

# THEORY AND PRACTICE

Law  
Towards Era 5.0

Sebagai negara hukum, prinsip hukum dan asas yang dianut adalah bahwa setiap orang dianggap mengetahui hukum dan peraturan pada saat diundangkan; ketidaktahuan akan hukum tidak dapat dimaafkan. Ketidaktahuan akan hukum umumnya dialami oleh kelompok masyarakat yang tidak mengenyam pendidikan tinggi atau mereka yang berada dalam kategori ekonomi rendah. Mereka memerlukan keadilan.

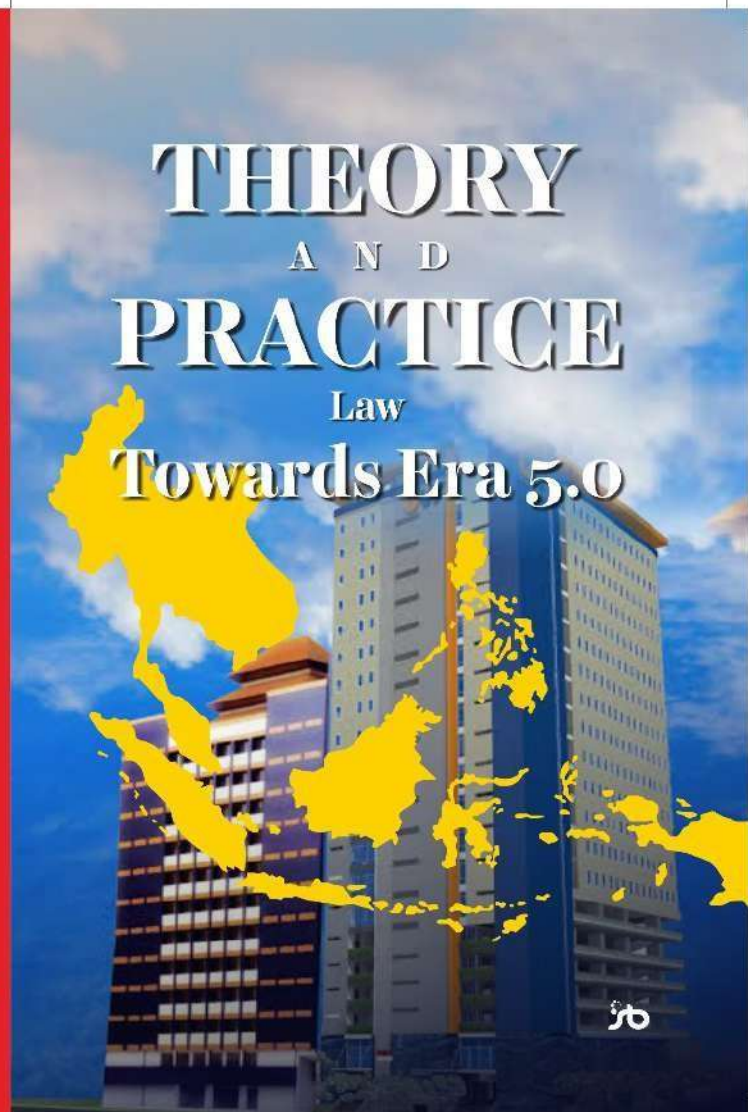
Tujuan dari keadilan adalah untuk memastikan bahwa hukum tidak hanya terbatas pada kelompok tertentu, karena menempuh jalur hukum, atau mencari keadilan melalui jalur hukum dapat memakan biaya yang mahal. Oleh karena itu, pemberian bantuan hukum secara cuma-cuma kepada masyarakat miskin merupakan salah satu bentuk pemerataan keadilan. Namun, dalam implementasinya, pemberian bantuan hukum untuk mencapai keadilan masih rendah.

Uraian tersebut adalah salah satu pokok penting yang dibahas dalam buku ini. Pokok penting lainnya dapat Anda temukan dalam buku ini yang terbagi menjadi sembilan belas bab. Buku ini diterbitkan sebagai bacaan positif mengenai penerapan hukum di Indonesia. Selamat membaca!

THEORY AND PRACTICE Law Towards Era 5.0

sb

sb SAMUDRA BIRU Wahana  
Pustaka, Ilmu, Teknologi, dan Inovasi



# THEORY AND PRACTICE

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**Theory and Practice:**

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# **KATA PENGANTAR**

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*Direktur Program Pascasarjana Universitas  
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Indonesia, sebagaimana dinyatakan dalam Pasal 1 Ayat 3 Undang-Undang Dasar 19fi5, menjelaskan posisinya sebagai negara hukum. Dalam sebuah negara hukum, prinsip hukum, asas yang dianut adalah bahwa setiap orang dianggap mengetahui hukum dan peraturan pada saat diundangkan; ketidaktahuan akan hukum tidak dapat dimaafkan. Ketidaktahuan akan hukum umumnya dialami oleh kelompok masyarakat yang tidak mengenyam pendidikan tinggi atau mereka yang berada dalam kategori ekonomi rendah.

