



Law enforcement against electoral crimes of regional heads in south Sulawesi

Muhammad Natsir

Lecture, Amsir College of Law, Parepare, Indonesia

Abstract

The purpose of the research is to find out and analyze the nature of the implementation of law enforcement against the criminal election of the Regional Head in the Province of South Sulawesi. This research was conducted using a combination of normative legal research type of doctrinal law research (normative legal research) with empirical legal research type or socio-legal research. The results showed; Philosophically, the nature of the implementation of law enforcement against the crime of regional head elections in the South Sulawesi Province region is the achievement of legal objectives, namely certainty, justice and benefit.

Keywords: law enforcement of electoral crimes, heads of democratic and qualified regions

Introduction

The application of the concept of today's democracy must rest on the interests of the people and should avoid the interests of the group. For citizens today is familiar with the process of selecting regional heads conducted directly, which is different indeed from the conditions during the new order period government because at that time the election of regional heads was carried out by the legislature. Before the new order even before Indonesia became independent, the office of the regional head already had a system (constitution) that governed it. Along with the fall of the new order government, which wanted to realize a new Indonesian order, law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Autonomy was established on May 7, 1999. This law led to changes to the government's work in the region. The change is not only about the implementation of local government, but also the relationship between the central and local governments. Previously the relationship between the central and regional governments were centralistic, but after this Law was enacted, relations were decentralists. According to Law No. 22 of 1999, the local government consists of regional heads and other regional devices. In this case, the institution of the Regional People's Representative Council is outside the local government that serves as a legislative body that oversees the course of government.

In the regional head election system, following this Law, the open and democratic recruitment system of area heads is also accompanied by the political practice of money. It is common knowledge that candidates for regional heads always sell money to buy votes of members of the Regional House of Representatives in elections, as well as to finance social groups to create public opinion.

Law No. 22 of 1999 on local government was drafted in a short period and did not involve the participation of the public at large. There fore, it is not surprising that this Law is not entirely aspirational, resulting in a lot of criticism and revision demands. Furthermore, Law No. 22 of 1999, replaced by the birth of Law No. 32 of 2004, then replaced with Law No. 23 of 2014 on Local Government that regulates the election of regional heads directly, this is evidenced from 240 existing articles, as many as 63 articles

talking about the election of regional heads directly. Precisely from Article 56 to Article 119, specifically talking about the election of regional heads directly.

Law No. 32 of 2004 does not necessarily directly create direct regional head elections but must go through the process, namely the judicial review of the Law, then the government issued a Replacement Government Regulation (Perpu) Law (Perpu) No. 3 of 2005, which ultimately also implicated in the amendment of Government Regulation No.6 the Year 2005 on guidelines for the implementation of direct regional head elections to Government Regulation No.17 the year 2005. thus, the regional head election is conducted directly where the candidate is the candidate pair proposed by a political party or a combination of political parties that gained 15 per cent of the Regional People's Representative Council seats or from the accumulation of valid votes in previous legislative elections.

The direct regional head election contained in Law No. 32 of 2004 is a democratization process in Indonesia. The journey of learning democracy in Indonesia before the independence period until now. The next democratic journey gave birth to a new system, dissatisfaction (lack) Law No. 32 of 2004 on regional autonomy gave birth to a new conception of the Law to create a more democratic order. one of the members of the Lombok District Parliament named Lalu Ranggawale applied to the Constitutional Court to conduct a material test on Law No. 32 of 2004. In the end, came the Decision of the Constitutional Court No. 5/PUU-V/2007 which passed Law No. 32 of 2004 Article 56, 59 and 60 on the requirements of the nomination of regional heads providing opportunities for independent candidates to run in regional head elections.

The revision of Law No. 32 of 2004 gave birth to Law No. 12 of 2008. Law No. 12 of 2008 concerning amendments to Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning the implementation of regional autonomy. Contemporary Indonesian political history records that whenever a regional head election is held, there are always protests that doubt the process and the results of the regional head elections. This happened in the elections during the new order, but also the elections in 1999 as well as the legislative elections in 2004 and the

presidential elections in 2004 even the 1955 elections known as the cleanest elections were not quiet from the protests of almost all regional head elections in Indonesia. The conduct of direct elections of regional heads throughout 2005 further adds to the long list of public dissatisfaction protests against the elections. The emergence of protests against the process and the results of the election on the one hand, due to the many violations of election rules that are not resolved completely, on the other hand, due to the feeling of being treated unfairly by the organizers of the regional head elections.

