

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### BUKU

- A. Rahman Zainuddin (Penerjemah). 2005. *Hak Asasi Manusia di Dunia yang Berubah*, terjemahan dari *Human Rights in Changing World*. Antonio Cassese. Yayasan Obor, Jakarta.
- Adnan Buyung Nasution. 2007. *Arus Pemikiran Konstitusionalisme: Hukum & Peradilan*. Kata Hasta Pustaka, Jakarta.
- Alette Smeulers & Fred Grünfeld (editor). 2011. *International Crimes and other Gross Human Rights Violations: A Multi- and Interdisciplinary Textbook*. Martinus Nijhoff Publisher, Leiden.
- B.E. Wibowo *et.al* (Penerjemah). 2008. *Komisi-Komisi Kebenaran dan Keputusan Prosedural*, terjemahan dari *Truth Commissions and Procedural Fairness*. Mark Freeman. Penerbit ELSAM, Jakarta.
- Catarina Krause & Martin Scheinin (editors). 2009. *International Protection of Human Rights: A Textbook*. Institute for Human Rights: Åbo Akademi University.
- Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor-Leste (CAVR). 2010. *Chega! Laporan Komisi Kebenaran, Penerimaan, dan Rekonsiliasi (CAVR) di Timor-Leste*. PT. Gramedia, Jakarta.
- Commission of Truth and Friendship Indonesia–Timor-Leste. 2008. *Per Memoriam Ad Spem (Melalui Kenangan Menuju Harapan)*.
- Dinah Shelton. 2015. *Remedies in International Human Rights Law* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Oxford University Press, New York.
- Edward Aspinall. 2005. *Opposing Soeharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Stanford University Press, California.
- ELSAM. 2012. *Pulangkan Mereka! Merangkai Ingatan Penghilangan Paksa di Indonesia*. Penerbit ELSAM, Jakarta.
- Frank Haldemann & Thomas Unger (editors). 2018. *The United Nations Principles to Combat Impunity: A Commentary*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Geoffrey B. Robinson. 2018. *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-1966*. Princeton University Press, United Kingdom.

- Hata (Penerjemah). 2013. *Pemikiran Kembali Sumber-Sumber Hukum*, terjemahan dari *Rethinking the Sources of International Law*. G.J.H. van Hoff. Penerbit PT. Alumni, Bandung
- Ida Elisabeth Koch. 2009. *Human Rights as Indivisible Rights: The Protection of Socio-Economic Demands under the European Convention on Human Rights*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden.
- Irwansyah. 2021. *Penelitian Hukum: Pilihan Metode dan Praktik Penulisan Artikel*. Mirra Buana Media, Yogyakarta.
- Komnas HAM RI. 2020. *Merawat Ingatan, Menjemput Keadilan: Ringkasan Eksekutif Peristiwa Pelanggaran HAM yang Berat*. Tim Publikasi Komnas HAM, Jakarta.
- KontraS. 2006. *Aceh: Damai dengan Keadilan? Mengungkap Kekerasan Masa Lalu*. KontraS, Jakarta.
- Mufti Makaanim A. (editor). 2015. *Almanak Hak Asasi Manusia di Sektor Keamanan Indonesia 2014*. IDSPS – DCAF, Jakarta.
- Mufti Makaanim A. et.al. (editor). 2009. *Almanak Hak Asasi Manusia di Sektor Keamanan 2009*. IDSPS – DCAF, Jakarta.
- Muhammad Ashri. 2018. *Hak Asasi Manusia: Filosofi, Teori, & Instrumen*. Penerbit CV. SIGn, Makassar.
- Otto Triffterer & Kai Ambos (editors). 2015. *Commentary on the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)*. C.H.Beck/Hart/Nomos, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Rhona K. Smith et.al. 2015. *Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia (Cetakan Ketiga)*. PUSHAM UII. Yogyakarta.
- Sarah Joseph & Adam McBeth (editors). 2010. *Research Handbook on International Human Rights Law*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, Cheltenham.
- Soerjono Soekanto. 1986. *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum*. Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Sri Sulastini (Penerjemah). 2003. *Pengantar pada Rezim HAM Internasional*, terjemahan dari Introduction to the International Human Rights Regime. Manfred Nowak. Raoul Wallenberg Institute – Departemen Hukum dan HAM, Jakarta.
- Suma Mihardja et.al (Penerjemah). 2007. *Nunca Más! Laporan Final CONADEP: Argentina Pasca Junta Militer (1976-1983)*, terjemahan

