


## **Covid-19 and Human Rights: The Capture of the Fulfilment of Rights During the Covid Outbreaks**



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## Covid-19 and Human Rights: The Capture of the Fulfilment of Rights During the Covid Outbreaks

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**ABSTRACT.** Fulfilment and protection of human rights in all aspects is a form of Constitutional Rights for Citizens that must be fulfilled by the State. Basic human rights also under no circumstances can be reduced even deprived. However, the fact is, human rights regulated in various laws and regulations in Indonesia have not been maximally implemented. The fulfilment and protection of human rights also faces its own challenges in implementing it in certain cases, for example disasters such as Pandemic Covid-19. Various legal instruments, both central and regional, were created to deal with and resolve the Covid-19 Pandemic problem. This study aims to examine the implementation of the fulfilment and protection of human rights in special situations such as Covid-19 Pandemic. This research is limited to the Semarang City area. This study wanted to find out and analyze various aspects of law and human rights in the implementation of various policies related to Covid-19 in the City of Semarang. This study seeks to find challenges and problems in the protection and fulfilment of human rights in the city of Semarang in the Covid-19 Pandemic. The method in this study uses empirical research, where researchers directly go to the field. The planned data was obtained from various related agencies in the city of Semarang, the community, and related NGOs. This research will assist the government in mapping human rights fulfilment policies in national disaster situations in this case the Covid-19 Pandemic.

**KEYWORDS.** Human Rights; Covid-19; Protection of Human Rights; Fulfilment of Human Rights

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## Introduction

Recognition and protection of human rights is one of the characteristics of a rule of law. The State of Indonesia is a state based on law in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution “The State of Indonesia is a constitutional state”. Human rights are basic rights or citizenship inherent in an individual since he is born by nature which is given directly by God Almighty which cannot be taken away and deprived of existence and must be respected, upheld, and protected by the state, law, government and everyone. for the honor and protection of human dignity. Apart from that, Indonesia is obliged to protect and enforce human rights for its citizens because Indonesia has implemented international agreements in matters of human rights enforcement.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The 1945 Constitution of Indonesia (UUD 1945), Furthermore, it was also emphasized that the concept of a rule of law (*Rechtsstaat*), for example, in principle contains a number of main characteristics including protection of human rights, separation or division of power in state institutions in order to guarantee the implementation of state power itself, and the existence of an administrative court. The rule of law in principle contains key characteristics such as the rule of law, equality before the law and guarantees of protection of human rights. *See also* Eko Hidayat, “Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia dalam Negara Hukum”, *ASAS: Jurnal Hukum Ekonomi Syariah*, Vol. 8 No. 2, 2016, pp. 1–8; Haposan Siallagan, “Penerapan Prinsip Negara Hukum di Indonesia”, *Sosiohumaniora*, Vol. 18 No. 2, 2016, pp. 131-137.

In fact, the 1945 Constitution guarantees the protection of human rights, for example the recognition and guarantee of the right to legal equality, the guarantee of the right to be free from acts of discrimination in various forms, the right to be free from torture, and so on. UU no. 39 of 1999, apart from regulating various guaranteed rights, also describes the government's responsibility in respecting, protecting, and fulfilling human rights. Since 1998 until today, in a more operational policy, the Government has prepared a National Action Plan for Human Rights (RANHAM). The existence of this RANHAM is also a form of the government's commitment in the field of human rights. The guarantee of human rights protection in these various regulations, gives obligations to the state and especially the government of the guaranteed rights. Moreover, after Indonesia ratified 2 (two) main international human rights instruments (ICCPR and ICESCR), it adds to Indonesia's commitment to protecting human rights. As a state party to the Covenant, Indonesia has an obligation to make every effort (legal, legislative and administrative, etc.) to protect the rights guaranteed in the Covenant.<sup>2</sup>

