

Tax Incentive and Stimulus Policy as Government's Support for National Economic Recovery during Covid-19 Pandemic

FC Susila Adiyanta¹, Sri Nurhari Susanto²
^{1,2} Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro

Abstract: The purpose of this study was to explain the urgency and implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies during the Covid-19 pandemic. Using an empirical approach, this study come into the following conclusions: 1) The urgency of Government determining tax incentives and stimulus policies for national economic recovery during the Covid-19 global pandemic is one of the concrete steps for allocation, distribution, stabilization, and increment economic growth to ensure distribution level of income and welfare of the people affected by the pandemic; 2) Tax incentives and stimulus policies implementation for national economic recovery includes various policies, measures, and concrete Government actions as an effort form to save national health system and economy, especially focus on spending upon health, social safety nets, national economy recovery, and communities affected by the global Covid-19 pandemic. Research recommendations: 1) The implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies for national economic recovery must be supported by an accurate, transparent, and accountable database; 2) The implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies as an allocation and distribution system of welfare for the community must always be monitored and evaluated by public; 3) Government facilitation to communities affected by the global Covid-19 pandemic in accessing tax incentives and stimulus policies should be done in a professional manner.

Keywords: tax incentives and stimulus, national economic recovery policy, covid-19 pandemic

A. Introduction

Indonesia, as like other countries around the world which have been hit by the Covid-19 pandemic, cannot avoid from various impacts that have occurred and caused a domino effect on social, economic, and financial aspects. In the health aspect, spreading of Covid-19, which is very easy, fast and widespread, has had an impact in the form of an individual and public health crisis, because drugs and vaccines have not yet been found that are able to cure or inhibit its spreading and transmission to other individuals¹.

Prevention efforts carried out by the Government with the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (*PSBB = Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar*) policy, in the form of regional quarantine measures, have stopped various business, economic, industrial, trade, and daily activities of the community, have affected all aspects of life such as decreased people's income, the weakening of national economic capacity and the level of public welfare. The *PSBB* policy has a large and broad impact on the community because it limits and even stops various economic activities. The government's action to flatten the curve of transmission, and stop the rapid and wide spread of the Covid-19 outbreak, has had an impact on stopping various economic and business activities that absorb labor in various sectors, including the informal sector².

During the Covid-19 pandemic, the state as the dominant economic actor needed sizable facilities and costs to organize government and public services. The state needs substantial financial support to stop the pandemic spread and transmission, economic recovery, public services delivery, and overcome the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

So far, taxes collected from the community is one of the main sources of state revenue. But on the other hand, people affected by the pandemic need assistance and financial support from the state. Decadency of various business sectors, industry, and manufacturing has caused the cessation of business activities. Many people have lost their jobs because of being laid off by companies. People who still have jobs have also experienced a decrease in their purchasing power due to either retrenchment or lessening of their income drastically. The government, based on the authority granted by the state, is obliged to make policies to allocate part of the state budget to overcome the social and economic impacts on society as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Amidst the threat of an economic recession, the imposition of a tax burden upon the public is a dilemmatic policy. Facing this dilemmatic condition, the governments must take a quick and precise action.

¹Harian Kompas, *Pengendalian Covid-19 Menyimpangdari Prinsip Epidemiologi* (<https://www.kompas.id/baca/kesehatan/2021/02/02/pengendalian-covid-19-menyimpang-dari-prinsip-epidemiologi/> pada tanggal 2 Februari 2021)

²*Loc.cit.*

Based on above mentioned background, this research was conducted to find out the urgency and implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies by the Government during the Covid-19 global pandemic.

B. Method

This research use an empirical approach, with process as follow: identifying and observing empirical legal events based on primary and secondary data and legal materials relevant to the research topic. The empirical data and legal materials are reviewed and analyzed to find out the coherence and conformity with applicable positive law and provide solutions in the form of juridical formulations³.

C. Results and Discussion

1. The Urgency of Tax Incentive and Stimulus Policies during the Global Covid-19 Pandemic

Covid-19, which easily spreads quickly and widely, has had a serious impact in the form of an individual and public health crisis because at that time no vaccine had been found. The impact that occurs creates a domino effect on social, economic, and financial aspects. This phenomenon occurs in all countries hit by the Covid-19 pandemic, including Indonesia.