dari *Nunca Más: The Report of Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared* (1986). People's Empowerment Consortium, Jakarta.

Suparman Marzuki. 2011. *Tragedi Politik Hukum HAM*. PUSHAM UII, Yogyakarta.

Tullio Scovazzi & Gabriella Citroni. 2007. *The Struggle against Enforced Disappearance and the 2007 United Nations Convention*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden.

Uladzislau Belavusau & Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias (editors). 2017. *Law and Memory: Towards Legal Governance of History*, Cambridge University Press.

## **JURNAL DAN ARTIKEL ILMIAH**

Ariel E. Dulitzky. "The Latin-American Flavor of Enforced Disappearances", Chicago Journal of International Law: Vol. 19: No. 2, Article 3 (2019).

Audrey. R Chapman & Patrick Ball, "The Truth of Truth Commissions: Comparative Lessons from Haiti, South Africa, and Guatemala", Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 23, Number 1, February 2001.

Eduardo Ferrer Mac-Gregor, "The Right to the Truth as An Autonomous Rights Under the Inter-American Human Rights System", Mexican Law Review, Vol. IX, No. 1 (2016).

Juan E Méndez & Francisco J Bariffi, "Truth, Right to, International Protection", Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law. <<https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r17382.pdf>>.

Kathryn Sikkink. "From Pariah State to Global Protagonist: Argentina and the Struggle for International Human Rights", Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Spring, 2008).

María Clara Galvis Patiño & Rainer Huhle. 07 July 2020. "The Rights of Victims of Enforced Disappearance Do Not Have an Expiration Date". (opiniojuris.org). <<http://opiniojuris.org/2020/07/07/the-rights-of-the-victims-of-enforced-disappearance-do-not-have-an-expiration-date/>>. Diakses 3 Agustus 2021.

Michèle Olivier, "The Relevance of 'Soft Law' as a Source of International Human Rights", The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa, Vol. 35, No. 3, November (2002).

- Munafrizal Manan. "Seeking Transitional Justice in Indonesia: Lessons From the Cases of Aceh, Papua, and East Timor", Constitutional Review, December 2015 Volume 1, Number 2.
- Nurrahman Aji Utomo. "Dekonstruksi Kewenangan Investigatif dalam Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia yang Berat", Jurnal Konstitusi, Vol. 16, No. 4, Desember 2019.
- S. Domaradzki *et.al.* "Karel Vasak's Generations of Rights and the Contemporary Human Rights Discourse", Human Rights Review, 20, (2019).
- Shinta Agustina. "Akibat Hukum Pengabaian Rekomendasi DPR oleh Presiden (Studi Yuridis Komparatif terhadap Akibat Hukum Pengabaian Rekomendasi DPR dalam Kasus Penghilangan Aktivistis)", Jurnal Konstitusi, Vol. I, No. 1, November 2012, PUSaKO Fakultas Hukum Universitas Andalas.
- Sri Lestari Wahyunigroem. "Faktor Transisi Politik dalam Keadilan Transisi di Indonesia", Jurnal Prisma, Vol. 38 No. 2, 2019.
- Susan McCrory, "The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances", Human Rights Law Review, Vol. 7, Issue 3, 2007.
- Suzannah Linton. "Accounting For Atrocities in Indonesia", Singapore Year Book of International Law (SYBIL), Vol. 11, pp. 195-259 (2007).
- Yasmin Naqvi, "The Right to the Truth in International Law: Fact or Fiction?", International Review of the Red Cross, Vol. 88 Number 862, June 2006.

