

Criminalization of Corruption and Maximization of Asset Recovery in a Political and Legal Perspective (PT Asabri Case Study)

Zahra Putri Pertiwi

Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang, Indonesia
zahraputriperitiwi@students.unnes.ac.id

Indah Sri Utari 

Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang, Indonesia
indahsuji@mail.unnes.ac.id

Abstract

This paper explores strategies to enhance the restitution of government financial losses resulting from corrupt practices in the financial administration of the state-owned enterprise PT Asabri (Persero). The results of the research show that PT Asabri's finances are part of the state's finances, so that every corruption crime that occurs in it has consequences in the form of state losses that must be recovered through available legal mechanisms. Criminal law enforcement has been implemented, including the imposition of supplementary sanctions requiring restitution payments to the state as a mechanism for recovering public finances. However, this mechanism has not been able to restore all state losses caused by corruption crimes. The main obstacle in the recovery of state losses stems from the provisions of Article 18 paragraph (1) b of the Law on the Eradication of Corruption Crimes which limits the payment of compensation money to



only the value of the assets obtained by the perpetrators of corruption crimes. These restrictions cause the convict's liability only includes the return of economic benefits obtained illegally, while other state losses arising from corruption crimes at PT Asabri cannot be fully held accountable to the convict. In fact, in practice, corruption has the potential to cause wider state losses, not limited to wealth that is directly controlled or enjoyed by the perpetrator.

KEYWORDS

corruption, PT Asabri, and asset recovery

Introduction

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia establishes Indonesia as a state government by law (*Rechtsstaat*) rather than by mere authority of power (*Machsstaat*). This principle indicates that Indonesia is a democratic nation founded on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, upholding human rights and ensuring equal treatment of all citizens before the law and governmental institutions without discrimination. Every citizen is also obliged to respect the law and the government. In general, law is understood as a collection of rules or norms that apply in common life, are binding on each individual, and their implementation can be enforced by the authorities.¹

Criminal law is part of the legal system that applies in a country, which establishes principles and provisions regarding prohibitions and obligations, which are accompanied by the threat of criminal sanctions. If the rule is violated, the state has the right to prosecute, impose, and carry out the crime. In principle, criminal law can be classified into General Criminal Law (*ius commune*) and special criminal law (*ius speciale*). General criminal law is a type of criminal law that regulates provisions that

¹ Fauzi Iswari, "Aplikasi Konsep Negara Dan Reformasi Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang Di Indonesia Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatra Barat" 6, no.1 September (2020): 127-40, <https://doi.org/10.3376/jch.v6i1.285>.

apply comprehensively to all people and are generally codified in the Criminal Code (KUHP). Meanwhile, special criminal law is a criminal law that applies to a limited extent, only for certain groups or for criminal cases whose resolution deviates from the general provisions. These laws usually regulate certain types of criminal acts and are scattered in a variety of specific laws that are not codified.² In this case, one example of a criminal act that is classified as a special criminal law is the Crime of Corruption.

Corruption crimes are included in the category of special criminal acts that have their own characteristics and are different from general crimes, especially because of irregularities in the application of formal criminal law or procedural law. The rampant practice of corruption is a form of violation of the law committed by certain groups or individuals who use the power and authority they have for personal interests, resulting in losses to state finances.

Corruption is a serious problem for the Indonesian nation that has a wide impact on various dimensions of national life, both in the context of statehood, government, and social society. Corruption not only results in financial losses but also disrupts the personal integrity of the offenders and adversely affects their surrounding environment.³ Corruption can be understood as deviant acts committed to achieve personal profits and wealth by abusing authority sourced from the state or society illegally.

This crime of corruption has the potential to disrupt stability and security in society, hinder progress in the social, economic, and political fields, and damage democratic and moral principles because slowly these actions tend to be considered commonplace. Corruption is a serious threat to the realization of a just and prosperous society. Widespread acts of corruption are forms of lawlessness committed by a small group of people or a certain community, who abuse power or authority for personal gain, by

² Lefri Mikhael et al., *Hukum Pidana Di Luar Kodifikasi, PT Global Eksekutif Teknologi*, 2023.

³ Nurannisa Salsadila, Ayu Efridadewi, and Heni Widiyani, "Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi Di Indonesia: Masalah Dan Solusinya," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 1, no. 2 (2023): 9, <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v1i2.2048>.

harming the state's finances.⁴ Corruption can no longer be categorized as ordinary *crimes*, but has developed into extraordinary *crimes*. Therefore, efforts to counter and eradicate it require an unconventional approach, but rather through extraordinary and more intensive measures.

Corruption crimes are categorized as serious crimes because they are generally carried out through systematic patterns and mechanisms that are difficult to uncover. Corrupt practices are often carried out in secret by taking advantage of bureaucratic complexity and office authority to cover up these unlawful acts. The perpetrators usually use complex and organized methods, even involving many parties. Forms of corruption can be in the form of abuse of authority for personal or group interests, manipulation of the procurement and tender process of projects, manipulation of promotions or mutations of employees and the filling of strategic positions, the provision of gratuities in the form of luxury goods or travel facilities, to embezzlement and irregularities in the state budget, including fictitious project acts. The completeness of these patterns shows a high level of sophistication and intelligence because they are carried out by parties who have intellectual ability and access to power, so that it requires a strict supervision system, strict law enforcement, and comprehensive prevention efforts by law enforcement officials and anti-corruption agencies.⁵

One of the major corruption cases that occurred in Indonesia can be seen in the corruption case of PT Asuransi Sosial Angkatan Berarmed Republik Indonesia (PT Asabri), which resulted in state losses of Rp23.7 trillion. State losses due to irregularities in PT Asabri's financial and investment management occurred in the period between 2012 and 2019. PT Asabri as a State-Owned Enterprise (BUMN) engaged in the insurance

⁴ Ismail Prabowo, *Combating Corruption with a Sociological Approach* (Surabaya: Dharmawangsa Media Press, n.d.).