The State's commitment to respecting, protecting, and fulfilling human rights is then carried out by continuously striving for the formation, amendment and revocation of regulations intended to strengthen human rights protection. In the field of justice, for example, there is regulatory reform to achieve independence of the judiciary, by separating the executive and judicial powers, giving authority to the judiciary bodies to carry out the trial fairly and impartially. establishing specialized agencies to carry out oversight and creating training programs to create increasingly professional law enforcement officials. Efforts to change to ensure equality and non-discrimination are also being made, for example the elimination of discrimination against women and racial discrimination. In 1999 Indonesia ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which later in 2008 established Law No. 40 of 2008 concerning the Elimination of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ridwan Arifin, "Democracy on Indonesian Legal Reform : How Can People Participate on Laws and Regulations Establishment Process", *JILS (Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies)*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2017, pp. 155–158; Ridwan Arifin, "Revealing the Other Side of Human Rights Issue : How We Look to the Existed Various Problems", *JILS (Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies)*, Vol. 2 No. 1, 2017, pp. 79–82; Zainal Abidin, "Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia", *Paper*, on Human Rights Training for the RANHAM Committee Prov. Sumatera Barat, Padang, 13 June 2013), <https://referensi.elsam.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/21.-Perlindungan-Hak-Asasi-Manusia-di-Indonesia.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Zainal Abidin, 2013, *Op.Cit.*

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Furthermore, progress in the protection of human rights has become one of the government's programs in line with the ongoing reform and stabilization process of democratic life, efforts to protect human rights in Indonesia include the existence of a form of written law that contains rules on human rights, namely, both in the form of the Basic Constitution, MPR decrees, laws, implementing regulations for laws, government regulations, or presidential decrees and other implementing regulations.<sup>4</sup>

On the same side, protection, and fulfillment in certain conditions, for example natural disasters and certain emergencies face various challenges. Procedures for fulfilling and protecting rights are often one of the obstacles in the implementation of the fulfillment of community rights as part of the constitutional rights of citizens. The instruments for upholding human rights in Indonesia still have an imbalance between legal certainty regarding the rules for upholding human rights and the implementation of human rights enforcement, both in normal and in emergency situations. In order to prevent human rights violations, the state as the government apparatus in carrying out the state administration should and the authorities of the emergency situation concerned take a form of legal protection to ensure the enforcement of human rights.<sup>5</sup> (Angga et al., 2014; Arifin et al., 2018).

Even though in certain situations and conditions, for example the Covid-19 Pandemic, the state must guarantee the fulfillment and protection of just human rights. Various legal instruments that emerged in the situation of the Covid-19 Pandemic, for example the Social-Physical Distancing Policy, Lockdown Policy, to Large-Scale Social Restrictions (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar*, hereinafter as PSBB) directly limit the rights of citizens, whether related to freedom of speech, religions, or even with regard to other rights.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, respect for human rights across the spectrum, including economic and social rights, and civil and political rights, will be

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<sup>4</sup> Susani Triwahyuningsih, "Perlindungan dan Penegakan Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) di Indonesia", *Jurnal Hukum Legal Standing*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2018, pp. 113–121; Alycia Sandra Dina Andhini & Ridwan Arifin, "Analisis Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Tindak Kekerasan pada Anak di Indonesia", *AJUDIKASI: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 3 No. 1, 2019, pp. 41-52; Mentari Berliana Kemala Dewi & Ridwan Arifin, "Emancipation and Legal Justice; Portrait of Women's Legal Protection In Indonesia" *Jurnal Cita Hukum*, Vol. 7 No. 1, 2019, pp. 101–114.

<sup>5</sup> R. Vareza Dwi Angga, Eddy Mulyono, & Rosita Indrayati, "Perlindungan Hukum Warga Negara atas Terjadinya Pelanggaran HAM Berat dalam Kondisi Negara Keadaan Darurat di Indonesia", *Jurnal Hasil Penelitian Mahasiswa Hukum*, Vol. 8 No. 1, 2014, pp. 1–9; Ridwan Arifin, Rasdi Rasdi, & Riska Alkadri, "Tinjauan Atas Permasalahan Penegakan Hukum dan Pemenuhan Hak dalam Konteks Universalime dan Relativisme Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia", *Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum LEGALITY*, Vol. 26 No. 1, 2018, pp.17-18.

<sup>6</sup> Ridwan Arifin, Rasdi Rasdi, & Riska Alkadri, 2018, *Op.Cit.*

the basis for a successful public health response, which is one of the basic rights for society in the Covid-19 Pandemic.<sup>7</sup> (Muchena, 2020; OHCHR, 2020).

## Method

The approach in legal research uses a conceptual approach and an empirical approach, which in this study looks at various theories related to the fulfilment of human rights in Indonesia in certain emergency situations. The conceptual approach is used to see the various views and doctrines that live and apply in the people of Semarang City in observing the implementation of fulfilling the rights of residents in Semarang City in the situation of the Covid-19 Pandemic. The Empirical Approach will look at the development of cases directly and their law enforcement from time to time, along with the various human rights implementations that were manifested in the people of Semarang City in the Covid-19 Pandemic. This research is included in empirical juridical legal research, where in this study the study of statutory regulations will be analyzed, observed, documented, and seen directly in the field, in the people of Semarang City.

