

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aditjondro, G. J. (2000). *Cahaya Bintang Kejora*. ELSAM.
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford University Press.
- Agamben, G. (2005). *State of Exception*. University of Chicago Press.
- Alua, A. A. (2002). *Papua Barat dari pangkuan ke pangkuan: suatu ikhtisar kronologis*. Diterbitkan oleh Sekretariat Presidium Dewan Papua dan Biro Penelitian STFT Fajar Timur.
- Amnesty International. (2018). "Don't Bother, Just Let Him Die": Killing with Impunity in Papua. Diakses dari [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org).
- Amnesty International. (2019). "Indonesia: Drop Charges Against Lawyer for Papuan Political Activist." Diakses dari [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org).
- Amnesty International. (2021). "Indonesia: Government should investigate shooting of children in Intan Jaya, Papua." Diakses dari [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org).
- Anderson, B. (2015). *Papua's Insecurity: State Failure in the Indonesian Periphery*. East-West Center
- Arendt, H. (1951). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Bertrand, J. (2014). "Autonomy and Stability: The Perils of Implementation and 'Divide-and-Rule' Tactics in Papua, Indonesia." *Routledge*
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge.

- BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik). (2020). "Persentase Penduduk Miskin Maret 2020."  
Diakses dari [www.bps.go.id](http://www.bps.go.id).
- Brundige, E., et al. (2004). "Indonesian Human Rights Abuses in West Papua:  
Application of the Law of Genocide to the History of Indonesian Control."  
Yale Law School.
- Butt, S., & Lindsey, T. (2012). *The Constitution of Indonesia: A Contextual  
Analysis*. Hart Publishing.
- Crouch, H. (1988). *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- ELSHAM Papua. (2022). "Pembungkaman Ruang Berekspresi Situasi Hak Asasi  
Manusia di Papua Sepanjang Januari-Juli 2022."
- Elmslie, J., & Webb-Gannon, C. (2013). "A Slow-Motion Genocide: Indonesian  
Rule in West Papua." *Griffith Journal of Law & Human Dignity*, 1(2),  
142-166.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. Pantheon  
Books.
- Galtung, J. (1969). "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace  
Research*, 6(3), 167-191.
- Human Rights Watch. (2018). "Indonesia: Events of 2018." Diakses dari  
[www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org).
- Human Rights Watch. (2019). "Indonesia: Investigate Deaths of Papuan  
Protesters." Diakses dari [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)
- Human Rights Watch. (2020). "Indonesia: Events of 2020." Diakses dari  
[www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org).
- Humphreys, S. (2006). "Legalizing Lawlessness: On Giorgio Agamben's State of  
Exception." *European Journal of International Law*, 17(3), 677-687.

- ICCPR. (1966). *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. United Nations.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). (2020). "Indonesia: Dinamika Kekerasan di Papua." *Asia Report* No. 232.
- ICTJ (International Center for Transitional Justice). (2019). "The Past that Has Not Passed: Human Rights Violations in Papua Before and After Reformasi." Diakses dari [www.ictj.org](http://www.ictj.org).
- Karma, F. (2014). *Seakan kitorang setengah binatang: rasialisme Indonesia di tanah Papua* (L. Soenmi, Ed.). Penerbit Deiyai.
- King, P. (2004). *West Papua & Indonesia Since Suharto: Independence, Autonomy or Chaos?* UNSW Press.
- Komnas HAM. (2016). "Jurnal HAM Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia."
- Komnas HAM. (2020). "Laporan Investigasi Kematian Pendeta Yeremia Zambani." Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia.
- Koten, B., & Gobay, D. (2019). *Papua bukan tanah kosong: beragam peristiwa dan fakta hak asasi manusia di tanah Papua, 2018*. Sekretariat Keadilan, Perdamaian, dan Keutuhan Ciptaan Fransiskan Papua.
- Leith, D. (2002). *The Politics of Power: Freeport in Suharto's Indonesia*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. (2010). *Papua Road Map: Negotiating The Past, Improving The Present, And Securing The*

*Future*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

MacLeod, J. (2015). *Merdeka and the Morning Star: Civil Resistance in West Papua*. University of Queensland Press.

Mbembe, A. (2003). "Necropolitics." *Public Culture*, 15(1), 11-40.

Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. Knopf.

Saltford, J. (2003). *The United Nations and the Indonesian Takeover of West Papua, 1962-1969: The Anatomy of Betrayal*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Savitri, L. A., Dhanwani, N. D., & Amin, S. (2023). Biopolitik Food Estate dan Kerusakan Metabolik Alam-Manusia Papua. *Yayasan Pusaka Bentala Rakyat*.

Schmitt, C. (2005). *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. University of Chicago Press.

Shiraishi, T. (1990). *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926*. Cornell University Press.

Singh, B. (2008). "Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood." *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 129-145.

Sudibyo, A. (2019). *Demokrasi dan Kedaruratan: Memahami Filsafat Politik Giorgio Agamben*. Marjin Kiri.

TAPOL. (2020). "West Papua 2020: Freedom of Expression and Freedom of Assembly Report." Diakses dari [www.tapol.org](http://www.tapol.org).

Tebay, N. (2005). *West Papua: The Struggle for Peace with Justice*. Catholic Institute for International Relations.



Wing, J., & King, P. (2005). "Genocide in West Papua? The Role of the Indonesian State Apparatus and a Current Needs Assessment of the Papuan People." *Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies*, University of Sydney.