⁵ Natasya Klarisa Paruntu and Amad Sudiro, "Pergeseran Paradigma Pemulihan Aset Dalam Tindak Pidana Korupsi Untuk Mewujudkan Optimalisasi Pengembalian Kerugian Negara Paradigm Shift in Asset Recovery in Corruption Crimes to Achieve Optimization of Restitution of State Losses," *Jurnal USM Law Review* 8, no. 3 (2025): 6–11, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v8i3.12888>.

sector, was established with the main goal of improving the welfare of soldiers of the Indonesian National Army (TNI), members of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Polri), and Civil Servants (PNS) in the Ministry of Defense/Polri. The occurrence of corruption crimes at PT Asabri which has an impact on state losses directly hinders the achievement of state goals in ensuring protection and improving the level of welfare for these groups.⁶

The corruption case of PT Asabri involved a number of internal officials of the company, as well as external parties, including Benny Tjokrosaputro as President Director of PT Hanson Internasional Tbk. In the period from 2012 to 2019, Asabri's board of directors, including the President Director, the Director of Investment and Finance, and the Head of the Investment Division were suspected of colluding with outside parties, namely Heru Hidayat, Benny Tjokrosaputro, and Lukman Purnomosidi. They are suspected of buying or exchanging shares in Asabri's investment portfolio with shares belonging to the external party. The prices of these stocks have been manipulated in such a way that they appear to have good performance, even though they do not reflect real conditions.⁷

The placement of the investment fund had an impact on the decline in the value of PT Asabri's stock portfolio, causing the company to suffer losses. As a result, the value of the company's stock assets decreased, causing financial losses for PT Asabri. Not only does it have an impact on the company, but also the investment policy also has implications for finances which reach IDR 23,729,936,916,742.58. The value of this loss was calculated based on the results of the presentation by the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK RI) together with the Attorney General's Office

⁶ Fatma Putri Fadilah, Ummu Hani Sentosa, and Harlin Sabrinda Rasya, "PERAMPASAN KEUNTUNGAN PERUSAHAAN SEBAGAI BENTUK PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN KORPORASI ATAS TINDAK PIDANA KORUPSI," *Jurnal Hukum Statuta* 4 (2025): 117–28, <https://doi.org/10.35586/jhs.v4i2.10828>.

⁷ Bayu Saputro, "Penyelesaian Kerugian Negara Yang Disebabkan Tindak Pidana Korupsi Dalam Pengelolaan Keuangan Negara Di Badan Usaha Milik Negara Pt. Asabri (Persero)," *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan* 54, no. 2 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol54.no2.1616>.

on January 6, 2021.⁸ This loss also has an impact on PT Asabri's insurance policyholders, as they have difficulty obtaining claims and interest that should be their right.

Failure in efforts to tackle corruption in Indonesia is influenced by a number of factors. One of the main factors is the weak political will to support and implement anti-corruption policies. In addition, law enforcement against corrupt perpetrators has not been carried out effectively due to uncertainty in the application of the law and the alleged interference of judicial mafia practices which also affect the course of the judicial process. The eradication of corruption is also hampered by the absence of a firm direction and focus, pressure from various interests, and the lack of a clear priority scale in handling large-scale corruption cases. Another obstacle that contributes to this condition is the weak synergy between law enforcement agencies, which leads to overlapping authorities and low efficiency in the investigation to prosecution stages.⁹

Ambiguity and ambiguity in laws and regulations also affect the way in which bribery in corruption crimes is understood and interpreted. Inconsistent and less firm legal arrangements, especially related to bribery, cause differences in interpretation in the community and become obstacles in the law enforcement process. In addition, the low effectiveness of the legal system and the inconsistency in its implementation make it increasingly difficult to interpret bribery offenses. This condition is reflected in the weak enforcement of rules and the provision of sanctions that have not provided a deterrent effect, thus giving rise to the notion that the practice of bribery can be carried out without meaningful legal consequences and ultimately hinders efforts to eradicate corruption in Indonesia.

⁸ Maulida Isnaini et al., "Penerapan Prinsip Kehati-Hatian Direksi Pada Kegagalan Investasi PT. Asabri," *Unes Law Riview* 6, no. 4 (2024): 11886–95, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31933/unesrev.v6i4.2128>.

⁹ Jarot Digdo Ismoyo, *Modern Legal State Theory* (Sonpedia Publishing Indonesia, 2025).

In light of recent developments, anti-corruption efforts are concentrated on three primary areas; prevention, prosecution, and the recovery of assets obtained through corrupt practices. This indicates that combating corruption involves not only preventive and punitive actions against offenders but also measures aimed at restoring state financial losses. However, the process of returning misappropriated state assets through corrupt practices is not an easy thing. Corrupt perpetrators generally have extensive networks and access so that they are able to hide or launder the proceeds of their crimes in a way that is difficult to trace. The challenges in asset recovery are increasingly complex because the assets of corruption are often stored in other regions or across countries, outside the place where the crime was committed.

Indonesia's positive law still adheres to the *retributive justice* paradigm in the non-criminal regulation of corruption. This approach is considered not in line with the main goal of eradicating corruption because it focuses more on criminalizing perpetrators than recovering state losses due to the crime. As a result, the process of returning assets or recovering state finances affected by corruption crimes is hampered.¹⁰ Therefore, handling corruption crimes requires optimal efforts, especially in the process of returning state assets. These efforts must be carried out based on the provisions of applicable laws and regulations, and supported by the role of law enforcement apparatus who act fairly and firmly, so as to be able to cause a deterrent effect for perpetrators of corruption crimes and at the same time recover state finances from the losses that have been caused.¹¹

Asset redevelopment has a very crucial role for the development of developing countries. The return of state losses due to corruption crimes not only serves to return stolen assets, but also becomes a form of law

¹⁰ Sindhi Cintya, Shrishti Shrishti, and Christine S T Kansil, "Reformulasi Asset Recovery Sebagai Pidana Pokok Dalam Upaya Pengembalian Kerugian Negara," *Prosiding Serina Iv 2022* 2, no. 1 (2022): 627–35, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24912/pserina.v2i1.18553>.

¹¹ Nadila Putri Belinda, "Prosedur Pengembalian Aset Hasil Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Upaya Menyelamatkan Keuangan Negara," 2021.

enforcement, where the principle that no single individual is above the law is actually enforced. Therefore, asset recovery is not solely a series of administrative procedures, but also an integral part of law enforcement efforts through established legal mechanisms.