In the 1955 elections the Indonesian election committee accused opposition parties of deliberately stalling the formation of an election organizing committee in the region to include people who are biased in favour of the government party, in other words, the opposition party accused the election organizing committee in the area of the formation of the Indonesian election committee is not independent ^[1].

During the new order, elections were designed to win the government party so that violations of the rules are very rampant. Since the 1982 elections formed Panwaslak elections, but the real function is to dampen dissatisfaction over the occurrence of violations, not to resolve the violations themselves while the results of the 1999 elections are barely biased legalized because most members of the Electoral Commission from political parties refuse to sign the results of the national vote count the reason in the implementation of elections there are many violations so that the results are not biased ^[2].

In the State of the Republic of Indonesia which adheres to the Presidential cabinet system and in the implementation of Local Government using the principle of decentralization and auxiliary duties, the position of Regional Head and Deputy Head of Regions plays an important role in determining a public decision. For public decisions to be supported by the community and in the public interest, the regional head and deputy head of the region must be directly elected by the people, so that the elected Regional Head has broad support from the people. The formulation of public policy is prepared participatory and transparently. Have clear public accountability. And the supervision of the community and representative institutions of the people.

In an era of regional autonomy, the development of democracy and regional public participation is an unavoidable consequence. It is expected that democracy at the local level, can be an entrance for regional progress because the election of regional heads and deputy heads of regions directly the political legitimacy of the head of a large region. However, this does not mean that regional heads can issue policies and act as they see off. The democratic process in the region is also expected to lead to high and critical political participation of local communities, and there is also expected to be a strong "civil society" in the region. If democracy goes well then the principle of "check and balance" will automatically occur that needs to be done and properly maintained by all components in the region about this democracy are unwanted excesses. The occurrence of these excesses is not the wrong democracy but the behaviour of democracy. Therefore, for the democratic process to run well we expect that the regional election organizers (The Regional Election Commission and the Supervisory Committee) always stick to the laws and regulations and enforce candidates in a fair and equal

manner. To the ranks of local government, we also expect to support the smooth implementation of regional head elections and be neutral not to side with one of the candidates.

Procedures and elections for regional head elections with Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government which is amended by Law No. 8 of 2005 concerning Government Replacement Regulation Law No. 3 of 2005 concerning Amendments to Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government into Law. Procedures and mechanisms for the selection of regional heads following Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government as amended by Law No. 8 of 2005 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulation Replacement Law No. 3 of 2005 concerning Amendments to Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government into Law and Government Regulation No. 6 of 2005 concerning Elections.

Ratification of the Appointment, and Dismissal of regional heads and deputy heads of regions as amended by Government Regulation No. 17 of 2005 concerning Amendments to Government Regulation No. 6 of 2005 concerning Election, Ratification of Appointment, and Dismissal of Regional Heads and Deputy Heads of Regions. The enactment of law No. 8 of 2012, as a change from Law No. 10 of 2008, on Elections, changes the dynamics of Indonesian society in political participation increasingly shows its dynamic intensity. The model of direct regional head elections is increasingly motivating various elements and layers of society to be directly involved in the democratic party. Some components of society are increasingly enthusiastic to participate and participate in channelling their political aspirations and interests.

The organizer of the selection of regional heads directly in many regions has markedly encouraged social changes both structural and functional in the order of life of the Indonesian people. The process towards the transformation of change through the regional head election organizers is direct as if it had to go through a process of dysfunctional or functional conflict. The changes that occur after the election of the head of the region are always accompanied by conflict situations that have a wide impact on people's social lives.

Similar reasons were also made by some parties in addressing the results of the 2004 legislative elections even they demanded re-election even though the law did not regulate it while throughout the 2004 presidential election, Abdul Rahman Wahid (and his mass of supporters) continued to protest after his name was not included by the Electoral Commission in the presidential list. The implementation of the 2005 regional elections was coloured by protests and even riots, in various regions, masses of supporters of the defeated candidates launched anarchist actions because they felt cheated by other participants and by the organizers.