Unlike during normal conditions, the Covid-19 pandemic has caused economic performance decline sharply, the consumption sector disrupted, investment hampered, export and import activities contract, economic growth slows down or drops sharply. On the other hand, the volatility and turmoil in the financial sector has been felt instantly since the discovery of the Covid-19 outbreak, along with the decline in investment confidence from investors who wish to invest in various business and service sectors⁴.

The Covid-19 pandemic has had many impacts that have affected people's lives aspects. Many business, industrial and manufacturing sectors have slumped, because they cannot carry out business and production activities. This condition has resulted in the cessation of business activities, the weakening of people's purchasing power, and the sluggish economy in various business sectors. Many people have lost their jobs because they were laid off by the company, people who still have jobs have also experienced a decrease in their purchasing power, both because of retrenchment and indeed because their income has drastically decreased. Facing this dilemmatic condition, the governments must act quickly and precisely.

With mastery of resources and capacity to mobilize people, the state has the ability to overcome the pandemic. The state through the Government has the responsibility to make fast and appropriate policies to anticipate the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic. The state becomes the beacon of people's hopes to drive the economy when the private sector apprehensive to take risks and the people are burdened and can no longer bear the economic costs as a result of restrictions on movement and social activities. The government has the capacity to allocate and optimize sources of funds and resources to save the economy which is the driving force in overcoming the threat of recession, declining people's purchasing power, unemployment, declining quality of life and public health⁵.

Explicitly, based on the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the State of Indonesia adheres to the concept of a welfare state or is known as the concept of big state, namely the understanding of the state as the organizer of public welfare which is responsible for economic distribution and equitable development. The concept of a big state is also stated in the Indonesian Constitution. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia mandates the Government -as the executive body- which has the function and responsibility as administrator of government and public services to realize public welfare⁶.

With consideration to anticipate the possible impact of the Covid-19 pandemic which is a combination of the health and economic crises facing the world as a result of the global Covid-19 pandemic, the Government issued Government Regulation in lieu of law (*PERPPU = Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-undang*) Nr. 1 of 2020 concerning State Financial Policies and Financial System Stability for Handling the 2019 Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) Pandemic and/or in the Context of Dealing with Threats that Endanger the National Economy and/or Financial System Stability, taking into account the urgency and urgency to deal with a

³Sulistiyowati Irianto dan Sidharta, 2009, *Metode Penelitian Hukum: Konstelasi dan Refleksi*, Penerbit Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, halaman 56

⁴Harian Kompas, *Ketidakpastian Pemulihan Ekonomi Masih Membayangi*, (<https://www.kompas.id/baca/ekonomi/2021/01/27/pemulihan-ekonomi-masih-tidak-pasti/>), pada tanggal 2 Februari 2021)

⁵Chatib Basri, Muhamad, *Jalan Panjang Pemulihan Ekonomi*, Artikel Opini Harian Kompas, Diakses dari <https://kompas.id/baca/opini/2020/07/08/jalan-panjang-pemulihan-ekonomi/> pada tanggal 4 Februari 2021

⁶Basah, Sjachran, 1986, *Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Sikap Tindak Administrasi Negara*, Orasi Dies Natalis XXIX Unpad tgl. 24 September 1986, halaman. 2

pandemic outbreak Covid-19. Through PERPPU Nr.1 of 2020, the Government is trying to save health and the national economy, focusing on spending on health, social safety nets, and economic recovery including for the business activities and affected communities.

The issuance of PERPPU Nr. 1 of 2020, which was later enacted by the House of Representatives into Law Nr. 2 of 2020 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Nr. 1 of 2020 concerning State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability for Handling the 2019 Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) Pandemic and/or In Facing Threats That Endanger the National Economy and/or Stability Financial System Becomes Law on State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability for Handling Covid-19 and/or in Facing Threats That Endanger the National Economy and/or Financial System Stability. Law Nr. 2 of 2020 is a means for the government to gain authority in the management and use of the State Budget to shifts budget allocations, prioritize for the health sector, saving fiscal and national economy due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Support of resources and funding sources to facilitate various health facilities is very much needed by the Government to anticipate various possibilities that may occur due to the pandemic. Although the government cannot estimate the exact number of patients who will be exposed to Covid-19, to overcome the explosion in the number of cases of exposed citizens, the Government has formed a Covid-19 Task Force based on Presidential Decree Nr. 7 of 2020 concerning the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19).