Mereka memerlukan keadilan. Lujuan dari keadilan adalah untuk memastikan bahwa hukum tidak hanya terbatas pada kelompok tertentu, karena menempuh jalur hukum, atau mencari mencari keadilan melalui jalur hukum dapat memakan biaya yang mahal. Oleh karena itu pemberian bantuan hukum secara cuma-cuma kepada masyarakat miskin merupakan salah satu bentuk pemerataan keadilan.

Pasal 3fi Ayat 1 Undang-Undang Dasar 19fi5 menekankan kewajiban negara untuk hadir dalam kehidupan masyarakat.

Kehadiran ini menegaskan bahwa negara harus memastikan bahwa setiap warga negara atau anggota masyarakat mendapatkan hak-haknya yang tanpa diskriminasi. Proses bantuan hukum dapat diakses secara langsung oleh masyarakat melalui interaksi dengan para bantuan hukum. Menurut Pasal 22 Ayat 1 Undang-Undang Nomor 18 Tahun 2003, advokat wajib memberikan bantuan hukum secara cuma-cuma kepada pencari keadilan yang tidak mampu. Hal ini mendorong lahirnya Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 83 Tahun 2008 tentang Persyaratan dan Tata Cara Pemberian Bantuan Hukum Secara Cuma-Cuma.

Berkaitan dengan hal tersebut, buku berjudul *Theory And Practice: Law Towards Era 5.0* ini hadir sebagai bacaan positif mengenai penerapan hukum di Indonesia. Pembahasan buku ini terbagi ke dalam 19 bab. Adapun bab pertama membahas tentang "Obstacles In Implementing Passport Issuance Services In The State Of The Covid-19 Pandemic And Its Solutions (Case Study In Class 1 Immigration Office Non-Lpi Langerang)" ditulis oleh Novita Romauli Batubara, Iri Cahya Indra Permana, Gamal Abdur Nasir.

Bab kedua berjudul "Keabsahan Dokumen Elektronik Sebagai Alat Bukti Yang Sah Ditinjau Dalam Hukum Acara Perdata" yang ditulis oleh Perdi Kustiana, Syafrizal, Agus Darmawan. Bab ketiga "The Role Of The Langerang District Government In Implementing A Social Protection Program For Vulnerable Workers Based On Law Number 24 Of 2011 Concerning Social Security Implementing Agency" ditulis oleh Raddani, Ahmad, dan Upik Mutiara. Masih ada enam belas bab lainnya yang perlu Anda baca mengenai penerapan hukum di Indonesia. Selamat membaca!

Langerang, November 2023

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# **LEGAL INTERPRETATION BY JUDGE IN CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DECISION NO.53/PUU-XV/2017**

*Ika Siti Atikah, Tri Cahya Indra Permana, Ahmad*

Master of Law

## **Introduction**

The minimum threshold requirement of 20% (twenty percent) seats in the DPR or 25% (twenty five percent) valid national votes in the Presidential election reaps many pros and cons in various circles, ranging from academics, students and the public. How could it not be, the wave of rejection with the existence of a threshold for the nomination of President and Vice President was so large, not a few have submitted a review of this regulation to the Constitutional Court. Because the existence of this nomination threshold can harm a person's constitutional rights to be able to run for President.

The article being questioned in the judicial review in the constitutional court is article 222 of law no.7 of 2017 concerning elections which states that "Candidate pairs are proposed by Political Parties or Election Contesting Political Parties that

meet the requirements of obtaining seats of at least 20% (twenty percent) of the total seats in the DPR or obtaining 25% (twenty five percent) of valid votes nationally in the previous DPR member election.” Meanwhile, political observer at the University of Indonesia, Reni Suwarso said that, presidential threshold aims to screen candidates according to the nomination criteria so that concerns about the lack of parliamentary support for the elected president’s work program will not occur.