## **KAMUS HUKUM**

- Bryan A. Garner (editor). 2004. *Black's Law Dictionary* (8<sup>th</sup> Edition). West Publishing Co., US.
- John P. Grant & J. Craig Barker. 2009. *Parry & Grant Encyclopaedic Dictionary of International Law* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Oxford University Press, New York.

## **LAPORAN DAN HASIL PENELITIAN**

- Aim for Human Rights. 2009. "*No one shall be subjected to enforced disappearance*": *A Guide to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance*. Utrecht.

- Amnesty International. 1993. *“Disappearances” and Political Killings: Human Rights Crisis of the 1990s: A Manual For Action (Bringing the Perpetrators to Justice)*. <<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/-act33/060/1993/en/>>.
- Amnesty International. 2011. *Jangan Ada Impunitas untuk Penghilangan Paksa: Checklist untuk Penerapan Efektif Konvensi Internasional untuk Perlindungan bagi Semua Orang dari Penghilangan Paksa*. <[www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/32000/ior510062011in.-pdf](http://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/32000/ior510062011in.-pdf)>.
- BPHN. 2012. *Laporan Akhir Naskah Akademik Rancangan Undang-Undang Perubahan No. 26 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengadilan Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM)*. BPHN Kemenkumham RI, Jakarta.
- Eduardo González & Howard Varney (editors). 2013. *Truth Seeking: Elements of Creating an Effective Truth Commission*. Brasilia: Amnesty Commission of the Ministry of Justice of Brazil – New York: International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ). <<https://www.ictj.org/publication/truth-seeking-elements-creating-effective-truth-commission>>.
- Eduardo González. 2005. *Comment by the International Center for Transitional Justice on the Bill Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Indonesia*. ICTJ. <<https://www.ictj.org/publication/-comment-ictj-bill-establishing-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-indonesia1>>.
- ELSAM. 2012. *Menyangkal Kebenaran, Menunda Keadilan: Berlanjutnya Penyangkalan Negara atas Hak-Hak Korban, Madegnya Penuntasan Kasus Penghilangan Orang secara Paksa Periode 1997-1998*. Kertas Posisi Keadilan Transisional Seri #1.
- ICJ. 2013. *Alternative Report of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) to the UN Human Rights Committee on the Initial Report of Indonesia under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. <[https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CCPR/Shared%20Documents/IDN/INT\\_CCPR\\_NGO\\_IDN\\_14684\\_E.pdf](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CCPR/Shared%20Documents/IDN/INT_CCPR_NGO_IDN_14684_E.pdf)>.
- ICJ. 2015. *International Law and the Fight Against Impunity: A Practitioner’s Guide*. International Law Commission of Jurists. Geneva.
- ICJ. 2017. *No More “Missing Persons”: The Criminalization of Enforced Disappearance in South Asia*. International Commission of Jurists. Geneva.