Based on the background of the problems that the author has described, in this article the author wants to research further about:

- 1) What is the form of corruption committed by PT Asabri?
- 2) How is the criminalization of corruption and asset recovery maximized from a political and legal perspective (PT Asabri case study)?

Methods

This study employs a normative juridical approach, a legal research method that emphasizes the examination of laws and regulations, legal doctrines, and pertinent theoretical frameworks. The research utilizes three approaches: the statutory approach, the conceptual approach, and the case-based approach. The legislative approach is carried out in reviewing regulations related to asset recovery in corruption crimes. Meanwhile, a conceptual approach is used to discuss the concepts, theories, and legal principles underlying the research topic. The case approach is carried out by analyzing relevant case studies, in this case the case that occurred at PT Asabri. The data collection technique used is a literature study, relying on secondary data. The data sources in this study include primary legal materials, such as laws and regulations regarding corruption, as well as secondary legal materials in the form of literature, such as books and scientific journals.

Result and Discussion

1. Forms of Corruption Crimes Committed by PT Asabri

PT Asabri (Persero) operates as a limited liability state-owned company, with full shareholding held by the state. The State is represented by the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises who acts as shareholders or the General Meeting of Shareholders (GMS). This provision is based on Government Regulation Number 41 of 2003 which regulates the transfer of positions, duties, and authority of the Minister of Finance to the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises in the management of Company Companies (Persero), Public Companies (Perum), and Public Companies (Perjan).¹²

PT Asabri (Social Insurance of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (Persero) which is engaged in insurance/social security for TNI Soldiers, Members of the National Police, and Civil Servants of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia/Polri. PT Asabri was formed by the government as a state-owned enterprise on August 1, 1971 with the aim of improving the welfare of Indonesian National Army Soldiers, Members of the National Police, and civil servants within the Ministry of Defense and the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the provisions of the law, the legal basis for the establishment of PT Asabri (Persero) includes, Law Number 2 of 1992 concerning Insurance Business, Law Number 19 of 2003 concerning State-Owned Enterprises, and Law Number 40 of 2004 concerning the National Social Security System.¹³

Pursuant to the provisions of Law Number 40 of 2014 concerning the Insurance Business, PT Asabri (Persero) is legally classified as a life

¹² Manertiur Meilina Lubis and Kornelius Simanjuntak, "Analisis Hukum Penempatan Investasi Yang Mengalami Kegagalan Pada Perusahaan Asuransi PT. Asabri (Persero)," *Binamulia Hukum* 11, no. 1 (2022): 33–41, <https://doi.org/10.37893/jbh.v11i1.672>.

¹³ Tita Novitasaari, *BELAJAR DARI ASABRI: MODEL IDEAL PENGAWASAN HUKUM TERHADAP ASURANSI MILIK NEGARA, WIDINA MEDIA UTAMA* (Kabupaten Bandung, 2025), https://www.asabri.co.id/asset/images/media/large/brosur_isi_EDISI_NOV.pdf.

insurance company based on its designated line of business. Nevertheless, from an institutional and functional perspective, PT Asabri (Persero) exhibits a distinct social character. Consequently, PT Asabri (Persero) may be categorized as a mandatory social life insurance institution in accordance with applicable laws and regulations, serving the primary function of providing financial protection to veterans of the Indonesian National Armed Forces, members of the Indonesian National Police, and civil servants within the Ministry of Defense and the Indonesian National Police of the Republic of Indonesia.

The insurance operations of PT Asabri (Persero) are founded on the core principle of social insurance, specifically the principle of mutual cooperation. This embodies a solidarity mechanism among participants, whereby younger, higher-earning, and low-risk members provide support to older, lower-income, and higher-risk participants.¹⁴

PT Asabri is suspected of having committed corruption crimes worth around IDR 23.7 trillion. The suspicion began in early 2020, when the Audit Board (BPK) realized that there were irregularities in the Company's financial statements, where the company's performance seemed to be declining over time based on the audited financial statements, which showed negative results.¹⁵

The Attorney General's Office provided a detailed account of the sequence of events concerning the alleged corruption in Asabri's financial management and investment activities. According to this account, during the period from 2012 to 2019, the President Director, the Director of Investment and Finance, and the Head of the Investment Division of Asabri were suspected of engaging in agreements with external parties who did not hold positions as investment consultants or licensed investment managers, namely Heru Hidayat, Benny Tjokrosaputro, and Lukman Purnomosidi.

¹⁴ PT ASABRI (PERSERO), "TENTANG PT ASABRI (PERSERO)," n.d.

¹⁵ Egi Adyatama, "Heru Hidayat Dituntut Hukuman Mati, Begini Awal Mula Kasus Asabri," *Tempo*, 2021, <https://www.tempo.co/hukum/heru-hidayat-dituntut-hukuman-mati-begini-awal-mula-kasus-asabri-447129>.

These parties were allegedly involved in arrangements to purchase or exchange share within Asbri's investment portofolio with stocks owned by the aforementioned individuals, whose values had been deliberately manipulated to create the impression of positive investment performance. Subsequently, after the shares were included in Asbri's portofolio, their management and subsequent transactions were effectively controlled by Heru Hidayat, Benny Tjokrosaputro, and Lukman Purnomosidi, based on prior agreements with the Board of Directors of Asabri.

The transaction creates the impression as if the shares are of high value and liquidity, when in reality it is only a pseudo-transaction that benefits Heru, Benny, and Lukman and harms Asabri because Asabri sold the shares at a price below the purchase price. To cover the losses, the shares that had been sold cheaply were then bought back by nominees Heru, Benny, and Lukman who were then reacquired by Asabri through mutual funds managed by investment managers under the control of them. Overall, Asabri's investment operations during the 2012-2019 period were not managed by the company itself but were entirely dominated by Heru, Benny, and Lukman.¹⁶

In the 2020-2021 period, the BPK began to suspect a continuous decline in Asabri's portfolio stocks, which then paved the way for the revelation of this investigation. In its audit, BPK found that the Company's financial statements for 2017 showed losses of up to sixteen trillion rupiah caused by illegal investment practices. Further investigation revealed that PT Asabri had purchased illegal shares worth eight hundred and two billion rupiah and sold 12 non-bluechip shares that were previously purchased at a price of nine hundred and eighty-seven billion rupiah. The results of the investigation showed that there was evidence confiscated and state losses

¹⁶ Muhammad Idris, "Ini Kronologi Korupsi Asabri Yang Merugikan Negara Rp 23,7 Triliun," Kompas.com, 2021, <https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/02/03/030400326/ini-kronologi-korupsi-asabri-yang-merugikan-negara-rp-23-7-triliun>.

estimated at Rp23.7 trillion.¹⁷ These losses also had an impact on the insurance policyholders of PT Asabri (Persero), because they experienced obstacles in obtaining the fulfillment of insurance claims along with the interest yield that should have been received.

