

Gerhard Mueller, a prominent criminologist and head of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch from 1974-1982 suggests that:²⁵ It refers to criminological terms, without any claim to provide a juridical concept, and consists only of listing five activities :

- 1) crime as a business, organized crime, white-collar crime, and corruption;
- 2) criminal acts involving works of art and other cultural properties;
- 3) criminality related to alcoholism and drug abuse;
- 4) transnational violence and comparative international significance; And
- 5) criminality related to migration and flight from natural disasters and hostilities.

Philip Reichel and Jay Albanese define transnational crime as “those activities involving the crossing of national borders and violations of at least one country's criminal laws.”²⁶ Furthermore, they suggest that most examples of this form of crime were "economically motivated and involved some form of smuggling".²⁷

As the opinion of Neil Boister divides the character of transnational crimes into six, namely:²⁸

- a) *private crime* in the sense: crimes committed usually by groups or individuals who are not from the government,
- b) *economic crime* in the sense: Most transnational crime activities are driven by the desire for personal economic gain. Transnational criminals take advantage of cheap goods and services in one state and move them across the border to another where demand is strong and goods or services can be sold or rented at high profits. The main difference with legitimate economic activity is that goods or services are prohibited in one or the other or both countries,

²⁵ Reuter, P., & Petrie, C. (Eds.). Transnational organized crime: Summary of a workshop. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, National Research Council, 1999.

²⁶ Roth, Mitchel P., *Historical Overview of Transnational Crime*, in: *Handbook of Transnational Crime and Justice*, Second Edition, Reichel, Philip and Albanese, Jay, ed., SAGE Publications, Inc., California, 2014, p.6.

²⁷ Andreas, P., & Nadelmann, E., *Policing the globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations*, New York, NY: Oxford. University Press, 2006, p. 255.

²⁸ Neil Boister, *An Introduction to Transnational Criminal Law*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, USA, 2012, p. 4-7.

- c) *Political crime* in a sense: Not all transnational criminals are after economic gain. Some transnational criminals seek political gain through violence or the threat of violence. Transnational terrorists, for example, can hatch a plot in one country and execute it in another. Surprising though it may be, violence is a feature of their activity, since the main goal is to influence public opinion or the public to achieve their own political goals,
- d) *Organized crime* in a sense: Although organization is not a necessary condition for transnational crime smuggling across borders by one person is sufficient transnational crime is closely related to organized crime. The concept of organized crime however, is not settled. The difficulty is what is meant by 'organised': it may mean anything from a hierarchical organization to a wide network,
- e) *Globalized crime* in a sense: The economic crime model suggests that it is rational for criminals to go where they can do business and spread into unregulated areas. In ancient times, when formal boundaries were weak, it was relatively easy for criminal activities to cross borders,
- f) *Localized crime* in the sense that all processes of transnational activity have domestic roots. Transnational criminals are both global and local, capable of operating across borders but still on a local basis.

Emphasis on transnational crime is heavily based on activities related to transnational organized crime (transnational organized crime).²⁹ This became very clear in 2000 when the United Nations in its Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime 2000 defined: organized crime as a structured group consisting of three or more persons existing for a certain period of time and acting together with the aim of committing one or more more crimes or serious offenses under this Convention in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or material advantage.³⁰

Organized crime is considered transnational when:

- a) conducted in more than one country;

²⁹ Reichel, Philip and Albanese, Jay, 2014, *Handbook of Transnational Crime and Justice*, Second Edition, SAGE Publications, Inc., California, p.6.

³⁰ UNODC, 2000, Article 2a.

- b) carried out in one country but part of the preparation, planning, directing or supervision is carried out in another country;
- c) committed in one country but involving an organized crime group that is involved in criminal activity in more than one country; or
- d) carried out in one country but have a substantial impact in another.³¹

FG Madsen argues that another way of looking at transnational crime is crime which in one of several ways involves the jurisdictions of two or more sovereign states.³² It is quite simple for Madsen to see the types of national or transnational crimes or crimes.

In enforcing the law regarding transnational crime, Indonesia has ratified the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) with Law Number 5 of 2009 concerning Ratification of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. The convention mentions a number of crimes that fall under the category of organized transnational crime, namely money laundering, corruption, illicit trade in protected wild plants and animals, crimes against cultural property, human trafficking, migrant smuggling and the production and illicit trade of weapons. fire. The Convention also recognizes the close link between organized transnational crime and terrorism crimes, even though their characteristics are very different.³³

Today many crimes involve cross-jurisdictional states. One reason is the easy means of transportation and communication. This the crimes committed in country A are capable of impacting country B, so that international cooperation is absolute necessary. One example of a crime that requires international cooperation is combating acts of terrorism.

Terrorism crimes that are cross-border (transnational) in practice cannot be eradicated and handled by the Indonesian state itself, even though there is already a terrorism law. The competence and capacity of officers who catch the theoretical perpetrators is not sufficient. Besides that, forms of terrorism crimes that cross

³¹ UNODC, 2000, Article 3.2.

³² Madsen, FG, 2009, *Transnational Organized Crime*, London, England: Routledge, p.8.

³³ Indonesia has bound itself to international conventions related to drug and drug trafficking, namely: a) United Nations Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs; b) United Nations Convention on Psychotropic Substances; and C) United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

national borders, the scope includes the jurisdictions of several countries. Based on the description above, a model or pattern of cooperation between countries is needed in eradicating terrorism crimes which are included in transnational crimes.

B. ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (AMLAT) as an Effort to Combat Terrorism Crimes

1. AMLAT Commitment to ASEAN Countries

ASEAN was formed based on the will and agreement of the countries in the Southeast Asian region to cooperate in each particular field in order to achieve common goals. The relationship that occurs between the sovereignty of ASEAN member countries and ASEAN is to convert the sovereignty of ASEAN member countries by forming and agreeing on an international agreement, in which the relevant parties regulate these ties as a conversion of their binding power into an organization which in this case binds itself in ASEAN Charter.³⁴

The signing of the ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement (AMLAT) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in 2004 initiated the opening of cooperation between ASEAN countries in mutual legal assistance. The formation of AMLAT was also agreed upon at the 5th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC) in Hanoi, Vietnam. The importance of AMLAT is illustrated by the agreement signed on 19 January 2006 by ten ASEAN member countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, the Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand and Brunei Darussalam). After the formation of AMLAT, *Senior Official Meeting on Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty* (SOMLAT) is formed and held every five years to discuss the implementation of AMLAT in ASEAN member countries. One of the topics discussed in this SOMLAT is the improvement of AMLAT as an ASEAN instrument. Even though AMLAT has been signed and ratified, it is actually not part of the ASEAN instruments. This provision is reflected in the difference in secretariat offices: the AMLAT secretariat office is in Kuala Lumpur,

³⁴ Indira Devitasari, 2015, *Kekuatan Mengikat ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (AMLAT) Bagi Negara Anggota ASEAN Dalam Rangka Penegakan Hukum Kejahatan Transnasional*, Belli Ac Pacis, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 2015, p.25

Malaysia, while the ASEAN secretariat office is in Jakarta, Indonesia. Mechanistically so the AMLAT arrangement is separate from the ASEAN mechanism system (The 4th Meeting of Senior Official on the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters). Some ASEAN member countries assume that the nature of the ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty will be closed for non-ASEAN member countries to accede to the provisions AMLAT if it has become part of the ASEAN Instrument.³⁵

So far, AMLAT has been in practice in several participating countries, for example, Indonesia has Law No. 1 of 2006 concerning Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters as a follow-up to its ratification of AMLAT. Likewise with the Philippines, although it does not yet have specific laws and regulations governing Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA), MLA cooperation is based on the existing mechanism in AMLAT.³⁶

The basis for binding AMLAT for ASEAN member countries is based on the awareness of ASEAN member countries to comply with the provisions contained in AMLAT because of the needs of each participating country which considers AMLAT provisions to reflect justice and also have a good impact on ASEAN member countries. In this case, the provisions of AMLAT are considered to be an effective solution to overcome transnational crimes that occur in the Southeast Asian region. However, the meaning of "justice" can experience a shift along with the times and AMLAT may be considered as no longer providing good for the country. For example, the provisions in article 3 AMLAT regarding limitations in providing MLA assistance regarding the principle of double criminality, Singapore as one of the countries that adheres to this principle, so that in several cases requests for MLA assistance were often rejected. For Indonesia, the principle of double criminality tends to provide many disadvantages. Therefore, an awareness or desire to implement a legal provision is not sufficient but must be balanced with a form of concrete agreement.³⁷

³⁵ SOMLAT 4th, 2009, Results of the 4th Senior Official Meeting Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, p.2.

³⁶ SOMLAT 4th, 2009, Results of the 4th Senior Official Meeting Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, p. 4-5.

³⁷ Indira Devitasari, *op.cit.*, p.25

AMLAT is an international agreement³⁸ in the Southeast Asian region formed by ASEAN countries. AMLAT has complied with the elements regulated in the 1969 Vienna Convention on International Treaty Law, as explained in the provisions of Article 6 of the 1969 Vienna Convention that "every country has the ability to enter into international agreements". The meaning of the state in this article is intended to mean the state as an individual or as a subject of international law³⁹. In this case, ASEAN can be said to be a subject of international law so that all legal actions can be recognized as a provision of international law.

An important requirement of an international agreement is that the agreement is subject to the international legal regime. The parties in this case the AMLAT participants consisting of Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand and Myanmar who are members of ASEAN membership have agreed to sign and ratify the AMLAT agreement. The AMLAT provisions serve as guidelines for ASEAN member countries to practice them in the national laws of their respective countries.

The obligations of the parties to the AMLAT participating countries carry out international agreements in "good faith", in which the participating countries have several obligations that have been regulated in the AMLAT agreement, including:

- 1) The provisions in article 1 which require participating countries to adopt the provisions contained in the AMLAT agreement into national law in each participating country. Currently, several participating countries have adopted this agreement into the national law of their respective countries, including; Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Vietnam, Laos, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia and Thailand, while the Philippines still bases requests for MLA assistance on AMLAT.⁴⁰

³⁸ International agreement is an agreement between two or more parties subject to international law regarding a certain object that is formulated in writing and is subject to or governed by international law. Several elements or qualifications that must be met in an international agreement, among others: agreement, legal subjects, written form, certain objects and subject to or regulated by international law.

³⁹ According to International Law, what is said to be a legal subject is country, holy throne, liberation groups, international organizations.

⁴⁰ Indira Devitasari, *op.cit.*, p. 25

- 2) Participating countries are required to be able to cooperate with other participating countries. Some of the limitations of assistance that can be provided are regulated in article 1:
 - a) Taking evidence and statements voluntarily from someone,
 - b) make provisions in terms of taking evidence from a person when providing assistance in matters of criminal matters,
 - c) carry out a search in the event of the arrest of a person requested,
 - d) examine several suspected items and assets,
 - e) provide originals or copies of a document, or records of evidence,
 - f) carry out investigations of assets originating from criminal acts,
 - g) detain assets or freeze assets on assets suspected of originating from a criminal act,
 - h) to confiscate property originating from a crime,
 - i) conducting searches and identifying witnesses and suspects,
 - j) provide other assistance that has been agreed upon with the requesting country beforehand and does not conflict with this agreement.
- 3) With regard to the investigation and identification process, the Requested Party in accordance with its national laws, makes every effort to ascertain the location or identity of a person mentioned in the request and who is reasonably certain within its territory as stipulated in article 20 AMLAT.
- 4) State parties are required to be under the provisions of article 22 AMLAT, in accordance with their national law, to try to find, track, detain, freeze, confiscate, or seize assets originating from criminal acts. Property confiscated or confiscated under this article may be handed over to the Requesting Party unless otherwise agreed in each particular case.

Obligation to do the appointment of the central authority as stipulated in article 4 AMLAT is to apply for and receive MLA assistance as stipulated in this agreement. The appointment of the central authority for the 10 (ten) AMLAT participating countries includes; Indonesia in this case appoints the Directorate General of Public Law Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights as the Central Authority, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam through the

Attorney General's Chambers as the Central Authority, Laos appoints the Ministry of Justice as the Central Authority, Myanmar through the Attorney General's Office appointed as Central Authority, Philippines appointed the Office of the Chief State Counsel as the Central Authority of the country, Vietnam through the Ministry of Public Security as Central Authority, Cambodia documents, records or various matters related to criminal acts requested by the requesting state party, which must be carried out in the process of observation before proceeding to the custody process until the document is sent. The requested country party must as soon as possible report the results of the investigation, confiscation and also safeguarding these results afterward based on what is regulated in article 18 AMLAT.

In practice, the use of the jurisdiction of the requested country and the differences in the criminal law system applied between ASEAN countries are the inhibiting factors for the implementation of AMLAT. For example, there are those who adhere to a continental legal system, such as Indonesia, and there are also countries that apply the Anglo-Saxon system, such as Malaysia and Singapore. The main difference is that the justice system adheres to the due process model (DPM) which focuses more on protecting human rights for suspects. Likewise, there are those who apply the crime control model (CCM) system, which emphasizes the efficiency and effectiveness of criminal justice based on the principle of the presumption of innocence and focuses more on processes that are more practical.⁴¹

Often each country wants to use its own legal system absolutely in handling crime, the same thing happens in other countries, so that the handling of crime becomes slow and convoluted. For example, Singapore has its own guidelines for requirements for countries wishing to submit requests for assistance, so that many countries experience obstacles in submitting assistance to Singapore due to the technicalities of submitting assistance which are too complicated. In Singapore, implementing a checking system for requests for assistance from the requesting country is divided into two stages. The first stage is through the authorized prosecutor's office and the second stage is through the authorized minister.⁴² Brunei

⁴¹ National Legal Development Agency Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, 2012, Central Authority and Coordinating Mechanism in the Implementation of Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters

p.38

⁴² Indira Devitasari, *op.cit.*, p.26

Darussalam itself, within the national legal arrangements regarding MLA, has developed regulations regarding the use of electronic media such as television as a means of providing assistance regarding the notification of the requested evidence.

2. The Effectiveness of Mutual Legal Assistance Cooperation in Combating Terrorism Crime

The terrorist network in Southeast Asia is a terrorist network that developed from radical Islamic groups. This can be seen from the development of radical Islamic groups in the Southeast Asian region which have developed into terrorist networks that cross national boundaries, namely international scale terrorist networks. The development of this radical Islamic group into a terrorist network that crosses national boundaries cannot be separated from the events of September 11, 2001. The US is searching for Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al-Qaeda Network who is responsible for the tragedy of the collapse of the WTC building, in the process of searching and hunting. Osama bin Laden said the US realized that radical Islamic groups in Southeast Asia had connections and were partners in the Al-Qaeda Network.

MLA is basically a form of mutual agreement in criminal matters.⁴³ Initially, MLA originated from cooperation between countries in a process of mutual assistance in investigating criminal matters that began with cooperation between the police and "letters rogatory".⁴⁴, which is a system of requesting assistance based on mutual respect in order to obtain evidence, which then develops into a form of agreement and various other forms of assistance. Reciprocal criminal legal assistance MLA is a form of legal cooperation in the context of enforcing criminal law, especially for crimes that have a transnational element.

⁴³ Basically, MLA, like extradition, can be carried out both formally through agreements and informally based on the principle of reciprocity.

⁴⁴ *Letters rogatory* is a letter issued by the court of a country to obtain assistance from the court of another country. The existence of Letters rogatory is because based on the principle of sovereignty, the courts of a country are prohibited from exercising power outside their jurisdiction, including also to obtain evidence available abroad for the benefit of the trial, so that a country must submit a request in advance to the requested country if it wants to obtain evidence. the. Cyrrer, Robert, Friman, Hakan, et al, 2010, *An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure*, Cambridge University Press, page 102

Article 18 UNTOC expressly states to encourage forms of mutual assistance cooperation in overcoming criminal acts which are the scope of the TOC. In fact, Article 18 paragraph 3 UNTOC emphasizes that MLA includes obtaining evidence and statements, providing assistance with legal documents, carrying out searches and seizures, carrying out inspections of objects and locations. , providing information, evidence, expert judgment, documents and archives, identifying or tracing criminal processes, property, or equipment used for evidentiary purposes and confiscation for confiscation purposes, facilitating the presence of witnesses and various other forms of assistance that not prohibited by national law.⁴⁵ Even so, the assistance provided by a country does not have to be limited to those mentioned above, other assistance can also be provided as long as it does not conflict with the national law of a country.

In relation to transnational crimes, especially terrorism crimes, since 2002 ASEAN has concentrated on establishing a regional legal framework to align national anti-terrorism laws as a basis for cooperation between countries. For example, in May 2002, the governments of Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia signed the Agreement on Exchange and Establishment of Communication Procedures. The agreement contains a commitment to share flight passenger lists, blacklists, computerized fingerprint databases, followed by joint exercises between countries and strengthening border control by designing a standardized entry and exit point system. In 2003, Thailand, Cambodia and Brunei joined the mechanism. The leaders of ASEAN countries also support holding Ad Hoc Experts Group Meetings and special sessions from SOMTC and AMMTC which focus on discussing terrorism and calling for the initial signing or ratification or accession to anti-terrorism conventions, strengthening and exchanging information and intelligence and improving coordination and cooperation between AMMTC and other ASEAN entities in fighting terrorism both at regional and global levels. The threat of regional terrorism is considered a threat that requires a collective response from ASEAN to overcome it together. Malaysia hosted the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Terrorism in May 2002. The joint communique that was produced at

⁴⁵ Article 18 (3) *United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crimes* or UNTOC 2000

that time emphasized cohesive unity among ASEAN member countries so that they can effectively fight terrorism in the Southeast Asian region. ARF⁴⁶ held an annual meeting of the Intersessional Meeting on Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime (ISM CT-TC) in Malaysia. The discussion was about specific methods to improve border control and standardization of travel documents and the use of biometric passports. Countries such as the European Union, the US, Japan, China, Australia and Russia are ASEAN dialogue partner countries in the context of overcoming transnational crimes, especially terrorism crimes.

In relation to the implementation of MLA, it does not have to be based entirely on a special MLA agreement that is carried out bilaterally, regionally or subregionally, Article 18 paragraphs 9-29 UNTOC provides an opportunity that when a country does not have an MLA agreement, MLA can still be carried out if the country is countries are parties to UNTOC, so that the existence of Article 18 Paragraphs 9-29 UNTOC can be interpreted as an MLA agreement on a small scale.⁴⁷

Likewise, the implication is that law enforcement cooperation through MLA cannot always run well, this request for assistance is likely to be rejected by the requested country. This refusal is based on several things, including:

- (i) if the requested country is deemed that the request for assistance is directed against a crime that is considered a political crime according to the requested country.
- (ii) The requesting country applies the death penalty.
- (iii) The case used as the basis for requesting MLA was deemed insufficient.

Regional mutual legal assistance cooperation among ASEAN countries is also articulated in the ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (AMLAT).⁴⁸, which

⁴⁶ ARF as a forum established by ASEAN as a vehicle for dialogue and consultation on matters related to regional politics and security as well as to discuss and equalize views between ARF participating countries to minimize threats to regional stability and security

⁴⁷ See further Article 18 paragraph 9-29 UNTOC

⁴⁸ This agreement, first enacted in 2004, was signed by all ASEAN member countries in 2006. Indonesia ratified (ratified) AMLAT with Law Number 15 of 2008 concerning Ratification of Agreements Concerning Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters (Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance In Criminal Matters).

seeks to strengthen cooperation in preventing and prosecuting transnational crimes among its member countries.⁴⁹

As with other conventions referring to MLA, AMLAT requires the Parties to designate a central authority (CA) to follow up on all MLA requests. AMLAT also provides special exceptions so that emergency requests can be made verbally through INTERPOL or ASEANAPOL. AMLAT does not mention a specific crime that must be regulated in cooperation, but explains the limitations of MLA, namely excluding cooperation for crimes that a political, constitutes a military crime under the laws of the country of the requesting MLA, may cause prejudice/prejudice to someone because of race, religion, gender, ethnic origin, or nationality or political opinion, has been sentenced, acquitted or pardoned by a competent court or other authority, not prohibited by the laws of the requesting MLA's country.

Some of the agreements made by ASEAN member countries are included in the category of international agreements. Agreements, including international agreements, contain the main principles, namely the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* and the principle of good faith. This means that with the birth of several agreements as mentioned above, it imposes obligations on ASEAN member countries as subjects of international law which are also subjects of agreements, to carry out the contents of the agreement as agreed between them in good faith. Several obligations that must be carried out by the parties related to AMLAT, as stated in several articles, including Articles 1, 4, 9-11, 13, 14, 16-18, 20, 22.

As a realization of the existence of a Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime in preventing and fighting transnational crime, member countries in ASEAN have formed a framework, namely a highest decision-making body in tackling transnational crime. This body is called the Asean Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime or AMMTC. The ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on

⁴⁹ As is known, the Southeast Asian region is a region that has the potential to receive a greater threat of terrorism, namely the existence of various radical Islamic groups that are moving towards terrorism. These radical Islamic groups such as Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia, *Moro Islamic Liberation Front* (MILF), Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), and the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF) in the Philippines, the Bali Bombing Case, October 2002 and the JW Marriot Hotel Jakarta August 2003. The Abu Sayyaf and JI groups are considered the most dangerous terrorist organizations in the world

Transnational Crime is a ministerial-level forum and below, specifically discussing non-traditional issues in Southeast Asia.⁵⁰

As a follow-up to some of these agreements, several ASEAN member countries individually followed up, such as: (1). Making a Memorandum of Understanding between the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) on Cooperation in the Prevention and Management of Transnational Crime, 2005. (2). Memorandum of Understanding between the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia and the Brunei Police on Cooperation in Eradicating Transnational Crime and Capacity Building, 2016. (3). Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2010. (4). Agreement on Cooperation Between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and The Government of the Kingdom of Thailand on The Prevention and Fight Against Criminal Activities, 1998. (5). Defense cooperation between Indonesia and Cambodia, 1993. (6). Coordinated Patrols between Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore, 2004. (7). Coordinated Patrols between Indonesia and Singapore, 1992. (8). Indonesian – Singapore Military Cooperation, 1995. (9). Joint Border Monitoring Cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia. (10). Trilateral Coordinated Maritime Patrol or Trilateral Maritime Patrol Indomalphi, between Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines.⁵¹

In its relations with countries outside ASEAN countries, Indonesia also has a number of bilateral MLA agreements with other countries. These agreements provide a direct channel for legal assistance with countries outside of AMLAT, and potentially provide a stronger basis for collaboration and cover a wider scope of crimes than global conventions such as UNCAC and UNTOC. Indonesia has bilateral MLA agreements with several countries, such as Australia, China, Hong Kong, India, South Korea, Saudi Arabia (UAE), and Vietnam. This was done by Indonesia as a realization of Indonesia's commitment in the framework of its involvement in tackling and handling transnational crimes.

⁵⁰ Jeanita Eka Aryanti, Handojo Leksono, 2017, *Penerapan Prinsip Shared Responsibility Sebagai Upaya Dalam Penanggulangan Kejahatan Transnasional Di Kawasan Asia Tenggara*, Belli ac Pacis. Vol. 3. No. 2 December 2017, p.32.