- ICJ. 2018. *The Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Gross Human Rights Violations: A Practitioners' Guide* (Revised Edition). International Commission of Jurists. Geneva.
- ICJ. 2020. *Entrenching Impunity, Denying Redress: The Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances in Pakistan (A Briefing Paper)*. International Commission of Jurists. Geneva.
- ICTJ – KontraS. 2011. *Keluar Jalur: Keadilan Transisi di Indonesia Setelah Jatuhnya Soeharto*.
- ICTJ. 2005. *Accountability in Argentina: 20 Years Later, Transitional Justice Maintains Momentum* (Case Study Series). <<https://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Argentina-Accountability-Case-2005-English.pdf>>.
- Jiwon Suh. 2012. *The Politics of Transitional Justice in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Dissertation in Political Science. The Ohio State University.
- KontraS. (Tanpa Tahun). *Kasus Penculikan dan Penghilangan Paksa, Riwayatmu Kini?: Monitoring Kasus Penculikan dan Penghilangan Paksa Aktivis 1997/1998*.
- KontraS. 2014. *Hak Asasi Diakui tapi Tidak Dilindungi: Catatan Hak Asasi Manusia di Masa Pemerintahan Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono [2004-2014]*.
- KontraS. 2019. *Catatan Lima Tahun Kinerja Pemerintahan Joko Widodo – Jusuf Kalla 2014-2019: Pekerjaan Rumah yang Tidak Selesai Sektor Hak Asasi Manusia*. Jakarta.
- KontraS. 2020. *Catatan Kritis 20 Tahun Penerapan UU Pengadilan HAM (2000-2020): Mengkaji UU Pengadilan HAM yang Efektif*. Jakarta.
- KontraS. 2020. *Resesi Demokrasi: Catatan atas Kinerja 1 Tahun Pemerintah Joko Widodo – Ma'ruf Amin*.
- Wahyu Wagiman. (Tanpa Tahun). *Final Progress Report Pengadilan HAM Tanjung Priok: Gagal Melakukan Penuntutan yang Efektif*. Penerbit ELSAM.

## **PERJANJIAN INTERNASIONAL**

- American Convention on Human Rights: "Pact of San José, Costa Rica" (1969, No. 17955).
- Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Rome, 4.XI.1950).

Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons (1994).  
International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2006, UN Treaty Series, Vol. 2716).  
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN Treaty Series, Vol. 999 – Vol. 1057).  
Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts. (Protocol I 1977).  
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. (1988, UN Treaty Series, Vol. 2187).

## **DOKUMEN DAN RESOLUSI PERSERIKATAN BANGSA-BANGSA**

Committee on Enforced Disappearance, Guiding Principles for the Search for the Disappeared Persons. 08 May 2019. UN Doc. CED/C/7\*.  
Concluding Observation of the Committee against Torture: Indonesia. 2 July 2008. UN Doc. CAT/C/IDN/CO/2.  
Concluding Observation on the Initial Report of Indonesia. 21 August 2013. UN Doc. CCPR/C/IDN/CO/1.  
General Comment No. 31 [80] ICCPR, The Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.  
Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. UN Doc. A/HRC/17/31.  
Human Rights Committee. Communication No. 107/1981. María del Carmen Almeida de Quinteros *et.al.* v. Uruguay.  
International Law Commission. Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Act (With Commentaries). 2001. (UN GA Resolution 56/83).  
International Law Commission. Draft Conclusion on Identification of Customary International Law (With Commentaries). 2018. UN Doc. A/73/10).  
OHCHR. 2007. Right to the Truth: Report of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. UN Doc. A/HRC/5/7.  
OHCHR. 2009. Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances Fact Sheet No. 6/Rev.3.

OHCHR. Study on the Right to Truth: Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. UN Doc. E/CN.4/2006/91.

Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence. Pablo de Greiff. (28 August 2013). UN Doc. A/HRC/24/42.

The Minnesota Protocol on the Investigation of Potentially Unlawful Death (2016): The Revised United Nations Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions.

The United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law. (Introductory Note by Theo van Boven).

UN Commission on Human Rights Resolution 20 (XXXVI). Question on Missing and Disappeared Persons. (29 February 1980). UN Doc. E/CN.4/RES/1980/20.

UN GA Resolution 217 A (III). Universal Declaration on Human Rights. UN Doc. A/RES/3/217 A.

UN GA Resolution 3220 (XXIX). Assistance and Co-operation in Accounting for Persons Who are Missing or Dead in Armed Conflicts. (06 November 1974).

UN GA Resolution 33/173. Disappeared Persons. UN Doc. A/RES/33/173.

UN GA Resolution 40/34. Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power. UN Doc. A/RES/40/34.

UN GA Resolution 47/133. Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance 1992. UN Doc. A/RES/47/133.