This research took place in three stages for 6 (six) months, this research will focus on research locations in several locations as follows:

1. Semarang City Government
2. Semarang City Legal Aid Institute, Jl. Jomblang Sari IV No. 17, Jomblang, Candisari, Semarang City, Central Java 50256
3. Regional NGO Center for Research and Information (PATTIRO) Semarang, Jl. Durian IV No. 21 Semarang, Tel. 024-8445532
4. Semarang Police Department

The subjects in this study include: (1) Chairman or Director of the Study Center; (2) Chairman or Director of NGOs, (3) Experts, Practitioners, Observers, Policy Holders, (4) Police.

This study uses several data sources, including primary, secondary, and tertiary, as follows:

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<sup>7</sup> Deprose Muchena, "COVID-19 as an emergency human rights issue", *Amnesty International*, 2020, retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/04/covid19-as-an-emergency-human-rights-issue/>; OHCHR, "COVID-19 and its human rights dimensions", *United Nation Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner*, retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/COVID19Guidance.aspx>

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1. Primary data sources, in the form of direct observations, direct observations, and direct interviews with parties related to the impact of fulfilling human rights in the midst of the Covid-19 situation in Semarang City.
2. Secondary Data Sources, in the form of documents, texts, texts and decisions related to Covid-19 and the impact of fulfilling human rights and law in Semarang City.
3. Tertiary Data Sources, in the form of theories and results of previous research related to this research.

The type of data in this study is qualitative data, which in this study will clearly describe the implementation of the fulfillment of human rights in the Covid-19 pandemic situation in the city of Semarang.

In addition, data on national and international laws and regulations that will also be reviewed in the framework of an analysis of the fulfillment of human rights in the Covid-19 situation are as follows:

1. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights
2. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
3. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 2005 concerning the Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights)
4. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
5. As well as various other related legal rules

## Literature Review

### A. Basic Theory and Concept of Theory of Human Rights

A book entitled *Human Rights, Individual Rights, and Collective Rights* written by Jack Donnelly and quoted by Peter R. Baehr said that human rights are rights that human beings possess because they are human beings<sup>8</sup>. As an identity that distinguishes humans from other creatures, human rights (HAM) should be universally recognized regardless of skin color, gender, age, cultural background and also religion or spirituality.

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<sup>8</sup> Jan Berting, *Human Rights in a Pluralist World: Individuals and Collectivities*, Meckler, London, 1990, pp. 75-78; Jan Berting (ed), *Human rights in a pluralist world: individuals and collectivities*, Meckler, London, 1990, pp. 120-125.

In the same context, it also emphasized that human rights as rights inherent in humans because of the nature and nature of human birth as humans. It is said to be *attached* or *inherent* because these rights are owned due to the nature of the birth as a human being and not because of the gift by any power organization including the state. It is said that it is also attached, so basically these rights cannot be deprived or revoked for a moment.<sup>9</sup>

The origin of the idea of human rights can be traced all the way back to ancient times with Stoic philosophy to modern times. Among jurists there are three main theories that explain the origin of the birth of ideas about human rights, namely natural law theory, positivism, and anti-utilitarian, as follows.

### 1. Natural Law Theory

The thoughts that gave birth to the theory of natural law cannot be separated from the influence of the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas. According to Aquinas, natural law is part of God's law which can be known through human reasoning. Aquinas' ideas lay the groundwork for autonomous individual rights. Every human being is given a unique individual identity by God, and this is separated by the State. However, Aquinas' idea drew a lot of criticism because it was not empirical, how do we know God has given certain rights to everyone.