⁵¹ Irdyanti. 2013. *Penguatan Hubungan Kerjasama Indonesia-Malaysia dalam Menangani Kejahatan Transnasional*. Transnational Journal. Vol. 5, No. 1, July 2013, p. 1-16.

In Indonesian perspective, Mutual Assistance agreements have an important meaning which is one of the solutions to jurisdictional problems in law enforcement. This is because Indonesian law enforcement officers find it easier to access information about flight proceeds of crime or evidence of crimes in other countries. Therefore, MLA can be used for the legal process of investigation, prosecution, until the execution of decisions that have permanent legal force. Investigations can obtain witness statements, look for a person's whereabouts, find out if there are assets in the form of movable assets, houses, land and others that can use the MLA.

Mutual assistance in criminal matters is a form of cooperation recommended in the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) which is then manifested at the national level in the form of Law Number 1 of 2006 concerning Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters (Mutual Legal Assistance). The law includes, among other things, taking and giving evidence, including documents, identifying a person's location, carrying out requests to search for evidence, confiscating, freezing assets, confiscating assets resulting from crime, blocking, taking information, assisting in investigations, and making approvals. with witnesses. The entire coverage is subject to the principles of international agreements and international law, especially the principle of reciprocity (reciprocity).⁵² and the principle of sovereignty.⁵³

The implementation of Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA) is an important part of international cooperation to combat transnational crime, although Indonesia has regulations and a strong commitment to implementing MLA, there are a number of obstacles that hinder the effectiveness of its implementation, the obstacles faced include:

⁵² That is, each country provides cooperation assistance in surrendering transnational crime perpetrators on the basis of requests.

⁵³ Based on the concept of international law, there are three aspects related to sovereignty: (i) The external aspect of sovereignty, namely that every country has the right to enter into relations with various countries and other groups without pressure or influence from other countries. (ii) The internal aspect of sovereignty, namely that there is an exclusive right of the state to determine how domestic institutional arrangements are made, including mechanisms for making legislation and arrangements regarding its enforcement. (iii) The territorial aspect of sovereignty, namely that each country has full and exclusive power over individuals and objects in the country's territory. Boer Mauna, 2005, *Hukum Internasional, Pengertian Peranan dan fungsi Dalam Era Dinamika Global*, Alumni, Bandung, p.24

1. Differences in Legal Systems

Indonesia adopts a civil law system, while several MLA partner countries adopt a common law system or a mixed legal system. These differences often lead to inconsistencies in legal procedures, for example in terms of evidence, standards for requests for assistance, or the form of documents that must be included.

2. Lack of Bilateral Agreements

Although Indonesia has ratified the UN Convention on Transnational Crime and Corruption which is the basis for multilateral cooperation, bilateral MLA agreements with partner countries are still limited. This slows down the cooperation process because not all countries are willing to provide assistance without a formal agreement.

3. Limited Resources

The limited personnel with technical expertise and a deep understanding of international law is an obstacle to following up on MLA requests quickly and effectively. In addition, the lack of budget and supporting infrastructure also slows down coordination between institutions.

4. Slow Bureaucratic Process

Coordination between domestic institutions, such as between the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Attorney General's Office, the Police, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is often hampered by a long bureaucratic process. This can slow down the delivery of requests or responses to requests from other countries.

5. Lack of Regulatory Harmonization

The inconsistency between national laws and international legal provisions makes it difficult to fully implement MLA. Some countries require certain types of violations or certain forms of requests that are not explicitly regulated in Indonesian national law.

6. Sovereignty and Political Issues

Some countries are reluctant to provide legal assistance due to political reasons or sovereign sensitivity. Indonesia must also consider this aspect when making requests, especially in cases involving high-ranking officials or big businessmen.

Indonesia has actually attempted to resolve various obstacles faced in the implementation of MLA by issuing a legal umbrella for its implementation, namely Law Number 1 of 2006 concerning Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, which took effect on March 3, 2006. In the Mutual Assistance Law, assistance that can be requested or given includes matters such as: matters as specified in Article 3 paragraph (2) of Law no. 1 of 2006.⁵⁴ Law No. 1 of 2006 includes several principles that serve as guidelines for the Government of Indonesia in the implementation of mutual assistance, namely: (a). Principle of Specificity, Articles 3 and 4.; (b). Principle of reciprocity Article 5 paragraph (2).; (c). Principle of *Ne Bis In Idem* Article 6 letter b.; (d). The principle of double criminality or double crimes Article 6 letter c.; (e). Principle of Non-racism Article 6 letter c.; (f). Principle of sovereignty Article 6 letter e.; (g). The principle is not related to the death penalty.; (h). Principles of Diplomatic relations, Article 17.; (i). Not related to political crimes, except murder or attempted murder of heads of state/heads of government, terrorism; or a criminal offense under military law, Article 6.

In the Law on Mutual Assistance, it is stated that the party responsible for receiving and sending requests for mutual assistance is the ministry responsible for law, or in this case the Ministry of Law and Human Rights,⁵⁵ as the Central Authority.⁵⁶ This is in line with what was requested by UNTOC and UNCAC.⁵⁷ The task of the Central Authority is to obtain evidence from foreign countries,⁵⁸

⁵⁴ The assistance referred to in Article 3 paragraph (1) includes assistance to identify and search for people; obtain a statement or other form; show documents or other forms; seek the presence of people to provide information or assist in investigations; delivering letters; carrying out search and seizure requests; confiscation of proceeds of crime; recover fines in the form of money in connection with criminal acts; prohibit property transactions, freeze assets that can be released or confiscated, or which may be required to fulfill the fines imposed, in connection with criminal acts; looking for assets that can be released, or that may be needed to fulfill the fine imposed, in connection with a criminal act.

⁵⁵ Article 1 point 10 of Law no. 1 of 2006 concerning Mutual Criminal Assistance

⁵⁶ General Explanation of Law Number 1 of 2006 concerning Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters

⁵⁷ Based on Article 18 paragraph (13) UNTOC jo. Article 43 paragraph (13) of the UNCAC, whereby states parties are required to appoint an authorized body that has the responsibility and power to receive requests for mutual legal assistance and also to carry out or send them to the competent body to be implemented, this body is referred to as the central authority. Indonesia has become a party to both of these international rules. Indonesia's attachment to UNTOC is carried out by Law Number 5 of 2009, and to UNCAC by Law Number 7 of 2006.

⁵⁸ As has been done by *Central Authority* Indonesia (in this case the Directorate of International Law, Directorate General of Legal Administration) submitted a request to the US Government through the Indonesian Consulate General in Los Angeles, regarding the BNI case on behalf of Adrian H. Woworuntu, which was a case of requesting confiscation and confiscation of

therefore domestic cooperation is needed with related institutions, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Diplomatic Channel), the National Police, the Attorney General's Office, the KPK, PPATK, to find out or obtain assets that can be confiscated, searched, blocked by agencies -authorized agency in a foreign country. The existence of these institutions is essentially part of the Central authority, and is an authorized institution and its existence is recognized by UNCAC.⁵⁹

According to Marfuatul Latifah, the appointment of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights as the central authority has its advantages and disadvantages. The advantages can be seen from the position of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights as an institution responsible for formulating, determining and implementing policies in the field of law in Indonesia, due to this function the Ministry of Law and Human Rights has extensive relations in the field of law in Indonesia. The central authority is an entity that functions administratively in the implementation of mutual assistance, and has a strategic position. Meanwhile, the weaknesses referred to include the reluctance of law enforcement institutions to provide mutual criminal assistance through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, because it requires another bureaucratic process, namely by submitting an application file to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights.⁶⁰

For optimal implementation of MLA, Indonesia needs to increase the number of bilateral agreements, strengthen human resources and institutional capacity, simplify bureaucracy between agencies, and adjust national regulations to

assets through mutual assistance in a criminal matter based on the principle of reciprocity (reciprocity).

The Government of Indonesia has also done the same thing to the Government of Australia, in relation to the Hendra Raharja case. The Government of Indonesia to the Government of Australia to seize Hendra Rahardja's assets in Australia which are suspected of originating from criminal acts committed in Indonesia. Through Interpol cooperation, it is known that Hendra Rahardja's assets in Australia are quite a lot and the data has been provided by the Australian Police (AFP) to the National Police. In order to take legal action on Hendra Rahardja's assets, a team called the "Indonesian Australia Task Force" was formed with the aim of collecting information, data, documents and evidence in legal proceedings in Australia.

⁵⁹ Article 46 paragraph (13) of the UNCAC states that a request for mutual criminal assistance can be made directly by the central authority, or it can also be forwarded to the competent authority (in this paper it is referred to as the competent authority).

⁶⁰ Marfuatul Latifah, *Penunjukan Otoritas Pusat Dalam Bantuan Timbal Balik Pidana di Indonesia*, Negara Hukum: Vol. 7, No. 1, Juni 2016, hlm.65.

international standards. This is important to build a transparent justice system that is able to effectively respond to the challenges of transnational crime.

CONCLUSION

MLA cooperation at the ASEAN level is one of the important instruments in combating transnational crimes, including terrorism. In general, the effectiveness of MLA in the ASEAN context shows significant progress, especially in strengthening coordination between member countries in terms of information exchange, extradition, asset confiscation, and the implementation of cross-jurisdictional investigations. Through legal instruments such as the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, ASEAN countries have demonstrated their commitment to assist each other in the process of enforcing the law on terrorism cases. However, the effectiveness of this cooperation still faces various challenges, such as differences in legal systems between countries, slow bureaucratic processes, lack of trust between law enforcement officers, and limited resources and technology. In addition, not all member countries have the same capacity and mechanisms in following up on MLA requests. To increase the effectiveness of MLA as an effort to combat terrorism, it is necessary to strengthen regulatory harmonization, increase the capabilities of law enforcement agencies, and have a strong political commitment from all ASEAN member countries. Closer collaboration, transparency, and the establishment of a regional coordination center are also important factors in supporting the success of this cooperation in the future.

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Relevansi Peran Kementerian Koordinator dalam Sistem Presidensial: Studi Komparatif dan Rekomendasi Kebijakan untuk Sistem Pemerintahan Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the relevance of the Coordinating Ministry in carrying out the functions of synchronization and coordination among state ministries in the administration of government in Indonesia, and to compare it with practices in several countries that adopt a Presidential system. The research employs a normative juridical method with statutory, conceptual, and comparative approaches. The findings indicate that the Coordinating Ministry plays a strategic role in maintaining policy coherence among ministries. However, overlapping authority with other ministries that also possess coordinative functions, coupled with the relatively large number of Coordinating Ministers, has the potential to hinder government effectiveness if not managed properly. A comparative study with Presidential countries such as the United States, the Philippines, Brazil, and South Korea suggests that governmental coordination can be carried out more efficiently by a single office or specialized institution. Therefore, this study recommends a reduction in the number of Coordinating Ministers in Indonesia and the strengthening of a single strategic coordinating institution under the President, as well as the possibility for the Vice President to assume a coordinating role when directly mandated by the President.

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis relevansi Kementerian koordinator dalam menjalankan fungsi sinkronisasi dan koordinasi antar kementerian negara dalam penyelenggaraan pemerintahan di Indonesia, serta membandingkannya dengan praktik di sejumlah negara yang menganut sistem Presidensial. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode yuridis normatif dengan pendekatan perundang-undangan, konseptual, dan komparatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Kementerian koordinator memiliki peran strategis dalam menjaga keselarasan kebijakan antar kementerian. Namun, tumpang tindih kewenangan dengan kementerian lain yang juga memiliki fungsi koordinatif, ditambah jumlah Menteri Koordinator yang relatif banyak, berpotensi menghambat efektivitas pemerintahan jika tidak dikelola secara optimal. Studi perbandingan dengan negara-negara Presidensial seperti Amerika Serikat, Filipina, Brasil, dan Korea Selatan mengindikasikan bahwa koordinasi pemerintahan dapat dilaksanakan secara lebih efisien oleh satu jabatan atau lembaga khusus. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini merekomendasikan pengurangan jumlah Menteri Koordinator di Indonesia dan penguatan satu lembaga koordinatif strategis di bawah Presiden, serta membuka ruang bagi Wakil Presiden untuk menjalankan fungsi koordinasi sepanjang mendapatkan penugasan langsung dari Presiden.

PENDAHULUAN

Keberadaan menteri koordinator dalam sistem pemerintahan Indonesia pertama kali muncul pada masa Kabinet Kerja III Presiden Soekarno (1962–1963) dalam bentuk Wakil Menteri Pertama sebagai Koordinator.¹ Pada Kabinet Kerja IV, fungsi koordinasi ini ditegaskan dengan pembentukan 9 Menteri Koordinator,² dan jumlahnya sempat meningkat menjadi 17 pada Kabinet Dwikora I dan 15 pada Kabinet Dwikora II. Namun, pada Kabinet Dwikora III hingga Kabinet Ampera II, jabatan ini sempat ditiadakan. Pada masa Presiden Soeharto, menteri koordinator kembali dihadirkan dan terus ada dalam tiap kabinet, dengan jumlah yang bervariasi dari 2 hingga 5. Setelah masa transisi ke Presiden Habibie, hingga masa Presiden Megawati, jumlah menteri koordinator berkisar antara 3–4. Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–2014) mempertahankan keberadaan menteri koordinator dengan 4 orang pada periode pertama dan 3 orang pada periode kedua. Presiden Joko Widodo juga membentuk 4 menteri koordinator dalam dua periode pemerintahannya. Presiden Prabowo Subianto, usai dilantik pada 20 Oktober 2024, membentuk Kabinet Merah Putih yang terdiri dari 7 menteri koordinator.³

Dari masa Kabinet Kerja III pemerintahan Presiden Soekarno sampai Kabinet Merah Putih pemerintahan Presiden Prabowo, keberadaan menteri koordinator selalu ada meskipun jumlahnya berbeda-beda dalam setiap susunan kabinet. Jumlah menteri koordinator disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan Presiden untuk menjalankan fungsi koordinasi dan sinkronisasi antarkementerian agar tidak terjadi tumpang tindih kebijakan dalam penyelenggaraan urusan pemerintahan di bidangnya.⁴ Peranan menteri negara memiliki keterkaitan erat dengan sistem pemerintahan, baik sistem pemerintahan parlementer maupun Presidensial.⁵ Dalam sistem pemerintahan parlementer, Perdana Menteri memegang kekuasaan pemerintahan

¹ *Keppres No. 94 Tahun 1962*, 1962, diakses pada 15 November 2024, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/159108/keppres-no-94-tahun-1962>.

² Sekretariat Kabinet RI, “Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia | Kabinet Kerja IV | Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia,” 2024 diakses pada 15 November 2024, <https://setkab.go.id/kabinet-kerja-iv/>.

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *UU No. 39 Tahun 2008*, 2008, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/39719/uu-no-39-tahun-2008>.

⁵ Muliadi Anangkota, “KLASIFIKASI SISTEM PEMERINTAHAN (Perspektif Pemerintahan Modern Kekinian),” *CosmoGov: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 3, no. 2 (7 Oktober 2017): 148–52, <https://doi.org/10.24198/COSMOGOV.V3I2.14725>.

tertinggi dan membawahi para menteri. Kemudian dalam sistem pemerintahan Presidensial menghendaki kedudukan Presiden sebagai kepala negara sekaligus kepala pemerintahan.⁶ Dalam sistem pemerintahan Indonesia, Presiden memegang kekuasaan pemerintahan (Pasal 4 ayat (1) UUD NRI Tahun 1945). Kemudian Presiden dalam menjalankan pemerintahan dibantu oleh satu orang Wakil Presiden (Pasal 4 ayat (2) UUD NRI Tahun 1945). Selain dibantu oleh satu orang Wakil Presiden, Presiden juga dibantu oleh menteri-menteri negara. Kementerian negara berfungsi untuk membantu Presiden dalam menyelenggarakan urusan tertentu dalam pemerintahan.

Penunjukan menteri merupakan hak prerogatif yang diberikan konstitusi kepada Presiden untuk memilih pembantu-pembantunya dalam menjalankan fungsi pemerintahan.⁷ Hak prerogatif dapat diartikan sebagai hak orisinal Presiden sebagai kepala negara dalam menentukan hal-hal yang bersifat kenegaraan dan tidak dapat dicampuradukkan dengan unsur kekuasaan lain.⁸ Sementara itu dalam melaksanakan tugas dan wewenangnya, seorang menteri bertanggung jawab sepenuhnya kepada Presiden sebagai kepala pemerintahan tertinggi.⁹ Berbeda halnya dengan sistem pemerintahan parlementer, pembentukan kabinet diberikan sepenuhnya kepada Perdana Menteri, tetapi para menteri bertanggung jawab bukan kepada perdana menteri melainkan kepada legislatif.¹⁰

Pembentukan kementerian setelah berlakunya Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2008 tentang Kementerian Negara (selanjutnya disebut UU No. 39/2008) memberikan beberapa batasan kepada Presiden dalam menggunakan hak prerogatifnya. Undang-undang a quo memberikan batasan jumlah kepada Presiden dalam membentuk kementerian negara sebanyak 34 (tiga puluh empat). Pembentukan, pengubahan, dan pembubaran kementerian negara tidak lagi sepenuhnya menjadi hak prerogatif Presiden karena membutuhkan pertimbangan

⁶ SB Praptadina M Rizaldi, "Jurnal Peradilan Indonesia Menakar Partisipasi Publik dalam Mengawasi Kinerja Aparat Penegak Hukum Pada Persidangan Pidana," t.t., diakses 28 Mei 2025.

⁷ Andri Yanto and Harry Setya Nugraha, "Redesain Pengisian Jabatan Menteri Dalam Sistem Presidensial Di Indonesia," *PROGRESIF: Jurnal Hukum* 15, no. 2 (2021): 130–53.

⁸ Rahyunir Rauf, "Posisi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Dalam Sistem Pemerintah Daerah" (Riau: Marpoyan Tujuh Publishing, 2016).

⁹ Ni'matul Huda, "Kedudukan Dan Materi Muatan Peraturan Menteri Dalam Perspektif Sistem Presidensial," *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum* 28, no. 3 (2021): 550–71.

¹⁰ Imam Sukadi, "Sistem Pemerintahan Indonesia Dan Implikasinya Dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa Dan Bernegara," *Jurnal Hukum Bisnis Bonum Commune* 4, no. 1 (2021): 119–28.

dan persetujuan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR). Selain itu, kementerian negara dibagi atas tiga kelompok kementerian: (1) kementerian yang nomenklaturnya secara tegas disebutkan dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945, (2) kementerian yang menjalankan urusan pemerintahan yang ruang lingkupnya disebutkan dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945, dan (3) kementerian yang menjalankan urusan pemerintahan dalam rangka penajaman, koordinasi, dan sinkronisasi program pemerintah.¹¹

Pengelompokkan kementerian tersebut secara tidak langsung akan berdampak terhadap tata cara pembentukan, pengubahan, dan pembubarannya. Kementerian yang secara langsung disebutkan oleh UUD NRI Tahun 1945 tidak dapat dibubarkan.¹² Kementerian yang urusannya disebutkan dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945 dapat diubah maupun dibubarkan apabila disetujui oleh DPR. Sedangkan untuk kementerian dalam konteks penajaman dan koordinasi ketika ingin diubah maupun dibubarkan harus disertai dengan pertimbangan dari DPR.¹³ Selain 3 (tiga) kelompok kementerian yang sudah disebutkan tadi, masih terdapat entitas kementerian yang dapat dibentuk oleh Presiden untuk melaksanakan fungsi sinkronisasi dan koordinasi antar kementerian. Untuk menjalankan fungsi tersebut Presiden membentuk Kementerian koordinator dengan tugas menyelenggarakan koordinasi, sinkronisasi, dan pengendalian urusan kementerian dalam penyelenggaraan pemerintahan di bidangnya. Tugas tersebut dilaksanakan untuk memberikan dukungan, pelaksanaan inisiatif, dan pengendalian kebijakan berdasarkan agenda pembangunan nasional dan penugasan Presiden. Tugas dan wewenang yang diberikan kepada kementerian koordinator tersebut akan menimbulkan beberapa persoalan jika tidak dikelola secara baik oleh Presiden.

Misalnya, kerap terjadi sengketa wewenang dalam menyelenggarakan tugas koordinasi dan sinkronisasi di antara menteri koordinator, seperti yang pernah diberitakan oleh media CNBC Indonesia tentang perbedaan pendapat antara Menteri Koordinator Perekonomian (Menko Perekonomian) dan Menteri Koordinator Kemaritiman dan Investasi (Menko Marves) mengenai kenaikan pajak hiburan sebesar 40%-75%.¹⁴ Perbedaan pendapat tersebut terjadi akibat keduanya

¹¹ UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

¹² UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

¹³ UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

¹⁴ Arrijal Rachman and Rosseno Aji Nugroho, "Beda Airlangga, Luhut, Dan Hotman Soal Pajak Hiburan 40%," CNBC Indonesia, n.d., diakses pada 15 November 2024,

memiliki kesamaan kewenangan terutama berkaitan dengan urusan pertumbuhan ekonomi sehingga memunculkan perbedaan pendapat antara sesama pemegang kewenangan koordinasi. Bahkan saat ini, muncul wacana untuk menambah jumlah kementerian negara yang berpotensi diikuti oleh penambahan kementerian koordinator. Hal ini dimungkinkan karena pembentukan kementerian koordinator sepenuhnya merupakan hak prerogatif Presiden, sehingga tidak ada batasan yang menghalangi Presiden untuk membentuk kementerian koordinator baru.

Namun demikian, sinkronisasi dan koordinasi yang dikelola dengan baik dapat mempercepat penyelesaian masalah dan pelaksanaan kebijakan pemerintah. Contohnya adalah penanganan pandemi COVID-19 yang melibatkan lintas kementerian koordinator yang dibentuk berdasarkan Perpres Nomor 108 Tahun 2020. Dalam struktur ini, Menteri Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian ditunjuk sebagai Ketua, didampingi oleh enam Wakil Ketua, yaitu Menko Maritim dan Investasi, Menko Polhukam, Menko PMK, Menteri Keuangan, Menteri Kesehatan, dan Menteri Dalam Negeri. Model koordinasi ini terbukti efektif dalam menangani pandemi COVID-19. Dengan pengaturan koordinasi yang jelas, setiap kementerian dapat menjalankan fungsinya masing-masing namun tetap terarah pada tujuan bersama, yakni penanganan pandemi. Pengelolaan koordinasi yang tepat tidak hanya meningkatkan efisiensi pelaksanaan kebijakan, tetapi juga memperkuat integrasi antar-lembaga, yang pada akhirnya mendukung stabilitas dan kemajuan pemerintahan secara keseluruhan. Oleh karena itu, keberadaan kementerian koordinator ibarat dua sisi mata uang: di satu sisi dapat memperlambat proses kebijakan apabila tidak dikelola dengan baik, namun di sisi lain dapat mendorong tercapainya seluruh kebijakan pemerintah secara efektif.