UN GA Resolution 60/147. United Nations Basic Principles And Guidelines On The Right To A Remedy And Reparation For Victims Of Gross Violations Of International Human Rights Law And Serious Violations Of International Humanitarian Law. UN Doc. A/RES/60/147.

UN GA Resolution 65/196. Proclamation of 24 March as the International Day for the Right to the Truth concerning Gross Human Rights Violations and for the Dignity of Victims. UN Doc. A/RES/65/196.

UN GA Resolution 68/165. Right to the Truth. UN Doc. A/RES/68/165.



- UN Secretary-General. 2010. Guidance Note of the Secretary-General: United Nations Approach to Transitional Justice.
- UN WGEID. General Comment on the Right to the Truth in Relation to Enforced Disappearance. 2010. UN Doc. A/HRC/16/48.
- UN WGEID. Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (2020). 7 August 2020. A/HRC/45/13.
- UN WGEID. Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (2011). 2 March 2012. A/HRC/19/58/Rev.1.
- UN WGEID. Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances On Standards and Public Policies for an Effective Investigation of Enforced Disappearances. (7 August 2020). UN Doc. A/HRC/45/13/Add.3.
- UNHCR. UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. <<https://www.unhcr.org/43ce1cff2.pdf>>.
- Updated Set of Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights through Action to Combat Impunity. UN Doc. E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1.
- Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. UN. Doc. A/CONF.157/23.

## **PERATURAN PERUNDANG-UNDANGAN**

- Peraturan Daerah (Qanun) No. 17 Tahun 2013 Tentang Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi Aceh.
- Peraturan Presiden RI No. 23 Tahun 2011 Tentang Rencana Aksi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Tahun 2011-2014.
- Peraturan Presiden No. 72 Tahun 2011 tentang Rencana Aksi Implementasi Rekomendasi Komisi Kebenaran dan Persahabatan Republik Indonesia dan Republik Demokratik Timor-Leste.
- Undang-Undang Nomor 24 Tahun 2000 tentang Perjanjian Internasional (L.N. RI Tahun 200 Nomor 185).
- Undang-Undang Nomor 26 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengadilan Hak Asasi Manusia (L.N. RI Tahun 2000 Nomor 208).
- Undang-Undang Nomor 27 Tahun 2004 tentang Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi (L.N. RI Tahun 2004 Nomor 114).
- Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 1999 tentang Hak Asasi Manusia (L.N. RI Tahun 1999 Nomor 165).

Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 1981 tentang Hukum Acara Pidana (L.N. RI Tahun 1981 Nomor 76).

## **YURISPRUDENSI**

European Court of Human Rights. *Association '21 December 1989' and Others v. Romania*. No. 33810/07. (Third Section). 2011. Summary: <<https://www.lawpluralism.unimib.it/en/oggetti/102-association-21-december-1989-and-others-v-romania-no-33810-07-e-ct-hr-third-section-24-may-2011>>.

European Court of Human Rights. *El-Masri v. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*. No. 39630/09. (Grand Chamber). 2012. Biccoca Law and Pluralism. Summary: <<https://www.lawpluralism.unimib.it/en/oggetti/251-el-masri-v-the-former-yugoslav-republic-of-macedonia-no-39630-09-e-ct-hr-grand-chamber-13-december-2012>>.

Human Rights Chambers for Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Selimović et.al v. Republika Srpska*. CH/01/8365 (2003).

Inter-American Court of Human Rights. *Velásquez Rodríguez v. Honduras* (1988).

Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 006/PUU-IV/2006.

Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 18/PUU-V/2007.

Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 75/PUU-XIII/2015.

## **SUMBER LAIN**

DPR RI. 28 September 2009. Laporan Panitia Khusus Penanganan Pembahasan atas Hasil Penyelidikan Penghilangan Orang secara Paksa Periode 1997-1998.

Elements of Crimes, International Criminal Court.

