

Legal Politics of Weakening The Corruption Eradication Commission

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Article history:

Received 2025-02-03

Received 2025-03-14

Accepted 2025-04-01

Keywords:

Corruption Eradication Law;

Impact of Legal Reform;

Corruption Eradication

Commission.

DOI:

doi.org/10.26905/idjch.

v16i1.15206.

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Abstract: Corruption is one of the criminal crimes that requires special legal attention in Indonesia. This phenomenon makes legal source references the most crucial instrument to maintain the stability of legal politicization in state institutions, especially the Corruption Eradication Commission. This study analyzes the changes to the corruption eradication law that were released in 2019. There are indications that the results of the legal reform contain values that weaken the enforcement carried out by the Corruption Eradication Commission. Based on this research gap, the author uses the bibliometric analysis method based on a literature review. This method has three components, namely network, density, and overlay visualization, to continue the analysis using legal logic. To focus on the research topic, the author formulates a research question, namely, why does the renewal of the corruption eradication law released in 2019 contain values that weaken the previous law, namely, 2002? The results found were that the impact of the author's hypothesis was proven by the weakening of the Indonesian government regarding the handling of corruption cases in Indonesia and the negative impacts related to views or bilateral relations with other countries.

1. Introduction

Corruption is one of the most pressing problems in Indonesia, affecting political stability, economic growth, and public trust in the government. To eradicate corruption, the Corruption Eradication Commission was established through Law Number 30 of 2002. The Corruption Eradication Commission has a mandate to conduct investigations, inquiries, and prosecutions of corruption cases, intending to create a clean and responsible government. However, in 2019, there was a significant change in the law governing the Corruption Eradication Commission through Law Number 19 of 2019. This change gave rise to several new provisions that many parties considered could weaken the authority and independence of the Corruption Eradication Commission¹. One of the most striking changes was the establishment of a supervisory board that has the authority

¹ Sukmareni Sukmareni, "Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Tindak Pidana Korupsi Menurut Sistem Peradilan Pidana Indonesia," *Sukmareni | Pagaruyuang Law Journal*, April 4, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.31869/plj.v1i2.563>.

to supervise and influence the decisions of the Corruption Eradication Commission, which has the potential to reduce the effectiveness of the institution in carrying out its duties.

Corruption is one of the most pressing problems in Indonesia, affecting political stability, economic growth, and public trust in the government. In an effort to eradicate corruption, the Corruption Eradication Commission was established through Law Number 30 of 2002. The Corruption Eradication Commission has a mandate to conduct investigations, inquiries, and prosecutions of corruption cases, with the aim of creating a clean and responsible government². However, in 2019, there was a significant change in the law governing the Corruption Eradication Commission through Law Number 19 of 2019. This change gave rise to several new provisions that many parties considered could weaken the power and independence of the Corruption Eradication Commission³. One of the most striking changes was the establishment of a supervisory board that has the authority to oversee and influence the decisions of the Corruption Eradication Commission, which can potentially reduce the institution's effectiveness in carrying out its duties.

Corruption is one of the most pressing challenges facing Indonesia, affecting political stability, economic development, and public trust in government. To eradicate corruption, the Corruption Eradication Commission was established based on Law Number 30 of 2002. The Corruption Eradication Commission has the authority to conduct investigations, inquiries, and prosecutions of corruption cases to realize a transparent and accountable government. However, in 2019, there was a significant change in the legislation governing the Corruption Eradication Commission through Law Number 19 of 2019. This change included several new provisions that various stakeholders considered could weaken the authority and autonomy of the Corruption Eradication Commission. One of the most prominent changes was the establishment of a supervisory board that has the authority to oversee and influence decisions taken by the Corruption Eradication Commission, which could reduce the effectiveness of the institution in fulfilling its responsibilities.

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² Labib Muttaqin and Muhammad Edy Susanto, "Mengkaji Serangan Balik Koruptor Terhadap KPK dan Strategi Menghadapinya," *Integritas Jurnal Antikorupsi* 4, no. 1 (June 30, 2018): 43, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v4i1.146>.

³ Faisal Santiago, "Penegakan Hukum Tindak Pidana Korupsi Oleh Penegak Hukum Untuk Terciptanya Ketertiban Hukum," *Santiago | Pagaryuang Law Journal*, July 29, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.31869/plj.v1i1.268>.

⁴ None Riza Sirait and None Ismaidar Ismaidar, "Politik Hukum Kedudukan KPK Sebagai Lembaga Pemberantasan Korupsi Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Hukum Politik Dan Ilmu Sosial* 3, no. 1 (January 5, 2024): 279-91, <https://doi.org/10.55606/jhpis.v3i1.3346>.

The idea of trias politica becomes a fundamental argument in analyzing the assumption about the reduction of the Corruption Eradication Commission⁵. The reduction that occurred was based on changes in the legal basis that were manifested in the form of laws on state institutions, especially the Corruption Eradication Commission. The preparation, formulation, and formation of laws and regulations in Indonesia are intended to strengthen the legal conditions and political dynamics in the state system. The stability and resilience of government are advanced through state laws and regulations that are revised periodically⁶.

This phenomenon arises because Indonesia uses a legal system that provides legal standing as an important authority that functions as an instrument of state supervision. Legal inequality can be reduced through the government's dependence on the issuance of new regulations. In the context of the discussion presented in this article, the author argues that the emergence of updates to laws and regulations governing state institutions, especially the Corruption Eradication Commission, contains elements that weaken the law. The emergence of Law Number 19 of 2019, which is considered an alternative solution to strengthen the Corruption Eradication Commission, actually indicates the opposite. The Corruption Eradication Commission is regulated carefully and firmly by Law Number 30 of 2002. However, the laws and regulations have been amended in such a way that they contradict the principles established by the latest laws and regulations in 2019.