Penelitian sebelumnya berjudul "Kedudukan Menteri Koordinator dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2008 tentang Kementerian Negara" oleh Tandi Arion, Siska Marbun, dan Rados Banjarnahor,¹⁵ serta "Kedudukan Menteri Koordinator dalam Sistem

<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20240123105904-4-508223/beda-airlangga-luhut-dan-hotman-soal-pajak-hiburan-40>.

¹⁵ Tandi Arion dan Retno Saraswati, "Kedudukan Menteri Koordinator Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2008 Tentang Kementerian Negara," *Diponegoro Law Journal* 5, no. 3 (13 Juli 2016): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.14710/DLJ.2016.12580>.

Ketatanegaraan Indonesia" oleh Anggraini D.T. Ingkiriwang,¹⁶ sama-sama membahas kedudukan dan fungsi menteri koordinator dalam sistem Presidensial Indonesia berdasarkan UU No. 39 Tahun 2008. Namun, kedua penelitian tersebut belum mengkaji perubahan mendasar pasca berlakunya UU No. 61 Tahun 2024 yang menghapus batas jumlah kementerian dan membuka ruang perluasan struktur kabinet. Selain itu, tidak terdapat analisis perbandingan dengan negara lain yang menganut sistem Presidensial, maupun rekomendasi konkret terkait desain koordinasi pemerintahan yang ideal. Penelitian ini mengisi kekosongan tersebut dengan menganalisis secara normatif dan komparatif desain kelembagaan koordinasi di Indonesia dan negara lain. Dari penjabaran latar belakang di atas, maka dirumuskan 2 (dua) rumusan masalah dari penelitian ini, yakni: Pertama, bagaimana relevansi peran kementerian koordinator dalam menjalankan fungsi koordinasi antarkementerian? Kedua, bagaimana desain kebijakan untuk penguatan fungsi koordinasi urusan pemerintahan?

METODE PENELITIAN

Jenis penelitian yang digunakan adalah yuridis normatif dengan pendekatan perundang-undangan, pendekatan konseptual, dan pendekatan komparatif. Penelitian yuridis normatif didefinisikan sebagai penelitian yang berfokus pada data sekunder belaka dan berfokus pada data kepustakaan.¹⁷ Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan perundang-undangan untuk menganalisis topik berdasarkan peraturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku saat ini, khususnya Undang-Undang tentang Kementerian Negara (UU No.39/2008 dan UU No. 61/2024). Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menggunakan pendekatan konseptual untuk mengkaji gagasan-gagasan teoritis mengenai lembaga koordinatif dalam sistem pemerintahan Presidensial. Pendekatan komparatif turut digunakan dengan membandingkan praktik kelembagaan di beberapa negara lain, yaitu Amerika Serikat, Filipina, Brasil, dan Korea Selatan. Negara-negara tersebut dipilih karena sama-sama menganut sistem

¹⁶ Anggraini D T Ingkiriwang, "Kedudukan Menteri Koordinator Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia," *LEX PRIVATUM* 13, no. 2 (2024).

¹⁷ Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum: Edisi Revisi* (Prenada Media, 2017).

pemerintahan presidensial, memiliki struktur kelembagaan koordinatif, serta menyediakan akses hukum yang memadai untuk dianalisis secara normatif.

PEMBAHASAN

A. Relevansi Peran Kementerian Koordinator dalam Menjalankan Fungsi Koordinasi Antarkementerian

Kementerian Negara adalah perangkat pemerintah yang membidangi urusan tertentu dalam pemerintahan yang berkedudukan di Ibukota Negara dan bertanggungjawab kepada Presiden.¹⁸ Nomenklatur kementerian sendiri telah mengalami perubahan mulai dari istilah “departemen”, “kantor menteri negara”, hingga “kantor menteri koordinator”.¹⁹ Secara yuridis hal ini dapat dipahami karena sebelumnya dalam ketentuan Pasal 17 ayat (3) UUD 1945 (sebelum amandemen) menyebutkan bahwa “Menteri-menteri itu memimpin departemen pemerintah”. Setelah amandemen UUD NRI 1945, ketentuan yang mengatur terkait kementerian berubah menjadi “Setiap menteri membidangi urusan tertentu dalam pemerintahan” dan juga setelah disahkan UU No. 39/2008 dan PP No. 47/2009, semua istilah resmi untuk kementerian kembali disederhanakan menjadi “kementerian” saja, sesuai dengan praktik pada awal masa kemerdekaan. Selain itu, jumlah kementerian itu sendiri juga mengalami perubahan sejak awal kemerdekaan.²⁰ Setelah lahirnya UU No. 39/2008, jumlah kementerian dibatasi paling banyak berjumlah 34 kementerian.

Berlakunya ketentuan UU No. 39/2008 melahirkan 2 (dua) arus pandangan berbeda, yakni kelompok pertama sebagai pendukung dengan alasan efektifitas dan efisiensi, sedangkan kelompok kedua menganggap sebagai pembatasan terhadap hak prerogatif Presiden. Gagasan perubahan terhadap undang-undang kementerian negara akhirnya direalisasikan menjelang akhir tahun 2024 dengan berlakunya Undang-Undang Nomor 61 Tahun 2024 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2008 tentang Kementerian Negara (selanjutnya disebut UU No. 61/2024). Salah satu perubahan penting dalam undang-undang tersebut yaitu tidak

¹⁸ UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

¹⁹ anggraini D T Ingkiriwang, “Kedudukan Menteri Koordinator Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia,” *LEX PRIVATUM* 13, no. 2 (2024).

²⁰ *Ibid*

ada lagi pembatasan jumlah kementerian, tetapi ditetapkan sesuai dengan kebutuhan penyelenggaraan pemerintahan oleh Presiden.

Setiap menteri yang telah diangkat untuk membantu Presiden akan membidangi urusan tertentu dalam pemerintahan. Dalam Pasal 4 UU No.39/2008 membagi urusan tertentu dalam pemerintahan menjadi 3 (tiga) kelompok kementerian. Pertama, disebut kementerian Kelompok I membidangi urusan pemerintahan yang nomenklatur kementeriannya secara tegas disebutkan dalam UUD NRI 1945. Berdasarkan ketentuan Pasal 8 ayat (3) UUD NRI 1945, kementerian tersebut adalah Menteri Luar Negeri, Menteri Dalam Negeri, dan Menteri Pertahanan yang akan menjadi pelaksana tugas kePresidenan secara bersamaan jika Presiden dan Wakil Presiden mangkat, berhenti, diberhentikan atau tidak dapat melakukan kewajibannya dalam masa jabatannya secara bersamaan. Kedua, kementerian Kelompok II membidangi urusan pemerintahan yang ruang lingkupnya disebutkan secara langsung dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945. Kementerian yang urusan pemerintahan disebutkan dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945 meliputi urusan agama, hukum, keuangan, keamanan, hak asasi manusia, pendidikan, kebudayaan, kesehatan, sosial, ketenagakerjaan, industri, perdagangan, pertambangan, energi, pekerjaan umum, transmigrasi, transportasi, informasi, komunikasi, pertanian, perkebunan, kehutanan, peternakan, kelautan, dan perikanan.²¹ Pembentukan, penggabungan, dan pembubaran kementerian yang urusan pemerintahannya disebutkan dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945 mengharuskan adanya persetujuan DPR.

Ketiga, kementerian Kelompok III membidangi urusan pemerintahan dalam rangka penajaman, koordinasi, dan sinkronisasi program pemerintah. Kementerian yang bersifat penajaman, koordinasi, dan sinkronisasi pemerintah meliputi urusan perencanaan pembangunan nasional, aparatur negara, kesekretariatan negara, badan usaha milik negara, pertanahan, kependudukan, lingkungan hidup, ilmu pengetahuan, teknologi, investasi, koperasi, usaha kecil dan menengah, pariwisata, pemberdayaan perempuan, pemuda, olahraga, perumahan, dan pembangunan kawasan atau daerah tertinggal. Pembentukan, penggabungan, dan pembubaran kementerian ini hanya perlu mengantongi pertimbangan DPR saja, sehingga

²¹ UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

kedudukannya dapat dimaksimalkan oleh Presiden dalam melaksanakan hak prerogatifnya pada pembentukan kementerian negara.²² Pengelompokan tiga kementerian negara apabila dilihat dari pembentukan dan pembubarannya cenderung bersifat hierarkis. Meskipun demikian apabila dilihat dari segi strukturnya, seluruh kementerian negara memiliki kedudukan setara karena berada di bawah dan bertanggungjawab kepada Presiden.

Selain tiga kelompok kementerian tersebut, Presiden juga dapat membentuk Kementerian koordinator apabila diperlukan untuk mengatur dan mengkoordinasikan urusan-urusan pemerintahan tertentu yang dijalankan oleh Kementerian Negara.²³ Saat ini Kementerian koordinator berjumlah tujuh kementerian, diantaranya Kementerian koordinator bidang Politik dan Keamanan, Kementerian koordinator bidang Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia, Imigrasi dan Pemasarakatan, Kementerian koordinator bidang Perekonomian, Kementerian koordinator bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan, Kementerian koordinator bidang Infrastruktur dan Pembangunan Kewilayahan, Kementerian koordinator bidang Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, dan Kementerian koordinator bidang Pangan. Seluruh Kementerian koordinator memiliki tugas utama yang meliputi koordinasi, sinkronisasi, dan pengendalian urusan pemerintahan dalam bidangnya masing-masing. Mereka bertanggung jawab untuk mendukung pelaksanaan inisiatif dan kebijakan yang sesuai dengan agenda pembangunan nasional dan penugasan dari Presiden. Dalam menjalankan tugasnya, setiap kementerian memiliki fungsi-fungsi khusus yang meliputi koordinasi kebijakan, pengelolaan isu-isu terkait, pengawalan program prioritas nasional, penyelesaian isu antar kementerian, pengelolaan barang milik negara, koordinasi administratif, pembinaan, pengawasan, serta pelaksanaan fungsi lain yang diberikan oleh Presiden. Dalam menjalankan tugasnya secara teknis, kementerian harus mengembangkan peta bisnis proses yang mencerminkan hubungan kerja yang merefleksikan hubungan kerja yang efisien dan terintegrasi antar unit organisasi di lingkungan internal masing-masing. Ketentuan ini secara khusus relevan bagi

²² Faishal Taufiqurrahman and others, "Urgensi Perluasan Alasan Dan Pemohon Dalam Permohonan Pembubaran Partai Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi" (Universitas Islam Indonesia, 2018).

²³ UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

kementerian koordinator, di mana penyusunan peta bisnis proses tidak dilakukan secara mandiri, melainkan melalui mekanisme koordinasi dengan kementerian-kementerian yang berada dalam lingkup tugas dan fungsinya. Ini berarti bahwa penyusunan peta bisnis oleh Kementerian koordinator didasarkan pada koordinasi lintas kementerian yang berada di bawah tanggung jawabnya atau yang relevan dengan bidang kerjanya masing-masing.²⁴ Singkatnya, masing-masing kementerian koordinator memiliki fungsi yang tidak jauh berbeda yaitu memastikan masing-masing kementerian yang berada di bawah koordinasinya tidak saling tumpang tindih dalam menentukan kebijakan. Meskipun kewenangan kementerian koordinator terbatas pada aspek koordinasi dan sinkronisasi tanpa otoritas eksekutif yang dominan sebagaimana dimiliki kementerian teknis, posisi Menteri Koordinator tetap memiliki bobot strategis dalam konfigurasi politik pemerintahan. Hal ini tercermin, antara lain, dalam distribusi portofolio kementerian kepada partai-partai politik koalisi, di mana posisi Menteri Koordinator kerap kali diasosiasikan dengan porsi politik yang setara dengan dua portofolio kementerian teknis.²⁵ Selain fungsi koordinatif, kementerian koordinator juga berperan dalam mengawasi kinerja kementerian-kementerian di bawahnya untuk memastikan pelaksanaan tugas berjalan secara optimal.²⁶

Dari struktur kelembagaan Kementerian koordinator, tampak adanya disparitas kelembagaan apabila dibandingkan dengan tiga kelompok kementerian lainnya, khususnya kelompok I yang nomenklturnya disebutkan dalam UUD NRI Tahun 1945 dan kelompok III yang membidangi urusan pemerintahan dalam rangka penajaman, koordinasi, dan sinkronisasi program pemerintah. Sementara itu, Kementerian koordinator tidak memiliki dasar normatif yang secara eksplisit mengatur nomenklatur maupun ruang lingkup tugasnya dalam konstitusi. Sedangkan dalam tataran praktik, kedudukan Kementerian koordinator tampak lebih tinggi dibanding kementerian lainnya karena memiliki fungsi koordinasi

²⁴ Martinus Tukiran, Nugraheni Puspita Sari, and Anisa Dewi Mentari, Penyusunan SOP Administrasi Pemerintah: Berdasarkan Peta Proses Bisnis (PT Kanisius, n.d.).

²⁵ Media Tempo, *Bagi-Bagi Kursi Kabinet Prabowo-Gibran Dan Cawe-Cawe Jokowi I Bocor Alus Politik* (Jakarta, 2024), diakses pada 15 November 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1eZVMgnfWTU>.

²⁶ Shabine Charoline Sonia, "Strategi Komunikasi Kementerian Koordinator Bidangkemaritiman Dan Investasi Dalam Proses Monitoring Dan Evaluasi Capaian Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan (Tpb/Sdgs) Tahun 2021," 7 Juni 2023.

terhadap sejumlah kementerian. Sebagai ilustrasi, Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Politik dan Keamanan (Kemenko Polkam) mempunyai tugas mengkoordinasikan Kementerian Luar Negeri, Kementerian Dalam Negeri, dan Kementerian Pertahanan.²⁷ Padahal, ketiga kementerian tersebut memiliki peran strategis yang sangat penting, termasuk sebagai pelaksana tugas kePresidenan apabila Presiden dan Wakil Presiden tidak dapat melakukan kewajibannya dalam masa jabatannya secara bersamaan.

Selain peran strategis tersebut, nomenklatur ketiga kementerian ini juga tidak dapat diubah maupun dibubarkan karena bersifat konsitusional bila dibandingkan dengan kementerian lain termasuk kementerian kordinator. Kendati demikian, keberadaan Kemenko Polkam menyebabkan ketiga kementerian tersebut tetap membutuhkan koordinasi yang intensif dalam pelaksanaan fungsi pemerintahan, khususnya dengan kementerian dan instansi lain yang berada di bawah koordinasi menteri politik dan keamanan. Kemudian dalam Pasal 7 Perpres No.141/2024 menyebutkan adanya frasa "instansi lain yang dianggap perlu" juga termasuk di bawah koordinasi Kemenko Polkam, menunjukkan bahwa jangkauan koordinasi dan pengawasan di bidang politik dan keamanan sangat luas.

Selanjutnya, terdapat persinggungan fungsi dan kewenangan antara kementerian kelompok III dan kementerian koordinator. Kementerian kelompok III bertanggung jawab atas koordinasi pelaksanaan tugas, pembinaan, dan pemberian dukungan administratif kepada semua bagian organisasi di bawah naungan kementerian. Di sisi lain, peran menteri koordinator adalah untuk mengkoordinasikan dan menyelaraskan perumusan, penetapan, dan pelaksanaan kebijakan Kementerian/Lembaga yang berkaitan dengan isu di bidangnya.²⁸ Perbedaan mendasar antara Kementerian kelompok III dan Kementerian koordinator terletak pada wilayah koordinasinya. Kementerian kelompok III hanya bertanggung jawab untuk mengkoordinasikan antar kementerian yang berada dalam kelompoknya, sedangkan kementerian koordinator memiliki kewenangan untuk melakukan koordinasi dengan kementerian dan lembaga pemerintah non-

²⁷ Perpres No. 141 Tahun 2024,” diakses 28 Mei 2025, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/306461/perpres-no-141-tahun-2024>.

²⁸ “Perpres No. 140 Tahun 2024,” diakses 28 Mei 2025, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/305099/perpres-no-140-tahun-2024>.

kementerian, sehingga perannya lebih bersifat lintas sektoral. Dalam perspektif teori birokrasi, hal ini mencerminkan diferensiasi fungsi koordinasi yang bersifat vertikal pada kementerian kelompok III dan koordinasi horizontal pada kementerian koordinator.

Dalam perbandingan dengan wilayah koordinasi kementerian Kelompok III, terlihat perbedaan yang signifikan dalam cakupan tanggung jawab dan pengaruhnya. Kementerian kelompok III, meskipun bertanggung jawab atas koordinasi tugas dan dukungan administratif di dalam lingkup kementerian, memiliki batasan yang jelas dalam jangkauan koordinasinya. Fokusnya terbatas pada kementerian-kementerian yang terkait dengan kelompoknya, tanpa meluas ke lembaga-lembaga non-kementerian. Sebaliknya, kementerian koordinator, seperti yang disebutkan sebelumnya, ruang lingkup tanggung jawab Kementerian koordinator jauh lebih luas, memungkinkan pengelolaan kebijakan yang terintegrasi di berbagai sektor pemerintahan, yang penting untuk menjamin efektivitas dan efisiensi penyelenggaraan negara.

Namun demikian, UU No. 61/2024 perlu mendapat perhatian kritis, terutama karena penghapusan batas jumlah kementerian berpotensi menimbulkan perluasan struktur birokrasi yang tidak terkendali apabila tidak disertai mekanisme evaluasi kelembagaan yang ketat. Di satu sisi, ketentuan ini memperkuat fleksibilitas Presiden dalam membentuk kementerian sesuai kebutuhan pembangunan nasional. Akan tetapi, di sisi lain, tidak adanya batas kuantitatif berisiko mendorong pembentukan kementerian koordinator baru secara politis alih-alih fungsional, sehingga dapat menimbulkan tumpang tindih kewenangan dan melemahkan prinsip efisiensi kelembagaan. Selain itu, penambahan kementerian baru juga berpotensi mendorong terbentuknya kementerian koordinator tambahan untuk mengakomodasi kebutuhan koordinasi antarkementerian. Kekhawatiran ini dapat dijelaskan karena 2 (dua) alasan antara lain: pertama, kementerian koordinator yang berjumlah banyak menyebabkan terjadinya overlapping fungsi koordinasi dan berpotensi menghambat penyelenggaraan pemerintahan. Kedua, memunculkan hierarki semu antara kementerian koordinator dengan kementerian lainnya yang berpotensi menghambat jalannya eksekusi program pemerintahan.

Jika dikaji dari perspektif teori *good governance*, perluasan kelembagaan negara harus memenuhi prinsip-prinsip dasar seperti efisiensi, akuntabilitas, transparansi, dan orientasi pada pelayanan publik.²⁹ Tanpa batas yang jelas dan sistem evaluasi yang ketat, pengembangan struktur pemerintahan berisiko melanggar prinsip efisiensi dan akuntabilitas tersebut. Oleh karena itu, UU No. 61/2024 seharusnya disertai dengan penguatan norma akuntabilitas kelembagaan, agar perluasan kementerian benar-benar berorientasi pada kepentingan pelayanan publik dan bukan sekadar kepentingan kekuasaan. Dengan demikian, keberadaan Kementerian koordinator seharusnya dapat memberikan efektivitas atas kebijakan-kebijakan kementerian agar tidak saling tumpang tindih dan bisa terkoordinasi dengan baik dengan lintas kementerian. Jangan sampai keberadaan kementerian koordinator justru yang menjadi faktor penghambat jalannya efektivitas pelaksanaan urusan pemerintahan.

B. Rekomendasi Kebijakan untuk Penguatan Fungsi Koordinasi Urusan Pemerintahan Indonesia

Sistem koordinasi kementerian negara saat ini masih dipegang oleh Menteri Koordinator yang cenderung menguasai koordinasi antara Menteri dengan Presiden sehingga menyebabkan kesenjangan koordinasi antara para menteri dan Presiden. Selain itu, konteks adanya menteri koordinator juga menyebabkan hirarki semu antar kementerian negara. Padahal secara kedudukan, keseluruhan menteri memiliki kedudukan yang sama, bahkan dalam UU No. 39 Tahun 2008 tentang Kementerian Negara, terdapat pengelompokan kementerian yang mana menteri koordinator menjadi entitas sendiri yang disebutkan dalam Pasal 14 UU No.39/2008. Sedangkan dalam pelaksanaan kewenangannya justru seakan-akan memiliki kewenangan yang “membawahi” menteri yang lain sehingga hal ini perlu untuk diubah mengenai konteks sistem koordinasi mengenai urusan pemerintahan di tingkat kementerian. Dengan demikian, desain baru mengenai koordinasi antar kementerian perlu dilakukan untuk mengurangi beberapa anomali koordinasi yang terjadi saat ini.

²⁹ Saggaf, Said, Muhammad Mario Said, and Widiawati Said Saggaf. *Reformasi Pelayanan Publik di Negara Berkembang*. Vol. 1. Sah Media, 2018.

Konteks Amerika Serikat menjadi tempat lahirnya sistem pemerintahan Presidensial, menghendaki adanya pimpinan tunggal kekuasaan eksekutif, yakni Presiden yang didampingi oleh seorang Wakil Presiden dalam memimpin jalannya pemerintahan negara.³⁰ Berbeda halnya dengan Indonesia, Wakil Presiden Amerika Serikat memiliki kedudukan yang lebih sentral ketimbang Wakil Presiden Indonesia.³¹ Ketika melihat dari sistem Amerika Serikat, Wakil Presiden Amerika Serikat menjadi bagian dari kabinet yang memiliki tugas dalam hal memimpin rapat kabinet dan melakukan fungsi koordinasi dengan anggota kabinet lainnya.³² Hal tersebut terjadi karena Wakil Presiden memiliki kedudukan tertinggi kedua dalam konteks kekuasaan eksekutif di Amerika Serikat.³³ Selain memiliki kedudukan yang sentral dalam kekuasaan eksekutif, Wakil Presiden memiliki fungsi koordinasi dalam hal hubungan eksekutif dan legislatif dilihat dari kedudukan wakil Presiden di Senat Amerika Serikat.³⁴ Ketua Senat diisi oleh Wakil Presiden sebagaimana disebutkan dalam *Article I Section 3 Paragraph 4 Constitution of USA* yang mana berbunyi bahwa “*The Vice President of United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided*”. Konteks pengaturan tersebut menghendaki bahwa fungsi wakil Presiden tidak hanya pada kekuasaan eksekutif, namun juga hingga kekuasaan legislatif walau perannya hanya sebagai pengisi suara ketika senat memiliki suara yang berimbang, maka wakil Presiden bisa masuk untuk mematahkan suara yang seimbang tersebut. Bahkan di beberapa situasi, Wakil Presiden dapat menjadi otonomi atau mengeluarkan kebijakan tanpa persetujuan dari Presiden. Namun hal ini biasanya dilaksanakan pada saat adanya pembagian awal antara Presiden dan Wakil Presiden. Hal ini memperlihatkan bahwa betapa besarnya peran Wakil Presiden dalam melaksanakan fungsi koordinasi di level departemen atau tingkat kementerian di kekuasaan eksekutif.

³⁰ Syofyan Hadi, “Fungsi Legislasi Dalam Sistem Pemerintahan Presidensial (Studi Perbandingan Indonesia Danamerika Serikat),” *DiH: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 9, no. 18 (2013): 240040.