The investment activities were fully carried out and controlled by Heru, Benny, and Lukman, and involved a number of other officials who were also suspects, namely:

a. Internal Parties:

1. Major General Retired Adam Rachat Damiri, as President Director of PT Asabri for the 2011-2016 period. Involved in making agreements with Benny related to the regulation and control of investment transactions, both in mutual funds and shares in PT Asabri.
2. Retired Lt. Gen. Sonny Widjaja, as President Director of PT Asabri for the 2016-2020 period. Involved in making agreements with Heru related to the regulation and control of investment transactions, both in mutual funds and shares in PT Asabri.
3. Bachtiar Effendi, as Head of Finance Division of PT Asabri for the 2008-2014 period. Effendi and Hari are responsible for planning, investment and financial management, as well as controlling regulatory approvals in initial agreements related to investment in mutual funds and shares owned by Benny and Heri. The implementation of these tasks was carried out without going through a fundamental or technical analysis process, resulting in significant losses for the Company.
4. Hari Setianti, as Director of Investment and Finance of PT Asabri for 2014-2019.
5. Ilham W Siregar, as Head of Investment Division of PT Asabri for the 2012-2017 period. Acting as one of the parties allegedly involved in money laundering practices within the Company.

¹⁷ Natalis Christian et al., "ANALISIS KASUS PT. ASABRI (PERSERO) DENGAN TEORI DASAR FRAUD," *Jurnal Multilingual* 3, no. 3 (2023), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26499/multilingual.v3i3.366>.

b. External Parties:

1. Lukman Purnomosidi, as President Director of PT Prima Jaringan and Director of PT Eureka Prima Jakarta Tbk. Lukman, Heru, and Benny are involved in arranging mutual fund and stock transactions in PT Asabri's portfolio. This activity was carried out by buying PT Asabri's portfolio using shares owned by Lukman, Heru, and Benny at a price lower than the actual value. The three are also suspected of interfering in the manipulation of PT Asabri's financial statements.
2. Heru Hidayat, as President of PT Trada Alam Mineral Tbk.
3. Benny Tjokrosaputro, as Commissioner of PT Hanson Internasional Tbk.
4. Jimmy Sutopo, as Director of PT Jakarta Issuer Investor Relationship. Jimmy was given a mandate by Benny and Heru to carry out and control the price in the transaction of buying and selling PT Asabri shares.
5. Teddy Tjokrosaputro, as Benny Tjokrosaputro's younger brother.¹⁸

2. Criminalization of Corruption Crimes & Maximizing Asset Recovery in a Political and Legal Perspective (PT Asabri Case Study)

The corruption case that occurred at PT Asabri and caused state losses, as stated in the BPK investigation report Number 07/LHP/XXI/05/2021, has met all elements of corruption as stipulated in Article 2 paragraph (1) jo. Article 18 of Law Number 31 of 1999 jo. Law Number 20 of 2001. In addition, some convicts are also considered to meet the criminal elements as stipulated in Pasa 155 paragraph (1) 1 of the Criminal Code and Article 3 of Law Number 8 of 2010 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of

¹⁸ Febi Pertiwi Riyanti et al., "ANALISIS PELANGGARAN ETIKA AKUNTANSI: MANIPULASI SAHAM INVESTASI OLEH PT ASABRI," *Jurnal Perubahan Ekonomi* 8, no. 5 (2024): 41–45, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26499/multilingual.v3i3.366>.

Money Laundering Crimes. The convicts in the PT Asabri corruption case have been sentenced as follows:

1. Major General Retired. Adam Rachmat Damiri, as the President Director of PT Asabri for the 2011-2016 period, was sentenced to 15 years in prison and a fine of Rp750 million with the condition that if not paid, it will be replaced with 6 months of confinement. In addition, he is also required to pay compensation of Rp17.972 billion, if not met, it will be replaced with a prison sentence of 5 years, according to the Jakarta High Court Decision.¹⁹
2. Lieutenant General Retired. Sorn Widjaja, as the President Director of PT Asabri for the 2016-2020 period, was sentenced to 18 years in prison and was required to pay a fine of Rp750 million, which if not paid will be replaced with imprisonment for 6 months. He was also ordered to pay compensation of Rp64.5 billion, and if this obligation is not fulfilled, it will be replaced with a prison sentence of 5 years, according to the Jakarta High Court Decision.²⁰
3. Bachtiar Effendi, as the Head of the Finance and Investment Division of PT Asabri in the 2008-2014 period, was sentenced to 15 years in prison and was required to pay a fine of Rp750 million with the condition that if the fine is not paid, it will be replaced with imprisonment for 6 months. He was also subject to an additional penalty in the form of payment of compensation to the state of Rp453.783 million.²¹
4. Hari Setianto, as the Director of Investment and Finance of PT Asabri in the 2014-2019 period, was sentenced to 12 years in prison and a fine of Rp750 million, which if not paid will be replaced with imprisonment for

¹⁹ Desca Lidya Natalia, "Vonis Mantan Dirut Asabri Adam Damiri Dipotong 5 Tahun Penjara," Antara Kantor Berita Indonesia, 2022, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2901909/vonis-mantan-dirut-asabri-adam-damiri-dipotong-5-tahun-penjara>.

²⁰ Natalia.

²¹ Dwi Andayani, "2 Eks Petinggi ASABRI Bachtiar Effendi-Hari Setianto Divonis 15 Tahun Bui," Detiknews, 2022, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5884318/2-eks-petinggi-asabri-bachtiar-effendi-hari-setianto-divonis-15-tahun-bui>.