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2014, *The Right to Truth in Americas*, (OEA/Ser.L/V/II.152), para. 69. <<http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/reports/pdfs/right-to-truth-en.pdf>>.

ICRC. 2005. *Customary International Humanitarian Law Vol. I*, Cambridge.

Mahkamah Agung RI. *Buku Saku Pedoman Unsur-Unsur Tindak Pidana Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia yang Berat dan Pertanggungjawaban Komando*.

Siracusa Principles on the Limitation and Derogation Provisions in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. 1984.

## **MEDIA MASSA DAN SUMBER ELEKTRONIK**

BBC News Indonesia, "Jokowi Siapkan Unit Kerja Penanganan Kasus HAM sebagai 'Penyelesaian secara Kemanusiaan', Namun Dikritik Justru 'Melindungi Pleaku Pelanggaran HAM Berat', 9 April 2021. <<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-56677731>>. Diakses 23 Agustus 2021.

BBC News Indonesia, "Prabowo: Bayang-Bayang Isu Pelanggaran HAM dan Mengapa Kembali Ikut Pilpres", 10 Maret 2019. <<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-47436153>>. Diakses 12 Agustus 2021.

CNN Indonesia, "Jaksa Agung Ungkap Hambatan Penyelesaian Kasus HAM Berat", 7 September 2019. <<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191107142131-12-446354/jaksa-agung-ungkap-hambatan-penyelesaian-kasus-ham-berat>>. Diakses 12 Agustus 2021.

CNN Indonesia, "Janji di Atas Ingkar Jokowi soal Pelanggaran HAM", 19 Oktober 2018. <<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/2018-1018112205-32-339444/-janji-di-atas-ingkar-jokowi-soal-pelanggaran-ham>>. Diakses 12 Agustus 2021.

CNN Indonesia, "KontraS: Isu HAM Jadi Komoditas Politik Capres Setiap Pemilu", 12 Desember 2018. <<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181210164105-32-352513/-kontras-isu-ham-jadi-komoditas-politik-capres-setiap-pemilu>>. Diakses 12 Agustus 2021.

detikNews, "Bagir: Kasus Tim Mawar Tidak Pernah Sampai ke MA", 24 Mei 2007. <<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-784571/bagir-kasus-tim-mawar-tidak-pernah-sampai-ke-ma>>. Diakses 10 Agustus 2021.

detikNews, "Hendarman: Rekomendasi DPR itu Untuk Presiden". 7 Oktober 2009. <<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-1217288/hendarman-rekomendasi-dpr-itu-untuk-presiden->>. Diakses 10 Agustus 2021.

detikNews, "Komnas HAM Beri Rapor Merah ke Jokowi soal Penyelesaian Kasus HAM", 19 Oktober 2018. <<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4264400/komnas-ham-beri-rapor-merah-ke-jokowi-soal-penyelesaian-kasus-ham>>. Diakses 13 Agustus 2021.

Human Rights Watch, "Indonesia: Signing 'Disappearances' Convention an Important Step". 12 October 2010. <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/10/12/indonesia-signing-disappearances-convention-important-step>>. Diakses 10 Agustus 2021.

Kompas, "Kilas Politik dan Hukum: Soal Tim Mawar", Edisi 29 Mei 2007.

Kompas, "Orang Hilang: Kejaksaan Agung Dinilai Melanggar UU Pengadilan HAM", Edisi 25 Maret 2013.

KontraS, Cuplikan Video YouTube. Munir: Gagasan Penculikan untuk Melindungi Kepentingan Politik Suharto. Diunggah 10 Mei 2014. <<https://youtu.be/i4vt3TT4HCs>>. Diakses 25 April 2021.

UN Human Rights, "Enforced Disappearance: Time To Act". Diunggah 24 Desember 2020. <[https://youtu.be/S65sLep6\\_eI](https://youtu.be/S65sLep6_eI)>. Diakses 20 Agustus 2021.