³¹ Michael Lynch et al., “The Vice President in the US Senate: Examining the Consequences of Institutional Design,” in *Congress & the Presidency*, vol. 45, 2018, 145–65.

³² Pauline Eadie and Chester Yacub, “COVID-19 and Aid Distribution in the Philippines: A Patron-Clientelist Explanation,” *Third World Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2024): 229–46.

³³ Harold C Relyea, “The Law: The Executive Office of the Vice President: Constitutional and Legal Considerations,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (2010): 327–41.

³⁴ Relyea.

Namun demikian, pelaksanaan utama fungsi koordinasi dan sinkronisasi urusan kementerian/departemen dalam sistem pemerintahan Amerika Serikat secara struktural dijalankan oleh *Executive Office of the President* (EOP), yang dibentuk melalui ketentuan *Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1939* dan kemudian ditegaskan melalui *Title 3 of the United States Code*.³⁵ EOP merupakan badan administratif Presiden yang terdiri dari berbagai unit termasuk *White House Chief of Staff*, *Office of Cabinet Affairs*, *Office of Management and Budget*, dan *National Security Council*, yang semuanya menjalankan peran koordinatif kebijakan lintas sektor.³⁶

Dasar hukum pendirian EOP sebagaimana tercantum dalam dokumen *Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1939* yang singkatnya menyatakan bahwa, “*The Executive Office of the President of the United States is hereby established to provide the President with the support needed to govern effectively*”. (*Executive Office of the President* dari Amerika Serikat dengan ini dibentuk untuk memberikan dukungan yang diperlukan kepada Presiden dalam rangka pemerintahan yang efektif). Dalam praktiknya, *White House Chief of Staff* memainkan peran kunci dalam menyaring informasi dan kebijakan yang masuk ke Presiden, mengoordinasikan agenda pemerintah, serta memastikan jalannya komunikasi dan pelaksanaan kebijakan antardepartemen berjalan selaras. Selain itu, *Office of Cabinet Affairs* bertugas menyelenggarakan rapat kabinet dan menjaga konsistensi agenda kebijakan Presiden di seluruh badan eksekutif.

Dalam konteks sistem pemerintahan Indonesia yang memiliki struktur kementerian yang besar dan kompleks, model Amerika Serikat tidak dapat diadopsi secara langsung, tetapi memberikan pelajaran penting bahwa koordinasi yang efektif tidak selalu memerlukan pembentukan kementerian baru. Penguatan lembaga seperti Sekretariat Kabinet, Kantor Staf Presiden, atau unit-unit pendukung Presiden lainnya bisa diarahkan untuk mengadopsi semangat koordinasi cepat dan terarah ala EOP, namun tetap dalam kerangka akuntabilitas dan kelembagaan yang sesuai dengan prinsip negara hukum Indonesia.

³⁵ “*REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. I OF 1939*,” diakses 26 Mei 2025, <https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title5a-node35-leaf37&num=0&edition=prelim>.

³⁶ *Executive Office of the President*,” The White House, diakses 26 Mei 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/eop/>.

Negara lain yang menggunakan sistem pemerintahan Presidensial berikutnya adalah Negara Filipina. Baik Indonesia maupun Filipina sama-sama menempatkan Presiden berfungsi sebagai Kepala Negara dan Kepala Pemerintahan. Melihat dalam pelaksanaan fungsi koordinasi pada level kabinet/departemen, Filipina memiliki satu departemen yang memiliki fungsi sangat sentral dalam menangani koordinasi pada level kekuasaan eksekutif di samping Presiden dan Wakil Presiden.³⁷ Departemen tersebut bernama *Executive Secretary* atau Sekretaris Eksekutif yang memiliki salah satu fungsi untuk menyediakan koordinasi secara keseluruhan dalam pelaksanaan kantor eksekutif.³⁸ Bahkan fungsi koordinasi ini bisa merambah hingga kepada tanggung jawab administratif *Executive Secretary* kepada urusan-urusan yang ada dan berasal dari berbagai departemen dan lembaga pemerintahan.

Hal tersebut ditegaskan dalam *Book III Title III Chapter 9 Section 27 Executive Order No. 292 concerning Administrative Code of Philippines* yang mana berbunyi bahwa “*The Executive Secretary shall, subject to the control and supervision of the President, carry out the functions assigned by law to the Executive Office and shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to him. He shall: (1) Directly assist the President in the management of the affairs pertaining to the Government of the Republic of the Philippines; (3) Decide, for and in behalf of the President, matters not requiring personal Presidential attention;.... (5) Exercise supervision, in behalf of the President, over the various agencies under the Office of the President;..... (7) Provide overall coordination in the operation of the Executive Office;..... (9) Have administrative responsibility for matters in the Office of the President coming from the various departments and agencies of government; and (16) Provide secretarial and clerical services for the President, the Cabinet, the Council of State, and other advisory bodies to the President* (Sekretaris Eksekutif harus, tunduk pada kendali dan pengawasan Presiden, melaksanakan fungsi-fungsi yang ditugaskan oleh hukum kepada Kantor Eksekutif dan harus melaksanakan tugas-tugas lain yang dapat didelegasikan

³⁷ Eadie and Yacub, “COVID-19 and Aid Distribution in the Philippines: A Patron-Clientelist Explanation.”

³⁸ Paul Chambers, “Superficial Consolidation: Security Sector Governance and the Executive Branch in the Philippines Today,” in *Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia: From Policy to Practice* (Springer, 2014), 102–30.

kepadanya. Dia harus: (1) Secara langsung membantu Presiden dalam pengelolaan urusan-urusan yang berkaitan dengan Pemerintah Republik Filipina; (3) Memutuskan, untuk dan atas nama Presiden, hal-hal yang tidak memerlukan perhatian Presiden secara pribadi; (5) Melaksanakan pengawasan, atas nama Presiden, terhadap berbagai lembaga di bawah Kantor Presiden;..... (7) Menyediakan koordinasi secara keseluruhan dalam pengoperasian Kantor Eksekutif;..... (9) Memiliki tanggung jawab administratif atas urusan-urusan di Kantor Presiden yang berasal dari berbagai departemen dan lembaga pemerintahan; dan (16) Menyediakan layanan kesekretariatan dan administrasi untuk Presiden, Kabinet, Dewan Negara, dan badan-badan penasihat lainnya kepada Presiden).

Pengaturan yang ada dalam pasal tersebut memang menghendaki adanya posisi *Executive Secretary* lebih tinggi dari departemen yang lain karena memegang kewenangan sentral yang bahkan bisa memutuskan atas nama Presiden dalam hal kebijakan suatu kementerian atau departemen tidak perlu hingga kepada Presiden dalam hal pemutusannya. Selain itu, konteks kewenangan koordinasi juga dipegang olehnya yang mana pada level Presiden dan Wakil Presiden tidak terlalu mengganggu proses jalannya pemerintahan karena sudah dikoordinasikan oleh *Executive Secretary*. Walau dalam hal ini Presiden juga berwenang untuk mengintervensi proses pemerintahan ketika memang menurutnya perlu untuk diurus olehnya sebagai konsekuensi posisinya sebagai kepala pemerintahan.³⁹ Ketika bukan menjadi hal yang penting baginya, cukup *Executive Secretary* yang memutuskannya atas nama Presiden. Dari penjelasan di atas, dapat dilihat bahwa kewenangannya yang begitu besar menyebabkan *Executive Secretary* dikatakan sebagai *The Little President*.

Model ini memiliki kelebihan berupa kecepatan dalam pengambilan keputusan dan efektivitas dalam menyinkronkan agenda pemerintah tanpa membebani Presiden secara langsung. Namun, model ini juga mengandung kelemahan. Sentralisasi kekuasaan administratif pada satu sosok non-elektif dapat memunculkan potensi penyalahgunaan wewenang serta mengurangi transparansi

³⁹ A Yanto, HS Nugraha - PROGRESIF: Jurnal Hukum, dan undefined 2021, "Redesain Pengisian Jabatan Menteri Dalam Sistem Presidensial Di Indonesia," *journal.ubb.ac.id* A Yanto, HS Nugraha PROGRESIF: Jurnal Hukum, 2021 • *journal.ubb.ac.id*, diakses 28 Mei 2025, <https://journal.ubb.ac.id/progresif/article/download/2508/1664>.

dan akuntabilitas. Dalam konteks Indonesia, posisi ini dapat dibandingkan dengan Sekretaris Kabinet atau Menteri Sekretaris Negara, namun belum memiliki kekuatan kelembagaan dan kewenangan sekuat Executive Secretary. Oleh karena itu, model ini dapat menjadi rujukan penting dalam memperkuat kelembagaan koordinasi administratif di lingkungan Istana Negara agar beban koordinasi lintas kementerian tidak selalu bergantung pada Presiden secara langsung.

Brasil sebagai negara yang juga menganut sistem Presidensial, memiliki struktur kelembagaan yang kuat dalam menjalankan fungsi koordinasi pemerintahan melalui institusi bernama *Casa Civil da Presidência da República* atau Rumah Sipil KePresidenan.⁴⁰ Lembaga ini dibentuk berdasarkan otoritas Pasal 84 Konstitusi Federal Brasil Tahun 1988 “*Art. 84. Compete privativamente ao Presidente da República: (...) VI - dispor, mediante decreto, sobre: a) organização e funcionamento da administração federal, quando não implicar aumento de despesa nem criação ou extinção de órgãos públicos;*” (Pasal 84. Merupakan kewenangan eksklusif Presiden Republik: (...) VI - mengatur, melalui dekret, mengenai: a) organisasi dan fungsi administrasi federal, sepanjang tidak menimbulkan peningkatan pengeluaran maupun pembentukan atau penghapusan lembaga public).⁴¹ Ketentuan pasal ini memberikan kewenangan kepada Presiden untuk mengatur struktur dan fungsi administratif pendukung pelaksanaan kekuasaan eksekutif.

Dalam praktiknya, *Casa Civil* bertugas sebagai koordinator kebijakan pemerintah lintas kementerian dan sebagai penasihat langsung Presiden dalam urusan administratif, hukum, dan legislatif. Salah satu peran konkret *Casa Civil* adalah saat dibentuknya *Secretaria Extraordinária da COP30* berdasarkan *Decreto No. 11.955/2024*, yang menetapkan peran *Casa Civil* untuk memimpin koordinasi antarlembaga dan antarlevel pemerintahan dalam pelaksanaan agenda perubahan iklim skala internasional.⁴² Kelebihan dari model ini adalah kekuatan koordinasi

⁴⁰ “Institucional,” Casa Civil, diakses 26 Mei 2025, <https://www.gov.br/casacivil/pt-br/aceso-a-informacao/institucional/institucional-1>.

⁴¹ “Constituição,” diakses 26 Mei 2025, https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm

⁴² “Portal da Câmara dos Deputados,” diakses 26 Mei 2025, <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/2024/decreto-11955-19-marco-2024-795388-publicacaooriginal-171284-pe.html>.

yang langsung berada di bawah Presiden, memungkinkan adanya sinergi kebijakan yang kuat, kecepatan pengambilan keputusan, dan daya dorong tinggi dalam proyek lintas kementerian. Namun demikian, kelemahan sistem ini adalah potensi tumpang tindih kewenangan dengan kementerian teknis, terutama bila tidak ada delineasi yang jelas, serta kemungkinan terjadinya sentralisasi kekuasaan di lingkaran dalam Presiden tanpa kontrol parlemen yang ketat. Dalam konteks Indonesia, model *Casa Civil* bisa menjadi inspirasi untuk memperkuat fungsi Kementerian Sekretariat Negara atau bahkan membentuk unit koordinasi strategis di bawah Presiden yang memiliki mandat kuat, khususnya dalam pelaksanaan proyek strategis nasional. Hal ini penting untuk mempercepat eksekusi lintas sektor tanpa menabrak batas fungsi kementerian teknis.

Korea Selatan menganut sistem pemerintahan Presidensial, tetapi berbeda dari Indonesia, negara ini tetap mempertahankan posisi Perdana Menteri sebagai pejabat tinggi negara yang membantu Presiden dalam pelaksanaan tugas administratif dan koordinasi pemerintahan. Ketentuan ini ditegaskan dalam Pasal 86 Ayat (1) dan (2) Konstitusi Republik Korea, yang berbunyi:

“(1) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly. (2) The Prime Minister shall assist the President and shall direct the Executive Ministries under order of the President”. (Pasal 86 (1) Perdana Menteri membantu Presiden dan menjalankan koordinasi terhadap kementerian berdasarkan perintah Presiden. (2) Perdana Menteri diangkat oleh Presiden dengan persetujuan dari Majelis Nasional).⁴³

Dalam menjalankan fungsi koordinasi tersebut, Korea Selatan membentuk lembaga *Office for Government Policy Coordination (OGPC)* yang berada di bawah Perdana Menteri. OGPC merupakan lembaga teknokratis yang memiliki fungsi perencanaan, sinkronisasi, evaluasi kebijakan pemerintah pusat, hingga reformasi regulasi. Fungsi OGPC diatur dalam *Government Organization Act*,

⁴³ “CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA,” diakses 28 Mei 2025, https://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_service/lawView.do?lang=ENG&hseq=1.

khususnya pada bagian yang mengatur struktur kabinet dan peran lembaga koordinasi kebijakan.⁴⁴

OGPC terdiri dari berbagai divisi seperti *Economic Policy Coordination Office*, *Social Policy Coordination Office*, *Regulatory Reform Office*, dan *Government Performance Evaluation Office*.⁴⁵ Masing-masing divisi memiliki direktorat jenderal tersendiri yang fokus pada bidang ekonomi, sosial, lingkungan, evaluasi kinerja, dan pengawasan proyek strategis seperti Net Zero 2050 dan kebijakan kepemudaan. OGPC juga menjalankan fungsi pengawasan disiplin aparatur dan investigasi administratif, menjadikannya pusat koordinasi yang tidak hanya administratif tetapi juga evaluatif. Kelebihan OGPC adalah struktur dan pembagian fungsionalnya yang rinci serta berbasis pada prinsip evaluasi kebijakan publik. Fungsi koordinasi tidak hanya berwujud sinkronisasi, tetapi juga mencakup pengawasan kualitas pelaksanaan kebijakan pemerintah. Namun demikian, kelemahan dari sistem ini adalah potensi rantai koordinasi yang terlalu panjang karena OGPC berada di bawah Perdana Menteri, bukan langsung di bawah Presiden. Efektivitas OGPC pun sangat bergantung pada stabilitas hubungan politik antara Presiden, Perdana Menteri, dan para menteri.

Relevansinya dengan sistem pemerintahan Indonesia cukup signifikan. Indonesia tidak mengenal posisi Perdana Menteri, namun memiliki struktur Menteri Koordinator yang sebenarnya bisa didesain ulang agar menjalankan fungsi seperti OGPC, yaitu tidak hanya sebagai jembatan komunikasi dan sinkronisasi, tetapi juga pusat evaluasi kinerja lintas kementerian. Penguatan fungsi monitoring dan evaluasi berbasis data serta reformasi regulasi lintas sektor yang terpusat pada satu badan seperti OGPC akan memperkuat efektivitas pemerintahan Presidensial Indonesia secara keseluruhan.

⁴⁴ “국무조정실 국무총리비서실,” diakses 26 Mei 2025, <https://www.opm.go.kr/opm/index.do>

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

Tabel 1. Perbandingan Fungsi Koordinasi Pemerintahan dalam Sistem Presidensial

No	Indikator	Amerika Serikat	Filipina	Brazil	Korea Selatan
1.	Pemegang Kewenangan Koordinasi	Executive Office of the President (EOP), terutama <i>White House Chief of Staff</i> dan <i>Office of Cabinet Affairs</i> .	<i>Executive Secretary</i>	<i>Casa Civil da Presidência da República</i>	<i>Minister of the Office for Government Policy Coordination (OGPC)</i>
2.	Proses Pemilihan	Ditunjuk langsung oleh Presiden. Wakil Presiden dipilih melalui pemilihan umum,	Ditunjuk oleh Presiden dengan persetujuan <i>Commission of Appointment</i>	Ditunjuk langsung oleh Presiden	Ditunjuk oleh Presiden dengan persetujuan Majelis Nasional (National Assembly)
3	Kedudukan Jabatan	EOP berada langsung di bawah Presiden. Wakil Presiden berada dalam kabinet.	Di bawah Presiden dan Wakil Presiden, namun secara kedudukan lebih tinggi daripada kementerian yang lain.	Di bawah Presiden secara langsung	Di bawah Perdana Menteri, yang membantu Presiden dalam koordinasi kementerian

4.	Tingkat Pengaturan	Konstitusi Amerika Serikat dan Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1939	Konstitusi Filipina Tahun 1987 (Amandemen)	<i>Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988, Artigo 84, serta Decreto No. 11.955/2024</i>	<i>Constitution of the Republic of Korea, Pasal 86, serta Government Organization Act</i>
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Selanjutnya melihat dari segi Indonesia, fungsi koordinasi pada tingkat kementerian negara dipegang oleh 7 (tujuh) menteri koordinator, yakni Menteri Koordinator bidang Politik dan Keamanan, Menteri Koordinator bidang Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia, Imigrasi dan Pemasarakatan, Menteri Koordinator bidang Perekonomian, Menteri Koordinator bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan, Menteri Koordinator bidang Infrastruktur dan Pembangunan Kewilayahan, Menteri Koordinator bidang Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, dan Menteri Koordinator bidang Pangan. Ketujuh kementerian koordinator tersebut ketika ditarik dalam ketentuan normatif yang diatur dalam Pasal 14 UU No.39/2008 hanya masuk sebagai kementerian yang dibentuk oleh Presiden untuk menjalankan fungsi koordinasi, namun pada implementasinya seakan-akan menjadi lebih tinggi kedudukannya daripada kementerian yang lain.⁴⁶ Padahal konteks menteri koordinator di Indonesia tidak menjadi menteri tertinggi seperti halnya yang dianut di Filipina yang mengakui adanya menteri tertinggi, melainkan hanya sebagai kementerian yang dapat dibentuk maupun dihapus sesuai dengan kehendak Presiden sebagai pemegang kekuasaan eksekutif.

Ketika berkaca dari perbandingan Amerika Serikat dan Filipina desain koordinasi dan sinkronisasi urusan pemerintahan di tingkat kementerian negara di Indonesia dapat dilakukan dengan memaksimalkan peran 1 (satu) jabatan dalam hal pelaksanaan fungsi koordinasi antar kementerian. Pemberian 1 (satu) jabatan dalam menjalankan fungsi koordinasi akan mempermudah proses koordinasi tanpa

⁴⁶ UU No. 39 Tahun 2008.

perbedaan pendapat antar jabatan yang memegang fungsi koordinasi. Kericuhan antar pemegang kewenangan koordinasi kerap terjadi, seperti perbedaan pendapat antara Menteri Koordinator Perekonomian (Menko Perekonomian) dan Menteri Koordinator Kemaritiman dan Investasi (Menko Marves) yang berbeda pendapat mengenai kenaikan pajak hiburan sebesar 40%-75%. Ketika adanya 1 (satu) jabatan yang memegang kewenangan koordinasi, maka perbedaan pandangan kebijakan akan terminimalisir.

Jika mengacu pada praktik di Brasil dan Korea Selatan, efektivitas koordinasi justru dicapai bukan karena banyaknya pejabat yang diberi fungsi koordinasi, melainkan karena kuatnya struktur kelembagaan dan kejelasan pembagian tugas. Di Brasil, *Casa Civil da Presidência da República* menjadi satu-satunya poros utama yang memimpin koordinasi kebijakan lintas kementerian dan bertindak langsung di bawah Presiden. Meskipun terdapat berbagai kementerian teknis, koordinasi tetap efisien karena dilakukan melalui satu kanal utama yang memiliki legitimasi kuat. Begitu pula di Korea Selatan, koordinasi kebijakan dilaksanakan secara terpusat melalui Minister of the Office for Government Policy Coordination (OGPC) yang menangani sektor-sektor pemerintahan secara sistematis, namun tetap berada dalam satu kerangka koordinatif yang terkonsolidasi di bawah Perdana Menteri.

Dalam praktik sistem Presidensial di berbagai negara, pengalaman menunjukkan bahwa jabatan dengan kewenangan koordinatif biasanya tidak diberikan kepada banyak pejabat. Di Filipina, fungsi koordinasi pemerintahan dijalankan secara efektif oleh satu posisi utama, yakni Executive Secretary, yang secara administratif dapat menerima atau menolak program-program kementerian yang tidak strategis atau tidak memerlukan perhatian langsung Presiden. Di Brasil, fungsi serupa dijalankan oleh *Casa Civil*, sebuah badan khusus di bawah Presiden yang menjadi simpul koordinasi lintas kementerian. Bahkan di Amerika Serikat, tidak ada kementerian koordinator, dan fungsi koordinasi dilakukan oleh Executive Office of the President (EOP), serta oleh Wakil Presiden apabila mendapat penugasan langsung dari Presiden. Berbeda dengan negara-negara tersebut, Indonesia memiliki jumlah Menteri Koordinator yang lebih banyak, yang berisiko menimbulkan tumpang tindih kewenangan dan perbedaan pandangan dalam

pengambilan kebijakan. Meskipun keberadaan Menteri Koordinator tetap penting dalam konteks sistem pemerintahan Indonesia yang kompleks, namun jumlahnya perlu dikaji kembali agar tetap proporsional dengan kebutuhan dan tidak menciptakan rantai birokrasi yang justru menghambat efektivitas koordinasi.

PENUTUP

KESIMPULAN

Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa Kementerian Negara merupakan bagian dari struktur pemerintahan, termasuk di dalamnya Kementerian koordinator yang berfungsi mengoordinasikan urusan pemerintahan di tingkat kementerian, lembaga pemerintah non-kementerian, dan instansi lain yang menjalankan fungsi pemerintahan. Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2008 tentang Kementerian Negara, jumlah kementerian semula ditetapkan sebanyak 34. Namun, setelah perubahan melalui Undang-Undang Nomor 61 Tahun 2024, jumlah kementerian disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan pemerintahan yang ditetapkan oleh Presiden. Penambahan jumlah kementerian diikuti pula oleh peningkatan jumlah Kementerian koordinator, yang saat ini mencapai 7 (tujuh) kementerian. Setiap Kementerian koordinator memiliki peran yang serupa, yakni memastikan terciptanya koordinasi yang efektif antar kementerian yang berada dalam lingkup koordinasinya, guna menghindari tumpang tindih kebijakan. Sistem Presidensial Indonesia menekankan pentingnya mekanisme sinkronisasi dan koordinasi di tingkat kementerian negara yang dijalankan oleh Menteri Koordinator. Ke depannya, desain koordinasi dan sinkronisasi pemerintahan sebaiknya diarahkan pada model yang lebih terpusat dan efisien, dengan menghindari penambahan jabatan menteri koordinator yang justru dapat memicu konflik dan tumpang tindih kewenangan. Pengalaman dari negara-negara Presidensial seperti Amerika Serikat, Filipina, Brasil, dan Korea Selatan menunjukkan bahwa fungsi koordinasi dapat dilaksanakan secara efektif melalui satu jabatan atau lembaga utama yang berada langsung di bawah Presiden, seperti Executive Secretary di Filipina atau Casa Civil di Brasil. Dalam sistem pemerintahan Amerika Serikat, bahkan Wakil Presiden dapat diberikan mandat koordinatif secara khusus oleh Presiden. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa efektivitas koordinasi tidak bergantung pada jumlah pejabat

koordinatif, melainkan pada kejelasan mandat, struktur kelembagaan yang ramping, dan otoritas yang kuat.

