 2019" t.t.). One of the stages in the election is the Preparation of General Election Commission Regulations and the nomination of members of the House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council, Provincial Regional Representative Council, and Regency/City Regional Representative Council and Nomination of President and Vice President. So based on the duties and authorities given by the Election Law, the General Election Commission has fulfilled the formal requirements or juridical enforcement of the establishment of legislation. Bagir Manan (Sirajudin 2016) said that the first requirement in juridical or normative enactment of legislation is the existence of authority from the legislators.

Next, the second condition mentioned by Bagir Manan (Sirajudin 2016) is about the suitability between the form or type of legislation and the material content. Every formation of legislation must be based on the principle of the formation of good legislation, one of which is the principle of conformity between types, hierarchy, and material content (Art 5 C Law No. 12 of 2011). The purpose of this statement is that every formation of legislation must really pay attention to the material content that is appropriate and in accordance with the type and hierarchy of legislation.

In the Law on the Establishment of laws and regulations, there are two types of legislation, namely legislation in and outside the hierarchy. The types of legislation stipulated in Article 7 paragraph (1) of the Law Establishment of legislation is a type of legislation in the hierarchy. Whereas the opposite type of legislation that is outside the hierarchy is regulated in the provisions of Article 8 paragraph (1) of the Law on the Establishment of legislation. The General Election Commission Regulation is a statutory regulation that is outside the hierarchy because it is formed by a commission that is formed by the Act or on the basis of an order of the Act.

As a statutory regulation that includes types outside the hierarchy, to determine the content of the material, it must be known in advance the level of the institutions that make up the regulation in the state organ structure. The General Election Commission is an institution formed by the constitution to hold elections that are national, permanent and independent. Jimly Asshidiqie (Asshiddiqie 2005a) also said that the General Election Commission received the title as an independent and self-regulatory body where the institution is not only an institution that makes regulations that apply in its work area but also implements, supervises and sanctions parties who violate these rules. The regulations made by the General Election Commission are, of course, regulations relating to the General Election or more precisely as a regulation that explains technically the Election Law. Thus, the content of the provisions of the General Election Commission may not exceed what is stipulated in the Election Law.

In the formulation of Article 4 paragraph (3) KPU Regulation Number 20 Year 2018 concerning the Nomination of Members of the House of Representatives, the Provincial People's Legislative Assembly, and the Regency/City People's Representative Council¹, it states that the selection of

Before getting a judicial review decision from the Supreme Court Speaker, the formulation in this article gets a lot of debate. After obtaining a Judicial Review decision from the Supreme Court, the formulation of this article has been written off and declared invalid. The focus of the research study is the formulation of judicial review article before the Supreme Court to indicate the synchronization and harmonization of laws with the legislation on it

candidates must be democratic and open and not including former drug dealer convicts, child sex crimes and corruption. Then, this article is strengthened and clarified again in Article 7 paragraph (1) letter g The same General Election Commission regulation that the legislative candidate has never been convicted based on a court decision that has a permanent legal force which is punishable by imprisonment of five years or more. Both formulations of this article are derivatives that provide legal certainty and explanation of Article 240 paragraph (1) letter g of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. So that it has followed the rules in Article 6 paragraph (1) of Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Legislation which regulates the principles in the material content of legislation.

The third condition according to Bagir Manan (Sirajudin 2016) is the necessity to follow a certain procedure. The ordinance is meant as has been stipulated in the Law on the Establishment Regulation Legislation: planning, preparation, discussion, approval or determination, and enactment. In every process of the formation of legislation, the Election Commission in making the Election Commission's regulations are in accordance with the provisions set forth in Act Establishment of the Regulation Legislation, and that in each of these processes also involve the parties involved in organizing the elections including the Parliament, the Ministry of Law and ham, etc².

But the weakness contained in the Act formation of legislation related to these issues is not regulated clearly how the process promulgate regulations made by the electoral commission. So, if based on the opinion of Jimly Asshidique that the General Election Commission is a self-regulated body, then the General Election Commission can automatically enact the rules it has made.

The fourth condition according to Bagir Manan (Sirajudin 2016) is not in contravention of legislation that is at a higher level. Conformity between the General Election Commission Regulations and higher legislation can be seen in the consideration section of the regulation, namely Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. More precisely is based on the provisions of Article 249 paragraph (3) and Article 257 paragraph (3) of the Election Law which states that further provisions regarding verification of legislative candidates will be regulated in the General Election Commission regulations.

On the substance of the regulatory commission's election, lays out more details about the provisions of legislative candidates who cannot follow

The General Election Commission has a very important role in realizing a democratic legal state and also has constitutional importance, the General Election Commission has full authority in carrying out its functions without getting intervention by other institutions. This position also strengthens the position of the General Election Commission as an independent and self-regulatory body. Thus, although without having to communicate

with other parties, the General Election Commission can still formulate, compile and enact a regulation of the General Election Commission for the smooth running of democratic elections

the contestation of election is under threat of criminal prosecution of more than 5 years contained in the electoral law³. More complete these provisions contain several elements: (a) have never been imprisoned; (b) based on court decisions that have obtained permanent legal force; (c) committing a crime that is threatened with imprisonment of 5 (five) years or more; and (d) present to the public. Author sharpens the third element *punishable by imprisonment*.