The KPK was established as an autonomous state institution, free from the influence of any party in carrying out its duties and authorities. In carrying out its duties and authorities, the KPK is guided by five principles, namely legal certainty, openness, accountability, public interest, and proportionality. The KPK has four main tasks, namely coordinating with institutions authorized to eradicate corruption, supervising these institutions, conducting investigations, prosecutions, and trying corruption cases, and taking preventive and supervisory measures against state administration⁷. The role of the KPK in shaping Indonesia's anti-corruption image is very important. Since its establishment, the KPK has emerged as a symbol of the fight against corruption in Indonesia. With its broad authority covering the coordination of investigations, inquiries, and prosecutions, coupled with the implementation of preventive measures, the KPK has succeeded in fostering public trust that the government is truly committed to eradicating corruption. Furthermore, the KPK is involved in monitoring and supervising the implementation of state governance, which increases transparency and accountability in government management.

The KPK's achievements in eradicating corruption also deserve appreciation. To date, the KPK has handled thousands of corruption cases and has succeeded in uncovering several major corruption cases involving high-ranking officials and state institutions. In 2023, for example, the KPK reported that it had received 5,079 public reports and handled 127 cases at the investigation stage, 161 cases at the execution stage, 129 cases at the execution stage, and 124 cases at the execution stage. In addition, the KPK has also succeeded in resolving 94 cases that have permanent legal

⁵ Muhamad Ari Abdillah Ari, "Kedudukan Kpk Sebagai Lembaga Negara Dalam Perspektif Konsep Trias Politica," *Jurnal Rechten Riset Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia* 2, no. 1 (June 20, 2022): 8-13, <https://doi.org/10.52005/rechten.v2i1.51>.

⁶ Nehru Asyikin and Adam Setiawan, "Kedudukan KPK dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Pasca Diterbitkannya Revisi Undang-Undang KPK," *Journal.Um-Surabaya.Ac.Id*, April 22, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.30651/justitia.v4i1.3736>.

⁷ Achmad Badjuri, "Peranan Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) Sebagai Lembaga Anti Korupsi di Indonesia," 2011, <https://www.unisbank.ac.id/ojs/index.php/fe3/article/view/532>.

force: *Inkracht*⁸. In addition, the KPK continues to advocate for corruption prevention through various initiatives, including the implementation of e-Catalog in government procurement of goods and services. This initiative aims to increase transparency and reduce the opportunity for corruption in the management of state finances. Therefore, the KPK does not only concentrate on taking action but also emphasizes the prevention of corruption through systemic reform.

In carrying out its duties, the KPK also receives considerable support from the public. The results of a survey conducted by Litbang Kompas show that the majority of the public still trusts the role of the KPK in eradicating corruption. Specifically, 88.2 per cent of respondents considered that the KPK must continue to coordinate and supervise investigations, prosecutions, and lawsuits for corruption crimes⁹. However, despite its many proud achievements, the KPK still faces various challenges and controversies, especially after the revision of the KPK Law in 2019. This revision is considered by many parties as an attempt to weaken the authority of the KPK. Therefore, the KPK is required to continue to improve its performance and increase integrity and professionalism in carrying out its duties. This includes various internal improvement efforts, accelerating case resolution, and increasing transparency in the legal process¹⁰.

Crime in Indonesia is currently increasingly diverse in type and mode. In this era, economic crimes such as corruption often emerge and develop. The problem of corruption in Indonesia has become a structural problem (inherent in the government system), a cultural problem (shared customs that have been accepted as norms in society), and a personal problem that is manifested as a corrupt mentality that has become part of Indonesian society as a whole. Corruption is a criminal phenomenon that damages and hinders the implementation of development, so it is necessary to prioritize its prevention and eradication (Putra, 2024). The roots of this corruption crime lie in today's modern society, resulting in the rapid growth of corruption both in quality and quantity.

Although preventing corruption is a priority, it is recognized that corruption is one of the most difficult problems to eradicate. Corruption is included in the category of extraordinary crimes, so it requires extraordinary steps to overcome it. Therefore, effective communication and the involvement of all components of society are needed in preventing and prosecuting corruption cases¹¹. This was emphasized by Basrief. Arief emphasized that rampant uncontrolled corruption will not only have an impact on the survival of the nation and state in general. Therefore, corruption can no longer be considered an ordinary crime but has developed into an extraordinary crime. Traditional methods that have been used so far have not proven effective in overcoming the problem of corruption in society, so an approach with extraordinary methods is needed.

Indonesia, which is dubbed the "Most Corrupt Country in the World," does not mean that there are no efforts to eradicate corruption. One of the efforts to realize the eradication of corruption is by renewing legal sources aimed at eradicating corruption, which is expected to be a legal

⁸ Darmawan Pranoto and Teguh Kurniawan, "Three Years of the Corruption Eradication Commission's Institutional Reform: A Narrative Policy Analysis," *Integritas Jurnal Antikorupsi* 8, no. 2 (June 13, 2023): 151-64, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v8i2.943>.

⁹ Anonim. "Hari Antikorupsi Sedunia: Momentum KPK Memperbaiki Diri – Kompaspedia," Kompaspedia, December 16, 2023, <https://kompaspedia.kompas.id/baca/paparan-topik/hari-antikorupsi-sedunia-momentum-kpk-memperbaiki-diri>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Chandra Bayu, "Transformasi Kelembagaan KPK: UU KPK Sebagai Kebijakan Pencegahan Korupsi Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Dinamika Sosial Budaya* 23, no. 1 (June 9, 2021): 84-97, <https://doi.org/10.26623/jdsb.v23i1.2935>.

step to reduce criminal acts of corruption. Efforts to improve existing legal sources are considered insufficient to resolve the problem of criminal acts of corruption. All authorities related to investigations, inquiries, and prosecutions as regulated in Law Number 8 of 1981 concerning Criminal Procedure Law apply equally to investigators, supervisory investigators, and public prosecutors within the Corruption Eradication Commission. Investigation, prosecution, and judicial process of corruption crimes are carried out following criminal procedure law and Law Number 19 of 2019 concerning the Eradication of Corruption. With a fair legal process (due process of law), the rights of suspects and defendants are maintained and considered an inseparable part of human rights. The principles contained in the Explanation of the Criminal Procedure Code must be obeyed and implemented with correct and honest understanding because by doing so we can uphold the main principle of Law Number 8 of 1981 which states: "That the Republic of Indonesia is a State of Law based on the 1945 Constitution, which upholds human rights and guarantees all citizens equal standing before the law".