Protests of dissatisfaction with the process and results of the election that are back grounded by the many violations that can not be resolved properly and the feeling of having been treated unfairly by the organizers of the regional head elections indicate that there are problems of law enforcement in every regional head election, if not immediately resolved, on the one hand, it will continue to provoke protests from parties who feel violated constitutional rights, cheated, or treated unfairly; on the other hand, the protests that emerged could eventually legitimize the election results. To realize honest and fair

elections and also to avoid the delegitimization of regional head elections in the future, the problems of law enforcement of regional head elections must be resolved comprehensively.

The necessary step is to identify the causes of the emergence of law enforcement problems; furthermore, a comprehensive solution is sought to overcome the problem so that finally a system of law enforcement of regional head elections can guarantee the implementation/implementation of honest and fair elections. Based on experience, the practice of organizing regional head elections has raised problems in the field of law enforcement of regional head elections that are allegedly caused by several factors, namely:

- a. Limitations on the occurrence of violations are uncertain to cause multi-interpretation that leads to controversy;
- b. The mechanisms and procedures for handling violations are not clear so the handling is not easy;
- c. Election law enforcement agencies are not well prepared so it is a pre-emption in handling cases that occur;
- d. Legal sanctions for violations of regional head elections are so mild that it does not give a deterrent effect to continue to violate the law;
- e. Improvement or renewal and complete the existing legal and statutory pitfalls;
- f. Improving the quality of human resources law enforcement both in terms of morality and intellectual capacity, because not a few law enforcement currently exist, do not understand the idealism of the law that is being enforced;
- g. Lack of socialization of laws and regulations in general to the public at large; and
- h. Lack of community control in terms of law enforcement.

The international democratic election standard states that: "honest and fair elections can be achieved when there is a legal device that governs all election processes while protecting the organizers, participants, candidates, voters, monitors, and citizens in general from fear, intimidation, violence, bribery, fraud, and various other fraudulent practices that will affect the outcome of the election. Therefore, the election of an honest and fair regional head requires electoral legislation and the apparatus in charge of enforcing the election legislation^[3]. Building a system of law enforcement elections regional heads in Indonesia, in addition to the need to complete and strengthen the material legislation, no less important is to question the effectiveness of the work of election law enforcement officials. Law enforcement officials election of the head of the region consists of the Electoral Commission/Regional Election Commission as the organizer of the election of the regional head who has the authority to sanction the perpetrators of violations of the election administration of the regional head; The Election Supervisory Committee and the Regional Election Supervisory Committee as supervisors are authorized to ensure the absence or absence of election violations and resolve disputes and election results; The Constitutional Court assigned the constitution to resolve disputes over election results; as well as the ranks of the police, prosecutors, and judicial institutions that are each authorized to investigate, indict and convict the perpetrators

of criminal violations of the election of regional heads.

An important element during this process is the establishment of people's trust ahead of regional head elections. If the people do not feel freely engaged to manage political choices, they are adequately informed according to their needs and purposes, as their suffrage is respected; the electoral process becomes insignificant. Candidates should have the same opportunity to win votes at an "honest competitive level". Furthermore, the candidates should also feel the involvement in the process and appreciate the results of the selection of regional heads. Thus, the election of the regional head becomes so close as a transitional activity carried out before and after the election of the regional head.

An agency responsible for regulating the administration of regional head elections must be independent by the government and able to supervise the law enforcement process to conduct a fair and effective regional head selection process. Otherwise, the public will not trust the election results. Furthermore, it is important to evaluate electoral institutions, including law enforcement such as police and prosecutors, because it is guaranteed that law enforcement institutions that seek to condition the behaviour of law-conscious and law-abiding communities that monitor these aspects adequately and carry out effective actions to avoid problems and fraud. This is to ensure equality in the judicial process and equal treatment and legal protection for candidates. As stated above, democracy requires freedom, justice, and periodic elections. In a democratic country, there is political equality. To achieve political equality, every citizen must have an equal and effective opportunity in voting and all votes must be counted together^[4].