Mugiyanto, "Kejelasan Nasib Korban Penghilangan Paksa", Opini dimuat di Harian Kompas, Selasa, 28 November 2006.

PSHK. "Political Parties Refuses the Convention on Enforced Disappearance", Indonesia Law Reform Weekly Digest (LRWD). Edition 03/January 2014.

Siaran Pers ELSAM dan IKOHI. Diunggah 30 Agustus 2020. Segera Tuntaskan Kasus, Ratifikasi Konvensi Anti-Penghilangan Paksa. <<http://ikohi.org/index.php/2020/08/30/-segera-tuntaskan-kasus-ratifikasi-konvensi-anti-penghilangan-paksa/>>. Diakses 8 Maret 2021.

Siaran Pers LBH Jakarta, "R-Perpres UKP-PPHB 2021: Melanggengkan Impunitas dan Bentuk Peningkaran terhadap Hak Korban Pelanggaran HAM", 20 April 2021. <<https://bantuanhukum.or.id/r-perpres-ukp-pphb-2021-melanggengkan-impunitas-dan-bentuk-peningkaran-terhadap-hak-korban-pelanggaran-ham/>>. Diakses 23 Agustus 2021.

Tempo Edisi 25 Mei 2007, "Putusan terhadap Tim Mawar Tidak Jelas". <<https://koran.tempo.co/read/nasional/102243/putusan-terhadap-tim-mawar-tidak-jelas>>. Diakses 10 Agustus 2021.

Tempo Majalah Edisi 13-19 Mei 2013. Teka-Teki Wiji Thukul.

Tempo, "Kejaksaan Diminta Sidik Kasus Penghilangan Paksa 1997-1998", 5 Desember 2006. <<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/88969/kejaksaan-diminta-sidik-kasus-penghilangan-paksa-1997-1998>>. Diakses 10 Agustus 2021.

Tempo, "Komnas HAM Anggap Tak Adanya Political Will Jadi Kendala Penyelesaian Kasus HAM", 23 November 2020. <<https://nasional-tempo.co/read/1408158/komnas-ham-anggap-tak-adanya-political-will-jadi-kendala-penyelesaian-kasus-ham>>. Diakses 23 Agustus 2021.

Tempo, "Komnas HAM: Wiranto Mengatakan 14 Orang Itu Sudah Meninggal", 1 Juli 2005. <<https://nasional-tempo.co/read/63299/-komnas-ham-wiranto-mengatakan-14-orang-itu-sudah-meninggal>>. Diakses 10 Agustus 2021.

The Jakarta Post, "Politics Puts Ratification of UN Convention by House in Doubt", 11 July 2014. <<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news-/2014/07/11/politics-puts-ratification-un-convention-house-doubt.html>>. Diakses 23 Agustus 2021.

Tirto.id, "Draf Perpres HAM Jokowi: Bermula Dari Wiranto & Ditolak Korban", 12 April 2021. <<https://tirto.id/draf-perpres-ham-jokowi-bermula-dari-wiranto-ditolak-korban-gb2z>>. Diakses 12 Agustus 2021.

Tirto.id. Sejarah Kerusuhan 27 Juli 1996: Soeharto Gembosi Megawati. Diunggah 27 Juli 2019. <<https://tirto.id/sejarah-kerusuhan-27-juli-1996-soeharto-gembosi-megawati-ee7a>>. Diakses 22 April 2021.

## **WAWANCARA**

Wawancara Syahar Banu (KontraS) via Zoom Meeting 9 Agustus 2021.

Wawancara Ari Yurino (ELSAM) via Zoom Meeting 10 Agustus 2021.

Wawancara Eko Dahana Djakarta (Tim Penyelidik Tindak Lanjut Hasil Penyelidikan Pelanggaran HAM yang Berat Komnas HAM RI) via Zoom Meeting 13 Agustus 2021.

Wawancara Zaenal Muttaqin (IKOHI) via Zoom Meeting 21 Agustus 2021.