- 6 months. He was also sentenced to an additional sentence in the form of an obligation to pay compensation to the state amounting to Rp378,883 million.²²
5. Lukman Purnomosidi, an external party, was sentenced to 10 years in prison and a fine of Rp750 million with the provision that if the fine is not paid, it will be replaced with 6 months of confinement. He was also sentenced to an additional penalty in the form of an obligation to pay compensation of Rp715 billion.²³
 6. Heru Hidayat, an external party, was sentenced to zero by the panel of judges because he had received a life prison sentence in a corruption case at PT Asuransi Jiwasraya. He remains subject to an additional penalty in the form of an obligation to pay compensation to the state of Rp12.640 billion.²⁴
 7. Benny Tjokrosaputro, an external party, was sentenced to zero by the panel of judges because he had previously been sentenced to life imprisonment in the PT Asuransi Jiwasraya case. He was still sentenced to an additional penalty in the form of an obligation to pay compensation to the state amounting to Rp5.73 trillion.²⁵
 8. Jimmy Sutopo, an external party, was sentenced to 19 years in prison and a fine of Rp800 million with the provision that if the fine is not paid, it will be replaced with 6 months of confinement. He was also sentenced to an additional penalty in the form of an obligation to pay compensation to the state amounting to Rp314.868 billion.²⁶

²² Direktori Putusan et al., *Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia*, n.d.

²³ Desca Lidya Natalia, "Dua Pihak Swasta Divonis 10 Dan 13 Tahun Penjara Terkait Korupsi Asabri," *Antara Kalteng*, 2022, <https://kalteng.antaranews.com/berita/533069/dua-pihak-swasta-divonis-10-dan-13-tahun-penjara-terkait-korupsi-asabri>.

²⁴ Andi Saputra, "PT Jakarta Tetap Vonis Heru Hidayat Nihil Dan 12,6 T Di Kasus ASABRI," *Detiknews*, 2023, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6522478/pt-jakarta-tetap-vonis-heru-hidayat-nihil-dan-12-6-t-di-kasus-asabri>.

²⁵ Raynard Kristian Bonanio Pardede, "Benny Tjokro Divonis Nihil, Tetapi Dihukum Bayar Rp 5,73 Triliun," *Kompas.id*, 2023, <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/hakim-vonis-nihil-benny-tjokro>.

²⁶ Putusan et al., *Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia*.

Seeing the magnitude of state losses that continue to arise due to corruption crimes, a mechanism is needed that puts more pressure on the recovery of state losses, because prison sentences alone are inadequate. The theory of utilitarianism by Jeremy Bentham, states that the goal of law is to provide the greatest benefit and happiness to as many members of society as possible.²⁷

Regarding state financial losses caused by corruption offenses, the Anti-Corruption Law provides specific legal mechanisms designed to facilitate the recovery of such losses. These provisions are designed to ensure that state assets can be restored in addition to the imposition of criminal sanctions on perpetrators of corruption. Within the framework of criminal law, asset recovery is implemented through the imposition of additional penalties in the form of restitution or compensation payments, the maximum value of which corresponds to the assets unlawfully obtained through corrupt practices, and which may be enforced through asset seizure or confiscation.

Nevertheless, in practice, the execution of asset confiscation in corruption cases frequently encounters significant challenges. This difficulty arises because corruption is commonly perpetrated by individuals classified as white-collar offenders, namely persons who possess particular authority and/or professional expertise. As a result, the disclosure of such offenses often occurs long after the corrupt acts have been committed, at a stage when the proceeds of corruption have already been concealed or secured by the offenders.

In the practice of corruption criminal trials, the term state loss is often interpreted or equated with state financial losses.²⁸ Meanwhile, one of the main elements in corruption crimes is the loss to state finances. In this regard, laws and regulations regarding the eradication of corruption, both

²⁷ Fadilah, Sentosa, and Rasya, "PERAMPASAN KEUNTUNGAN PERUSAHAAN SEBAGAI BENTUK PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN KORPORASI ATAS TINDAK PIDANA KORUPSI."

²⁸ Ferry Makawimbang Hernold, *State Financial Losses in Corruption, A Progressive Legal Approach* (Yogyakarta: Thefa Media, 2014).

Law Number 3 of 1971 and Law Number 31 of 1999 in conjunction with Law Number 20 of 2001, affirm the policy that state financial losses arising from acts of corruption must be recovered or replaced by the perpetrator through *the asset recovery* mechanism.

asset recovery refers to a systematic and integrated series of procedures for managing assets obtained from criminal activities at every stage of law enforcement. The process aims to preserve the value of these assets so that they can be optimally returned to the aggrieved party, including the state. Furthermore, asset recovery encompasses preventive measures designed to safeguard against the depreciation of asset value throughout the course of legal proceedings.²⁹

Asset return is an instrument of law enforcement carried out by the state as a party aggrieved by the crime of corruption, with the aim of revoking, seizing, and eliminating the perpetrator's ownership rights to assets obtained from the proceeds of the crime. Its enforcement is conducted through a range of legal procedures and mechanisms, utilizing both criminal and civil avenues. Assets derived from corruption offenses, whether located domestically or abroad, are identified and returned to the state to restore the financial losses incurred. Furthermore, asset recovery serves to prevent offenders from exploiting illicit proceeds to facilitate further criminal activities and functions as a deterrent for both perpetrators and potential actors in corruption-related crimes.

One of the causes of the inhibition of the success of *asset recovery* in corruption crimes is the weak paradigm used in corruption eradication laws and regulations. Within the framework of the Corruption Law, the concept of "state losses" is still understood in a limited way, namely only as the nominal amount of state financial losses due to acts of corruption. This perspective is narrow and rigid, because the harm caused by an act of crime basically does not only include material aspects. In addition, the calculation

²⁹ Toriq, "Tinjauan Yuridis Pelaksanaan Pengembalian Aset (Asset Recovery) Dalam Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Upaya Pemulihan Kerugian Negara (Studi Kasus Putusan Nomor 17/Pid.Sus-TPK/2020/PN.Smg)," 2021, 6.

of state losses often ignores the time factor and the real value of money. For example, if a corruption crime occurred in 2012 with a value of 7 billion, but was only revealed in 2016, then the value of the loss has actually changed. This is due to the difference in economic value of Rp7 billion in 2012 compared to the same value in 2010.