As is well known, after the promulgation of the rules regarding the threshold for presidential and vice presidential nominations in article 222 of law no.7 of 2017 concerning elections, the Constitutional Court has issued several decisions related to the judicial review of the law, one of which is decision No.53/Puu-Xv/2017. Decision No. 53/PUU-XV/2017 was submitted by the Peaceful Islamic Party (Idaman Party) represented by Rhoma Irama as general chairman and Ramadansyah as general secretary of the Idaman party. According to the Petitioners, the provisions of Article 222 of the Election Law contradict Article 6 paragraph (2), Article 6A paragraph (2), and Article 6A paragraph (5) of the 19fi5 Constitution, and have the potential to harm the applicant’s constitutional rights. Meanwhile, in their legal considerations, the panel of judges at the constitutional court was of the opinion that the provisions of article 222 apart from aiming to strengthen the presidential system are also an open legal policy for forming laws, in which case the panel of judges at the constitutional court reaffirmed the previous decision, namely decision no. 51 Meanwhile, in this decision there were different opinions (Dissenting Opinion) of two judges, namely constitutional judge Suhartoyo and Constitutional Justice Saldi Isra, who argued that article 222 of Law No. 7 of 2017 was unconstitutional or contrary to the 19fi5 Constitution and did not have binding legal force as

the applicant's request was grounded according to law so that the constitutional court should have granted the a quo petition.

The Constitutional Court as the executing agency for judicial power as mandated by the 19fi5 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, is one of the institutions that can achieve and realize the justice expected by the majority of people who live in the territory of a rule-of-law state. In fact, because the nature of the decision is final, which means that there are no other legal remedies that can be taken against the decision of the Constitutional Court and is binding in its entirety and has binding legal force, the Constitutional Court is considered the last place to seek justice when people feel that their justice has been harmed by the legislature and the executive in making laws and regulations. Thus the decision of the Constitutional Court should be more representative of the public interest. Article 2fiC paragraph (1) of the 19fi5 Constitution states that the Constitutional Court is given fi main powers and one constitutional obligation, one of which is to review the law against the 19fi5 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Constitutional Court in examining the law against the 19fi5 Constitution, its decision is final and binding. Based on the characteristics of the decisions of the Constitutional Court, there are decisions which state that the norms of parts of the law are contrary to the Constitution, and do not have binding legal force. In detail Article 56 of Law No. 2fi of 2003 concerning the Constitutional Court, there are three kinds of forms, namely: the application is declared inadmissible; The request is granted; and the Application is rejected. There are even variants of decisions outside of Article 56 of the Constitutional Court Law, for example decisions with a resolution granted, with conditional constitutional variants, conditional unconstitutional, decisions

that postpone the enforcement of decisions and decisions that formulate new norms.

## **Discussion**

### **Legal Interpretation by Judges in Constitutional Court Decisions No. 53/PUU-XV/2017**

The 1945 Constitution gives authority to the Constitutional Court, one of which is to review the law against the 1945 Constitution as stated in article 23C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution. The nature of the decision is final and binding, this is evidenced by the absence of other legal remedies for the decision of the Constitutional Court. The authority to review laws against the 1945 Constitution that is attached to the Constitutional Court should also be interpreted as the willingness of the Constitutional Court to interpret the laws being tested without exception. The Constitutional Court is the last hope for people who feel their constitutional rights have been harmed by the enactment of a law.

The role and function of judges at the Constitutional Court is no longer as a mouthpiece for the law, but as an interpreter of the constitution. The judges of the Constitutional Court are expected to be able to provide an interpretation when indications are found of harming the constitutional rights of Indonesian citizens to the enactment of a law, with the 1945 Constitution as the touchstone. With the interpretation that is done

Constitutional judges are expected to be able to answer whether it is true that the law being tested violates provisions or is deemed to be contrary to the 1945 Constitution so that it can be said that the law is unconstitutional.

The decision of the Constitutional Court which is final and binding in fact does not make it automatically implemented and

does not seem to have absolute executive power. It can be seen from several decisions of the Constitutional Court that seem to be ignored, one example is the decision No.92/PUU-X/2012 concerning the Regional Representative Council being involved in the legislative process (not implemented by the branch of legislative power), the decision No.003/PUU-IV/2006 concerning the material nature of unlawful acts of corruption (not implemented by the Supreme Court). In addition to regarding the executive power, the decisions of the Constitutional Court are also sometimes problematic, namely when the decisions of the Constitutional Court do not clearly state who should carry out the decisions and the technical impact caused by the decisions. As in the decision of the Constitutional Court No.26/PUU-XXI/2023 regarding the judicial review of the Tax Court Law. The decision did not explain who had to initiate the transfer of the tax court, which was originally under the authority of the finance department to become under the authority of the Supreme Court.