The occurrence of events (violations) of regional head election law that leads to criminal acts as occurred in Pinrang Regency, Enrekang Regency, Sidrap Regency, Luwu regency and Pare-Pare of South Sulawesi Province, there are at least four disappointing phenomena related to the implementation of regional head elections, namely Regional head elections are always accompanied by community conflicts, starting from the nomination stage and even continuing after the regional head elections. The regional head election conflict in question is prolonged and leads to violence; The politics of money, as always kissed in every implementation of the election of regional heads that some of the community considers as a seasoning. The politics of money that is a bribery process has shifted to fairness, both for candidates and the public. The political practice of money occurs in all of the above districts for example in Sidrap district in the form of giving food as much as 7 (seven) times to the restorer. It is a criminal act that damages the image and good democratic order; The election of the head of the region directly, is not directly proportional to the improvement of welfare, independence and regional progress, this often raises issues that lead to black campaigns that provoke public anger (supporters) that lead to acts of destruction and violence; and the fact shows that the area of regional autonomy is increasing cases of corruption that occur. Corruption cases involving regional heads greatly affect the selection process of regional heads if the regional head submits to the re-election of the regional head. Based on the background of the issue expressed, the author wants to know in-depth how the nature of the implementation of law enforcement against the Crime of Regional Head Elections in South Sulawesi.

Method of Research

This research was conducted using a combination of normative legal research type or doctrinal law research (normative legal research) with empirical legal research type or socio doctrinal legal research. The combination of these two types of research was conducted considering that for normative legal research directed at the study of the substance of the laws governing the selection of regional heads and types of empirical law research, intended to analyze phenomena or symptoms (social) which is a factor that is thought to affect the effectiveness of various regulations regarding the selection of regional heads.

Research Result and Discussion

The Nature of Law Enforcement against Electoral Crimes In The Province of South Sulawesi

One of the variables of the size of a democratic state is elections. Elections are one part of the ordinance for a change of power. The study of democracy everywhere will always involve a variety of variables other than elections (Elections), such as openness, enforcement of legal supremacy, change of power, enforcement of human rights, government accountability and a free press. It is in this context that the size of a democratic state will be largely determined by these variables. This connection is an important instrument to see the extent to which the reason of the democratic state stands because, with that reason, we will find a point of a relationship that connects the relationship of the democratic state with these variables.

Nowadays almost every constitution of various countries that are considered democratic always includes the word people's sovereignty in it. This signifies that the sovereignty of the people is an inevitability in the state system in the current world Countries, including the State of Indonesia. The State of Indonesia in its constitution namely the 1945 Constitution clearly states that democracy is a reference in developing the form of Indonesian government as affirmed in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution "... then the Indonesian national independence was drafted in the composition of the State of the Republic of Indonesia which is sovereign of the people..."

In most democracies, elections are considered the emblem, as well as the benchmark, of that democracy. The results of the elections held in an atmosphere of openness with freedom of speech and association, considered to reflect rather accurately the participation and aspirations of the community. Manifestations of people's sovereignty can be seen from the participation of the people in elections and involvement in political parties. The existence of political parties, then by itself there must be elections both legislative elections, presidential and vice-presidential elections, as well as regional head elections / regional elections. The selection of regional heads as a form of implementation of democracy in Indonesia is stipulated in Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government (which for elections was later revised to Law No. 12 of 2008 as last amended by Law No. 23 of 2014. Meanwhile, the election organizers are regulated in Law No. 22 of 2007 The success of direct elections in Indonesia, is highly dependent on the performance of election organizers in this case the Regional Election Commission as the implementer and the Election Supervisory Committee as a supervisory body that oversees the implementation of regional head elections.

In the Critical Evaluation of Local Elections in Indonesia,

those democratic elections require an independent and autonomous supervisory body. This institution was formed to strengthen the pillars of democracy, minimizing the occurrence of fraud in elections as the core of the formation of a government of character. The main characteristics of independent election supervision are, as follows:

- a. Established by order of the constitution or law;
- b. Not easily intervened by certain political interests,
- c. Responsible to parliament;
- d. Responsible to parliament;
- e. Have integrity and good morality; and
- f. Understanding the procedures for organizing regional head elections.