If you look at the amount of state losses determined by the Panel of Judges in PT Asabri's corruption, which amounted to 23.7 trillion rupiah, and compare it with the verdict handed down, it is clear that the recovery of state losses in the PT Asabri corruption case is not fully covered. Based on calculations, the total compensation charged to the convicts only reached Rp6,859,063,482,531.00 (six trillion eight hundred fifty-nine billion sixty-three million four hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one rupiah). This amount is far below the value of state losses set, so according to the author, the recovery of state losses in the case has actually not been optimally resolved.³⁰

Fundamentally, the mechanism for recovering state losses through compensation payments is already regulated under Indonesian law. According to the regulation of the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia Number PER-006/A/JA/3/2014, dated March 20, 2014, the Asset Recovery Center was established as a unit within the Attorney General's Office, responsible for overseeing the implementation of asset recovery in Indonesia. The Attorney General's Regulation on asset recovery guidelines is the basis for the implementation of tracing, security, and management, confiscation, and return of assets; the assets in question include assets obtained from criminal acts, either directly or indirectly; assets used or related to criminal acts and confiscated for the state based on a court decision; assets belonging to the convict or related parties as payment of state losses, fines, or compensation; found items; state assets or SOEs controlled by unauthorized parties; assets recovered at the request of

³⁰ Saputro, "Penyelesaian Kerugian Negara Yang Disebabkan Tindak Pidana Korupsi Dalam Pengelolaan Keuangan Negara Di Badan Usaha Milik Negara Pt. Asabri (Persero)."

another country; and other assets that according to laws and regulations are a form of compensation for victims or entitled parties.

However, in the practice of the trial when the judge determines the obligation to pay the compensation according to the value of the state's losses, the convicts often declare their inability to pay the entire amount due to their economic condition. As a result, the punishment carried out is generally in the form of imprisonment that does not exceed the principal penalty that has been imposed in lieu of the payment of compensation.³¹

By referring to one of the decisions as an example, namely the Central Jakarta District Court Decision Number 49/Pid-Sus-TKP/2021/PN Jkt.Pst which sentenced the convict Benny Tjokrosaputro, it can be seen that the determination of the compensation money is based on the amount obtained by the convict. In the verdict, Benny was declared to have received the proceeds of the corruption crime of IDR 5,733,250,247,731.00. Therefore, the amount of replacement money charged to him is also set equal to this value, which is IDR 5,733,250,247,731.00.

Article 18 of the Anti-Corruption Law provides for additional criminal penalties, including the imposition of an obligation to pay compensation. The amount of such compensation is capped at a maximum equivalent to the value of assets acquired as a result of corrupt activities. In addition, the law specifies a repayment period for substitute compensation, which must be fulfilled within a maximum of one month after the verdict acquires permanent legal force. Failure to meet this obligation may result in imprisonment for the offender. According to a report by ICW, the country's financial losses from corruption are projected to reach IDR 279,9 trillion in 2024. Of the total value of state financial losses, the government has only been able to get a settlement of state financial damages (*asset recovery*) of

³¹ Zul Afiatul Kharisma, Brian Bagus Wiyan Putra, and Melasari Nurul Hidayah, "Pertanggungjawaban Atas Tindak Pidana Korupsi Oleh BUMN Sebagai Korporasi: Antara Tanggungjawab Korporasi Dan Pengurus," *Jurnal Hukum Lex ...* 2, no. 12 (2021): 1319–43, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.56370/jhlg.v2i12.162>.

IDR 28.5 billion. This means that only about 10-11% of state money has been recovered from the total losses caused by corruption.³²

Based on the example above, it can be concluded that the determination of replacement money to the state is in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 paragraph (1) letter b of the Corruption Law. However, why is there still such a large difference as previously described? In this case, the author considers that there is a weakness in the provisions of Article 18 paragraph (1) b of the article. The article states that "The payment of compensation is determined to be as much as the property obtained from the crime of corruption".³³ This means that the responsibility of corrupt perpetrators is only limited to the amount of assets or profits they directly obtain. In fact, if a criminal act of corruption occurs, it is likely that there are other losses that arise outside of the property enjoyed by the perpetrator in an unlawful way.

This condition shows that the amount of compensation charged to the defendant is often not balanced with the amount of state losses, but is limited to the maximum amount of wealth obtained by the defendant from the crime of corruption committed. However, in this case, the criminalization of the defendants in the PT Asabri corruption case is appropriate, especially in the imposition of additional penalties in the form of payment of compensation as a form of state financial recovery.

In addition, based on the provisions in the Corruption Crime Law, the author considers that there is no legal provision that explicitly requires the return of all state losses incurred due to corruption crimes. This condition certainly raises its own problems, considering that in Article 22 paragraph (5) of the Law on the Audit of State Financial Management and Responsibility there is the phrase "As long as it is not regulated in a separate law". The phrase can be interpreted that if the mechanism for resolving state

³² Ade Ridwan Yandwiputra, "ICW: Aparat Penegak Hukum Lemah Kejar Kerugian Negara Di Kasus Korupsi," *Tempo*, 2025.

³³ BPK, "Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 31 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi," *Peraturan BPK* 13, no. 6 (1983): 475.

losses has been regulated in a separate law, then the settlement no longer refers to the provisions of the Law on the Audit of State Financial Management and Responsibility. This interpretation accords with the *lex specialis derogate legi generalis* principle, whereby legal provisions of a specific character take precedence over those of a general nature. In this context, corruption is a special crime that has been regulated in a separate law, so the applicable provisions are the Corruption Crime Law.

Assets derived from corruption offenses constitute state property that must be recovered, over which the state possesses full authority to exercise control, management, and utilization in an optimal manner for the maximum benefit and welfare of the people. Corruption is an act that causes great losses to state and community finances, so it has the potential to hinder the implementation of national development. Therefore, various forms of acts that are detrimental to state finances must be eradicated comprehensively, one of which is through optimizing the effectiveness and binding power of existing laws and regulations with the application of strict law enforcement.³⁴

Based on a report by Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW), the number of corruption cases shows a relatively stable upward trend over the past five years. The results of the ICW study revealed that there are two main factors that trigger the increase. First, law enforcement efforts in the eradication of corruption carried out by the government are considered to have not run effectively. This can be seen from the recapitulation of the court decision in corruption cases which shows that the average prison sentence and additional sanctions in the form of payment of compensation have not been able to have a deterrent effect for the perpetrator. Second, policies and measures to prevent corruption are still not implemented optimally.³⁵

³⁴ Hasanal Mulkan and Serlika Aprita, "Asset Recovery Dalam Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Upaya Pengembalian Kerugian Keuangan Negara," *The Juris* 7, no. 1 (2023): 174–80, <https://doi.org/10.56301/juris.v7i1.870>.