As we know, the threshold for the candidacy of the President and Vice President is also known as Presidential Threshold. This has been tested many times in the Constitutional Court, and never once has the Constitutional Court decided to revoke the article regarding this rule. The Constitutional Court has consistently considered that the stipulation regarding the threshold for the nomination of the President and Vice President is aimed not only at strengthening the presidential system, but also as a open legal policy. reason that Presidential Threshold aims to strengthen the presidential system as the aim of the amendments to the 19fi5 Constitution, there seems to be no correlation. In a presidential system, the President as Head of State and Head of Government is not responsible to the House of Representatives, but to the people who elect them directly and are not dependent on stability in parliament. So it can be said that there is no correlation



between Presidential threshold can strengthen the Presidential system.

Next regarding the reason that the provisions Presidential threshold is an open law policy (open legal policy) is also interesting to study. The definition of open law policy formulated by the constitutional court in its various decisions, as well as the notion of open law policy conveyed both by the President and the DPR in trials for reviewing laws, shows that there is a tendency to be interpreted as absolute freedom for legislators to formulate the norms of laws into whatever they want (agreed on by the President, DPR and DPD).

The absence of control over the legislators (legislature) results in the tyranny of the majority, as Agresto fears. Such tyranny arose because the Act became the highest law replacing the 1955 Constitution (constitution). Even though the law is easier to change because the procedure for changing it is easier/simple than the procedure for changing the constitution. If the president and the DPR, both of whom jointly have the authority to form laws, disagree in terms of the substance of the law, their positions will balance each other out. However, if the DPR and the President have agreed/agreed on a particular draft law, and then pass it, the final hope for control rests with the Constitutional Court. However, this hope is lost when it is accommodated by one of the concepts of open law policy which states that open law policy is a condition where the norms of a law cannot be tested for constitutionality.

The effect of ignoring or assuming that there is no basis for testing the norms of laws that are not regulated by the 1955 Constitution is the same as violating the norms of the 1955 Constitution itself, namely that there is no control over laws as a product of the legislature.

Next is about meaning open legal policy in decision No. 53/PUU-XV/2017, the authors argue that it would be dangerous if the legislators were given the widest possible freedom in making a rule of law on behalf of an open law policy. This absolute freedom raises concerns that it will be used irresponsibly to form laws that are not only detrimental to society, but aim only to benefit legislators, especially since the policy is categorized as an open law policy whose constitutionality cannot be tested. If this is indeed the case, it is feared that in the future the law which is categorized as an open law policy will become a legal product without control, moreover there is no clear boundary regarding the criteria for an open law policy itself.

When viewed in terms of meaning, the term open law policy has a potential problem of obscuring meaning. Only by reading open law policies as a mere term, discrepancies in the form of differences will immediately be found between its grammatical meaning and the actual meaning desired by the Constitutional Court. There is even a contradiction (contradiction) between those used to compose the term. The term open law policy as a legal term has failed, because it is unable to explain the concepts it contains and instead creates confusion. The thing that causes the term open law policy to experience confusion and confusion of meaning is because actually the three words that make up the term open law policy are not at the same level, degree, or category.

During the writing process, the authors drew the conclusion that there are two kinds of open law policies referred to by the Constitutional Court, namely absolute open policies which cannot be tested for constitutionality because they are considered not the authority of the constitutional court, then secondly there are open law policies which can be tested for constitutionality provided that the open law policies do not exceed authority and are not carried out arbitrarily, but then the authors find new questions regarding

the provisions regarding the meaning of open law policies which are considered constitutional by the Constitutional Court, how can a law be categorized as a constitutional open law policy, while the test stone is the same, namely the 1959 Constitution. Why can't the 1959 Constitution be tested against the 1959 Constitution instead of testing it first in order to determine that the statute being tested falls into the category of constitutional open law policies. Furthermore, the author argues that it is possible that the provisions of the open law policy "created" by the Constitutional Court are a form of legal ignorance of the panel of judges of the constitutional court itself.