The process of weakening the KPK's authority through legislative steps cannot be said to be complete because it is currently still under discussion in the DPR's 2019 programs which prioritizes the revision of the Criminal Code (RUU KUHP) and the revision of the Criminal Procedure Code (RUU KUHAP). According to ICW's observations, both regulations need to be examined because their substance has the potential to weaken the KPK. As described above, several provisions in the KPK Bill that will be discussed by the DPR indicate a weakening of the KPK's authority in its role in enforcing criminal law in Indonesia. It is clear that some of the authorities stated in Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission have been revoked, thus limiting the authority of the KPK in investigating corruption crimes. This development has raised considerable concerns among academics and anti-corruption practitioners, which are not only in the form of rejection but also support from various stakeholders. Fundamentally, the Criminal Procedure Code has established a framework for the protection of human rights that is balanced with the interests of society.

Corruption, considered an extraordinary crime embedded in the power structure (white-collar crime), requires eradication through extraordinary measures. These measures are included in mechanisms aimed at curbing corrupt practices. For example, wiretapping serves as a form of authority that violates conventional criminal law procedures (*lex generalis*). Wiretapping is an important tool capable of accessing layers of invisible communication that can detect transmissions virtually. Strengthening Versus Weakening: A Linguistic Analysis of the Revision Discourse of the KPK Law. The application of wiretapping devices is thus a ubiquitous concern in every correspondence that occurs in centres of power. Corruption in the past has resulted in huge losses for the Indonesian state's finances. Corruption continues to increase from year to year, with the amount of state financial losses not only reaching millions of billions of rupiah but also trillions of rupiah. It is undeniable that amid efforts to rise from adversity, certain individuals deliberately take advantage of their positions or state resources to enrich themselves through corrupt practices¹². During the Old Order, an agency was formed to handle corruption problems, namely the State Apparatus Ar-

¹² Ria Casmi Arrsa, "Rekonstruksi Politik Hukum Pemberantasan Korupsi Melalui Strategi Penguatan Penyidik dan Penuntut Umum Independen KPK," *Jurnal Rechts Vinding Media Pembinaan Hukum Nasional* 3, no. 3 (December 31, 2014): 381, <https://doi.org/10.33331/rechtsvinding.v3i3.32>.

rangement Committee (Paran) chaired by AH Nasution, assisted by Prof. M. Yamin and Roeslan Abdul Gani. However, due to strong opposition from corrupt officials at that time, Paran finally reached a dead end and handed over its responsibilities to the Juanda Cabinet.

Not to mention the Akbar Tanjung corruption case, which at the District Court and Cassation Court levels has been found guilty of committing a criminal act of corruption. However, at the cassation level, the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia acquitted him. This shows that the public prosecutor's indictment cannot prove the existence of a criminal act of corruption, or in other words, there was no embezzlement of state funds. This is a crime phenomenon whose development poses significant challenges to the formation of criminal law. The phenomenon of corruption cases has caused enormous losses for the Indonesian nation. Just imagine the amount of state money that has been squandered, from before independence until now. Corruption is still rampant in the structure of the Indonesian state. How much suffering and loss has been experienced by the Indonesian state experienced? Will corruption continue to be a tradition that is rooted in Indonesian society after the experiences experienced by this nation has had so far? Will we let our children and grandchildren in the future also inherit the burden imposed by the corruptors in this country? Poverty and hunger will certainly continue to haunt life in the future if no proper solution is found for this problem.

To overcome this dilemma, the regulatory policy contained in Law No. 30 of 2002, especially Article 40, does not give the Corruption Eradication Commission the authority to issue a letter of termination of investigation and prosecution. If Law No. 30 of 2002, especially Article 40, gives this authority to the KPK, it will certainly make it even more difficult to resolve corruption crimes. With this provision, every case that falls within the scope of the KPK's investigation will certainly end in a trial process in the corruption court (TIPIKOR), thus minimizing the possibility of the KPK making a mistake in determining whether or not someone is guilty of corruption. Corruption is included in the category of extraordinary crimes, as evidenced by the consequences it causes. Indonesia, which is ranked 38th in the world's most corrupt countries, requires the formulation of extraordinary regulations; however, the criminal law that is expected to be enforced is often influenced by the various subjective attitudes of each law enforcement official and the fragile structure of the law enforcement organization. In this context, behavioural patterns that increase the likelihood of criminal acts become increasingly subjective, thus shaping the criminal law approach to violators. An individual or group actively cultivates behavioral patterns with high potential to be classified as criminals, due to the concept of a well-defined *modus operandi* in building a fragile organization to engage in criminal activities.

Penelitian ini berangkat dari fenomena pelemahan Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) di Indonesia yang terjadi melalui revisi Undang-Undang KPK tahun 2019 dan berbagai kebijakan turunan, seperti Tes Wawasan Kebangsaan (TWK), yang menyebabkan banyak pegawai KPK dengan kredibilitas baik diberhentikan. Pelemahan ini menimbulkan kekhawatiran terhadap berkurangnya sumber daya manusia berkualitas di KPK, penurunan efektivitas penindakan korupsi, serta menurunnya kepercayaan publik dan kredibilitas pemerintah Indonesia baik di tingkat domestik maupun internasional. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan konstruktivisme untuk menganalisis bagaimana perubahan regulasi dan pelemahan institusi KPK memengaruhi konstruksi sosial atas kredibilitas pemerintah Indonesia, serta dampaknya pada persepsi masyarakat dan aktor internasional terhadap komitmen antikorupsi Indonesia.