Thus, the election supervisory committee is not only responsible for the formation of a democratic government but also contributes to making the people choose the candidates of regional heads they consider capable. Arrangements related to direct elections in Indonesia, two regulations specifically discuss the existence of supervisors in the implementation of elections including Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government and Law No. 22 of 2007 on Election Organizers. The duties and authorities of the election supervisory committee in Law No. 32 of 2004 are stipulated in Article 66 paragraph (4) letter (a) to (e), a reference election supervisory committee in overseeing the implementation of elections held before 2007. While the elections held after 2007 using Law Number 2007 on Election Organizers. Elections held above 2011 than in use law No. 15 of 2011 on election organizers Where the task of the election supervisory committee in overseeing the implementation of regional head elections is regulated in Article 79 Of Law Number 15 Year 2011, among others:

- a. Supervise the stages of elections in the district/city;
- b. Receive reports of alleged violations of the implementation of laws and regulations regarding elections;
- c. Resolving findings and reports of disputes in the implementation of elections that do not contain elements of criminal acts;
- d. Submission of findings and reports to the District/City Election Commission for follow-up;
- e. Forward findings and reports that are not authorized to the competent authorities;
- f. Submit a report to Bawaslu as the basis for issuing recommendations election supervisory body related to the alleged actions that resulted in the disruption of the stage of the election by election organizers at the district /city level;
- g. Supervise the implementation of the follow-up recommendations Bawaslu on the imposition of sanctions to members of the Electoral Commission District/City, secretaries and employees of the Secretariat of the Electoral Commission District/city that proved to take actions that resulted in the disruption of the stages of the ongoing elections;
- h. Supervise the socialization of elections; and
- i. Carrying out other duties and authorities granted by law.

According to Topo Santoso that so far there are still many who believe that elections can run democratically if there is openly honest and fair supervision. Creating a clean election requires effective supervision. The effectiveness of election

supervision is determined by the supervisors in understanding and understanding how the surveillance process is carried out properly. In this session, we talked about the relationship between elections and election supervision in creating clean elections. Thus, Election oversight committee is a core pillar in the implementation of elections, because elections are honest, fair, and democratic, depending on the extent to which Election oversight committee works well and ensures elections take place democratically [5].

The nature of criminal law enforcement against criminal violations of elections, is enforced so that the elections of regional heads really run democratically. Therefore, the laws and regulations governing regional head elections must be seen in two things, namely when viewed the tendency in legal science, there are two tendencies that are happening, namely: (1) the science of law is divided into various fields as if each stands alone, (2) the science of law hitchhiking in other fields of science so that it is not a stand-alone science. In essence, The product of regional head elections law is a legal product that has its own legal study object. Therefore, the legal truth that is to be disclosed by law enforcement officials is based on the properties inherent in the legislation. To discuss the nature of electoral law thoroughly, it is necessary to know the three underlying reviews. These are ontological reviews, epistemological reviews and axiological reviews.

Ontological Review

Ontological review talks about the existence of something (being) or existence as an object to be studied. In this case that everything is material, while others mention everything that exists as spirit or spirit. It will determine how or with which glasses a person sees a particular object. In general, the philosophy of law examines the values of law, legal sociology, legal anthropology, legal psychology, etc. and examines legal behaviour. While the rule of law is reviewed by a field called the science of rules. in the philosophy of law, the values studied must be normative. A common feature of the rule of law is legitimacy and sanctions. Without being divided into fields of study, legal science itself has examined the values, rules and behaviours. What differs from one study to another is the level, intensity or degree among the three.

Epistemological Review

The epistemological review highlights what conditions and rules a particular object must meet. This relates to what way, method or approach will be used to view that object. Legal science as science aims to seek truth or precisely true justice. To seek true justice then determined a way to look for it called a method. The method of legal science is determined by the ontological and axiological aspects of the law. The concept of methods and science is universal. That is, for any field or any type of science is the same, but the influence of the object of a science is certainly inevitable. Therefore the nature of the law and its function in practice inevitably affect in determining the methods used in legal science.

Axiological Review

An axiological review is a scientific review that looks at how the action or implementation of something is. In other words, how the influence and usefulness of an object for the

benefit of human life. Axiological review cannot be separated from the issue of the value embraced and underlying a particular object. Legal science will have its authority and strength when it is integral in the aspects of ontological, epistemological and axiological. Therefore, what is needed in law is the synthesis of methods, so that the science of law has a method that has a characteristic. The science of law is a system. as a system, legal science must be a unanimity of all components or subsystems that are interconnected with each other.