The phrase "threatened" consists of the basic word "threat" has three meanings when viewed in a large dictionary of Indonesian. First, state the intention (intention, plan) to do something that is harmful, difficult, troublesome, or harmful to the other party. Second, give a sign or warning about the possibility of a disaster that will occur. Third, is expected to befall someone or something. The precise meaning if linked to the provisions of previous legislation is the third meaning. Someone who is threatened with imprisonment of 5 (years) or more does not mean that the criminal sentence given must be 5 years or more, but the threat of punishment formulated in a statutory regulation is that period.

The crime of corruption as regulated in Law Number 31 of 1999 *jo* Law No. 20 of 2001 provides a penalty of more than five years, even up to the threat of life imprisonment. In narcotics criminal acts as drug dealers, they are threatened with criminal penalties of more than five years (Chap. XV Law No. 35 of 2009). For any child sex crimes to law threatened with imprisonment of at least five (5) years (Art. 81 Law No. 35 of 2014). Thus, it can be said that the Election Commission Regulation is to clarify several criminal acts which are subject to criminal penalties of more than 5 (five) years. In addition, some of the crimes mentioned in this election commission regulation are categories of extraordinary crime.

THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 7 CLAUSE H ELECTION COMMISSION REGULATION NO. 20 OF 2018 NOT VIOLATE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

LAW is a tool to regulate the subject of legal obligations and obtain their rights properly (Nasution 2014). Indonesia in its constitution stated explicitly as a state based on law (Art 1 (3) UUD 1945). Thus indicating that the Indonesian state adheres to the principles of the rule of law. Jimly Asshidiqie (2005a) argues that the idea of a state of the law is related to the concept of nomocracy, which is the determining factor for all activities in administering

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See more fully in Article 240 paragraph 1 letter g of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections in conjunction with Article 7 letter g of the General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 Year 2018 concerning the Nomination of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Provincial People's Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council Regenc / City

power is law. The Indonesian government has powers that are limited by the Constitution and not justified in acting arbitrarily.

The rule of law will be further enhanced with a democratic system of government, a government based on the sovereignty of the people. The democratic system of government⁴ shows that all citizens participate ruled either by a legislative, as well as outside the people's representative institutions in determining the government's political decisions (Nasution 2014). Freedom and equality in a democratic system of government aim to create good and clean governance.

The principle of the rule of law carried out by Indonesia is a legal state based on Pancasila⁵. Every government activity, the formation of legislation, or other policies must have Pancasila. The aim of the state of Pancasila law is not only to create good and clean governance but also to realize the nation's goal of increasing public welfare⁶. This general welfare can be said as the basic right of all Indonesian citizens. So that it becomes the government's main obligation to realize and protect.

Speaking of basic rights will also be related to views on human rights. Understanding of human rights is still very too narrow if it defines that human rights are a natural right, a right granted to humans since he was born (Nasution 2014). Such understanding will direct a view to safeguard human interests individually and shifting the paradigm of protecting the people individually. The development of the concept of human rights has always evolved to find a concept where the implementation is in accordance with the characteristics and character of the community⁷. The basic concept of human rights also raises the recognition of the right of every person to social and international order in exercising their rights and freedoms to the restrictions

Democracy is also an idea or way of thinking that prioritizes the equal rights, obligations and treatment of all citizens in all laws and government. Democracy also requires an openness with the principle of fair play to give birth to people's participation in running the government

The state law of Pancasila is a country based on the ideals of the Pancasila law. Legal ideals contain the meaning that the law as a rule of public behavior rooted in ideas, feelings, intentions, inventions, and thoughts of the community itself. The ideals of the Pancasila law are based on the value of the One and Only God, Respect for human dignity, national insight and insight, equality and feasibility, social justice, moral and noble character, and participation and transparency in the decision making process.

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The development of thinking about human rights began with the existence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was formulated by the United Nations organization in 1948. The results of the discussion at that time were written documents produced by all nations representing various cultural backgrounds, beliefs, ideologies and political orientation.

set by law (Nasution 2014). Daniel S. Lev said that restrictions on these rights must be in accordance with the parameters of a democratic society, not according to the parameters of an authoritarian society or even those who take refuge in democratic masks (Lev 1970).

Human rights are a basic right that is active or teleological in a democratic understanding (Simanjuntak 2017). The purpose of this statement is that human rights are rights that must be carried out by citizens both personally and jointly in a legitimate association to realize common interests. Human rights will not be realized without the participation of the community to create, oversee, and enforce the laws that have been made.

The most obvious implementation of human rights is the implementation of general elections specifically regulated in Chapter VIIB Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In this provision the active standard of human rights consists of five things: (a) directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly; (b) political parties as participants; (c) individuals for the Regional Representative Council; (d) General Election Commission; and (e) regulated by law (Simanjuntak 2017).