SARAN

Sejalan dengan kesimpulan penelitian di atas, penulis merekomendasikan agar pemerintah Indonesia mengkaji ulang jumlah kementerian koordinator yang ada saat ini agar tidak terlalu banyak dan mempertimbangkan pembentukan satu posisi sentral atau lembaga koordinatif khusus yang memiliki otoritas administratif langsung di bawah Presiden, sebagaimana diterapkan dalam model *Executive Secretary* atau *Casa Civil*. Adapun peran Wakil Presiden tetap dapat dimaksimalkan dalam fungsi koordinatif, namun harus berbasis pada penugasan langsung dari Presiden, bukan melalui penambahan struktur kewenangan baru. Pendekatan ini akan mendukung sistem pemerintahan yang lebih sederhana, efisien, dan akuntabel tanpa mengurangi efektivitas dalam pelaksanaan kebijakan lintas sektor kementerian.

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Anak dan Kekerasan Seksual: Tinjauan Yuridis terhadap Perlindungan Hukum dalam Sistem Hukum Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the legal perspectives on the urgency of legal protection for child victims of sexual violence. It employs a normative juridical approach with a focus on legislation. The findings underscore the necessity of establishing rehabilitation for child victims of sexual violence as a legal obligation. First, the mental and physical conditions of victims are vulnerable and require rehabilitation. Second, there are significant weaknesses when rehabilitation is incorporated into the concept of restitution. Third, there are no legal provisions mandating rehabilitation for child victims of sexual violence; currently, only perpetrators are required to undergo rehabilitation as part of their punishment. Consequently, there is no clear and definitive regulation regarding the obligation of the state to provide rehabilitation for child victims of sexual violence.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk mengetahui tinjauan penelitian yuridis tentang Urgensi Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Anak Korban kekerasan seksual. ini adalah yuridis normatif dengan pendekatan perundang-undangan. Hasil yang di peroleh urgensi untuk menetapkan rehabilitasi anak korban kekerasan seksual sebagai sebuah kewajiban dalam undang-undang. Pertama, kondisi mental dan fisik korban merupakan kondisi rawan yang perlu direhabilitasi. Kedua, terdapat sejumlah kelemahan ketika rehabilitasi dimasukkan ke dalam konsep restitusi. Ketiga, tidak ada ketentuan yang mewajibkan rehabilitasi terhadap anak korban kekerasan seksual. Saat ini yang wajib untuk menjalani rehabilitasi ialah pelaku kekerasan seksual, yang diberikan sebagai tindakan sehingga harus dilaksanakan. Maka dari itu, belum terdapat pengaturan secara jelas dan pasti terkait pemberian rehabilitasi terhadap anak korban kekerasan seksual sebagai kewajiban negara.

PENDAHULUAN

Indonesia adalah negara hukum yang mengedepankan nilai-nilai hak asasi manusia, termasuk perlindungan terhadap warganya dari ancaman dan kekerasan, khususnya terhadap anak-anak. Dalam hal ini, Pasal 28B Ayat (2) Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 menegaskan bahwa setiap anak berhak mendapatkan perlindungan untuk menjalani kehidupan, berkembang, dan tumbuh secara optimal, serta berhak terbebas dari segala bentuk kekerasan dan diskriminasi.

Faktanya, meskipun Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 sudah menekankan pentingnya perlindungan terhadap hak anak dari kekerasan dan diskriminasi, realitasnya implementasi perlindungan tersebut masih belum sepenuhnya efektif dalam menjaga anak-anak dari ancaman dan kekerasan. Kendala dalam pelaksanaan hukum dan penegakan hak-hak anak membuat perlindungan yang dijanjikan belum sepenuhnya dirasakan oleh anak-anak di Indonesia.¹

Kejahatan kesusilaan atau *moral offences* dan pelecehan seksual atau sexual harassment merupakan dua contoh pelanggaran kesusilaan yang tidak hanya menjadi permasalahan hukum nasional di suatu negara namun juga menjadi permasalahan global yang berdampak pada semua negara.¹ Kejahatan kesusilaan dan pelecehan seksual dilakukan oleh orang-orang dari semua kelas sosial ekonomi, dari yang terendah sampai yang tertinggi, dan tidak terutama dilakukan oleh anggota kelas menengah atau bawah, apalagi individu dengan pendidikan formal rendah atau tanpa pendidikan formal.²

Oleh sebab itu, anak-anak membutuhkan perhatian khusus dan perlindungan hukum yang berbeda dengan orang dewasa, mengingat kondisi fisik dan mental mereka yang belum matang. Dalam berbagai peraturan perundang-undangan, hal ini telah diatur untuk memastikan anak-anak mendapatkan perlindungan yang layak sesuai dengan kebutuhan mereka. Perlindungan ini tidak hanya berfungsi untuk memastikan anak-anak dapat tumbuh dan berkembang secara fisik, mental, dan sosial, tetapi juga untuk menjamin mereka dapat menikmati hak-hak mereka secara

¹ Laurensius Arliman, "Kedudukan Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia Sebagai State Auxiliary Bodies Dalam Sistem Hukum Ketatanegaraan Indonesia", *Jurnal Hukum Justitia et Pax*, Desember 2016, hal. 33.

² Heri Santoso, "Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Anak Korban Tindak Pidana Pelecehan Seksual," *Lex Journal: Kajian Hukum & Keadilan* 3, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25139/lex.v3i2.2186>.

penyakit dan merata, tanpa diskriminasi.³ Agar anak-anak dapat memikul tanggung jawab di masa depan, mereka harus diberikan peluang dan kesempatan seluas-luasnya untuk berkembang secara optimal. Melalui usaha perlindungan dan pemenuhan hak-hak anak, kesejahteraan anak dapat terwujud, menciptakan generasi penerus yang berakhlak mulia dan mampu berkontribusi secara positif bagi masyarakat.

Kekerasan seksual merupakan isu yang masih menghadapi berbagai tantangan, termasuk dalam aspek penegakan hukum dan pemenuhan layanan bagi korban. Belum semua kasus teridentifikasi secara menyeluruh, yang dapat disebabkan oleh berbagai faktor seperti persepsi sosial yang mengaitkan kekerasan seksual dengan stigma, hambatan akses terhadap proses hukum, serta pendekatan penyelesaian yang belum sepenuhnya berorientasi pada pemulihan korban. Penanganan laporan masih beragam, tergantung pada individu penegak hukum. Pelatihan yang mumpuni bagi aparat penegak hukum belum merata diberikan, sehingga substansi hukum belum menjangkau seluruh jenis kekerasan seksual. Sistem hukum saat ini, juga tidak memberikan akses perempuan korban pada keadilan. Kekerasan seksual terhadap anak merupakan salah satu bentuk penyalahgunaan di mana orang dewasa atau remaja yang lebih tua memanfaatkan anak-anak untuk kepuasan seksual mereka.

Praktik kekerasan ini bisa mencakup berbagai tindakan, mulai dari memaksa atau meminta anak untuk melakukan aktivitas seksual (terlepas dari apakah tindakan itu berhasil atau tidak), memperlihatkan alat kelamin secara tidak senonoh kepada anak, memperlihatkan pornografi kepada mereka, melakukan hubungan seksual, melakukan kontak fisik dengan alat kelamin anak (dalam konteks yang bukan medis), hingga melibatkan anak dalam produksi pornografi. Bahkan melihat alat kelamin anak tanpa kontak fisik tetap termasuk bentuk pelecehan, kecuali dalam konteks non-seksual seperti pemeriksaan medis.⁴

Dalam beberapa tahun terakhir, perhatian terhadap isu kekerasan seksual terhadap anak semakin meningkat. Perkembangan teknologi informasi dan arus

³ M.Dikdik dan Elisastris Gultom, *Urgensi Perlindungan Korban Kejahatan*, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2006, hal 122

⁴ Sulistyowati Irianto, *Perempuan dan Anak dalam Hukum dan Persidangan*, Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor, 2020, hal 25

globalisasi turut memengaruhi cara kejahatan seksual dilakukan, sehingga menimbulkan tantangan tersendiri dalam upaya pencegahan dan penanganannya. Faktor-faktor seperti kebutuhan akan peningkatan pengawasan orang dewasa, pentingnya pendidikan mengenai perlindungan diri bagi anak, serta perlunya lingkungan yang aman dan mendukung, menjadi bagian dari diskusi dalam upaya melindungi anak dari risiko kekerasan seksual. Menanggapi kondisi yang memprihatinkan ini, pemerintah telah menetapkan undang-undang yang secara khusus mengatur tentang kekerasan seksual terhadap anak, dengan tujuan memberikan perlindungan yang lebih kuat bagi hak-hak anak serta menindak tegas para pelaku kejahatan seksual terhadap anak. Misalnya Undang-Undang Nomor 35 Tahun 2014 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak, kemudian Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual.

Perlindungan menyangkut terhadap anak, merupakan hak mutlak dari anak tersebut, karena itu adalah bagian dari suatu hak kehidupan yang ada, yaitu bagian dari manusia dan hak asasinya, dimana siapapun berhak untuk memberikan perlindungan kepada setiap anak, oleh karena itu, jika terjadi pelanggaran ataupun kejahatan terhadap anak, sudah sewajarnya pelaku diberikan sanksi yang tegas agar tidak mengulangi kesalahannya, sehingga hukumpun mempunyai kewibawaan di masyarakat.⁵

Kekerasan seksual yang dialami anak-anak dapat menyebabkan trauma yang berkepanjangan dan meninggalkan dampak negatif jangka panjang bagi korban. Lebih memprihatinkan lagi, korban kekerasan seksual kerap menjadi sasaran stigma negatif dari masyarakat, yang sering kali malah menghakimi mereka daripada pelaku. Masyarakat cenderung belum memahami perspektif korban dan cenderung menyalahkan mereka atas kejadian yang menimpa mereka, padahal seharusnya empati dan dukungan perlu diberikan untuk membantu mereka pulih dari trauma yang dialami. Maka, berdasarkan latar belakang yang telah di uraikan, maka dalam tulisan ini akan dibahas dua permasalahan yaitu bagaimana bentuk

⁵ Ika Dewi Sartika Saimima, Fransiska Novita Eleanora, Widya Romasindah, Pertanggungjawaban Pidana Korporasi Penyedia Konten Pornografi Anak (Studi Kasus Official Loly Candy's Group), Jurnal Perspektif Hukum, Vol. 1 No. 1, Mei 2019, doi.org/10.30649/ph.v19i1.97 hal. 3-4.

perlindungan hukum yang dapat diberikan terhadap hak-hak anak yang menjadi korban kekerasan seksual. Serta langkah-langkah hukum apa saja yang dapat diambil oleh anak korban kekerasan seksual untuk mendapatkan perlindungan hukum dari negara.

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan dengan metode yuridis normatif, di mana fokus utama penelitian adalah pada kajian terhadap bahan pustaka sebagai sumber data utama. Dalam hal ini, penelitian tidak melibatkan proses pengamatan langsung atau wawancara dengan responden. Pendekatan yang dipilih dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan perundang-undangan (*statute approach*), yaitu dengan menelaah berbagai peraturan perundang-undangan dan regulasi yang berkaitan erat dengan isu hukum yang sedang diteliti.⁶

PEMBAHASAN

A. Bentuk Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Hak Anak Korban Kekerasan Seksual

Perlindungan hukum mengacu pada terpeliharanya hak asasi manusia dan martabat subjek hukum. Sistem peraturan yang dapat melindungi subjek hukum dari perbuatan yang melanggar hukum disebut dengan perlindungan hukum. Setiap individu, termasuk anak korban, berhak atas pengakuan, jaminan, perlindungan, kepastian hukum yang adil, dan perlakuan yang sama di hadapan hukum, sesuai dengan UUD Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945.

Menurut Satjipto Raharjo, Teori hukum kodrat atau aliran hukum kodrat menjadi titik tolak berkembangnya pengertian perlindungan hukum. Menurut aliran yang didirikan oleh Plato, muridnya Aristoteles, dan Zeno (pendiri aliran Stoa), moralitas dan hukum saling terkait erat dan bahwa hukum berasal dari Tuhan yang abadi dan universal. Para penganut aliran ini meyakini bahwa moralitas dan hukum

⁶ Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum (Edisi Revisi)*, 13th ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017). h.133

merupakan cerminan lahiriah dan batin dari norma-norma kehidupan manusia, yang dimungkinkan oleh moralitas dan hukum.⁷

Dalam konteks tanggung jawab pemerintah, sudah seharusnya menjadi prioritas untuk memastikan kesejahteraan dan keamanan setiap warga negara, terutama dalam menjamin masa depan generasi muda. Salah satu tanggung jawab besar pemerintah adalah melindungi anak-anak dari berbagai bentuk ancaman, termasuk pelecehan seksual yang dilakukan oleh individu dengan orientasi seksual homoseksual. Perlakuan kasar seperti ini dapat berdampak buruk pada anak-anak, menyebabkan luka fisik seperti cedera tubuh, kerusakan organ reproduksi, hingga trauma psikologis yang bisa mempengaruhi pola pikir dan perkembangan mental mereka, bahkan mengganggu masa depan mereka.

Salah satu jenis perlindungan hukum yang harus diberikan kepada anak korban adalah perlindungan dan jaminan hukum. Perlindungan hukum adalah ketika kegiatan tertentu diatur untuk memberikan lingkungan yang aman atau ketika sesuatu diatur oleh undang-undang untuk menjamin ditegakkannya hak-hak. Setiap kegiatan yang berdasarkan ketentuan hukum akan mempunyai perlindungan hukum. Pelaku dapat dianggap bertanggung jawab secara hukum dan dikenakan hukuman sesuai dengan undang-undang dan peraturan terkait jika suatu tindakan kriminal merugikan anak-anak yang mengalami pelecehan seksual. Untuk memenuhi haknya untuk hidup, tumbuh, berkembang, dan berpartisipasi semaksimal mungkin sesuai dengan martabat kemanusiaan, anak korban kekerasan seksual berhak mendapatkan perlindungan khusus. Mereka juga harus dilindungi dari kekerasan dan diskriminasi, memastikan bahwa anak-anak Indonesia tumbuh menjadi anak-anak yang bermoral, mampu, dan sukses.

Guna memastikan bahwa anak-anak yang menjadi korban pelecehan seksual mendapat perlindungan maksimal, negara telah mengatur hak-hak anak dalam berbagai undang-undang. Secara khusus, Pasal 69A Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 35 Tahun 2014, yang merupakan revisi dari Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak, menegaskan langkah-langkah penting dalam memberikan perlindungan khusus bagi anak yang menjadi korban kejahatan seksual. Peraturan ini mencakup beberapa upaya, yaitu:

⁷ Satjipto Rahardjo, *Ilmu Hukum* (Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 2000). h. 53.

1. Pemberian pendidikan mengenai kesehatan reproduksi, nilai-nilai agama, serta norma kesusilaan untuk mencegah terjadinya hal serupa di masa depan.
2. Proses rehabilitasi sosial untuk membantu korban kembali ke kehidupan normal.
3. Pendampingan psikososial selama proses penyembuhan dan pemulihan korban.
4. Pemberian perlindungan serta pendampingan hukum selama setiap tahap pemeriksaan, mulai dari proses penyelidikan, penuntutan, hingga persidangan di pengadilan.⁸

Perlindungan hukum terhadap hak anak sebagai korban kekerasan seksual di Indonesia melibatkan berbagai aspek dan pendekatan. Berikut adalah beberapa bentuk perlindungan hukum yang dapat diterapkan:

1. Undang-Undang Perlindungan Anak: UU No. 35 Tahun 2014 tentang Perlindungan Anak memberikan landasan hukum untuk melindungi anak dari segala bentuk kekerasan, termasuk kekerasan seksual. Dalam undang-undang ini, terdapat ketentuan tentang hak anak untuk mendapatkan perlindungan, rehabilitasi, dan pemulihan.
2. Layanan Dukungan Psikososial : Anak korban kekerasan seksual berhak mendapatkan layanan psikologis dan sosial untuk membantu mereka pulih dari trauma. Ini dapat berupa konseling, terapi, dan dukungan sosial.
3. Pendidikan dan Kesadaran Hukum : Masyarakat dan anak-anak perlu mendapatkan pendidikan mengenai hak-hak mereka dan cara melaporkan kasus kekerasan seksual. Program pendidikan ini penting untuk meningkatkan kesadaran dan pencegahan.
4. Proses Hukum yang Ramah Anak : Penegakan hukum terhadap pelaku kekerasan seksual harus dilakukan melalui proses yang memperhatikan kepentingan terbaik anak, termasuk penggunaan sistem peradilan yang ramah anak.

⁸ Atikah Rahmi, 2018, "Urgensi Perlindungan Bagi Korban Kekerasan Seksual Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Terpadu Berkeadilan Gender". Medan: Jurnal Mercatoria Vol 11 No 1 (2018).

5. Pengaturan tentang Kerahasiaan dan Privasi : Perlindungan identitas anak korban dalam proses hukum sangat penting. Undang-undang mengatur kerahasiaan identitas anak untuk mencegah stigma sosial.
6. Keterlibatan Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) : LSM berperan dalam memberikan advokasi dan dukungan hukum bagi anak korban kekerasan seksual. Mereka juga dapat membantu dalam pemulihan psikologis dan sosial anak.
7. Kebijakan Preventif : Pemerintah perlu mengimplementasikan kebijakan yang mencegah kekerasan seksual terhadap anak, termasuk pelatihan bagi tenaga pendidik dan masyarakat tentang pencegahan kekerasan.
8. Penyuluhan dan Sosialisasi : Melakukan kampanye penyuluhan kepada masyarakat mengenai dampak kekerasan seksual dan pentingnya melindungi anak.

Perlindungan hukum bagi anak-anak yang menjadi korban kekerasan seksual merupakan suatu hal yang sangat mendesak dan penting. Selain pemerintah yang memiliki tanggung jawab penuh dalam melindungi anak-anak dari tindak kekerasan seksual, masyarakat pun memiliki peran yang tidak kalah pentingnya dalam memberikan dukungan dan perlindungan kepada anak-anak yang pernah menjadi korban, agar mereka bisa tumbuh dan berkembang dengan baik tanpa terus terbebani oleh pengalaman buruk yang pernah mereka alami.

Kejahatan seksual yang dilakukan terhadap anak dapat menimbulkan dampak serius pada anak, seperti rasa ketakutan yang mendalam dan trauma berat. Trauma ini memiliki potensi menghambat pertumbuhan dan perkembangan anak, sehingga mereka tidak mampu berkembang secara normal sebagaimana mestinya. Lebih parah lagi, pengalaman traumatis ini dapat meninggalkan jejak yang mendalam dalam memori anak dan berpotensi menyebabkan siklus kejahatan serupa di masa depan, di mana anak yang pernah menjadi korban mungkin saja terjebak dalam dorongan untuk melakukan tindakan yang sama.⁹

⁹ Dina Al-Karim, Kristina Sulatri, Wiwin Ariesta., Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Anak Korban Kejahatan Seksual Oleh Homoseksual Dalam Perspektif Perlindungan Anaka, Jurnal Ilmiah HukuM, Vol. 5 No. 3 (2023)

B. Upaya Hukum Yang Dapat Dilakukan Oleh Anak Korban Kekerasan Seksual Agar Memperoleh Perlindungan Hukum Negara

Kejahatan seperti perkosaan atau pencabulan seringkali dikategorikan sebagai tindak pidana dengan kekerasan, karena biasanya perbuatan ini melibatkan penggunaan atau ancaman kekerasan terhadap korban. Faktor-faktor penyebab terjadinya kejahatan ini antara lain:

1. Keinginan memperoleh harta atau benda secara instan tanpa usaha yang benar.
2. Ketiadaan saluran untuk mengekspresikan hasrat atau emosi, yang bisa memicu tekanan psikologis.
3. Adanya dorongan atau keberanian untuk mengambil risiko tanpa memikirkan konsekuensi.
4. Rendahnya rasa bersalah dan pengaruh buruk dari teladan di sekitar lingkungan.¹⁰

Untuk memberikan perlindungan terhadap korban kejahatan, diperlukan pembentukan lembaga khusus yang menangani masalah ini secara menyeluruh. Akan tetapi, sebelum itu, penting untuk memberikan informasi kepada korban dan keluarganya tentang hak-hak yang mereka miliki jika mereka mengalami penderitaan atau kerugian akibat tindak kejahatan. Hak-hak ini perlu dijelaskan secara rinci, termasuk apa saja yang bisa mereka harapkan dari lembaga tersebut.

Langkah-langkah yang dapat dilakukan untuk memberikan perlindungan hukum bagi anak korban pemerkosaan meliputi beberapa aspek, seperti:

1. Pemberian rehabilitasi, baik di dalam lembaga maupun di luar lembaga, untuk membantu korban pulih secara fisik dan mental.
2. Upaya menjaga kerahasiaan identitas korban melalui media massa, guna mencegah stigma dan labelisasi negatif yang dapat merugikan korban lebih lanjut.
3. Memberikan jaminan keamanan, baik dalam aspek fisik, mental, maupun sosial, kepada saksi korban serta saksi ahli yang memberikan keterangan.

¹⁰ Kresna Agung Yudhianto, *Hukum Perlindungan Anak dan KDRT*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Baru Press, 2022, hlm 23

4. Menyediakan akses kepada informasi terkait perkembangan proses hukum atau perkara yang sedang berjalan.¹¹

Setiap anak yang menjadi korban perkosaan memiliki hak atas perlindungan hukum yang menjamin keselamatan dan kesejahteraan mereka. Pemerintah wajib memberikan rehabilitasi yang meliputi aspek fisik, mental, spiritual, dan sosial. Selain itu, nama baik dan privasi korban harus dijaga dengan ketat, termasuk menjaga keamanan mereka sebagai saksi korban. Anak yang menjadi korban juga berhak mendapatkan informasi terkait perkembangan kasusnya, dan diberi tahu jika pelaku dibebaskan dari penjara, atau bahkan jika pelaku tidak dihukum karena kurangnya bukti. Dalam situasi di mana pelaku tidak dipenjara, akses kepada perlindungan harus disediakan agar korban tidak menjadi target balas dendam.

Kerja sama antara lembaga yang melindungi korban dan pihak kepolisian menjadi krusial untuk memastikan bahwa setiap kali terjadi kekerasan terhadap perempuan, laporan tersebut dapat segera ditindaklanjuti. Lembaga yang bertugas ini perlu didukung oleh berbagai ahli, termasuk pekerja sosial, psikolog, ahli hukum, dan tenaga medis, untuk memberikan pelayanan yang komprehensif kepada korban. Jika di wilayah tertentu sulit untuk menemukan profesional dengan kualifikasi tersebut, perlu ada upaya untuk mencari individu dengan keterampilan yang mendekati standar yang diinginkan agar misi lembaga ini tetap bisa berjalan dengan efektif.