Tujuan (purpose) penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis dampak pelemahan KPK terhadap konstruksi sosial kredibilitas pemerintah Indonesia, baik di tingkat nasional maupun interna-

sional. Penelitian ini juga bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi bagaimana perubahan persepsi publik dan aktor internasional terhadap komitmen antikorupsi Indonesia setelah pelemahan KPK, serta memberikan rekomendasi bagi pemerintah agar dapat memulihkan kembali kekuatan, independensi, dan kepercayaan terhadap KPK demi efektivitas pemberantasan korupsi dan peningkatan kredibilitas negara di mata dunia.

2. Method

This article formulates a theoretical framework based on the theory of legal politics, especially the legal triad. Politics. To obtain optimal results regarding the discussion of the argument for reducing the authority of the Corruption Eradication Commission, this article uses qualitative methods as the basis for analyzing the theoretical framework and systematic research that I have developed within the framework of legal research. To get an understanding, authors use bibliometric analysis by Vos Viewer and Publish or Perish¹³. This method can analyze the research gap among topics. One of them is network visualization, which is an important tool for depicting complex relational data in an easy-to-understand way.

Network visualization encompasses the graphical representation of networks, which can range from straightforward node-link diagrams to complex visualizations of large data sets. These visualization techniques play an important role in discerning patterns and structures in data that are not readily apparent through conventional analysis methods. This domain encompasses a wide variety of methods and paradigms, each specifically designed to meet different types of network data and analysis requirements. The following describes the key aspects of network visualization, overlay visualization, and density visualization.

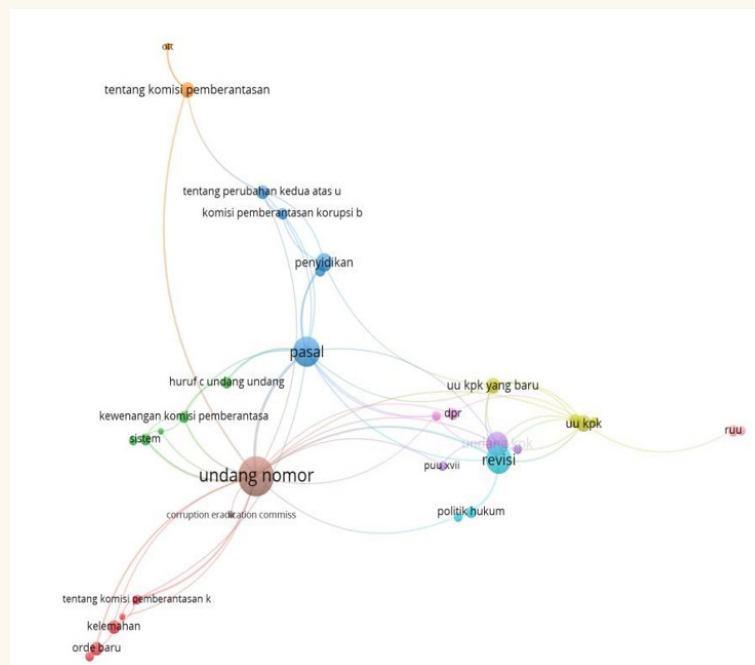


Figure.1 Network Visualization

¹³ Naveen Donthu et al., "How to Conduct a Bibliometric Analysis: An Overview and Guidelines," *Journal of Business Research* 133 (May 14, 2021): 285–96, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2021.04.070>.

Network visualization deals with the graphical depiction of networks¹⁴, which can include social networks, biological systems, and computer networks. Network visualization is a well-established domain in computer science, often referred to as graphical imagery Applied across disciplines for data analysis and decision-making, network visualization facilitates the understanding of complex systems by offering an intuitive visual interface. A significant challenge lies in creating interpretable layouts, particularly for large networks, to avoid ‘hairball’ visualizations that obscure rather than explain network structure.

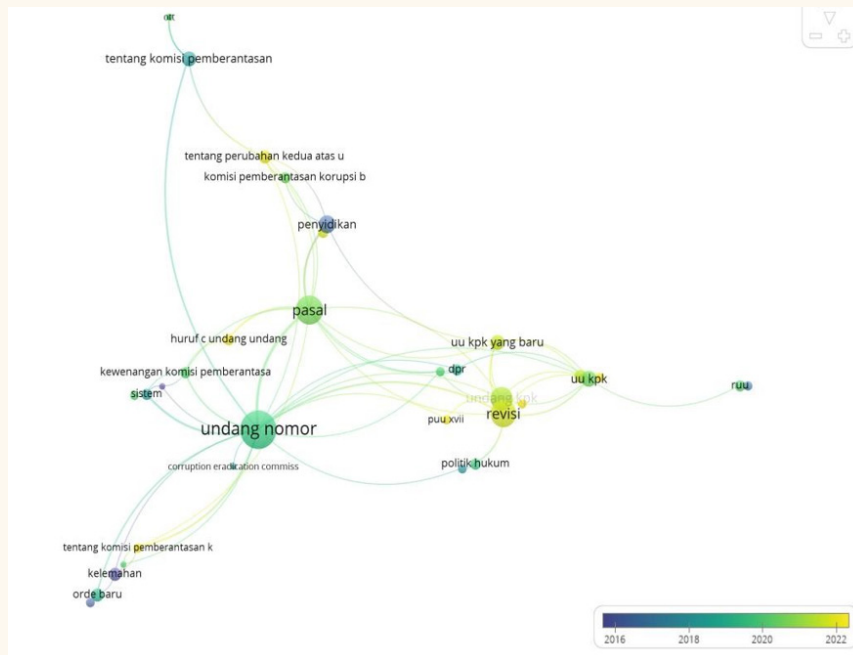


Figure.2 Overlay Visualization

Overlay visualization involves overlaying supplementary data onto a network visualization to provide additional context or emphasize certain features. This can include supplementary temporal data or relational information¹⁵. Techniques such as network cartography use dimensionality reduction to map network information directly to node positions, thereby facilitating the visualization of internal and external node attributes.