The series of electoral process, in essence, is to fill all positions that are at the peak of the state, namely the legislature and the executive. The selection of legitimate state officials through the general election has the main task of making and implementing the law. The task of making law is always through a practical political process, but after the law is made, the whole law must be subject to the law made in advance. Although in reality, the legislature as a legislator makes more political decisions than carrying out proper legal work (Mahfud M.D 2012).

Political parties as election participants, in the constitutional system of the Republic of Indonesia, are required to pass selection according to qualifications based on the conditions set out in the Election Law. In addition, in the constitution, it is also stated that the institution appointed as the executor of the general election is the election commission. Election supervisory bodies are formed by the state as an institution that oversees the performance of electoral commissions

Nikolas Simanjuntak (Simanjuntak 2017) suggests there are three justifications that political parties have a role and a very important function in a single democratic system. First, politics is for the management of many things both people and interests, positions, and state money. Second, there are no alternative institutions that are able to carry out these affairs simultaneously. Third, all political process practices must be carried out by all politicians both inside and outside political parties. Therefore, it can be concluded that the political duties and responsibilities of political actors as a

process of hominization and humanization to realize a political performance as the best service work⁸.

Human rights become positive rights in two forms, namely moral and law, both of which are the basis of being and acting from a human being in living together socially (Simanjuntak 2017). Moral and law become a value of humanity as an effort to glorify, promote, and promote human civilization. Law is present to treat and maintain moral enforceability. So that the legal position towards morals is a real and valid instrument in society to form human values. In this state, the moral and legal context it was then used as a guide to implementing the country's basic objectives which were called state achievements.

Corruption is the opposite situation from the achievements of the country. Simanjuntak (2017) said that corruption is a human crime. Corruption has greater destructive power because it uses state money originating from the people and its use for community services, deflected for the personal benefit of a state official. The entire offense stipulated in Law number 31 of 1999 *jo* law number 20 of 2001 if it is proven that human rights violations will occur in Article 28C, Article 28D, and Article 28H of the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Violations committed by corruptors Should get the most severe punishment more than punishment for ordinary criminals.

Appropriate punishment has been formulated by the electoral commission to prohibit the ex-convict corruption to be a candidate in the legislative elections this 2019 period. A corrupt person who has violated the fundamental responsibility of the state should not be included as a legislative candidate in the general election contestation

The formulation in Article 7 letter h of the regulation on the number 20 general election commission in 2018 basically does not violate human rights. This is in line with the constitutional provisions stipulated in article 28I paragraph (4) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that protection, promotion, enforcement and fulfillment of human rights are

Homonization is a general humanitarian process by including humans in a very minimal scope of human life. This process requires an advanced process through further education to humanize humans specifically in the process of humanization. The process of humanization is the process of appointing humans to a higher culture in the advances of culture and science. Hominization and humanization are an integral process to realize a better human life and must be carried out simultaneously and at the same time in a broad and deep scope for a long period of time

It is called an achievement because the government gets the power and authority to rule from the people on the basis of contracts or agreements. That on the one hand must provide the promised achievements. This contract is referred to as a political contract, namely a contract made in a political arena that is only moral in its efforts to fulfill these promises.

In Law Number 31 of 199 in conjunction with law number 20 of 2001 there are seven categories of offenses in corruption, namely state losses, bribery, embezzlement in positions, extortion, fraudulent acts, correct interests and gratuities

the responsibility of the state, especially the government. The General Election Commission as part of a state organization tries to uphold the social rights of the Indonesian people by banning former corruption convicts. It is precisely the prohibition that is a clear proof that the government is also present in upholding the rights of citizens who are the fundamental responsibility of the state, namely forming a government that is clean and free from corruption.

CONCLUSION

IT IS emphasized that, General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 concerning the Nomination of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Provincial Regional Representatives, Regency/City Regional People's Representatives Council complies with the normative rules for the establishment of legislation in Indonesia. In the normative rules, there are unclear rules regarding the process of enacting a statutory regulation that is outside the hierarchy as stipulated in Article 8 paragraph (1) of Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Legislation. So that the General Election Commission as a state organ responsible for the legitimacy of Democracy in Indonesia has the right to renegotiate the regulations it makes to be in harmony with Indonesia's democratic ideals.

The next conclusion is that the ban on former corruptors as members of the legislative candidates does not violate the human rights of Indonesian citizens. Corruption is a crime or crime against humanity which limits the social development of the community which is the responsibility of the state. Therefore, the ban on former corruptors is actually the enforcement of human rights to achieve Indonesia's democratic ideals.

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- Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection (Undang-Undang Nomor 35 Tahun 2014 tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak)
- Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections (Undang-Undang Nomor 7 tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum)
- General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2018 concerning Nomination of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Provincial Regional Representative Council, Regency/City Regional Representative Council (Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 20 Tahun 2018 tentang Pencalonan Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kabupaten/Kota)