Pendanaan dan keberlanjutan lembaga perlindungan ini harus menjadi tanggung jawab pemerintah, baik di tingkat pusat maupun daerah. Namun, dukungan dari masyarakat, baik secara individu maupun kelompok, juga diharapkan untuk memastikan perlindungan terhadap korban kejahatan dapat berjalan optimal dan efektif, serta memberikan dampak yang nyata bagi korban dan keluarga mereka.¹²

Anak korban kekerasan seksual di Indonesia memiliki beberapa upaya hukum yang dapat dilakukan untuk memperoleh perlindungan hukum. Berikut adalah langkah-langkah yang bisa diambil:

¹¹ Fathonah, Rini, Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak Mewujudkan Kepastian Hukum Terbaik Bagi Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum, (Bandar Lampung: Pusaka Medi, 2021), hlm 13

¹² Aryani, N. M. (2016). Upaya Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Anak Korban Kekerasan Seksual. Kertha Patrika, hlm 22

1. Melaporkan Kasus ke Penegak Hukum: Anak atau wali yang sah dapat melaporkan kejadian kekerasan seksual ke polisi. Dalam hal ini, penting untuk segera melaporkan untuk mengumpulkan bukti yang relevan.
2. Mengakses Layanan Perlindungan Anak: Memanfaatkan layanan yang disediakan oleh Dinas Sosial atau lembaga pemerintah lainnya yang fokus pada perlindungan anak. Mereka dapat memberikan dukungan psikologis dan hukum.
3. Mendapatkan Pendampingan Hukum: Meminta bantuan dari pengacara atau Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) yang khusus menangani kasus kekerasan terhadap anak. Pendampingan hukum ini penting agar anak memahami proses hukum dan hak-haknya.
4. Menggunakan Layanan Konseling: Mengakses layanan konseling untuk membantu pemulihan psikologis. Ini penting agar anak dapat mengatasi trauma yang dialami.
5. Melibatkan Orang Tua atau Wali: Anak sebaiknya melibatkan orang tua atau wali dalam proses hukum. Dukungan keluarga sangat penting dalam menghadapi situasi ini.
6. Mengajukan Permohonan Perlindungan Sementara: Jika diperlukan, anak dapat mengajukan permohonan perlindungan sementara ke pengadilan untuk menjamin keselamatan mereka selama proses hukum berlangsung.
7. Menggunakan Media untuk Advokasi: Dalam beberapa kasus, menggunakan media untuk menarik perhatian publik dan advokasi dapat membantu dalam mendesak penegakan hukum dan perlindungan.
8. Mengikuti Program Rehabilitasi: Setelah kasus dilaporkan, penting bagi anak untuk mengikuti program rehabilitasi yang disediakan oleh pemerintah atau lembaga terkait agar dapat pulih secara fisik dan mental.

PENUTUP

KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan hasil yang telah diperoleh dari penelitian ini dapat disimpulkan pengaturan rehabilitasi dalam hukum positif Indonesia terdapat pada beberapa peraturan perundang-undangan. Kondisi mental dan fisik korban merupakan

kondisi rawan yang perlu direhabilitasi Kesimpulan dari pembahasan pertama ialah bentuk perlindungan hukum terhadap hak anak korban kekerasan seksual di Indonesia mencakup beberapa poin penting. Landasan hukum yang kuat, proses hukum ramah anak, layanan dukungan psikososial kerahasiaan dan privasi dan memperkuat perlindungan identitas anak, pendidikan dan kesadaran masyarakat sangat penting dalam menciptakan lingkungan yang aman dan mendukung bagi anak-anak. Secara keseluruhan, perlindungan hukum terhadap hak anak korban kekerasan seksual harus bersifat komprehensif, melibatkan berbagai elemen masyarakat, dan berorientasi pada pemulihan dan keadilan bagi anak. Kemudian, menarik kesimpulan mengenai upaya hukum yang dapat dilakukan oleh anak korban kekerasan seksual untuk memperoleh perlindungan hukum dari negara mencakup beberapa poin penting dengan melakukan: Pelaporan segera, akses layanan perlindungan, memanfaatkan layanan yang disediakan oleh lembaga pemerintah, pendampingan hukum, dukungan keluarga, permohonan perlindungan, dan rehabilitasi psikologi. Dengan melakukan upaya-upaya tersebut, anak korban kekerasan seksual dapat memperoleh perlindungan hukum yang diperlukan dan mendapatkan keadilan.

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Determination of Indonesian Islands Sea Lane as a Tools of Providing Legal Certainty for Foreign Flag Vessels Through Indonesian Waters

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Abstract

This research discusses the current determination of Archipelagic Sea Lanes determined by the Indonesian government which is able to provide legal certainty for foreign-flagged ships crossing Indonesian waters. The problem that arises with the determination is whether they do not create vulnerabilities that have the potential to harm the national interests of the Indonesian people. This research is normative legal research with a conceptual and statutory approach. The research results show that the Indonesian government has established archipelagic sea lanes so that it can provide legal certainty for foreign ships crossing Indonesian waters. This determination is a mandate from the ratification of the 1982 international maritime law convention. However, this determination still creates vulnerabilities that have the potential to harm the national interests of the Indonesian people. The cause of this vulnerability is because the norms contained in the regulations regarding archipelagic sea lanes does not contain sanctions norms so that legal violations often occur in the archipelagic sea lanes area. The need for more significant sanctions is due to the fact that archipelagic sea lanes have specificities compared to other maritime zones.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini membahas tentang penetapan Alur Laut Kepulauan yang ditetapkan oleh pemerintah Indonesia saat ini yang mampu memberikan kepastian hukum bagi kapal berbendera asing yang melintasi perairan Indonesia. Permasalahan yang timbul dengan penetapan tersebut adalah apakah tidak menimbulkan kerentanan yang berpotensi merugikan kepentingan nasional bangsa Indonesia. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian hukum normatif dengan pendekatan konseptual dan perundang-undangan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pemerintah Indonesia telah menetapkan alur laut kepulauan sehingga dapat memberikan kepastian hukum bagi kapal asing yang melintasi perairan Indonesia. Penetapan ini merupakan amanat dari ratifikasi konvensi hukum laut internasional tahun 1982. Namun, penetapan ini masih menimbulkan kerentanan yang berpotensi merugikan kepentingan nasional bangsa Indonesia. Penyebab terjadinya kerentanan ini adalah karena norma yang terdapat dalam pengaturan mengenai alur laut kepulauan belum memuat norma sanksi sehingga sering terjadi pelanggaran hukum di wilayah alur laut kepulauan. Perlunya sanksi yang lebih tegas dikarenakan alur laut kepulauan memiliki kekhususan dibandingkan dengan wilayah maritim lainnya.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an archipelagic country in the form of a maritime archipelago.¹ When reviewed from a political, legal, economic, socio-cultural and defense and security perspective, the Indonesian maritime region has strategic value so that conditions are needed that are safe, peaceful, controlled, and sustainable. Conditions like this are beneficial for the international community of sea users and the Indonesian nation itself.² Indonesia, as a large maritime country, uses the sea as a means of supporting the national economy, so an active role in the international community is absolutely necessary. A country that declares itself as a maritime country means that country has a big responsibility to the international community to provide rights to cross archipelagic sea lanes in archipelagic waters and territorial seas.³

In order to implement this participation, the Indonesian Government ratified the 1982 convention on International Sea Law, better known as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 (UNCLOS 1982). This ratification was carried out by ratifying Law Number 17 of 1985 concerning Ratification of the UNCLOS 1982.⁴ This convention is a new chapter in the development of maritime regulation as a compromise step between large maritime countries and developing and underdeveloped coastal countries. This convention became an international agreement after being ratified by various countries and is the legal umbrella for marine management throughout the world.

UNCLOS 1982 was the result of various UN conferences discussing the law of the sea, which took place from 1973-1982.⁵ This convention contains provisions that coastal states do not have sovereignty and absolute sovereign rights in maritime

¹ Juan Matheus, Natashya, Ariawan Gunadi, Steven Nigel Bunalven, Ratifikasi Konvensi Sua 1988: Optimalisasi Pengaturan Hukum dalam Memberantas Perompakan Bersenjata di Wilayah Perairan Indonesia, *Jurnal Rechtvinding*, Vol. 12 No. 3, 2023, p. 526.

² Budi Pramono, *Penegakan Hukum di Perairan Indonesia*, Surabaya, Scopindo, 2021, p. 3.

³ Victor Presscott & Clive Schofield, *The Maritime Political Boundaries of The World*, Boston, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2005, p. 45.

⁴ Melly Aida, Penanggulangan Penangkapan Ikan Secara Tidak Sah (Illegal Fishing) Oleh Kapal Ikan Asing di Zona Ekonomi Eksklusif Indonesia, *Jurnal Fiat Justitia*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2012, p. 2.

⁵ Patrisius Bagus Alvito Baylon (et all), Kajian Validitas Klaim China Atas Wilayah Laut Cina Selatan Indonesia, *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2021, p. 692.

areas. Coastal countries must pay attention to the interests of international shipping by providing peaceful passage, archipelagic passage, transit and communication access to the international community of sea users. The coastal state must provide access to foreign ships that will pass through its territory according to the regulations in the country's national law.⁶

In providing seaborne access, coastal countries are given the authority to regulate certain sea lanes commonly used by international shipping.⁷ The conception of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes is outlined in Government Regulation Number 37 of 2002 concerning the Rights and Obligations of Foreign Ships and Aircraft in Exercising Archipelagic Sea Lane Passage Rights Through Determined Archipelagic Sea Lanes. The problem that arises is whether the determination made by the Indonesian government is in accordance with international regulations and does not create vulnerabilities that have the potential to harm the interests of the Indonesian nation. This question arises because of the view of several coastal countries that this international convention benefits large maritime countries more than coastal countries that are still underdeveloped and developing. Determination of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes as mandated by the convention needs to be carried out using the principles of caution and accuracy. If the Archipelagic Sea Route is not managed properly, it has the potential to create vulnerabilities for coastal countries.

Some examples of crime cases that occurred around the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane area include the presence of the United States, China, Russia and Australia's sea forces in Indonesian waters passing through the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane. The entry of foreign powers is carried out legally or illegally under the pretext of social missions such as Search and Rescue, intelligence interests and military cooperation.⁸ Apart from this, the large number of foreign ships passing through the Archipelagic Sea Channel directly or indirectly can cause

⁶ Monica Carolina Ingke Tampi, Pengaturan Hukum Hak Lintas Damai Menurut Konvensi Hukum Laut 1982 dan Implementasinya Di Indonesia, *Lex et Societatis*, Vol. V, No. 5, Juli 2017, p. 55.

⁷ Budi Pramono, *Penegakan Hukum di Perairan Indonesia*, Surabaya, Scopindo, 2021, p. 63.

⁸ Poltak Partogi Nainggolan, Indonesia dan Ancaman Keamanan di Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia (Security Threats to Indonesia's Sea Lanes), *Kajian*, Vol. 20 No. 3, 2015, p. 195.

various vulnerabilities that have the potential to cause disruption and loss of the country's economic resources. Violations that often occur in the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes include international terrorism, territorial violations, piracy and piracy, illegal immigrants, human trafficking, weapons smuggling, narcotics, marine pollution, fish theft, mining, and so on.

By referring to the background of the problems that have been explained, the problem in this paper is determining whether the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes can provide legal certainty for foreign-flagged ships crossing Indonesian waters and not create vulnerabilities for the integrity of the Indonesian nation and state.

RESEARCH METHODS

The type of research used in this writing is normative legal research. Normative legal research is a type of research used in the development of legal science. The approach used in this research is a statutory and conceptual approach. These two approaches are used together, this is because normative legal research can use two or more approaches.⁹ The legislative approach is carried out by examining laws and regulations related to the legal issue being studied. The statutory approach opens up opportunities for researchers to study the consistency and suitability of one law to another. The conceptual approach is carried out by referring to the views and doctrines that have developed in legal science. Concepts in legal science can be used as a starting point or approach for legal analysis. Legal concepts will emerge based on or sourced from legal facts.¹⁰

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Concept of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes

The meaning of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes has been defined in Article 1 point 8 of Law Number 6 of 1996 concerning Indonesian Waters, which states as follows: "Archipelagic sea lanes are traversed by foreign ships or aircraft

⁹ Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta, Prenada, 2008, p. 93.

¹⁰ Mukti Fajar ND dan Yulianto Achmad, *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum Normatif & Empiris*, Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, 2010, p. 186.

over these sea lanes, to carry out navigation and flights in a normal manner solely for continuous, direct and as fast as possible and unimpeded transit through or over archipelagic waters. and adjacent territorial seas between one part of the high seas or the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone and another part of the high seas or the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone.”

The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes were established as a consequence of the ratification of the UNCLOS 1982, with Indonesia's obligations as an archipelagic country, which are regulated by Articles 47-53 of the Law of the Sea Convention. Article 47 of the UNCLOS 1982 states that island countries can draw straight archipelagic baselines. In order to follow up on these international norms, the Indonesian nation subsequently issued the Indonesian Waters Law, which was further elaborated in Government Regulation Number 37 of 2002 concerning the Rights and Obligations of Foreign Ships and Aircraft in Exercising Rights of Archipelagic Sea Lane Passage Through Established Sea Lanes.¹¹ Referring to this determination, Indonesia can be categorized as a country that has implemented and guaranteed the implementation of archipelagic passage rights for foreign ships. In reality, the determination of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes brings vulnerability to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, this is because the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes passage is a passage that contains certain freedoms.

There are two options for regulating maritime law, namely based on the principle of nationality of the ship or based on the law of the ship's flag without considering the location of the ship and regulations based on the existing authority of a country's national law in certain parts without taking into account the nationality of the ship.¹² In maritime regulation, the UNCLOS 1982 recognizes three types of passage rights for foreign ships, namely the right of innocent passage, the right of transit passage and the right of archipelagic sea lane passage. The right of innocent passage can be exercised through territorial seas, straits used by international shipping and archipelagic waters. The right of transit passage can only

¹¹ Nuryanto, *Memahami Laut Indonesia*, Jakarta, Mitra Wacana, 2014, p. 10.

¹² Bernard H. Oxman, Environment Protection in Archipelagic Waters and International Strait- The Role of the International Maritime Organization, *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1995, p. 467.

be exercised through straits used for international shipping, while the right of transit passage can only be enjoyed through archipelagic waters, especially through archipelagic sea lanes.¹³

The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route is a transaction of recognition by the international community for the concept of the Archipelago Insight and the Djuanda Declaration. If the Indonesian nation does not grant the right of peaceful passage in the Archipelagic Sea Lanes, it will be difficult to obtain international recognition of full sovereignty in its territorial waters as conceptualized in the Indonesian Insight and the Djuanda Declaration.¹⁴ The benefits that the Indonesian people get from the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route include: (a) Indonesia is a vital part as a connector for the Eurasian Blue Belt; (b) Indonesia can play a role in the Global Logistic Support System, especially in relation to Sea Lanes of Communication and Consolidated Ocean Web of Communication; (c) The seas and sea lanes of the Indonesian archipelago are vital means of connecting Highly Accessed Sea Areas because the three seas (Indian, South and South Pacific) meet; and (d) Relating to world shipping that crosses the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane with dry cargo and liquid cargo Declaration.¹⁵

The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route is related to Indonesia's existence as an archipelagic country. With the existence of archipelagic sea lanes, in one aspect its sovereignty is recognized by international law, while in other aspects it also recognizes and respects the international right to peaceful passage for foreign ships. This conception went through a difficult, long and continuous struggle and was finally accepted by the international community as part of the principles of international law regarding maritime affairs. The three sea lanes contained in the Government Regulation concerning Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes are as follows:

- 1) The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route I is used for shipping from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean or vice versa from the

¹³ Etty R. Agoes, Upaya Diplomasi Indonesia Dalam Menentukan Alur Laut Kepulauan, *Indonesia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2009, p. 356.

¹⁴ Richard M. Waas, Penegakan Hukum Di Kawasan Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia Menurut Konsepsi Hukum Internasional dan Hukum Nasional Indonesia, *Jurnal Sasi*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2016, p. 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Indian Ocean to the South China Sea by crossing the waters of Natuna Sea, Karimata Strait, Java Sea and Sunda Strait. Apart from that, it is also used as a means of shipping from the Singapore Strait through the Natuna Sea, Karimata Strait, Java Sea and Sunda Strait to the Indian Ocean and vice versa.

- 2) The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route II is used as a means of shipping from the Sulawesi Sea to the Indian Ocean or vice versa from the Indian Ocean to the Sulawesi Sea by crossing the Sulawesi Sea, Makasar Strait, Flores Sea and Lombok Strait.
- 3) The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route III A is used as a means of carrying out shipping from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean and vice versa from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean by crossing the waters of the Maluku, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Ombai Strait and Savu Sea.
- 4) The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route III B is used as a means of carrying out shipping from the Pacific Ocean to the Timor Sea by crossing the Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Leti Strait to the Timor Sea, and vice versa.
- 5) The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane III-C is used as a means of carrying out shipping from the Pacific Ocean to the Arafura Sea or vice versa from the Arafura Sea to the Pacific Ocean by crossing the Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea and Arafura Sea.
- 6) The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route III-D is used as a means of shipping from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean or vice versa from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean by crossing the Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Ombai Strait and Savu Sea.
- 7) Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane III-E which is one with Archipelagic Sea Lane IIIA at point IIIA-2, which is used for shipping from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean by crossing the Sulawesi Sea, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Ombai Strait and Savu Sea or vice versa, or passing through the Maluku Sea, Seram

Sea, Banda Sea, Leti Strait and East Sea or vice versa, or Seram Sea and Banda Sea to the Arafura Sea or vice versa.

With the establishment of three archipelagic sea lanes with their branches as shown above, this does not mean that the three archipelagic sea lanes with their branches can only be used for the implementation of the right of archipelagic sea lanes passage by foreign ships wishing to sail from one part of the sea, free or exclusive economic zone across Indonesian waters to other parts of the free sea or exclusive economic zone. Foreign ships wishing to sail from one part of the free sea or exclusive economic zone to one of the ports in Indonesia or to another part of the free sea or exclusive economic zone can carry out their voyage based on the Right of Peaceful Passage in Indonesian Waters, both in archipelagic sea lanes and outside archipelagic sea lanes. Conditions like this allow the emergence of vulnerabilities for the Indonesian people so that a patrol concept is needed to prevent violations of Indonesian law and territory.

B. Establishment of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes as a means of providing legal certainty for foreign-flagged vessels passing through Indonesian waters

Modern thought relating to the monumental aims of law is the thought of Gustav Radbruch, who explains that the aims of law are in the form of 3 (three) basic values including justice (philosophical aspect), legal certainty (juridical aspect) and benefit to society (sociological aspect). Radbruch's thought is a combination of classical philosophical, normative and empirical views into one approach with each approach used as a main element and the basis for Radbruch's legal approach.¹⁶ Gustav Radbruch's thinking departs from the view that there is a close relationship between society and order, the relationship between the two is like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated. Every community in a region

¹⁶ M. Muslih, Negara Hukum Indonesia Dalam Perspektif Teori Hukum Gustav Radbruch (Tiga Nilai Dasar Hukum), Jurnal Legalitas, Vol. IV, No. 1, 2013, p. 143-144.

certainly needs order and in order to realize order there are several norms that must be guided by, such as morality, customs and laws.¹⁷

The difference between the three legal norms (justice, certainty and expediency) found in society can be explained by the fact that habits are more oriented towards actions that are commonly carried out by society on a daily basis. Custom is not identical with law and morality but rather describe the opposite of morality. Habits must be based on human behavior, while morality adheres to ideal behavior that must be realized in society. The parameters used for behavior that can be accepted or rejected by society in the idealism of humans themselves, namely perfect humans. Legal norms are more oriented to the ideal world (morality) and reality or reality (customs) so that ideal law must accommodate philosophical values and if it wants to meet the demands of reality it must prioritize sociological elements.¹⁸

The reality in society between the three basic values has the potential to cause tension. Justice is in conflict with expediency and on other occasions justice is in conflict with legal certainty, and it is also possible that there is tension between expediency and justice. In order to resolve the tension, Gustav Radbruch provides a solution through the teaching of standard priorities, namely by providing a benchmark in deciding a case, the main priority is justice, the second is expediency and the last is legal certainty. This priority conception is wiser when compared with ethical legal teachings which focus on justice, the utilitarian school which focuses on utility and the dogmatic (positivism/legalistic) school of law which focuses on legal certainty.

The increasingly complex development of society's interests in daily life means that standard priority teachings no longer meet the ideals expected by society. In order to improve the conception of standard reality, the teaching of casuistry priorities developed. This conception allows the prioritization of the three

¹⁷ Satjipto Rahardjo, *Ilmu Hukum*, Alumni, Bandung, 1996, p.13 –17.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 14-16.

basic values above alternately according to the context of the problem being faced so that each basic value can take turns becoming the dominant element in a case. In contemporary legal practice, this casuistry priority teaching is considered the most relevant teaching to answer legal problems that develop in society.¹⁹

If these three basic values from Gustaf Radbruch are applied to the stipulation of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Routes Government Regulation, this stipulation can provide legal certainty for foreign ships passing through Indonesian waters. The reason for consideration in the UNCLOS 1982 there is a provision that coastal states do not have sovereignty and absolute sovereign rights in maritime areas. Coastal countries must pay attention to the interests of international shipping and aviation, namely by providing peaceful passage, archipelagic passage, transit and communication access to the international community of sea users. The coastal state must provide access to foreign ships and aircraft that will pass through its territory as regulated in national law. Article 53 Paragraph (2) UNCLOS 1982 mandates that all ships and aircraft enjoy the right to cross archipelagic sea lanes in sea lanes and flight routes. The norms of this article mean that ships and aircraft can enjoy the right to cross archipelagic sea lanes through territorial seas and archipelagic waters from one part of the free sea or Exclusive Economic Zone to another part of the free sea or Exclusive Economic Zone.²⁰

In providing sea crossing access, coastal countries are given the authority to regulate certain sea lanes commonly used by international shipping. The implementation of archipelagic sea lane passage rights is carried out via routes commonly used by international shipping. This norm is mandated in Article 53 Paragraph (1) UNCLOS 1982, the formulation of which is as follows: “An archipelagic State may determine sea lanes and flight routes over them, which are suitable for continuous and direct and expeditious passage of foreign ships and aircraft through or over its archipelagic waters and the territorial sea adjoining them.”

¹⁹ M. Muslih, *Op.cit*, p. 150.

²⁰ Eriec Firman, Sri Lestari Rahayu, Anugrah Adistuti, Wacana Pembentukan Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia (ALKI) Rute Timur-Barat ditinjau dari Hukum Internasional, *Jurnal Belli ac Pacis*. Vol. 2. No. 2, 2016, p. 42.