Density visualization focuses on depicting the concentration of nodes or connections in a network. This helps to identify areas of significant activity or interest in a network. Techniques typically use colour gradients or varying node sizes to indicate density, making it easier to identify clusters or important nodes in complex networks. Although network visualization offers a powerful way to decipher complex data, it also has its drawbacks. The effectiveness of visualization can be reduced due to the complexity of the network and the limitations of current layout algorithms. Therefore, ongoing research aims to develop more sophisticated methods to improve the clarity

¹⁴ Ioannis Passas, “Bibliometric Analysis: The Main Steps,” *Encyclopedia* 4, no. 2 (June 20, 2024): 1014–25, <https://doi.org/10.3390/encyclopedia4020065>.

¹⁵ Ole Ellegaard and Johan A. Wallin, “The Bibliometric Analysis of Scholarly Production: How Great Is the Impact?,” *Scientometrics* 105, no. 3 (July 27, 2015): 1809–31, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-015-1645-z>.

and interpretability of network visualization. This study uses a bibliometric method to map the literature and research trends related to changes in KPK regulations. The key components in this analysis include: Network Visualization: Map the linkages between literature and themes; Density Visualization: Measures the density of an issue or topic in the literature, Overlay Visualization: Looks at the development or change of research focus over time.

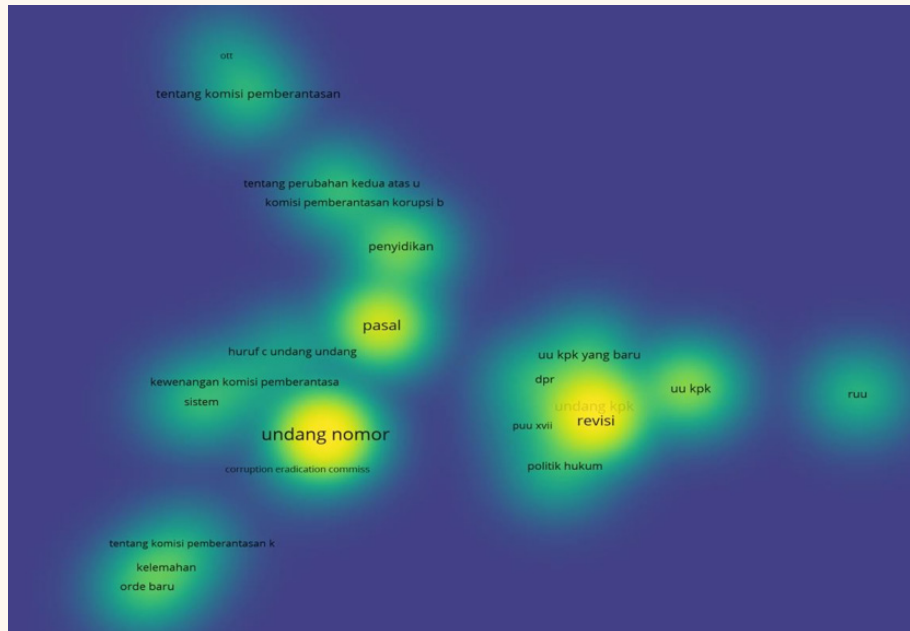


Figure 3: Density Visualization

After mapping the literature, the author uses legal logic to critically analyze regulatory changes (from the 2002 KPK Law to the 2019 KPK Law) and their impact on the authority, independence, and effectiveness of the KPK in eradicating corruption. The Function of the Analysis Knife in Discussion: This analysis knife is used for: Identifying and comparing values in old and new regulations. Explain systematically how legal changes weaken the position of the KPK. Compile data-based and literature-based arguments on the impact of the weakening of the KPK on the eradication of corruption and public perception, both nationally and internationally. The main analytical tool in this research discussion is a combination of bibliometric analysis (for mapping literature and trends) and legal logic (for critical and argumentative analysis of changes in KPK regulations).

3. Legal Politics of Weakening The Corruption Eradication Commission

The peak of the efforts to disband the KPK occurred in September 2019, when the DPR and the government agreed to amend the KPK Law to Law No. 19 of 2019. The amendment contained several provisions that were considered to have the potential to weaken the KPK, including the formation of a Supervisory Board, restrictions on wiretapping authority, and the potential for termination of investigations (SP3). The procedure for amending the KPK Law took place very quickly, only about 14 days, and was ratified in a plenary meeting attended by only 70 members of the DPR. This accelerated process raises suspicions of ulterior motives behind the amendment. Outside the legislative path, efforts to weaken the KPK are also carried out through various other means. One way is through the National Insight Test (TWK), which resulted in 75 KPK employees

with commendable credibility being declared to have failed and were threatened with dismissal. This situation raises concerns about the deteriorating quality of human resources at the KPK. In addition, there are also efforts aimed at criminalizing and intimidating KPK investigators in carrying out their duties.

The importance of the issue of weakening the KPK to the credibility of the Indonesian government cannot be ignored. The KPK has emerged as a symbol of anti-corruption efforts in Indonesia and plays a crucial role in advancing the nation's anti-corruption image (UGM Campus Mosque, 2023). The weakening of this institution can be interpreted as a setback in eradicating corruption, which in turn will endanger public trust in the government. The impact of the KPK's decline on the credibility of the Indonesian government can be seen from various dimensions. Domestically, there has been a significant decline in public trust and the emergence of criticism from civil society and academics. This decline is manifested in various protests that have occurred as a form of rejection of changes to the KPK Law. From an international perspective, the degradation of the KPK could hurt global perceptions of Indonesia's dedication to fighting corruption. This could affect Indonesia's ranking in the Corruption Perception Index and, as a result, affect the reactions of international organizations and partner countries. To better understand how the weakening of the KPK could affect the credibility of the Indonesian government, we can adopt a constructivist perspective on international relations.

Constructivism is an analytical framework in the study of international relations that emphasizes the importance of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping the behaviour of international actors¹⁶. This paradigm assumes that crucial elements of international relations are socially constructed through social interactions and practices, rather than solely determined by material factor¹⁷. Alexander Wendt, a leading figure in constructivism, asserts that the framework of human relations is more influenced by shared ideas than by material incentives, and the identities and goals of actors are determined by these shared ideas rather than derived from something inherent¹⁸.