³⁵ ICW, "Narasi Laporan Hasil Pemantauan Tren Korupsi 2023," *Icw.or.Id*, 2023, 10–24, [https://www.icw.or.id/sites/default/files/dokumen/Narasi Laporan Hasil Pemantauan Tren Korupsi Tahun 2023.pdf](https://www.icw.or.id/sites/default/files/dokumen/Narasi%20Laporan%20Hasil%20Pemantauan%20Tren%20Korupsi%20Tahun%202023.pdf).

Future initiatives to recover assets obtained from corruption offenses as part of restoring state finances must be reinforced. One possible measure is to amend or supplement existing regulations governing the seizure of assets linked to corruption, taking into account international legal frameworks and the evolving practices of asset recovery applied in various jurisdictions.

The return of assets should not only be positioned as an additional penalty, but also need to be regulated as a principal penalty. With the determination of asset return as a principal crime, the judge has the obligation to impose asset confiscation sanctions on convicted of corruption crimes who are proven to have profited from the act. Through this mechanism, state assets that have been corrupted can be restored. As a consequence, corrupt perpetrators can no longer enjoy the results of their crimes, so it is hoped that it will be able to have a deterrent effect and prevent the emergence of intentions to commit corruption crimes in the future.

Conclusion

PT Asabri (Persero), as a State-Owned Enterprise (BUMN) that aims to provide social security and improve the welfare of Indonesian National Army Soldiers, Members of the National Police, and civil servants within the Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia and the National Police, has been involved in allegations of large-scale corruption in financial and investment management. The investment practices that took place in the 2012-2019 period were not carried out professionally and independently by Asabri's management, but were controlled by outside parties through stock manipulation schemes and pseudo-transactions that were detrimental to the company. It was also found that state losses reached tens of trillions of rupiah which showed abuse of authority and serious violations of the law.

The mechanism for recovering state losses in PT Asabri's corruption case has been implemented in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. All parties who have been found guilty are sentenced to

criminal sanctions in the form of prison sentences, fines, and additional penalties in the form of the obligation to pay compensation to the state. The requirement to pay substitute compensation constitutes a form of liability for state financial losses as provided under Article 18 of Anti-Corruption Law. This provision is a special rule (*lex specialis*) that overrides the provisions of Article 22 paragraph (4) of the Law on the Audit of State Financial Management and Responsibility, which mandates the determination of procedures for settling state losses by the Audit Board (BPK) after coordinating with the government.

The implementation of Article 18 of the Anti-Corruption Law is legally defensible, as Article 22 paragraph (5) of the Law on the Audit of State Financial Management and Accountability explicitly stipulates that the compensation mechanism referred to in paragraph (4) is not applicable where such matters have been governed by specific statutory provisions. Nevertheless, the resolution of state financial losses in the PT Asabri case continues to present legal concerns, particularly with regard to the amount of compensation imposed on the convicted individuals, which does not appear to be commensurate with the overall magnitude of the state losses incurred.

This condition reflects the limitation of the regulation in Article 18 paragraph (1) letter b of the Corruption Law which limits the obligation to pay compensation only to the value of the property that the perpetrator actually obtained from the crime of corruption. With a total state loss of IDR 23.7 trillion and a total replacement of only IDR 6.8 trillion, which means that only about 28-29% of assets have been successfully recovered. As a result, the convicts are only held accountable for state losses directly enjoyed by them, while other state losses incurred in the PT Asabri case are not fully recoverable. In fact, corruption in practice is very likely to cause a wider impact of losses, not limited to assets that are directly controlled by the perpetrator illegally. However, in this case, the criminalization of the defendants in the PT Asabri corruption case is appropriate, especially in the

imposition of additional penalties in the form of payment of compensation as a form of state financial recovery.

References

Book

- Hernold, Ferry Makawimbang. *State Financial Losses in Corruption, A Progressive Legal Approach*. Yogyakarta: Thefa Media, 2014.
- ICW. "Narasi Laporan Hasil Pemantauan Tren Korupsi 2023." *Icw.or.Id*, 2023, 10–24.
[https://www.icw.or.id/sites/default/files/dokumen/Narasi Laporan Hasil Pemantauan Tren Korupsi Tahun 2023.pdf](https://www.icw.or.id/sites/default/files/dokumen/Narasi_Laporan_Hasil_Pemantauan_Tren_Korupsi_Tahun_2023.pdf).
- Ismoyo, Jarot Digdo. *Modern Legal State Theory*. Sonpedia Publishing Indonesia, 2025.
- Mikhael, Lefri, Aryono, Dian Eka Kusuma Wardani, Khairul Riza, Muhamad Romdoni, Herlina Sulaiman, Dedi Dwi Pamungkas, et al. *Hukum Pidana Di Luar Kodifikasi*. PT Global Eksekutif Teknologi, 2023.
- Novitasaari, Tita. *BELAJAR DARI ASABRI: MODEL IDEAL PENGAWASAN HUKUM TERHADAP ASURANSI MILIK NEGARA. WIDINA MEDIA UTAMA*. Kabupaten Bandung, 2025.
[https://www.asabri.co.id/asset/images/media/large/brosur isi EDISI NOV.pdf](https://www.asabri.co.id/asset/images/media/large/brosur_isi_EDISI_NOV.pdf).
- Prabowo, Ismail. *Combating Corruption with a Sociological Approach*. Surabaya: Dharmawangsa Media Press, n.d.
- PT ASABRI (PERSERO). "TENTANG PT ASABRI (PERSERO)," n.d.

Thesis

- Belinda, Nadila Putri. "Prosedur Pengembalian Aset Hasil Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Upaya Menyelamatkan Keuangan Negara," 2021.
- Toriq. "Tinjauan Yuridis Pelaksanaan Pengembalian Aset (Asset Recovery) Dalam Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Upaya Pemulihan Kerugian Negara (Studi Kasus Putusan Nomor 17/Pid.Sus-TPK/2020/PN.Smg)," 2021, 6.

