Separation of powers & Checks and balances under Amended Constitution of 1945

By Mohammad Fajrul Falaakh Gadjah Mada University Law School Yogyakarta

Lecture to Sesdilu, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Jakarta, 3-October-2007.

Sovereignty and MPR

- □ Sovereignty belongs to the people and it is implemented in accordance with the Constitution.
- □ Sovereignty is no longer fully exercised by MPR: The socalled "MPR system" ceased to apply.
- □ MPR is a separate parliament-congress consisting of fully-elected members of DPR and DPD. It can be called parliament with joint membership of the two-chamber legislature.
- □ MPR remains as a separate (super-) parliament with specific functions: (1). As a constituent assembly, to amend the constitution; (2). Removing President and Vice-President based on well grounded impeachment charge initiated by DPR; (3). Swearing in the elected President and Vice-President.

Legislature: Asymmetric bicameralism

- ☐ There are two chambers legislature: DPR and DPD
- □ DPR: House of Representatives with membership entirely elected by the people from party-list nomination according to PR system of election (PR: proportional representation).
- DPR is a full legislature holding many powerful functions: legislation, budgeting, and oversight; It also holds power to give consideration on the appointment of ambassadors, to select all justices of the Supreme Court and 3-justice of the Constitutional Court.
- □ DPD: Council of Regional Representatives with membership entirely elected by the people from multi-member district electoral system.
- DPD has powers to, e.g.: (1). Initiate bills on center-region relationship; (2). Provide consideration to DPR on national budget items of taxation, education and religion; (3). Send consideration in overseeing the executive, especially with regard to the policy implementation on center-region relation, administration of economic resources, state budget, taxation, education and religion.
- □ DPD does not have decision making power.

Legislation

- □ A bill may be proposed by President, DPR or DPD;
- Strikingly enough, however, the executive and the legislature merge in legislation since any law must be deliberated and consented by the DPR and the President;
- □ President does not hold veto power, although he may defer the promulgation of any agreed bill for at most 30 days. Any agreed bill becomes law subsequently.
- □ National legislation may be reviewed by the Constitutional Court and declared unconstitutional, therefore becomes null and void (or having no legal efficacy). Democracy is being checked by the judiciary based on the doctrine of constitutional supremacy.

Judiciary

- □ There is independent judiciary with dual-structure, consisting of a SC (Mahkamah Agung) and a CC (Mahkamah Konstitusi);
- □ SC justices are selected by DPR from short-listed candidates being proposed by Judicial Commission. CC 9-justice are selected by President, DPR and MA (three from each state organs);
- ☐ MA is the court of justice with four jurisdictions (i.e. general, administrative, religious, and military jurisdictions). MA is also granted the power to review legislations below statutes;
- MK is the court of (constitutional) law with final and binding decision on the following jurisdictions: judicial review of legislation, resolving disputes between state organs (intergovernmental affairs), deciding electoral disputes, hearing the claim for the dissolution of political parties, and issue a ruling on presidential impeachment charge brought by DPR;
- A judicial commission (*Komisi Yudisial*) is mandated to preserve and enforce the honor, dignity and conduct of judges (dealing with ethical issues). It should become an institutional checks on the judiciary.

Presidential executive

- □ President is both chief executive and head of state;
- □ Presidency is a single chief executive being in a single election ticket;
- □ President and Vice-President are directly elected by the people through two-round election system;
- □ President holds his office for a fixed term of 5-year, and can be re-elected for another term. This helps stabilize his/her administration;
- □ President and VP my only be removed from office by MPR, based on impeachment articles and procedure initiated by the DPR. It involves the CC to decide the validity of the impeachment charge. Parliamentary vote of no-confidence no longer becomes constitutional ground for removal;
- Political accountability of the President is basically to the people (s/he may or may not be re-elected) and to the Constitution (his policy is based on the guidelines provided in the constitution): There is no GBHN to instructs

President nor MPR to account to

Center-region relation: A unitary state with political decentralization

- Indonesia is a unitary state with asymmetric centerregion relationship, in the sense that the Constitution allows special arrangement between center and regions.
- □ Central government holds power over the entire nation, but regions are granted autonomy as provided in the Constitution and the implementing laws: e.g. The Constitution mandates the election of local councils and local executives; the Law on Local Government 2004 grants regional autonomies except on foreign policy, defense and security issues, the judicial system, monetary and fiscal policies, and religious affairs.
- □ Regions hold no original powers, do not give consent to nor initiate constitutional amendment, and subject to national legislations. Such characteristics do not conform the nature a state in federal system.