In this regard, the credibility of the Indonesian government can be interpreted as a social construction formed by interactions with various actors, both domestic and international. Constructivism highlights the importance of identity and interests in shaping the actions of international actors¹⁹. Concerning the deteriorating KPK, Indonesia's identity as a country committed to eradicating corruption is now being questioned. This development can affect Indonesia's interests in various dimensions. The weakening of the KPK could also affect the "ideational structure" that informs Indonesia's relations with other international entities. If Indonesia was previously considered a credible ally in global anti-corruption initiatives, the weakening of the KPK could change this ideational framework. This transformation could affect Indonesia's position on various international platforms related to anti-corruption and good governance challenges. In the realm of international political economy, the weakening of the KPK could affect foreign investors' perceptions of Indonesia's investment environment. Constructivism asserts that economic decisions are not determined exclusively by material assessments, but are also shaped by ideas and norms²⁰.

¹⁶ Olusola Ogunnubi. "Religion and Global Politics." Ingris. Lexington Books. 2022. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9781793645623>.

¹⁷ Ibid.,

¹⁸ Ibid.,

¹⁹ Ibid.,

²⁰ Ibid.,

Therefore, weakening the KPK could damage investor confidence and affect foreign investment flows into Indonesia. To restore its credibility, the Indonesian government must undertake initiatives that are in line with the principles of constructivism. This can be achieved through public diplomacy and effective international communication to reaffirm Indonesia's dedication to fighting corruption. In addition, the government must implement concrete steps to improve the Corruption Eradication Commission and the overall anti-corruption framework. The reduction of the KPK has had a significant impact on the credibility of the Indonesian government in relation to international relations. By adopting a constructivist perspective, one can understand how this reduction impacts the social construction of Indonesian identity and interest, and how this may subsequently affect Indonesia's interactions with international actors. To restore its credibility, the Indonesian government is required to make efforts that not only emphasize the material dimension but also consider the ideational and normative aspects of international relations.

Efforts to weaken the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in Indonesia have diverse contexts and involve various factors and political interests. One prominent starting point is the political and power transformation in President Joko Widodo's administration, especially in his second term. At the beginning of his administration, Jokowi placed optimistic hopes on the KPK to eradicate corruption, as evidenced by the involvement of the KPK in assessing the track records of ministerial candidates²¹. However, the situation changed drastically when several leaders from the government coalition parties were questioned by the KPK. This incident triggered various systematic initiatives aimed at weakening the KPK. A concrete example is the amendment to the KPK Law carried out in 2019²². This revision process took place very quickly, in just two weeks, and did not involve the KPK leadership in discussing the draft law. Agus Rahardjo, one of the KPK leaders at that time, stated that the law was "procedurally flawed" because it did not involve them in the discussion process.

The amendment to the KPK Law that led to the enactment of Law Number 19 of 2019 is considered by many to be an attempt to weaken the KPK (Ramadhana and Nicola, 2020). Several provisions in the amended law, such as the establishment of the KPK Supervisory Board, the KPK's authority to stop investigations, and the requirement that wiretapping must obtain approval from the Supervisory Board, are considered to have the potential to significantly limit the KPK's authority. The establishment of the Supervisory Board, for example, could facilitate intervention in KPK operations and reduce its autonomy²³. In the trial at the Constitutional Court, several experts considered the changes to the KPK Law to be unreasonable and detrimental to the anti-corruption agency. Economist at the Faculty of Economics and Business, Gadjah Mada University, Rimawan Pradipto, emphasized that the results of this amendment were proven to be detrimental to the KPK and the eradication of corruption, which in turn could hinder the progress of the nation. The degradation of the KPK due to the change in the law was also accompanied by other steps, such as the National Insight Test (TWK), which was carried out to dismiss 52 KPK employees. This TWK was criticized as a mechanism to eliminate critical and independent KPK personnel. Former

²¹ Sultan Zora Fernanda, "Dampak Revisi Undang-Undang KPK Terhadap Independensi dan Efektivitas KPK dalam Pemberantasan Korupsi," *Fernanda | PALAR (Pakuan Law Review)*, June 27, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.33751/palar.v10i2.10251>.

²² Taryanto Taryanto and Eko Prasajo, "Analisis Manajemen Kinerja KPK Dalam Optimalisasi Pemulihan Kerugian Negara," *Integritas Jurnal Antikorupsi* 8, no. 1 (June 25, 2022): 25-50, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v8i1.867>.

²³ Fernanda, Op.cit.

Chairman of the KPK Employee Forum, Yudi Purnomo Harahap, argued that the decline of the KPK began to appear after the emergence of the Taliban group issue and reached its peak with the dismissal of KPK employees through the TWK.

The decline in the effectiveness of corruption eradication after the reduction of the KPK is very significant. Since the enactment of the revised KPK Law in 2019, the KPK's performance has been considered to have weakened, not only in the realm of law enforcement but also in the dedication of its leaders to enforcing the code of ethics. Data from Indonesia Corruption Watch shows that in 2021, the KPK only resolved 32 cases, less than the annual target of 120 cases. The volume of cases handled has also shown a downward trend over the past three years. The sting operation (OTT) which is one of the indicators of the KPK's performance, also showed a significant decline. Under the Firli administration, Bahuri, who took office on 20 December 2019, recorded only seven OTTs in 2020, in stark contrast to previous years, which recorded between 18 and 30 OTTs each year. Investigations, prosecutions, and case resolutions have also slowed significantly, with the majority of recent cases being continuations of cases initiated by the KPK under Agus Rahardjo's leadership before 2020. In recent years, the KPK's performance in prosecuting corruption crimes has shown a downward trend. This instability can be attributed to the KPK's limitations in taking action since the implementation of Law No. 19 of 2019. The KPK cannot operate and conduct OTTs freely, which harms the institution's independence and effectiveness in combating corruption²⁴.