Journal

- Christian, Natalis, Jeslyn Fedelia, Jennifer Te, and Mellinda Vellin. "ANALISIS KASUS PT. ASABRI (PERSERO) DENGAN TEORI DASAR FRAUD." *Julnal Multilingual* 3, no. 3 (2023).
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26499/multilingual.v3i3.366>.
- Cintya, Sindhi, Shrishti Shrishti, and Christine S T Kansil. "Reformulasi Asset Recovery Sebagai Pidana Pokok Dalam Upaya Pengembalian Kerugian Negara." *Prosiding Serina Iv 2022* 2, no. 1 (2022): 627–35.

- <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24912/pserina.v2i1.18553>.
- Fadilah, Fatma Putri, Ummu Hani Sentosa, and Harlin Sabrinda Rasya. "PERAMPASAN KEUNTUNGAN PERUSAHAAN SEBAGAI BENTUK PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN KORPORASI ATAS TINDAK PIDANA KORUPSI." *Jurnal Hukum Statuta* 4 (2025): 117–28. <https://doi.org/10.35586/jhs.v4i2.10828>.
- Hasanal Mulkan, and Serlika Aprita. "Asset Recovery Dalam Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Upaya Pengembalian Kerugian Keuangan Negara." *The Juris* 7, no. 1 (2023): 174–80. <https://doi.org/10.56301/juris.v7i1.870>.
- Isnaini, Maulida, Sunarmi, Mahmud Siregar, and Syarifah Lisa Andriati. "Penerapan Prinsip Kehati-Hatian Direksi Pada Kegagalan Investasi PT. Asabri." *Unes Law Riview* 6, no. 4 (2024): 11886–95. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31933/unesrev.v6i4.2128>.
- Iswari, Fauzi. "Aplikasi Konsep Negara Dan Reformasi Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang Di Indonesia Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatra Barat" 6, no. September (2020): 127–40. <https://doi.org/10.3376/jch.v6i1.285>.
- Lubis, Manertiur Meilina, and Kornelius Simanjuntak. "Analisis Hukum Penempatan Investasi Yang Mengalami Kegagalan Pada Perusahaan Asuransi PT. Asabri (Persero)." *Binamulia Hukum* 11, no. 1 (2022): 33–41. <https://doi.org/10.37893/jbh.v11i1.672>.
- Paruntu, Natasya Klarisa, and Amad Sudiro. "Pergeseran Paradigma Pemulihan Aset Dalam Tindak Pidana Korupsi Untuk Mewujudkan Optimalisasi Pengembalian Kerugian Negara Paradigm Shift in Asset Recovery in Corruption Crimes to Achieve Optimization of Restitution of State Losses." *Jurnal USM Law Review* 8, no. 3 (2025): 6–11. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v8i3.12888>.
- Riyanti, Febi Pertiwi, Alifiah Humairoh, Abella Saniyyah, and Saridawati. "ANALISIS PELANGGARAN ETIKA AKUNTANSI: MANIPULASI SAHAM INVESTASI OLEH PT ASABRI." *Jurnal Perubahan Ekonomi* 8, no. 5 (2024): 41–45. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26499/multilingual.v3i3.366>.
- Salsadila, Nurannisa, Ayu Efritadewi, and Heni Widiyani. "Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi Di Indonesia: Masalah Dan Solusinya." *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 1, no. 2 (2023): 9. <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v1i2.2048>.
- Saputro, Bayu. "Penyelesaian Kerugian Negara Yang Disebabkan Tindak Pidana Korupsi Dalam Pengelolaan Keuangan Negara Di Badan Usaha Milik Negara Pt. Asabri (Persero)." *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan* 54, no. 2 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol54.no2.1616>.
- Zul Afiatul Kharisma, Brian Bagus Wiyan Putra, and Melasari Nurul Hidayah. "Pertanggungjawaban Atas Tindak Pidana Korupsi Oleh BUMN Sebagai Korporasi: Antara Tanggungjawab Korporasi Dan Pengurus." *Jurnal Hukum Lex ...* 2, no. 12 (2021): 1319–43. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.56370/jhlg.v2i12.162>.

Undang-Undang

BPK. “Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 31 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi.” *Peraturan BPK* 13, no. 6 (1983): 475.

Putusan

Putusan, Direktori, Mahkamah Agung, Republik Indonesia, Lt Apartement, and Ambasadde Residence. *Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia*, n.d.

Website

Adyatama, Egi. “Heru Hidayat Dituntut Hukuman Mati, Begini Awal Mula Kasus Asabri.” *Tempo*, 2021. <https://www.tempo.co/hukum/heru-hidayat-dituntut-hukuman-mati-begini-awal-mula-kasus-asabri-447129>.

Andayani, Dwi. “2 Eks Petinggi ASABRI Bachtiar Effendi-Hari Setianto Divonis 15 Tahun Bui.” *Detiknews*, 2022. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5884318/2-eks-petinggi-asabri-bachtiar-effendi-hari-setianto-divonis-15-tahun-bui>.

Idris, Muhammad. “Ini Kronologi Korupsi Asabri Yang Merugikan Negara Rp 23,7 Triliun.” *Kompas.com*, 2021. <https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/02/03/030400326/ini-kronologi-korupsi-asabri-yang-merugikan-negara-rp-23-7-triliun>.

Natalia, Desca Lidya. “Dua Pihak Swasta Divonis 10 Dan 13 Tahun Penjara Terkait Korupsi Asabri.” *Antara Kalteng*, 2022. <https://kalteng.antaranews.com/berita/533069/dua-pihak-swasta-divonis-10-dan-13-tahun-penjara-terkait-korupsi-asabri>.

———. “Vonis Mantan Dirut Asabri Adam Damiri Dipotong 5 Tahun Penjara.” *Antara Kantor Berita Indonesia*, 2022. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2901909/vonis-mantan-dirut-asabri-adam-damiri-dipotong-5-tahun-penjara>.

Yandwiputra, Ade Ridwan. “ICW: Aparat Penegak Hukum Lemah Kejar Kerugian Negara Di Kasus Korupsi.” *Tempo*, 2025.