Following up on the mandate of Article 53 Paragraph (1) UNCLOS, on August 30 1996 the Indonesian government submitted a proposal for the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Route to the International Maritime Organizations. On 2-6 December 1996 (67th session) the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Routes proposal was discussed by the Maritime Safety Committee which is an organization under the auspices of the International Maritime Organizations. At the end of the 69th session of the Maritime Safety Committee on May 19 1998, it accepted the Indonesian government's proposal and adopted the General Provisions for the Adoption, Designations and Substitution of Archipelagic Sea Lanes and recognized the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane proposed by the Indonesian government as a partial Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane. This partial Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane is a new term that is only listed in The General Provisions for the Adoption, Designations and Substitution of Archipelagic Sea Lanes. UNCLOS 1982 itself does not regulate the existence of partial Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes as regulated in The General Provisions for the Adoption, Designations and Substitution of Archipelagic Sea Lanes.²¹

This conception of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes is further outlined in Government Regulation Number 37 of 2002 concerning the Rights and Obligations of Foreign Ships and Aircraft in Exercising Archipelagic Sea Lane Passage Rights Through Determined Archipelagic Sea Lanes.²² With this determination, Indonesia can be categorized as a country that has implemented and guaranteed the implementation of archipelagic passage rights for foreign ships. However, this determination gave rise to various kinds of problems in the field. In reality, the determination of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes brings vulnerability, this is because the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes passage is a passage that contains certain freedoms. This provision was made as a form of obligation to the international community carried out by archipelagic countries, although determining the route and crossing of islands will cause many difficulties because it intersects with the interests of many countries.

²¹ Dhiana Puspitawati, *Hukum Laut Internasional*, Jakarta, Prenada, 2019, p. 123-124.

²² Nuryanto, *Memahami Hukum Laut Indonesia*, Jakarta, Mitra Wacana Media, 2014, p. 10

The problem that arises is whether the determination made by the Indonesian government is in accordance with the provisions of the UNCLOS 1982 and does not create vulnerabilities that have the potential to harm the Indonesian nation. This question arises because of the view of several coastal countries that the UNCLOS 1982 is more beneficial to large maritime countries than coastal countries that are still underdeveloped and developing. The determination of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes by the Indonesian people as mandated by UNCLOS 1982 needs to be carried out with the principle of caution and accuracy. If not managed properly, the Indonesian archipelagic sea lanes have the potential to cause vulnerability.

Some examples of crime cases that occurred around the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane area include the presence of the United States, China, Russia and Australia's sea forces in Indonesian waters passing through the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane. The entry of foreign powers is carried out legally or illegally under the pretext of social missions such as Search and Rescue, intelligence interests and military cooperation.²³ Apart from this, the large number of foreign ships passing through the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes directly or indirectly can cause various vulnerabilities that have the potential to cause disruption and loss of the country's economic resources. Violations that often occur in the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes include international terrorism, territorial violations, piracy and piracy, illegal immigrants, human trafficking, weapons smuggling, narcotics, marine pollution, fish theft, mining, and so on.²⁴ The regulation of Archipelagic Sea Lanes as a means of ship and aircraft traffic passing through a country is contained in Article 53 UNCLOS 1982.

Determining archipelagic sea lanes actually not required because archipelagic countries may not determine their archipelagic sea lanes, but if archipelagic sea lanes are not determined, then all ships are allowed to pass through normal navigation routes which are usually used for international shipping. This norm is contained in the formulation of Article 53 paragraph 12 UNCLOS 1982, which

²³ Poltak Partogi Nainggolan, Indonesia dan Ancaman Keamanan di Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia (Security Threats to Indonesia's Sea Lanes), *Kajian*, Vol. 20 No. 3, 2015, p. 195.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

states that if an archipelagic country does not determine sea lanes and archipelagic flight routes, it can be carried out via routes usually used for international shipping.

The establishment of archipelagic sea lanes is considered to be more beneficial in providing recognition of Indonesia's existence with its maritime civilization, as an important connecting part of the Eurasian Blue Belt, Global Logistic Support System, Sea Lanes of Communication, Consolidated Ocean Web of Communication and Highly Accessed Sea Areas. Archipelagic sea lanes can unite three seas, namely the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. Apart from this, what is no less important is that the implementation of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lane makes Indonesia a shipping area for world ships, with dry cargo and liquid cargo.

The making of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route Government Regulations which are an elaboration of the UNCLOS 1982 as ratified by Law Number 17 of 1985, if analyzed from legal primacy theory, falls into the category of monism, namely the making of national regulations as an elaboration of the International Agreement. Such legal politics in state practice is commonplace and there is no need to debate whether these regulations are implementing regulations for International Agreements that are already binding at the domestic level (implementing legislation) or transformational regulations (dualism). This practice is carried out to carry out the country's international responsibilities, namely harmonization and ensuring that International Agreements (especially non-self-executing treaties) can be implemented at the domestic level. These reasons are very realistic and essential in both dualist and monist country.²⁵

Referring to this explanation, it can be seen that Indonesia is inconsistent in applying the primacy of law theory (dualism or monism), depending on which is beneficial for the interests of the Indonesian nation and state. This practice is carried out to carry out the country's international responsibilities, namely harmonization and ensuring that International Agreements can be implemented at the national

²⁵ Pierre-Hugues Verdier and Mila Versteeg, International Law in National Legal Systems: An Empirical Investigation, *The American Journal of International Law*, 109, No. 3, 2015, p. 209-230.

level. This reason is very realistic and essential in both dualist and monist countries.²⁶

The establishment of archipelagic sea lanes as a new regime for shipping must be carried out as regulated in the UNCLOS 1982. An archipelagic country can determine sea lanes that are suitable for the continuous and fastest possible passage of ships through or over its waters and territorial seas. side by side with him. The basis used by island countries in formulating cross-archipelagic routes is Article 53 Paragraph (1) UNCLOS 1982. In addition to archipelagic sea lanes, archipelagic countries can establish traffic separation schemes for the purposes of safe passage of ships through narrow channels in archipelagic sea lanes. From the provisions of article 53 paragraph (1) UNCLOS 1982, it can be explained that archipelagic sea lanes are intended for various types of foreign ships. In addition, archipelagic sea lanes also include nearby territorial waters and must be suitable for direct and uninterrupted passage. By referring to the formulation of the norm in Article 53 Paragraph (1), it can be seen that there is no obligation for the Indonesian government to create archipelagic sea lanes and it is permissible for Indonesia not to determine it. However, as a consequence, if the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes are not established then all international ships are allowed to pass through navigation routes which are normally used in world shipping as formulated in Article 53 Paragraph (12) UNCLOS 1982, routes normally used for international navigation.

The criteria for archipelagic sea lanes must be continuous, suitable and not discontinuous or suitable, safe for ships from navigational interference. Kresno Buntoro said that continuous passage means that island countries in determining archipelagic sea lanes must consider the Exclusive Economic Zone and continental shelf.²⁷ Foreign ships passing through continuously can enter or depart from island nation ports without prior notification. In determining archipelagic sea lanes there are factors that must be considered, including: (a) The provisions of the UNCLOS

²⁶ Ary Aprianto, Relevansi Monisme dan Dualisme Bagi Pemberlakuan Perjanjian Internasional di Indonesia, *Jurnal Konstitusi*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2022, p. 598.

²⁷ Kresno Buntoro, *Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia (ALKI), Prospek dan Kendala*, Jakarta, Sekolah Staf dan Komando TNI AL, 2012, p. 51.

1982 and other international law provisions; (b). Marine engineering which includes, among other things, hydrography, marine environmental protection, mining areas, pipelines and undersea pipes, dumping and mine disposal areas, fisheries areas; (c) Location of archipelagic sea lanes; and (d). How many archipelagic sea lanes and archipelagic sea lanes have been established by Indonesia?²⁸

CONCLUSION

Determination of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes as regulated in Government Regulation Number 37 of 2002, if viewed from the aspect of legal objectives as conceptualized by Gustaf Radbruch, can provide legal certainty for foreign-flagged ships passing through Indonesian waters. The 1982 international law of the sea convention mandates the obligation to provide passage for foreign-flagged vessels and coastal states have the authority to regulate such passage in accordance with the laws and regulations in their country. However, the current determination of the archipelagic channel still has the potential to create vulnerabilities in the security of the Indonesian state.

SUGGESTION

In determining the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes, it is necessary to use the principle of precision and caution, this is because in the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes there are international norms which state that coastal countries must provide access to foreign ships and aircraft that will pass through their country's territory with the regulations in national law. If these two principles are not implemented, it could result in violations of law and territorial sovereignty, thereby potentially harming the national interests of the Indonesian nation.

²⁸ Ary Aprianto, Relevansi Monisme dan Dualisme Bagi Pemberlakuan Perjanjian Internasional di Indonesia, *Jurnal Konstitusi*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2022, p. 599.

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Advocates and Law Enforcement Officers: Towards Harmonization in the Legal Enforcement Process

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Abstract

The Advocates are the only law enforcers who can be involved in all law enforcement processes. Advocates can also intersect and conflict with all other law enforcers in the law enforcement process. Therefore, harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process is essential. This study aims to determine the urgency of such harmonization and the factors that influence it. This research is a normative juridical research using a statutory and conceptual approach. Primary and secondary legal materials were collected through literature study and analyzed qualitatively. This research found that harmonizing advocates and other law enforcers in the law enforcement process is essential because without harmonization, the law enforcement process cannot run well, thus harming the interests of the people involved in the case. Three factors influence the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process: statutory, authority, and interest factors.

Abstrak

Advokat merupakan satu-satunya penegak hukum yang dapat terlibat dalam semua proses penegakan hukum. Advokat juga dapat bersinggungan dan berkonflik dengan semua penegak hukum yang lain dalam proses penegakan hukum. Oleh karena itu, harmonisasi advokat dengan penegak hukum lainnya dalam proses penegakan hukum menjadi penting. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui urgensi harmonisasi tersebut dan faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhinya. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian yuridis normatif dengan menggunakan pendekatan perundang-undangan dan pendekatan konseptual. Bahan hukum primer dan sekunder dikumpulkan melalui studi kepustakaan dan dianalisis secara kualitatif. Hasil penelitian ini menemukan bahwa harmonisasi advokat dan penegak hukum lainnya dalam proses penegakan hukum sangat penting karena tanpa harmonisasi, maka proses penegakan hukum tidak dapat berjalan dengan baik sehingga merugikan kepentingan masyarakat yang sedang berperkara. Ada tiga faktor yang memengaruhi harmonisasi advokat dengan penegak hukum lainnya dalam proses penegakan hukum, yaitu faktor peraturan perundang-undangan, faktor kewenangan, dan faktor kepentingan.

INTRODUCTION

The law enforcement process cannot be separated from law enforcers because the executors of law enforcement are law enforcers. In the law enforcement system in Indonesia, the chess nation of law enforcement is known as the police, prosecutors, judges, and advocates. However, there are also those who add correctional institutions as law enforcement institutions.¹ However, law enforcement in this study is limited to police, prosecutors, judges and advocates. Although advocates are not part of the state apparatus, their status as law enforcers has been affirmed in Article 5 paragraph (1) of Law No. 18/2003 on Advocates (Law No. 18/2003), which states, “Advocates have the status of law enforcers, free and independent guaranteed by laws and regulations”.

Advocates are the only law enforcers authorized to be involved in all stages of law enforcement. Advocates' existence in the law enforcement process can even be in the opposite position. In a criminal case, an advocate can be the legal advisor of the perpetrator or the legal advisor of the victim. Likewise, in a civil case, an advocate can be the plaintiff's or defendant's attorney. Of course, this does not mean that an advocate can be both the plaintiff's attorney and the defendant's attorney. However, it means that two or more advocates are in opposing positions, representing the interests of their clients as plaintiffs or defendants, respectively.

Advocates always intersect with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process. In criminal cases, advocates can even intersect with all law enforcers. The advocate's relationship with other law enforcers begins with the police when the case is reported to the police. Then with the prosecutor when the case is transferred to the prosecutor's office. And with the judge when the case is submitted to the court. Only advocates can always be involved in all stages of law enforcement. Meanwhile, other law enforcers can only be partially involved in accordance with their authority.

¹ Erlangga Alif Mufti dan Ontran Sumantri Riyanto, “Peran Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Dalam Upaya Rehabilitasi Narapidana Untuk Mengurangi Tingkat Residivis,” *Al-Manhaj Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 5, no. 2 (2023): 2425–38, <https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v5i2.4026>.

Basically, the law enforcement process has been regulated in sufficient detail in procedural law, both in Law No. 8 of 1981 concerning the Criminal Procedure Code (KUHP), *Herzien Inlandsch Reglement* (HIR), *Rechtreglement voor de Buitengewesten* (RBg), as well as in other laws and regulations. But in its application, it still often causes conflicts, both conflicts between advocates and the police,² conflicts between advocates and prosecutors,³ and conflicts between advocates and judges.⁴ This certainly disrupts the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process, which results in the law enforcement process cannot run properly, and ultimately cannot present a fair law enforcement process.

According to Soerjono Soekanto, law enforcers have different positions and roles. So that the various positions and roles may give birth to conflicts.⁵ If there is a conflict between law enforcers, of course the law enforcement process will be disrupted. Therefore, harmonization of law enforcement is needed in the law enforcement process. According to the chairman of the Judicial Commission (Komisi Yudisial), the success of law enforcement is highly dependent on the substance of law, legal structure, legal culture, and law enforcement officials. Therefore, law enforcers, such as police, prosecutors, judges, and advocates need to synergize because they play an important role in law enforcement in Indonesia.⁶

Advocates and other law enforcers are an important part of the law enforcement process, because it is law enforcers who carry out law enforcement. However, conflicts between law enforcers disrupt the law enforcement process. In

² Priska Sari Pratiwi, "Oknum Polisi Diduga Intervensi Perkara, Pengacara Ngamuk Hamburkan Uang Rp. 40 Juta di Polsek Banyuwangi," *Kompas.com*, 2023, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2021/11/16/070850678/oknum-polisi-diduga-intervensi-perkara-pengacara-ngamuk-hamburkan-uang-rp>.

³ Andrian Supendi, "Konflik Jaksa dan Pengacara, Ormas ALIBI Angkat Suara," *Cuplik.com*, 2023, <https://www.cuplik.com/read/17982/Konflik-Jaksa-dan-Pengacara,-Ormas-ALIBI-Angkat-Suara>.

⁴ Desca Lidya Natalia, "Pengacara Juliari Batubara Menilai Vonis Penuh Konflik Kepentingan," *Antaraneews.com*, 2023, <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/2345410/pengacara-juliari-batubara-menilai-vonis-penuh-konflik-kepentingan>.

⁵ Soerjono Soekanto, *Faktor-faktor yang Mempengaruhi Penegakan Hukum* (Jakarta: Rajawali Grafindo Persada, 2012), 20–21.

⁶ Yuni dan Festi, "Perlu Sinergi APH dan Advokat dalam Penegakan Hukum," *Komisi Yudisial*, 2023, https://komisiyudisial.go.id/frontend/news_detail/1156/perlu-sinergi-aph-dan-advokat-dalam-penegakan-hukum.

addition, the applicable procedural law in Indonesia is no longer in accordance with the current situation and conditions. There are even law enforcement processes that have not been regulated by law. So that law enforcers who are given the authority as regulators, namely the Supreme Court, the Police, and the Attorney General's Office often issue procedural laws that are considered detrimental to the interests of advocates.

Several research discuss law enforcement in the law enforcement process. First is the research by Ali Imron, titled “The Role and Position of the Four Pillars in Law Enforcement Judges, Prosecutors, Police, and Advocates in Connection with Law Enforcement in Corruption Cases”. Ali Imron's research focuses on the role and behavior of law enforcers in solving corruption problems. The results of Ali Imron's research show that the involvement of law enforcement officers in corruption crimes greatly affects the creation of the rule of law.⁷ Meanwhile, this research focuses on finding the urgency of harmonizing advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process and the factors that influence it.

Second, Novriansuah and Syaiful Ahmad Dinar's research entitled “Analysis of the Duties and Authorities of Law Enforcement Officials in Indonesia”. Novriansyah and Syaiful Ahmad Dinar's research focused on analyzing the authority of advocates who are not balanced with the authority of judges, prosecutors and police. The results of Novriansyah and Syaiful Ahmad Dinar's research concluded that if advocates are given equal authority with judges, prosecutors and police, the law enforcement system will be better.⁸ Novriansuah and Syaiful Ahmad Dinar's research is different from this research which focuses on finding the urgency of harmonizing advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process and the factors that influence it.

Third, Mohammad Fadhil's research, “The Harmonization of Wiretapping Regulations in Indonesia: Law Enforcement Perspective,” focuses on the

⁷ Ali Imron, “Peran dan Kedudukan Empat Pilar dalam Penegakan Hukum Hakim Jaksa Polisi serta Advokat Dihubungkan dengan Penegakan Hukum pada Kasus Korupsi,” *Jurnal Surya Kencana Dua: Dinamika Masalah Hukum dan Keadilan* 6, no. 1 (2016): 83.

⁸ Novriansyah dan Syaiful Ahmad Dinar, “Analisis Tugas dan Kewenangan Aparat Penegak Hukum di Indonesia,” *Morality: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 9, no. 1 (2023): 132–39.

harmonization of the law enforcement system carried out by law enforcement officers in various law enforcement agencies regarding wiretapping authority in criminal law enforcement processes. The author found that there is still overlapping authority regulated by law. Furthermore, the law does not yet regulate the provisions for permits for wiretapping, which is a privacy right.⁹

Based on the description of the background of the problem above, it is necessary to research the factors that influence the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is normative juridical research. The approaches used are statutory approaches and conceptual approaches. The statutory approach and conceptual approach are used to analyze legal materials qualitatively.¹⁰ The legal materials used are primary and secondary legal materials. Primary legal materials are authoritative, including KUHAP, HIR, RBg, and other laws and regulations relating to law enforcement and law enforcement. While secondary legal materials are in the form of legal scientific works in journals, reference books, theses, dissertations, and other scientific works. The research begins by collecting legal materials through literature studies, both conventional and electronic libraries (digital library). All legal materials collected were then grouped according to the subject matter, both physically and electronically. Furthermore, legal materials were verified and analyzed qualitatively. The analysis results are then described prescriptively by the prescriptive nature of legal science.

⁹ Mohammad Fadhil, "The Harmonization of Wiretapping Regulations in Indonesia: Law Enforcement Perspective," *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law* 3, no. 2 (2020): 125–46, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.33096/substantivejustice.v3i2.75>.

¹⁰ Burhan Bungin, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Aktualisasi Metodologis ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer* (Depok: Rajawali Pers, 2017), 124.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. The Urgency of Harmonizing Advocates with Other Law Enforcement Officers

The term harmonization comes from the Greek word *harmonia* which means harmoniously bound.¹¹ Philosophically, the term harmony is interpreted as cooperation between various factors in such a way as to produce a noble unity.¹² Meanwhile, the word harmonization is defined as the quality of two or more things going well together and producing an attractive result; the process of making systems or rules similar in different countries or organizations.¹³

Rudolf Stammler argued that the concept and principles of fair law include harmonization between the goals, objectives and interests of individuals with the goals, objectives and interests of the general public.¹⁴ Harmonization in law includes the adjustment of laws and regulations, government decisions, judges' decisions, legal systems and legal principles to increase legal unity, legal certainty, justice and equity, usefulness and clarity of law, without obscuring and sacrificing legal pluralism if needed. Legal harmonization brings a very important perspective as a necessity to be able to realize certainty, justice and benefits.¹⁵

The harmonization of law is an essential tool to address the regulatory challenges arising from globalization and the increase in international commercial transactions. This phenomenon focuses on creating consistent legal frameworks that reduce conflicts of laws and transaction costs while improving legal certainty. The harmonization of law remains an evolving process, reflecting global changes and the need to bridge legal divides that transcend territorial boundaries. This phenomenon fosters normative integration and promotes

¹¹ Hassan Shadily, *Ensiklopedi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru, 1983), 1262.

¹² Suhartono, "Harmonisasi Peraturan Perundang-undangan dalam Pelaksanaan Anggaran Belanja Negara," (Universitas Indonesia, 2011), 94.

¹³ Oxford English Dictionary, "Harmonization," Oxford Dictionaries, 2023, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/harmonization>.

¹⁴ Alsyam, Delfina Gusman, dan Didi Nazmi, "Pelaksanaan Peran Kantor Wilayah Kementerian Hukum dan Ham Sumatera Barat Dalam Rangka Harmonisasi Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Sumatera Barat Tahun 2019," *UIR Law Review* 5, no. 2 (2021).

¹⁵ Endrik Safudin, *Harmonisasi Hukum dalam Antinomi Hukum: Telaah Kritis atas Penerapannya oleh Mahkamah Agung* (Yogyakarta: Q-Media, 2021), 38–39.

international cooperation, demonstrating that, despite its complexity, the pursuit of legislative alignment is an indispensable path for global development.¹⁶

In the process of setting up legislation, harmonization is a required, compulsory instrument to achieve the validity of a regulation so that the implementation of the regulation still obeys its principles. Due to the fact that a regulation must not conflict with the relevant statutes, vertical harmonization is required during the legislation process.¹⁷ The principle of vertical harmonization is to ensure that the regulation meets the mandate of the constitution while horizontal harmonization is an attempt to standardize seemingly similar provisions stated in several different regulations. The standardization is set so that in its implementation, each regulation to some extent does not overlap resulting in the emergence of legal uncertainty. In turn, this will lead to a disorder or disparity regulatory regime.¹⁸

The disharmony in the law has implications for legal uncertainty.¹⁹ In the law enforcement process, disharmony between advocates and other law enforcement officials not only results in legal uncertainty but also hinders the process itself. In the investigation process, for example, disharmony between advocates and investigators can lead to protracted investigations. Similarly, in court proceedings involving advocates and public prosecutors, who are often in conflict, the two parties are often in conflict.

Essentially, the role of advocates as legal counsel for suspects or defendants is almost the same as that of prosecutors as public prosecutors, namely, testing criminal cases in court. However, their positions are opposite. While prosecutors have the role of indicting and prosecuting defendants, advocates play the opposite role: refuting the charges and demands submitted by the public prosecutor. Both also have the authority to present evidence in court. The goal is to strengthen the

¹⁶ Emmanuel Guillermo Carreño Bernal, "Harmonization of cross border contract law: Legal solutions in a globalized world," *Journal of Policy and Society* 2, no. 2 (2024): 1–11, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59400/jps2273>.

¹⁷ K.A. Sudiarawan, P.E. Tanaya, dan B. Hermanto, "Discover the Legal Concept in the Sociological Study," *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law* 3, no. 1 (2020): 94–108, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.33096/sjijl.v3i1.69>.

¹⁸ Fadhil, "The Harmonization of Wiretapping Regulations in Indonesia: Law Enforcement Perspective."

¹⁹ M. Hamdi et al., "The urgency of Harmonization of Central and Regional Laws in the Perspective of Constitutional Law," *Iuridica Pancasila* 1, no. 3 (2025): 146–53.

arguments presented, namely the arguments outlined by the public prosecutor in the indictment and charges, and the arguments outlined by advocates as legal counsel for the defendant in their exceptions and defense.

