

**PENGUNAAN KEWENANGAN PRESIDEN DALAM PEMBERIAN
AMNESTI KEPADA HASTO KRISTIYANTO: PERSPEKTIF TIGA
DIMENSI KEKUASAAN STEVEN LUKES**

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ABSTRAK

Amnesti yang diberikan Presiden Prabowo Subianto kepada Hasto Kristiyanto melalui Keputusan Presiden Nomor 17 Tahun 2025 menjadi fenomena menarik untuk dikaji karena diterbitkan hanya tujuh hari setelah putusan pengadilan tingkat pertama dalam perkara tindak pidana korupsi, suatu praktik yang belum memiliki preseden setara dalam sejarah ketatanegaraan Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis penggunaan kewenangan konstitusional Presiden dalam pemberian amnesti tersebut melalui perspektif teori tiga dimensi kekuasaan Steven Lukes (2005), yang mencakup dimensi pengambilan keputusan (*decision making power*), pengendalian agenda (*non-decision making power*), dan pembentukan preferensi (*ideological power*). Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis deskriptif; data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dan studi pustaka, kemudian dianalisis secara kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kekuasaan Presiden bekerja secara berjenjang pada ketiga dimensi tersebut. Pada dimensi pertama, proses pemberian amnesti berlangsung melalui mekanisme formal-prosedural yang terbuka pada tataran prosedur, tetapi tertutup pada substansi pertimbangannya. Pada dimensi kedua, kekuasaan bekerja melalui pengendalian agenda politik dengan menonjolkan narasi rekonsiliasi nasional, sementara isu akuntabilitas pemberantasan korupsi tidak memperoleh ruang pembahasan yang setara. Pada dimensi ketiga, kekuasaan bekerja melalui pembentukan narasi historis-heroik dan legitimasi yang membuat publik menerima kebijakan tersebut tanpa kesadaran kritis yang memadai. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa ketiga dimensi kekuasaan tersebut saling menopang, sehingga keputusan Presiden yang sah secara prosedural konstitusional tetap menyisakan persoalan transparansi, akuntabilitas, dan konsistensi kebijakan pemberantasan korupsi.

Kata Kunci: amnesti, kewenangan Presiden, tiga dimensi kekuasaan, Steven Lukes, Hasto Kristiyanto.

THE USE OF PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY IN GRANTING AMNESTY TO HASTO KRISTIYANTO: A PERSPECTIVE OF STEVEN LUKES' THREE DIMENSIONS OF POWER

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ABSTRACT

The amnesty granted by President Prabowo Subianto to Hasto Kristiyanto through Presidential Decree Number 17 of 2025 is a compelling phenomenon to examine, as it was issued only seven days after the first-instance court ruling in a corruption case, a practice without precedent in Indonesia's constitutional history. This study aims to analyze the President's use of constitutional authority in granting the amnesty through the lens of Steven Lukes' (2005) three-dimensional power theory, encompassing *decision-making power*, *non-decision-making power*, and *ideological power*. A descriptive qualitative approach was employed; data were collected through in-depth interviews and literature review, then analyzed qualitatively. The findings indicate that presidential power operated in a layered manner across the three dimensions. In the first dimension, the amnesty process unfolded through a formal-procedural mechanism that was open at the procedural level but closed regarding the substance of its considerations. In the second dimension, power operated through agenda control by foregrounding a narrative of national reconciliation, while the issue of anti-corruption accountability was denied equal discursive space. In the third dimension, power operated through the construction of a historical-heroic narrative and legitimacy that led the public to accept the policy without adequate critical awareness. The study concludes that the three dimensions of power reinforce one another, such that a presidential decision that is procedurally valid under the constitution nonetheless leaves unresolved questions of transparency, accountability, and consistency in anti-corruption policy.

Keywords: *amnesty, presidential authority, three dimensions of power, Steven Lukes, Hasto Kristiyanto.*