Taking into account the extraordinary spread of the Covid-19 virus, namely the number of cases and/or the number of people who died who became victims, as well as having an impact on the political, economic, social, cultural, defense and national security aspects, the Government issued a Presidential Decree (*KEPPRES = Keputusan Presiden*) Nr. 11 of 2020 Determination of Public Health Emergency Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19). The main substance of Presidential Decree Nr. 11 of 2020 are:

- a) Determine Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) as a type of disease that causes a public health emergency;
- b) Determine a public health emergency of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) which must be handled in accordance with the provisions of the legislation.

In dealing with the various impacts that will occur, the Government has set various regulations and public policies in the economic and monetary sector. The government, through the Indonesian Ministry of Finance, has determined regulations as the basis for the legitimacy of various policies aimed at strengthening the fiscal and economic administration of communities affected by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Based on the authority granted by the law, the government can use the authority based on freedom of action (*freies ermessen*), set implementing regulations, and make administrative regulatory policies (*beleid regels*) to collect, billing, provide incentives and tax stimuli needed for the settlement of a business cases or legal events that are dynamic in nature so that public welfare can be implemented or realized. The actions of the government/agencies/administrative positions in the form of policies in tax sector, according to utilitarianism point of view, must consider various aspects related to the benefits and usefulness for the implementation of the general welfare⁷.

The state's authority to collect taxes to raise sources of state revenue is an act that burdens the community without receiving direct rewards (contra-achievements) that can be enjoyed by taxpayers, so that justification is needed in tax collection⁸. A tax collection made by the government to taxpayers can be justified, if it is intended and used to improve people's welfare⁹. The state's authority to collect taxes has community legitimacy if it is intended to realize the general welfare (*bonum publicum*) – as the ultimate goal (*telos*) of the state – in accordance with the requirements of justice¹⁰.

2. Implementation of Tax Incentives and Stimulus during the Global Covid-19 Pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic has halted economic and social activities, shaken political stability and national security. The Covid-19 pandemic dealt a heavy blow to the national economy. A press release from the Center for Indonesia Taxation Research states that Indonesian economic growth in 2020 is estimated to be in the range

⁷Glend T. Jenkins & Ganghadar P., 1997, *Public Finance in Open Economics*, Harvard International Tax Program, Harvard Institute for International Development, halaman 79

⁸C. Goedhart, *Garis-garis Besar Ilmu Keuangan Negara*, diterjemahkan oleh Ratmoko, Penerbit Djambatan, Jakarta, 1973, halaman. 90

⁹Jacobsen, G. A. and M.H. Lipman, 2006, *Political Science*, College Outline Series, Barnes and Noble Inc., New York, halaman 82

¹⁰Soeseno, Magnis, Frans, 2006, *Etika Politik, Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*, Pustaka Gramedia, Jakarta, halaman 83

of -2.2% to -1.7% (Ministry of Finance's projection). Previously, the Indonesian economy experienced a slowdown in the second quarter (minus 5.3%) but gradually recovered in the third quarter to minus 3.4%. Another impact, the PMI index in April was exposed at 27.5 but improved in December to 51.3, the poverty rate jumped to 9.6%, and the unemployment rate rose sharply to become 7.07%¹¹.

The Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, which hit almost all parts of Indonesia, demanded a fast and massive response from all government organizations and institutional hierarchies. The performance of the government bureaucracy was tested by the disaster emergency conditions to act effectively in providing various means of public needs and services in all sector. The government as the only entity that is given constitutional or statutory legitimacy, has extraordinary authority, can act as a civil bureaucracy with administrative reach throughout Indonesian territory.¹²

Taking into account that the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has caused a halt in business activities, weakening public purchasing power, and a sluggish economy in various business sectors, the Government is taking responsive steps to save the national economy, one of which is through fiscal policy. There are various tax incentive instruments provided by the Government to overcome the impacts arising from the Covid-19 pandemic. The government has allocated stimulus funds and fiscal relaxation which are expected to benefit medical personnel, the public and business actors in the real sector as well as the financial sector which includes micro, small, medium, large enterprises, and cooperatives more evenly, which among others includes¹³:

- a) An additional budget for Covid-19 prevention in the health sector of IDR 75 trillion includes providing incentives for medical workers, doctors, nurses, death benefits, purchasing medical devices including Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), masks, hand sanitizers, ventilators, and hospitals preparations as well as various quarantine facilities;
- b) Expanding the provision of social aid additional of IDR 100 trillion for people affected by Covid-19 who really need it. More than 29 million families or even more than 50% of the Indonesian people enjoy government aideither in the form of cash, groceries, electricity exemptions and discounts, or pre-employment cards;
- c) Providing support for tax relaxation incentives, supporting more than 60 million MSMEs in the form of installments postponement, interest subsidies and additional working capital succor;
- d) Policies within the framework of the National Economic Recovery program for business actors in the real and financial sector which include micro, small, medium, large, and cooperative businesses whose business activities have been affected by Covid-19.

Based on the consideration that the Covid-19 pandemic has had an impact on the Indonesian economy¹⁴, the Government has determined tax incentives and stimulus policy. This policy was set based on the Ministerial Regulation from Ministry of Finance Nr. 23/PMK.03/2020 concerning Tax Incentives for Taxpayers Affected by the Corona Virus outbreak which came into effect in April 2020¹⁵. Based on those regulation, the following tax incentive support are provided to the public:

1. Income Tax Article 21 incentives.

Income Tax Article 21 regulates the taxation of individual income obtained from the employer where the employer has the obligation to withhold tax on the income received by the individual. Defines Income Tax Article 21 as an income tax imposed on income in the form of salaries, wages, honorarium, allowances and other payments under any name in connection with work, services, or activities carried out by domestic Individual Taxpayers.

¹¹CITA (*Center for Indonesia Taxation Researc*), Siaran Pers terkaitRelisasi APBN Tahun 2020 (<https://cita.or.id/siaran-pers-cita-terkait-realisasi-apbn-2020-perpajakan-di-masa-pandemi-topang-ekonomi-perkuat-konsolidasi>)

¹²HaryJuliawan, B., *Negara SesudahPandemi*, Majalah Basis Nomor 05-06 Tahunke 69 2020, Jogjakarta, halaman 5-6

¹³Harian Kompas, *Ketidakpastian Pemulihan Ekonomi Masih Membayangi*, (<https://www.kompas.id/baca/ekonomi/2021/01/27/pemulihan-ekonomi-masih-tidak-pasti/>), pada tanggal 2 Februari 2021)

¹⁴CITA (*Center for Indonesia Taxation Research*), Siaran Pers terkaitRelisasi APBN Tahun 2020 (<https://cita.or.id/siaran-pers-cita-terkait-realisasi-apbn-2020-perpajakan-di-masa-pandemi-topang-ekonomi-perkuat-konsolidasi>)

¹⁵Peraturan Menteri KeuanganRepublik Indonesia (PMK RI) No. 23/PMK. 03/2020 tentangInsentif Pajak Untuk Wajib Pajak TerdampakWabah Virus Corona Disease 2019

2. Incentive of Income Tax Article 22 on Imports.

Collection of Income Tax Article 22 on imports is carried out by the Directorate of Customs and Excise. Incentives in the form of exemption from Income Tax Article 22 collection on imports are given to Taxpayers who have has a certain Business FieldCode (*KLU = Kode Lapangan Usaha*) and/or have been designated as companies receiving import facilities for export purpose (*KITE = Kemudahan Impor Tujuan Ekspor*). Since domestic business sector is heavily affected by the corona outbreak, researchers consider that the government should prioritize domestic production instead of freeing up imports. This import facilities could be will beat domestic goods. The researcher suggests that there is a strict classification of goods that elibible for Income Tax Article 22 exemption, especially goods for overcome the pandemic such as medical equipment, medicines, in addition of raw material for export orientation product which can not be obtained locally.