The often-conflicting positions of advocates and other law enforcement officials in the law enforcement process do not necessarily mean their relationship must be antagonistic and conflicting. The relationship between advocates and public prosecutors must remain cordial. The law enforcement process is fundamentally about verifying the truth of a legal event, not creating conflict between law enforcement officials. Therefore, the relationship between advocates and other law enforcement officials in the law enforcement process must remain harmonious. If advocates and other law enforcers are in conflict with each other, the law enforcement process will not be able to provide justice to the parties involved in the case. Harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process is needed to be able to realize a fair law enforcement process (fairness).

Soerjono Soekanto emphasized the importance of behavior of law enforcement officers in conducting law enforcement.²⁰ In fact, the relationship between advocates and other law enforcement officials is often strained during the law enforcement process. This includes advocates and investigators during investigations, advocates and prosecutors during prosecutions, and even advocates and judges during court hearings. This strained relationship ultimately disrupts the law enforcement process. Consequently, procedural violations often occur during the law enforcement process. This is undoubtedly detrimental to the public involved in litigation. There are several factors that encourage disharmonious relations between advocates and law enforcers in the law enforcement process. One of them is because of sectoral ego.

The high sectoral ego and intersection of authority are still obstacles in the harmonization process.²¹ The function of legal harmonization is to prevent and

²⁰ Feby Milenia yahya Krisna Putri et al., "Thinking the Future Potential of Artificial Intelligence in Law Enforcement," *Perspektif Hukum* 24, no. 2 (2024): 269–94, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.30649/ph.v24i2.319>.

²¹ Padma Widyantari dan Adi Sulistiyono, "Pelaksanaan Harmonisasi Rancangan Undang-Undang Perlindungan Data Pribadi (RUU PDP)," *Jurnal Privat Law* 8, no. 1 (2020): 102.

overcome legal disharmony.²² Harmonization of law is directly proportional to the harmonization of law enforcement. Because law enforcement is the executor of law enforcement. If law enforcement is influenced by its own legal factors, law enforcement factors, factors of means or facilities supporting law enforcement, community factors, and cultural factors,²³ then there are three factors that affect the harmonization of advocates and other law enforcers in the law enforcement process, namely statutory factors, authority factors, and interest factors.

B. Statutory Factor

Statutory is one of the factors that influence the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process.²⁴ Leaning on Soerjono Soekanto's opinion,²⁵ laws and regulations can affect the harmonization of advocates and other law enforcers due to the following matters:

- a. Law enforcers do not heed the principle of the applicability of the law;
- b. There are differences in legal interpretation among law enforcers;
- c. The absence of implementing regulations from the law or procedural law has not regulated.

First, law enforcers do not heed the principle of the applicability of the law. In the law enforcement process, law enforcers often do not heed the principle of the applicability of the law. The principle of the applicability of law that is often ignored by law enforcers in the law enforcement process is the principle of preference consisting of the principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali*, the principle of *lex posterior derogat legi priori*, and the principle of *lex superior derogat legi inferiori*.²⁶ The principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali* provides a rule that regulations that regulate specifically override regulations that regulate

²² Kusnu Goesniadhie, *Harmonisasi Sistem Hukum: Mewujudkan Tata Pemerintahan Yang Baik* (Malang: Nasa Media, 2020), 11.

²³ Soekanto, *Faktor-faktor yang Mempengaruhi Penegakan Hukum*, 5.

²⁴ Mohammad Zamroni dan M. Tauchid Noor, "Harmonisasi Jaksa dan Advokat dalam Proses Penegakan Hukum" (Surabaya, 2023), 22–23.

²⁵ Soekanto, *Faktor-faktor yang Mempengaruhi Penegakan Hukum*, 17–18.

²⁶ Shinta Agustina, "Implementasi Asas *Lex Specialis Derogat Legi Generali* dalam Sistem Hukum Peradilan Pidana," *MMH* 44, no. 4 (2015): 503–10.

generally. Meanwhile, the principle of *lex posterior derogat legi priori* provides a rule that new regulations override old regulations. Meanwhile, the principle of *lex superior derogat legi inferiori* provides a rule that hierarchically higher regulations override lower regulations.

The principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali* is often debated by advocates and other law enforcers in law enforcement practice. This is also triggered by differences in interpreting statutory provisions. The disregard of the principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali* can be seen in applying the provisions of Article 310 of Law No. 17 of 2023 on Health (Law No. 17/2023). Article 310 of Law No. 17/2023 states, “In the event that a Medical Personnel or Health Personnel is suspected of committing an error in carrying out their profession that causes harm to the Patient, disputes arising from the error shall first be resolved through alternative dispute resolution outside the court”. The above provision actually already exists in the old health law, namely Law No. 36/2009 on Health (Law No. 36/2009). Article 29 of Law No. 36/2009 states, “In the event that health workers are suspected of committing negligence in carrying out their profession, the negligence must first be resolved through mediation”.

Some of the above provisions are *lex specialis* of medical dispute resolution arrangements. Therefore, medical disputes should first be resolved through mediation or out-of-court dispute resolution. But the fact is that law enforcers such as police, prosecutors, and judges never heed them. Often medical disputes are directly prosecuted without going through mediation or out-of-court dispute resolution.²⁷ One of them is a medical dispute that occurred in Manado. Although in the end the defendant, who is a doctor, was acquitted by the Supreme Court, the law enforcement process that has been carried out has led to detention without going through mediation procedures. The detention that has been carried out against doctors is a violation of legal principles.²⁸

²⁷ Sugiyarto, “Dituding Lakukan Malpraktik, Dokter RS Baptis Kediri Dilaporkan ke Polisi,” *Tribun News*, 2016, <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2016/01/09/dituding-lakukan-malpraktik-dokter-rs-baptis-kediri-dilaporkan-ke-polisi>.

²⁸ Muchamad Nafi, “Cukup Berbelit, Dokter Ayu Akhirnya Bebas,” *Tempo.co*, 2023, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/552246/cukup-berbelit-dokter-ayu-akhirnya-bebas>.

Second, differences in legal interpretation. Differences in interpretation are common between advocates and other law enforcers in law enforcement practices, both on clear statutory norms, especially on unclear statutory norms. Differences in interpretation of clear statutory norms can be seen in the practice of legal remedies against acquittals. Article 67 of KUHAP states, “The defendant or public prosecutor has the right to appeal against a decision of the court of first instance except for acquittal, release from all legal charges concerning issues of inaccurate application of the law and court decisions in a speedy trial”. Furthermore, Article 244 of KUHAP states, “Against criminal case decisions rendered at the final level by a court other than the Supreme Court, the defendant or public prosecutor may file a request for cassation to the Supreme Court except for acquittals”.

The provisions of Articles 67 and 244 of KUHAP clearly regulate the exclusion of legal remedies against acquittals. If interpreted literally or textually,²⁹ then an acquittal verdict cannot be appealed or cassated. However, in reality, in the practice of law enforcement, the prosecutor as the public prosecutor often files a cassation appeal against an acquittal (*vrijspraak*) on the grounds that the verdict is not pure acquittal. The terms pure acquittal and impure acquittal used by the public prosecutor are of course subjective and do not provide legal certainty. Moreover, the judge's verdict did not use the terms pure acquittal and impure acquittal. However, the legal remedy taken by the public prosecutor was accepted by the Supreme Court, as recorded in decision No. 275 K/Pid/1983 dated December 10, 1983.

The advocate as the defendant's legal counsel viewed that the legal remedy against the acquittal decision made by the public prosecutor and accepted by the Supreme Court, in addition to harming the defendant, also did not provide legal certainty. The problem of differences in interpretation was then submitted for judicial review to the Constitutional Court by a defendant who had been acquitted in the Lubuk Sikaping District Court. Despite the dissenting opinion, the Constitutional Court in Case No. 114/PUU-X/2012 dated March 28, 2013 held the

²⁹ Mohammad Zamroni, “Penafsiran Kontrak dalam Perspektif Hermeneutik,” *Yuridika* 31, no. 3 (2016): 521–43.

view that cassation appeal against acquittal has been accepted and implemented in the practice of law enforcement. Therefore, the phrase “except for acquittals” in Article 244 of KUHAP was declared contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and has no binding legal force. This means that acquittals can be appealed in cassation. The Constitutional Court's decision also provides a basis for public prosecutors to file cassation appeals against acquittals without the need to use the term acquittal.

Differences in legal interpretation between advocates and other law enforcers on unclear norms of legislation are certainly more common.³⁰ One of them is the provision of Article 21 paragraph (1) of KUHAP which states, “Detention or continued detention is ordered for a suspect or defendant who is strongly suspected of committing a criminal offense based on sufficient evidence, in the event that there are circumstances that raise concerns that the suspect or defendant will escape, damage or eliminate evidence and or repeat the criminal offense”. The phrase “there are circumstances that raise concerns that the suspect or defendant will escape, damage or eliminate evidence and or repeat a criminal offense” contains ambiguity and is subjective, so law enforcers can interpret as they wish. In law enforcement practice, this vague provision on detention often leads to conflicts between advocates and other law enforcers.³¹

Law enforcers representing government institutions, namely the police, prosecutors and judges are indeed given discretionary authority to overcome specific problems that arise in the administration of government, especially when laws and regulations are unclear, incomplete or ambiguous.³² But the interpretations made by police, prosecutors and judges are often different from those of advocates. So that the differences in interpretation that occur between advocates and other law enforcers in the law enforcement process interfere with the law enforcement process. In the practice of law enforcement, this difference in interpretation also has the potential to give birth to unprofessional and corrupt law

³⁰ Zamroni dan Noor, “Harmonisasi Jaksa dan Advokat dalam Proses Penegakan Hukum,” 26.

³¹ Zamroni dan Noor, 39.

³² Tugimin Supriyadi et al., “Wewenang Polisi Dalam Menagakkan Hukum,” *Jurnal Administrasi Negara* 2, no. 4 (2024): 204–10.

enforcement actions. Corruption among law enforcers is done through bribery between advocates and other law enforcers.³³

Third, the absence of implementing regulations from the law or procedural law has not regulated. Basically, laws and regulations can only be made by state institutions that have the authority to form laws (*rechtsvorming*),³⁴ including implementing regulations. However, state institutions are also regulators, so they are given the authority to make laws and regulations. This is confirmed in Article 8 paragraph (1) of Law No. 11/2011 on the Formation of Legislation (Law No. 12/2011) which states that laws and regulations include regulations stipulated, among others, by the Supreme Court, agencies, institutions, or commissions of the same level established by law.

The Supreme Court, the Police Force and the Public Prosecutor's Office are state institutions, so they have the authority to make laws and regulations. In addition to being regulated in Law No. 12/2011, the authority of the Supreme Court, the Police and the Public Prosecutor's Office is also affirmed in laws that specifically regulate the institutions of the Supreme Court, the Police and the Public Prosecutor's Office. This authority is regulated in Article 79 of Law No. 14/1985 on the Supreme Court (Law No. 14/1985) which states, "The Supreme Court may further regulate matters necessary for the smooth administration of justice if there are matters that have not been sufficiently regulated in this Law". Thus, the Supreme Court has the authority to make laws and regulations relating to the implementation of law enforcement in judicial institutions. The same applies to the police and the prosecutor's office. Meanwhile, Indonesian Advocates Association (*Peradi*), although declared by the Constitutional Court as a state organ,³⁵ is not given the authority to make laws and regulations.

³³ Ahmad Faiz Ibnu Sani, "Mahfud MD Beberkan Contoh Perilaku Korup Aparat Penegak Hukum," *Kumparan.com*, 2023, <https://kumparan.com/irsan-arief/upaya-hukum-kasasi-terhadap-putusan-bebas-pasca-putusan-mahkamah-konstitusi-1wQmFRXFKh7/2>.

³⁴ Maria Farida Indrati Soeprapto, *Ilmu Perundang-Undangan: Dasar-Dasar Pembentukannya* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1998), 54.

³⁵ Daniel Romi Sihombing, "The Indonesian Advocates Association As a Constitutional State Organ," *Jurnal Pembaharuan Hukum* 11, no. 2 (2024): 315–32.

Implementing regulations and procedural laws are often not issued or issued late in Indonesian constitutional practice, so relevant institutions - including the Supreme Court, police and prosecutors - then make their own implementing regulations and/or procedural laws to regulate the technical implementation of the law. In the practice of law enforcement, the existence of regulations made by law enforcement agencies often disrupts the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers. This can be seen in the decision of the Constitutional Court No. 92/PUU-XV/2017 dated March 20, 2018, which was submitted by an advocate who felt hindered by technical regulations made by law enforcement, so that he could not carry out his profession in accordance with the provisions of Article 69 and Article 70 paragraph (1) of KUHAP.

Article 69 of KUHAP states, “Legal counsel has the right to contact the suspect from the time of arrest or detention at all levels of examination according to the procedures specified in this law”. Furthermore, Article 70 paragraph (1) of KUHAP states, “Legal counsel has the right to contact and speak with the suspect at every level of examination and at any time for the purpose of defending his case”.

The provisions of Article 69 and Article 70 paragraph (1) of KUHAP above expressly regulate that the advocate as legal counsel can contact his client who is a suspect at any time for the purpose of defending his case. However, other law enforcement agencies that detain suspects or defendants make internal regulations on how to contact suspects or defendants who are in detention. As a result, advocates are hindered by these internal regulations, so they cannot freely contact their clients. This view of the Constitutional Court also confirms the existence of problems in applying statutory norms.

C. The Authority Factor

The term authority is defined as the power to influence or command thought, opinion, or behavior.³⁶ According to Alan Renwick and Ian Swinburn, authority is linked to respect, which creates legitimacy and, therefore, leads to power.³⁷

³⁶ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “Authority,” Merriam-Webster, 2023, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/authority>.

³⁷ Alan Renwick dan Ian Swinburn, “Power and Authority,” *Hyphen* 7, no. 2 (1992): 67–78.

Therefore, McMahon argues that authority cannot be separated from the question of power sharing.³⁸ Max Weber divides authority into three types, namely traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic.³⁹ According to Stout, authority as coming from administrative law. Authority as part of the law of government organization in the form of rules relating to the acquisition and use of government authority in public law.⁴⁰ The authority referred to in this research is legal-rational authority based on the rule of law.

Basically, all law enforcers, including police, prosecutors, judges and advocates, have the authority granted by law. However, there are considerable differences between the authority of the police, prosecutors and judges and the authority of advocates, especially in the law enforcement process. The authority of the police as investigators in the law enforcement process includes: a. Conducting investigations into criminal cases; b. Receiving reports or complaints of criminal cases; c. Ordering to stop and checking the identification of suspects; d. Taking fingerprints of suspects; e. Summoning people, either as witnesses, experts, or suspects for examination; f. Bringing in experts for the sake of explaining an offence. Bringing in experts for the sake of illuminating a criminal offence; g. Stopping the investigation of a criminal case where sufficient evidence is not found; h. To arrest a suspect; i. To detain a suspect; j. To transfer the type of detention of a suspect; k. Conduct searches of a person, house or certain places; l. To confiscate evidence of criminal cases; m. To open, examine and confiscate letters. To open, examine and confiscate letters sent by post.

The authority of the prosecutor as a public prosecutor in the law enforcement process includes: a. Receiving and examining investigation case files from investigators; b. Conducting pre-prosecution of cases submitted by investigators; c. Making indictments in criminal cases; d. Submitting criminal cases received from investigators to the court; e. Prosecuting defendants in court; f. Closing cases submitted to him in the interest of the interests of justice; g. Implementing the

³⁸ McMahon, *Authority and Democracy: A General Theory of Government and Management* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 25.

³⁹ Renwick dan Swinburn, "Power and Authority," 69.

⁴⁰ H.D. Stout, *De Betekenissen van de Wet: Theoretisch-Kritische Beschouwingen over het Principe van Wetmatigheid van Bestuur* (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1994), 102.

judge's decision or judge's determination; h. Detain suspects who investigators have handed over; i. Transfer the type of detention of suspects who have been handed over by investigators. The powers frequently abused by public prosecutors are the authority to detain and the authority to file charges. The authority to detain often opens up opportunities for arbitrary action, just as the authority to determine sentence lengths opens up opportunities for the trading of prison sentences or fines.

The authority of judges as a representation of the judiciary in law enforcement, among others: a. To hear, examine, decide and settle cases, whether civil, criminal or administrative; b. Detain the defendant; c. Transfer the type of detention of the defendant; d. Examine and decide on pretrial proceedings. Examine and decide on pretrial proceedings. Judges have independence in conducting examinations and deciding cases. Judges cannot be influenced by anyone, including the leadership of the judicial institution. However, judges must also not be influenced by their own interests. In examining and deciding cases, judges must always adhere to the interests of justice.

Meanwhile, the authority of advocates as law enforcers in the law enforcement process includes: a. Providing legal services both inside and outside the court; b. Issuing opinions or statements in defense of cases in court; c. Carrying out their professional duties to defend the interests of clients; d. Requesting information, data, and other documents from government agencies and other parties for the benefit of clients; e. Contacting and speaking with suspects in criminal cases; f. Request a copy of the minutes of examination of a criminal case; g. Send a letter to the suspect and receive a letter from the suspect. In general, advocates do not have coercive powers like investigators, prosecutors, and judges. However, this does not mean advocates are immune from corruption. Corruption by other law enforcement officers is often influenced by advocates.

If we look at the authority of law enforcers mentioned above, the authority of the police, prosecutors and judges The authority of advocates in the law enforcement process is not comparable and even unbalanced when compared to the

authority possessed by other law enforcers.⁴¹ The authority of the police, prosecutors and judges seems superior to the authority of advocates. So that the police, prosecutors and judges are more powerful in the law enforcement process than advocates. In relation to detention, for example, police, prosecutors and judges have absolute authority to detain or not detain suspects. Detention authority is also only sufficiently based on the subjective reasons of the police, prosecutors and judges. Advocates, on the other hand, do not have the authority to refuse or give consideration to detention. Advocates can only surrender to the detention made by the police, prosecutors and judges. Even if they file a pretrial appeal, they will certainly lose if the detention is in accordance with existing procedures.⁴²

The unbalanced authority of the police, prosecutors, judges and advocates often disrupts the harmonization of advocates with the police, prosecutors and judges. In relation to detention, for example, police, prosecutors and judges consider that they have absolute authority to detain or not detain suspects based only on subjective reasons. Detention authority by law enforcers other than advocates is also often carried out arbitrarily.⁴³ Meanwhile, advocates consider the subjective reasons used by the police, prosecutors and judges do not have a clear measure, thus harming the interests of advocate clients. The authority of advocates who are not equal to other law enforcers will be difficult to create a better law enforcement system.⁴⁴

D. Interest Factor

Law enforcers certainly each have an interest in law enforcement. The interests of the police, prosecutors and judges may be different from those of advocates. In the matter of detaining a suspect or defendant, for example, the police, prosecutors and judges may detain a suspect or defendant in the interest of a smooth law

⁴¹ Novriansyah dan Dinar, "Analisis Tugas dan Kewenangan Aparat Penegak Hukum di Indonesia."

⁴² Zamroni dan Noor, "Harmonisasi Jaksa dan Advokat dalam Proses Penegakan Hukum," 28–29.

⁴³ Ramsen Marpaung dan Tristam Pascal Moeliono, "Perbandingan Hukum antara Prinsip Habeas Corpus dalam Sistem Hukum Pidana Inggris dengan Praperadilan dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Indonesia," *Wawasan Yuridika* 5, no. 2 (2021): 224–48.

⁴⁴ Novriansyah dan Dinar, "Analisis Tugas dan Kewenangan Aparat Penegak Hukum di Indonesia."

enforcement process. On the other hand, the advocate who accompanies the suspect or defendant also has an interest that the suspect or defendant is not detained during the law enforcement process. On the other hand, the police, prosecutors and judges may also not detain a suspect or defendant because they consider the suspect or defendant to be cooperative. On the other hand, advocates who assist victims have an interest in having the suspect or defendant detained during the law enforcement process.

The different interests of the police, prosecutors and judges with advocates can certainly affect harmonization among law enforcers in the law enforcement process. In the practice of law enforcement, the interests of law enforcers are not only related to the interests of law enforcement, but also often colored by the personal interests of law enforcers.⁴⁵ This is not only a result of the existence of absolute authority, but also due to the existence of unclear and multi-interpretation laws and regulations. So that law enforcers can use their authority for personal gain. Ambiguous legal norms often create loopholes for law enforcers to take arbitrary action and open up opportunities for corrupt acts.

The authority of the police as investigators to make someone a suspect, for example, or the authority of the police as investigators and prosecutors to detain or not detain a suspect. Or the authority of the judge to decide whether the defendant is guilty or not guilty. In the practice of law enforcement, the absolute authorities granted by the law often give birth to corruptive behaviour, both bribery and gratuities. This can be seen in several corruption cases involving law enforcers.

Some cases of legal violations – especially corruption – which were actually carried out by law enforcers include corruption case verdict No. 92/Pid.Sus-TPK/2019/PN.Smg. involving a prosecutor, corruption case verdict No. 66/Pid.Sus-TPK/2021/PN Jkt.Pst. involving the police, corruption case verdict No. 66/Pid.Sus-TPK/2022/PN.Sby. involving a judge, and corruption case verdict No. 84/Pid.Sus-TPK/2022/PN.Sby. involving a judge. 84/Pid.Sus-

⁴⁵ Angel Nikhio, Cindy Sekarwati Amalia, dan Zain Irawan, “Penegakan hukum di Indonesia: Peran Pemerintah dalam Mewujudkannya,” *Indigenous Knowledge* 2, no. 6 (2023): 414–23.

TPK/2023/PN.Jkt.Pst. involving advocates shows that the interests of law enforcers are not only related to the fulfilment of law enforcement procedures but also the personal interests of law enforcers in order to gain benefits. Therefore, the interest factors that can affect the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers can be in the form of law enforcement interests, as well as the personal interests of law enforcers.

Interest factors, both law enforcement interests and the personal interests of law enforcers can affect the harmonization of advocates and other law enforcers in the law enforcement process. The existence of interest factors, especially personal interests, is not only a violation of the law but also detrimental to the justice-seeking public and cannot present a fair law enforcement process. This factor is what triggers legal violations committed by law enforcers, namely by violating the law enforcement process which should be carried out properly. The primary interest in law enforcement should be the interests of law enforcement itself, or the interest in upholding law and justice. However, the reality is that the most pressing interest is often the personal interest of profit. As a result, many law enforcement officials, who should be enforcing the law, end up breaking the law.

CONCLUSION

Harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers in the law enforcement process is needed to be able to realize a fair law enforcement process (fairness). There are three factors that affect the harmonization of advocates with other law enforcers, namely statutory factors, authority factors, and interest factors. Statutory factors include law enforcement not heeding the principles of law, the existence of unclear statutory norms, and the absence of implementing regulations or procedural laws that have not yet been regulated. The authority factor, among others, occurs because of the unbalanced authority between advocates and other law enforcers. The interest factor, among others, occurs due to differences in the interests of law enforcers, both for the sake of law enforcement as well as the personal interests of law enforcers.

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