### **Implications Open Legal Policy In the Constitutional Court's Decision Against State Administration**

In the Indonesian constitutional system, the Constitutional Court is given constitutional authority to assess the constitutionality of a norm. The Constitutional Court has become a determining actor, especially in playing its role in examining a law against the 1959 Constitution. There have been many decisions of the Constitutional Court that annulled the validity of content material in paragraphs, articles and/or sections in laws that conflict with the 1959 Constitution. In several decisions, the Constitutional Court has been active and progressive, one of which is by changing policies that have been stipulated in the law or carrying out *ultra petita*. The action of the Constitutional Court is classified as a progressive attitude because the Constitutional Court is not only a mouthpiece for laws whose task is only to review laws with the 1959 Constitution but also wants to realize constitutional justice which can only be found by prioritizing ethical, moral and human values that are not found in the text of the constitution. On the other hand, the Constitutional Court does not always act actively

in getting involved in changing policies. Not a few decisions of the Constitutional Court are a form of “court’s attitude of self-restraint” (judicial restraint) to test a policy by arguing that the policy is within the domain of the legislator’s authority. It’s just that, until now the concept of “open legal policy” What is meant by the Constitutional Court is still unclear. When does a policy fall into the category referred to as “open legal policy” and when a policy contains constitutional values so that the Constitutional Court needs to examine the policy is a question that needs to be answered by the Constitutional Court. In other words, the Constitutional Court needs to formulate a series of measuring instruments to consider a policy that falls into the constitutional category or is included in the concept group “open legal policy”.

Specific rules regarding the review of laws in Indonesia are contained in the 1955 Constitution and Law No. 2 of 2003 concerning the Constitutional Court as amended by Law No. 8 of 2011 concerning amendments to Law No. 2 of 2003 concerning the Constitutional Court. So that everything related to the implementation of judicial review of laws by the Constitutional Court must refer to the 1955 Constitution and the Constitutional Court Act, although it does not rule out the possibility for the Constitutional Court to refer to or refer to the practice of reviewing laws in other countries, in the event that there are parts/stages of reviewing laws that are not clearly regulated in the 1955 Constitution or the Constitutional Court Law.

The concept of open law policy (open legal policy) stated in several decisions of the Constitutional Court gave birth to various meanings. There is a Constitutional Court decision stating that an open legal policy is not within the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court to review it, but there is also a Constitutional Court decision which stipulates that a law is considered an open legal policy and

can or even have to be tested for its constitutionality if it exceeds the legislators. There is even a decision of the Constitutional Court which actually granted a request for judicial review of a law which is an open law policy and is considered unconstitutional.

The decisions of the Constitutional Court stated several times in their considerations that the provisions (norms) being reviewed were open law policies (open legal policy). A norm in the Act that falls into the category open legal policy, then according to the Constitutional Court these norms are in areas that have constitutional value or are in accordance with the 1945 Constitution because regulatory policies are left to the legislators of the Act.

In this study, the authors found a Constitutional Court decision which had the basis of consideration of an open law policy judge, but in its ruling granted the request, namely in the Constitutional Court decision No.112/PUU-XX/2022 concerning the material review of Article 29 letter e Law No.19 of 2019 concerning amendments to Law No.30 of 2012 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission, regarding the minimum age requirement and term of office for the leadership of the Corruption Eradication Commission.

This of course creates more uncertainty in interpreting the meaning of the open law policy itself. Because in previous decisions of the Constitutional Court, the Constitutional Court was of the opinion that an open policy could not be tested, it could be tested with conditions, and the last one in the a quo decision was actually considered unconstitutional.

The inconsistency of the Constitutional Court in the meaning of open law policies in various decisions is of course very influential in the constitutional order in Indonesia. The absence of clear rules regarding the scope of open law policies which cannot be tested,

which can be tested, and which are considered unconstitutional, creates legal confusion, especially in terms of policy making.

## Conclusion

1. Regarding the basis for legal considerations by the judges in the Constitutional Court decision No.53/PUU-XVII/2017, the judges are of the opinion that Article 222 of Law No.7 of 2017 is constitutional. In this case the author does not question the decision, because the Constitutional Court has consistently stated that the article is constitutional considering that it has been tested more or less 17 times. However, in the author's opinion, the problem is the reason that the article is constitutional, namely that the material contained in the a quo petition is an open law policy which is the realm of legislators, and is not the authority of the Panel of Judges of the Constitutional Court to examine it. A new problem was when the Constitutional Court found inconsistencies in interpreting the open law policy itself. This can be seen from the emergence of various decisions regarding open law policies which ended in various decisions as well.
2. Next is the implications of open legal policy in the decision of the Constitutional Court on the constitutional order, when viewed from the theory of step building, an open legal policy which is a norm that is considered the authority of lawmakers that cannot be tested against the 1955 Constitution, this is contrary to the hierarchy of laws and regulations that exist in Indonesia. So that the implications for the constitutional order in Indonesia are uncertain. The highest norm of a rule of law, namely the constitution of the 1955 Constitution, seems to be

unable to function as a fundamental basis for the laws and regulations under it. So that it seems as if there are other norms that cannot be changed even though the touchstone of the highest constitution is the 1955 Constitution.

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