3. Installment Incentive of Income Tax Article 25.

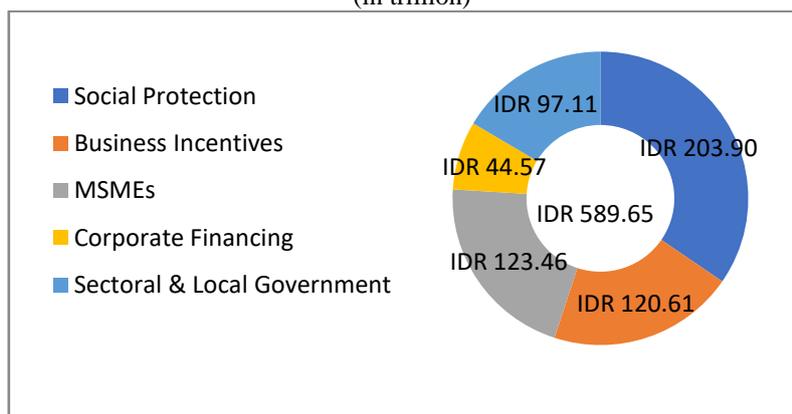
This Article 25 Income Tax Installment Incentive is given by the government in the form of a 30% reduction from the amount that should be paid. The criteria for receiving this incentive are Taxpayers who have has a certain Business Field Code (*KLU*) and/or have been designated as companies receiving import facilities for export purpose (*KITE*). Researchers be of the same mind that this policy is very good considering the economic is not in good condition.

4. Value Added Tax Incentives.

This Value Added Tax Incentive is given in the form of a preliminary refund of tax overpayments. The criteria for receiving this incentive are Taxpayers who have has a certain Business Field Code (*KLU*) and/or have been designated as companies receiving import facilities for export purpose (*KITE*)and submit a Periodic Tax Return of Value Added Tax overpayment of restitution with a maximum amount of overpayment of IDR 5,000,000.00.

To tackle the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, the Government has issued a policy to support the state budget. The government approved the allocation of funds in the form of additional spending and financing in the state budget of IDR 405 trillion and widening the budget deficit to 5.07 percent of GDP. This policy of widening the budget deficit is a calculation of the weakening of the fiscal and monetary sector which is expected to take a long time for national and global economic growth recovery. This figure for the budget deficit (State budget) exceeds the 3 percent deficit previously set since 1998. To cover the budget deficit, the government through the Ministry of Finance has established a policy to issue government bonds¹⁶.

Figure 1. National Economic Recovery Program Budget by Function (in trillion)



Data Source: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia

Basically, tax policy is directed to be more of a tool to save the economy than an instrument of state revenue. All of these tax policies are directly and indirectly related to each other and have a major impact on the performance of tax revenues in 2020. As a response to the impacts arising from the Covid-19 pandemic, the Government has set the biggest budget allocation, amounting to IDR 150 trillion, to anticipate the impact of the

¹⁶Rapat Dengar Pendapat Menteri Keuangan RI dengan DPR RI di Jakarta tanggal 24 April 2020

Covid-19 pandemic. This budget policy is allocated for the national economic recovery program in the form of credit and financing restructuring for business actors, especially MSMEs.

The second largest budget amount, which is IDR 110 trillion, is allocated for social protection programs, which include cash transfer programs for 10 million families, 20 million staple food aid for the community, pre-employment cards for 5.6 million people who are victims of layoffs, exemption and subsidies on electricity costs for 31 million customers. The next priority budget allocation is health sector, which amounts to IDR 75 trillion. The amount of the budget in the health sector is allocated for the procurement of medical devices and incentives for medical personnel. The government has also allocated a budget for tax and credit incentives for businesses activities amounting to IDR 70.1 trillion¹⁷.

Gradually, the Government realized the policy of tax incentives and stimulus by channeling funds earmarked for national economic recovery. The Government's policy budget allocation includes social protection funds totaling IDR 203.9 trillion. This budget is 35% of the entire first phase of the budget which is distributed to people affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. The business community, which was directly affected by the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, received a budget allocation of IDR 120.61 trillion, as a form of Government support through a business incentive policy. The amount of the budget for business incentives, the allocation is 20% of the total budget for national economic recovery¹⁸.