There is no denying that the development of science and technology is so rapid. With the knowledge that man has, many problems have been solved. The secrets of the universe, for example, have been widely revealed through the advancement of such science, which in turn produces spectacular technologies, such as biotechnology, technology in the field of computers, communication and space. but as much and as advanced as human knowledge has, there are still questions that have not been successfully answered. Then when science is no longer able to answer, those questions become a portion of the work of philosophy.

Philosophy is thinking. This does not mean that every thought is philosophical because philosophy thinks with certain characteristics. There are several characteristics of philosophical thinking, namely:

1. Radical, radical thinking is thinking down to its roots.
2. Universal, is to think about things and processes that are general.
3. Conceptual, what is meant by the concept here is the result of generalization and abstraction of the experience of individual things and processes.
4. Coherent and consistent. Coherent means following the rules of thinking (logical). Consistent means no contradictions.
5. Conceptual, what is meant by the concept here is the result of generalization and abstraction of the experience of individual things and processes.
6. Systematic, derived from the word system which means the roundness of many interconnected elements according to the regulatory system to achieve something intent or fulfil a certain role.
7. Comprehensive, is a thorough cover. Philosophical thinking seeks to explain the phenomena that exist in the universe as a whole as a system.
8. Freely to the extent of the broad.
9. Responsible, the first answer is to his conscience. Here there is a relationship between freedom of thought in philosophy and ethics that underlies it [6].

Then the philosophy of law with its universality, looking at life as a whole, does not look at only parts of life's symptoms alone or procedurally. Thus the philosophy of law can swoop on other relevant or dreamy issues throughout its reflective journey, not just solving the problems it faces. in legal philosophy, off-object considerations are one of its hallmarks. The philosophy of law is not value-free. Thus the philosophy of law draws on the value that comes from life and thought. Philosophy of law also has a fundamental nature or focuses on fundamental questions. By studying and understanding the philosophy of law means being invited to understand the law, not in the sense of mere positive law. People who study the law in a mere positive sense, will not be able to utilize and develop the law properly. If the person becomes a

judge, for example, it is feared that he will be a judge who acts as a "mouthpiece of the law" only. The next one that is no less important is the speculative nature of philosophy. This trait should not be negatively interpreted as a clear.

Conclusion

Philosophically the nature of the implementation of law enforcement against various laws and regulations of the election of the Regional Head in the Region of South Sulawesi Province is the achievement of legal objectives, namely legal certainty, justice and benefit.

References

1. Alfian. Pemilihan Umum dan Prospek Demokrasi di Indonesia, dalam Demokrasi dan Proses Politik, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999.
2. Intan Pariwara. Filsafat Ilmu Sebagai Dasar Pengembangan Ilmu Pengetahuan, Klaten. 1997.
3. Syahrir Ibnu. Bahtera Pemilukada, Konflik Tak Berujung. LSQ Makassar, 2013.
4. Syahrudin Nawi, Penelitian Normatif Versus Penelitian Hukum Empiris, Penerbit Umitoha, Makassar, 2017.
5. TopoSantoso, Tindak Pidana Pemilu, Jakarta, Sinar Grafika, 2006
6. William Liddle, Pemilu-Pemilu Orde Baru: Pasang Surut Kekuasaan Politik, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1992.
7. Undang-undang Dasar, Amandemen Pertama Sampai Amandemen ke Empat. Disertai Butir-Butir Pancasila dan Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu, 1945.
8. Undang-undang Nomor 32 Tahun Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah, 2004.
9. Undang-undang 12 Tahun Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Undang-Undang No 32 Tahun 2004 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah, 2008.
10. Undang-undang 22 Tahun Tentang Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum, 2007.
11. Undang-undang Nomor 15 Tahun Tentang Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum, 2011.
12. Internasional IDEA, Standar-standar Internasional Pemilihan Umum, Pedoman Peninjauan Kembali Kerangka Hukum Pemilu, Jakarta: International IDEA, 2004.
13. United States of America Information Agency (USIA), what is Democracy, 1991.
14. Petikan Putusan MK No 072-73/PUU-II/2004.