The impact of the decline of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) on the social construction of the credibility of the Indonesian government can be evaluated through the framework of constructivism theory in international relations. Constructivism theory assumes that identity, interests, and social norms are developed through social interactions and practices, not solely determined by material factors²⁵. The decline of the KPK, which began with the amendment of the KPK Law in 2019, has had a major impact on the social construction of the credibility of the Indonesian government. The amendment to the KPK Law, which includes the formation of the KPK Supervisory Board, restrictions on the authority of the KPK, and the delegation of the KPK's authority to the DPR, has changed the KPK paradigm into a new paradigm in society.

The decline of the KPK, which began with the amendment of the KPK Law in 2019, has had a profound impact on the social construction of the credibility of the Indonesian government. The amendment of the KPK Law involving the establishment of the KPK Supervisory Board, the limitation of the KPK's authority, and the reclassification of KPK employees as state civil servants (ASN) are considered systematic efforts to weaken the anti-corruption agency. From a constructivist perspective, the decline of the KPK affects the identity of the Indonesian government as a country dedicated to fighting corruption. Before the amendment of the KPK Law, the KPK was seen as a symbol of the anti-corruption struggle in Indonesia and played an important role in fostering the nation's anti-corruption reputation. However, along with the decline, this identity began to fade. The KPK, which was once considered independent and effective, is now considered weak and constrained by various internal and external oversight mechanisms. Domestic perceptions of the issue of the decline of the KPK are very negative. The Indonesian people who previously had high hopes

²⁴ Fernanda, Op.cit.

²⁵ Alexander Wendt. "Social Theory of International Politics." Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1999. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511612183>.

for the KPK in terms of eradicating corruption are now experiencing disappointment and loss of trust. The findings of the Indonesian Political Indicator (IPI) survey show that the level of public trust in the KPK is the lowest compared to other law enforcement agencies, such as the Attorney General's Office, the judiciary, and the police²⁶.

In addition, another survey showed that the positive image of the KPK in the eyes of the public has declined sharply. In the January 2015 survey, 88.5% of respondents considered the KPK's image good, while the figure dropped to 55.9% in October 2022. This decline proves that public appreciation for the KPK has decreased drastically²⁷. This decline in public trust is also reflected in the decline in Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score. Since the amendment to the KPK Law, Indonesia's CPI score has decreased significantly, from 40 in 2019 to 37 in 2020, and then dropped again to 34 in 2022. This decline places Indonesia in 110th position out of 180 countries surveyed. Efforts to restore the credibility of the Indonesian government in handling corruption cases require a comprehensive strategy that covers various aspects, including the regulatory framework, human resource development (HRD), and the improvement of anti-corruption institutions. From the perspective of constructivism theory, government credibility is built through social interactions and practices; thus, rebuilding initiatives must focus on restoring the identity and trust of society and the international community.

Initially, the regulatory framework was an important component in the government's efforts to restore credibility. The government must align laws, regulations, and regulatory systems to ensure that all law enforcement agencies, including the KPK, have clear and independent authority regarding the handling of corruption cases. The revision of the KPK Law, passed in 2019, which has drawn much criticism because it is considered to have weakened the KPK's authority, needs to be evaluated and refined to ensure that the KPK again has full autonomy in carrying out its duties²⁸. Furthermore, the government must strengthen the anti-corruption legal framework by optimizing the implementation of the Corruption Crime Law and the Money Laundering Crime Law. The implementation of the Reverse Burden of Proof Law or *Omkering van het Bewijslast*, can be an effective tactical step to accelerate the resolution of corruption cases, especially in the public sector, which are often complicated and difficult for law enforcement to resolve²⁹.

Human resource development is also an important element in restoring government credibility. The government must ensure that all state officials, including KPK personnel, have high integrity and competence. Training and capacity-building programs must be implemented systematically to improve the ability of law enforcement officers to handle corruption cases. In addition, the government needs to ensure that the recruitment and promotion process of employees is free from political interference and is based on achievement³⁰. Digitization of government operations can also be an effective mechanism to strengthen efforts to eradicate corruption. The government can use technology to increase transparency and accountability in public financial management.

²⁶ Hari Antikorupsi Sedunia, Op.Cit.,

²⁷ Hari Antikorupsi Sedunia, Op.Cit.,

²⁸ Sekretariat Kabinet, *Abdullah Azwar Anas Archives*, n.d., *Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia*, n.d., <https://setkab.go.id/tag/abdullah-azwar-anas/page/2/>.

²⁹ Dina Aprilia Iswara, "Rekonstruksi Regulasi Terhadap KPK Dalam Pemberantasan Kasus Tindak Pidana Korupsi di Indonesia," *Jurnal Hukum Lex Generalis* 1, no. 4 (July 22, 2020): 13-28, <https://doi.org/10.56370/jhlg.v1i4.205>.

³⁰ *Ibid.*,

For example, the use of e-Catalogs in government procurement of goods and services can reduce the potential for corruption and increase the efficiency of state financial management. Policies implemented by the government to strengthen corruption eradication must also include proactive prevention initiatives.

The government can make preventive-moralistic efforts, such as building a system based on Good Governance. This includes ensuring transparency and accountability in the management of state finances, as well as optimizing the role of Whistleblowers in reporting alleged corruption in the private sector. Furthermore, the government must increase international cooperation in eradicating corruption. Proactive anti-corruption diplomacy, as carried out by Indonesia in collaboration with ASEAN countries and other international bodies, can contribute to strengthening the anti-corruption legal framework and facilitating the exchange of best practices in eradicating corruption. Indonesia has actively participated in supporting the establishment of the ASEAN Anti-Corruption Commission and in organizing training programs for government officials from neighbouring countries, which underscores a strong commitment to advancing good governance in the Southeast Asian region³¹.