Likewise with MSME actors, the Government allocates a budget of IDR 123.46 trillion, which is 21% of the total national economic recovery budget. The local government and sectoral will receive a share of the budget allocation of IDR 97.11 trillion. The Government's national economic recovery policy is also aimed at the corporate financing sector, which received a budget allocation of IDR 44.57 trillion, this budget is 8% of the total budget for tax incentives and stimulus for national economic recovery¹⁹.

Table 1. Incentive and Tax Stimulus Policies for National Economic Recovery

Nr.	Incentive Form	Related Sector (PMK 23)	Related Sector (PMK-44) ²⁰
1.	Income Tax Article 21 taxes borne by the government	certain manufacturing sector (102 KLU) KITE taxpayer	Certain sector (1.062 KLU) Bonded Zone taxpayer
2.	Final MSMEs Income Tax taxes borne by the government	No incentives yet	Taxpayer who has certain omzet and subject to final income tax based on Government Regulation Nr. 23 of 2018
3.	Tax exemption Income Tax Article 22 Import	certain manufacturing sector (102 KLU) KITE taxpayer	Certain sector (431 KLU) Bonded Zone taxpayer
4.	Deduction of installment on Income Tax Article 25 by 30%	certain manufacturing sector (102 KLU) KITE taxpayer	Certain sector (846 KLU) KITE taxpayer Bonded Zone taxpayer
5.	Tax refund on Value-Added Tax	certain manufacturing sector (102 KLU) KITE taxpayer	Certain sector (431 KLU) KITE taxpayer Bonded Zone taxpayer

Data source: processed from various sources

The Covid-19 pandemic disaster threatens all aspects of people's lives. The Covid-19 pandemic has halted economic and social activities, shaken political stability and national security. The pandemic that hit almost all countries in the world has put Indonesia in a state of emergency because it has had an extraordinary impact on all of society. The state, through the government, as the administrator of government and at the same time a public servant, has an obligation to prevent a decline in the level of general welfare as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Against the threats to society and the state arising from this pandemic, it is the responsibility of the state to make any effort to ensure the realization of the mandate of the Constitution as stated in the Fourth Paragraph

¹⁷Loc.cit.

¹⁸Data inidiaksesdari<https://cita.or.id> , op.cit.

¹⁹Data diperoleh dari Kementerian Keuangan RI dan dari *Press release Center for Indonesia Taxation Research*(<https://cita.or.id/siaran-pers-cita-terkait-realisasi-apbn-2020-perpajakan-di-masa-pandemi-topang-ekonomi-perkuat-konsolidasi>)

²⁰Peraturan Menteri Keuangan Republik Indonesia (PMK) No. 44/PMK.03/2020 Tahun 2020 tentang Insentif Pajak untuk Wajib Pajak Terdampak Pandemi Corona Virus Disease 2019

of the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The state under any circumstances must be responsible and guarantee the safety, security and welfare of all citizens, including during the current Covid-19 pandemic.

D. Closing

1. Conclusion

Based on the results and analysis of the research, the conclusions are as follows:

- 1) The urgency of setting tax incentives and stimulus policies for national economic recovery during the global Covid-19 pandemic by the Government is one of the concrete steps for the allocation, distribution, stabilization, and improvement of economic growth in order to ensure the distribution of income levels and public welfare affected by the pandemic;
- 2) Implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies for national economic recovery includes various policies, measures, and concrete Government actions in the form of efforts to save health and the national economy, with a focus on spending on health, social safety nets, recovery of the national economy, and communities affected by the global Covid-19 pandemic.

2. Recommendations

Based on the results and analysis of the research, recommendations that can be given include the following:

- 1) The implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies for national economic recovery must be supported by an accurate, transparent and accountable database;
- 2) The implementation of tax incentives and stimulus policies as a system for the allocation and distribution of welfare for the community must always be monitored and evaluated by the public;
- 3) Government facilitation to communities affected by the global Covid-19 pandemic in accessing tax incentives and stimulus policies should be done in a professional manner.

Reference

Book

- [1]. Basah, Sjachran, 1986, *Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Sikap Tindak Administrasi Negara*, Orasi Dies Natalis XXIX Unpad tgl. 24 September 1986, Bandung
- [2]. Glend T. Jenkins & Ganghadar P., 1997, *Public Finance in Open Economics*, Harvard International Tax Program, Harvard Institute for International Development
- [3]. Goedhart, C., 1973, *Garis-garis Besar Ilmu Keuangan Negara*, diterjemahkan oleh Ratmoko, Penerbit Djambatan, Jakarta
- [4]. Irianto, Sulistyowati dan Sidharta, 2009, *Metode Penelitian Hukum: Konstelasi dan Refleksi*, Penerbit Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta
- [5]. Jacobsen, G. A. and M.H. Lipman, 2006, *Political Science*, College Outline Series, Barnes and Noble Inc., New York
- [6]. Soeseno, Magnis, Frans, 2006, *Etika Politik, Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*, Pustaka Gramedia, Jakarta

Regulations

- [7]. UU No. 2 Tahun 2020 tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2020 tentang Kebijakan Keuangan Negara dan Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan untuk Penanganan Pandemi *Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19)* dan/atau Dalam Rangka Menghadapi Ancaman yang Membahayakan Perekonomian Nasional dan/atau Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan Menjadi Undang-Undang tentang Kebijakan Keuangan Negara dan Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan untuk Penanganan *Covid-19* dan/atau dalam Rangka Menghadapi Ancaman yang Membahayakan Perekonomian Nasional dan/atau Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan.
- [8]. Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 2020 tentang Kebijakan Keuangan Negara dan Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan untuk Penanganan Pandemi *Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19)* dan/atau Dalam Rangka Menghadapi Ancaman yang Membahayakan Perekonomian Nasional dan/atau Stabilitas Sistem Keuangan
- [9]. Peraturan Menteri Keuangan Republik Indonesia (PMK RI) No. 23/PMK. 03/2020 tentang Insentif Pajak Untuk Wajib Pajak Terdampak Wabah Virus Corona Disease 2019
- [10]. Peraturan Menteri Keuangan Republik Indonesia (PMK) No. 44/PMK.03/2020 Tahun 2020 tentang Insentif Pajak untuk Wajib Pajak Terdampak Pandemi Corona Virus Disease 2019

- [11]. Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia Laporan Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia dalam Rapat Dengar Pendapat dengan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia Pada tanggal 20 Maret 2020
- [12]. Direktorat Jenderal Pajak RI, 2020, Laporan Kinerja Direktorat Jenderal Pajak RI Tahun 2020

Articles and Papers

- [13]. Basri, Muhamad Chatib, 2021, *Jalan Panjang Pemulihan Ekonomi*, Artikel Opini Harian Kompas, Diakses dari <https://kompas.id/baca/opini/2020/07/08/jalan-panjang-pemulihan-ekonomi/> pada tanggal 4 Februari 2021
- [14]. CITA (*Center for Indonesia Taxation Research*), Siaran Pers terkait Relisasi APBN Tahun 2020 (<https://cita.or.id/siaran-pers-cita-terkait-realisisi-apbn-2020-perpajakan-di-masa-pandemi-topang-ekonomi-perkuat-konsolidasi>)
- [15]. Hary Juliawan, B., *Negara Sesudah Pandemi*, Majalah Basis Nomor 05-06 Tahun ke 69 2020, Jogjakarta
- [16]. Harian Kompas, *Pengendalian Covid-19 Menyimpang dari Prinsip Epidemiologi*. (<https://www.kompas.id/baca/kesehatan/2021/02/02/pengendalian-covid-19-menyimpang-dari-prinsip-epidemiologi/> pada tanggal 2 Februari 2021)
- [17]. Harian Kompas, *Ketidakpastian Pemulihan Ekonomi Masih Membayangi*, (<https://www.kompas.id/baca/ekonomi/2021/01/27/pemulihan-ekonomi-masih-tidak-pasti/>), pada tanggal 2 Februari 2021)
- [18]. Kementerian Keuangan RI dan *Press Release Center for Indonesia Taxation Research*. (<https://cita.or.id/siaran-pers-cita-terkait-realisisi-apbn-2020-perpajakan-di-masa-pandemi-topang-ekonomi-perkuat-konsolidasi>)