The Corruption Eradication Commission, in addition to its legal formulation duties, expands the legal political dimension within the anti-corruption framework by building a legal political foundation characterized by anti-corruption efforts at various levels. Anti-corruption legal politics are not merely built in the esoteric realm, but anti-corruption legal politics must contain the moral steadfastness of the community driving the anti-corruption movement as a manifestation of the exoteric dimension. Therefore, the formulation of anti-corruption policies must strive to accommodate as many aspirations as possible, as a means of channelling energy and enthusiasm for eradicating corruption nationally. In the realm of anti-corruption legal politics, the establishment of the KPK in 2002 was a response to the call for affirmative and responsive reform. The state then made a broader formulation by forming state support institutions that are essentially independent (state aid bodies). The KPK is one of the supporting institutions whose position, as defined in the 2002 KPK Law, is independent and free from any intervention or cooptation of power. The existence of supporting state institutions is very important for a country to strengthen the main state institutions whose authority is expressly stated in the constitution. The KPK emerged as a state institution that supports anti-corruption law enforcement, which works independently and becomes a catalyst for change.

The inability of the Police and the Prosecutor's Office to resolve corruption cases emphasizes the need for an independent state institution that is not under the influence of any external authority. The 2002 KPK Law gives the KPK the authority to coordinate and supervise executive institutions, as well as the authority to investigate, prosecute, and hold the judiciary accountable, in addition to preventing and supervising the implementation of power. Of course, the independence of the KPK must be supported by a strong legal and political commitment to ensure its legitimacy. The success of wiretapping cannot be separated from the success of OTT, which is still related to the disclosure of suspicious communication patterns originating from virtual correspondence.

³¹ Mahardika Ryan Lokesworo, "Pelemahan Kewenangan KPK Ditengah Maraknya Kasus Tindak Pidana Korupsi," *Kumparan.Com*, October 14, 2024, <https://kumparan.com/mahardika-ryan-lokesworo/pelemahan-kewenangan-kpk-ditengah-maraknya-kasus-tindak-pidana-korupsi-23iMHGQgQ7X>.

This achievement is very good in catching those involved in corruption in the power structure. In addition to wiretapping and OTT, the absence of the authority to issue a Letter of Termination of Investigation (SP3) is still the main asset of the KPK. The issuance of SP3 will only hinder the investigation of corruption cases, which in reality require quite a long time for KPK investigators to explain the relationship between the incident and the elements of the alleged article. Furthermore, if the person being investigated has great political power and receives strong support, the pressure around him can quickly obscure the capacity of the corruption suspects in the investigation conducted by the KPK. Strong political power can also make the SP3 authority a means of buying and selling.

Therefore, the absence of authority to issue SP3 can be the basis for the legitimacy of the KPK, so that it is not affected by the damaging influences around it. In addition, the involvement of independent investigators greatly increases the effectiveness of the KPK in examining various corruption cases in the executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. Independence is very important considering that corruption crimes are indeed rampant in various fields. Vortex of political power. The absence of power dynamics indicates the absence of vertical power intervention, thus facilitating the prevention of conflicts of interest from the investigation and prosecution stages. Institutional dependency will only hinder the investigation of corruption flows in the vortex of power. This assertion can be proven before the formation of the KPK regime. The emergence of voices opposing the authority of the KPK as a super institution began to foster a flow of delegitimization. The gecko versus crocodile case that previously involved the KPK, the puzzle of the Antasari Azhar case, actions aimed at the KPK leadership, the revision of the KPK Law during the term of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and the attack on Novel Baswedan are manifestations of the delegitimization of the KPK's struggle against corruption.

The dramas that hinder the eradication of corruption ultimately lead to a delegitimizing reformulation process, which culminates in the birth of the new KPK Law. The enactment of the new KPK Law is one side of the delegitimization drama at the level of legal reformulation. It is right to say that legal change is inevitable because the law develops following the dynamics of society and the nation. This study found that regulatory changes through Law Number 19 of 2019 contain values that weaken the authority and independence of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in Indonesia. One of the most significant changes is the establishment of a Supervisory Board that has the authority to supervise and influence the decisions of the KPK, thus potentially reducing the effectiveness of the institution in carrying out its duties.

The impact of this weakening is evident in the decline in the KPK's ability to handle corruption cases optimally, both in terms of investigation, prosecution, and prevention. Decline in public trust in the Indonesian government's commitment to eradicating corruption. The emergence of negative perceptions from the international community can affect bilateral relations and Indonesia's image in the eyes of the world. Internal challenges for the KPK in maintaining integrity, professionalism, and transparency amid the limitations of the new authority.

This research also confirms that the revision of the KPK Law in 2019 is contrary to the initial goal of establishing the KPK as a strong, independent institution in eradicating corruption. Instead of strengthening, this revision is considered to weaken the position of the KPK and potentially threaten the effectiveness of corruption eradication in Indonesia. The revision of the 2019 KPK Law weakens the authority and independence of the KPK. The effectiveness of corruption eradication has decreased. Public trust and Indonesia's image in the international community have also been

negatively affected. It is necessary to strengthen regulations and political support to restore the ideal function of the KPK.

4. Conclusion

The deteriorating performance of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in Indonesia has had a significant impact on the government's credibility, both nationally and internationally. The amendment to the KPK Law in 2019 marked the beginning of a systematic decline that led to a decline in the KPK's effectiveness in prosecuting corruption cases. This decline can be seen from the decreasing number of sting operations (OTT), the slowing down of the investigation and inquiry process, and the fading of public trust in this anti-corruption agency. From a constructivist perspective, the weakening of the KPK's power has affected public perception of Indonesia's identity as a country dedicated to eradicating corruption. The decline in Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score and its global ranking are clear evidence of the impact of this decline on the government's credibility. The facts revealed show that the authority of the Supervisory Board, as stipulated in Article 37B of Law Number 19 of 2019 concerning Effective Wiretapping, allows the KPK institution to realize a government free from corruption, under the supervision of the Supervisory Board. The KPK's wiretapping activities are running according to the expected goals. The Supervisory Board meets the legal requirements of *Maslahah Mursalah*, as its existence is considered beneficial for all groups, is not supported by Sharia, and is not rejected by Sharia based on comprehensive arguments. The role of the KPK Supervisory Board in realizing a government free from corruption includes overseeing the performance of the KPK, both in conducting investigations and wiretapping. The function of the Supervisory Board is to prevent information leaks and maintain the integrity of the KPK which has been trusted by the wider community.

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