Hugo de Groot, or as he was known as Grotius, further developed Aquinas' theory of natural law by cutting off its theistic origins and making it a product of rational secular thought. According to Grotius, the existence of natural law can be known by using correct reasoning, and the degree of its validity does not depend on God. Natural law which is the basis of positive law or written law, can be rationalized using logic and measurement science. Throughout the 17th century, Grotius' views continued to be refined. Through this theory the subjective rights of individuals are accepted and recognized.<sup>10</sup>

The figures who are considered the most instrumental in laying the foundations of natural law theory are John Locke and JJ Rousseau. In his

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<sup>9</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Dimensi Konseptual dan Prosedural Pemajuan Hak Asasi Manusia Dewasa Ini, Perkembangan Kearah Pengertian Hak Asasi Manusia Generasi Keempat", *Paper*, presented on discussion on the Development of Thought on Human Rights organized by the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights, The Habibie Center, 2000. *See also* Fauzan Khairazi, "Implementasi demokrasi dan hak asasi manusia di Indonesia", *INOVATIF: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 8 No. 1, 2015, <https://online-journal.unja.ac.id/jimih/article/view/2194>

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Straumann, "Is Modern Liberty Ancient? Roman Remedies and Natural Rights in Hugo Grotius's Early Works on Natural Law", *Law and History Review*, Vol. 27 No.1, 2009, pp. 55-86.



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classic book: *The Second Treaties of Civil Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, John Locke proposes a postulation of the idea that all individuals are endowed with the inherent realm of rights to life, liberty and property, which are their own and cannot be revoked or stripped down by the State. Through a — social contract, protection of this inalienable right is left to the State. If the ruler of the State ignores the social contract by violating the natural rights of the individual, then the people in that country are free to remove the ruler and replace him with a government that is willing to respect these rights.<sup>11</sup>

Rousseau followed social contract theory. But in contrast to Locke, Rousseau said that natural law does not create natural rights of individuals, but the sovereign rights of citizens as a whole. Every right that is derived from natural law will exist in the citizen as a unit which can be identified through the general will. It was Locke's idea of natural rights that underlies the emergence of rights revolutions in the British United States and French revolutions in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Natural law theory sees human rights born from God as part of human nature. When humans are born, they have inherent rights that cannot be replaced or even eliminated, regardless of their religious background, ethnicity, social class, and sexual orientation.

## 2. Positivism or Utilitarian Theory

The notion of human rights which is based on natural law views faced serious challenges in the 19th century. It was Edmund Burke, an Irish national who was concerned about the French Revolution, who propagated the terrifying conjecture of human equality. Burke alleges that the compilers of the Declaration of the Right of Man and of the Citizen are incorrect ideas and hopeless hopes for humans who have been destined to live an obscure life with difficulty.<sup>12</sup>

Hume, a Scottish philosopher, holds the view that natural law theory is a mixture of what is (is) and what should be (ought). What does exist are empirically proven and verifiable facts. Here one cannot argue right or wrong because their existence can be proven and tested empirically. Meanwhile,

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<sup>11</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Rousseau: The Social Contract and other later political writings*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 56-60; John Locke, Richard Vernon, and Michael Silverthorne, *Locke on toleration*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 167-170

<sup>12</sup> Peter James Stanlis, *Edmund Burke and the natural law*, Piscataway, NJ United States, Transaction Publishers, 2015, pp. 55-58.

what ought to be (ought) is a principle of morality, namely an objective reality which cannot be proven. In morality one can argue right or wrong. According to Hume, the law must clearly separate what is from morality. Natural law theory is only in the area of morality and does not originate from a formal legal system.<sup>13</sup>

In the view of positivism theory, rights only exist if there are laws that govern them. Morality must also be strictly separated in the legal dimension. The ownership rights of each individual can be enjoyed if it is officially granted by the ruler or the State. And what is most prominent in this view is to prioritize the welfare of the majority. Meanwhile, minority groups whose preferences are not represented by the majority can be ignored and lose their rights.

### 3. Theory of Justice

The theory of justice was born out of criticism of positivism theory. The figures who developed this theory were Ronald Dworkin and John Rawls. Dworkin's theory is very much based on the obligation to treat its citizens equally that is borne by the State. Of course, moral values, power, or using other grounds as an excuse to override human rights—except for the principle of equal treatment itself. Therefore, human rights are meant as a bulwark or trump in terms that are used by individuals or individuals against the will of the public which harm or do not receive equal treatment. But not all rights to have nature as trump can be used as a bulwark against the public will. Rights groups belonging to this group are non-human rights — rights that are not fundamental. For example, the right to establish a place to live somewhere. This kind of right can be violated by the government, but if it is based on the reason that there is a bigger public interest.<sup>14</sup>

Another idea is the view of John Rawls who later introduced the concept of distributive justice. There are two important things in this case, namely justice (fairness) and equality. *First*, everyone has the same rights to the broadest basic freedoms, as wide as the same freedoms for all. *Second*, economic and social inequality must be regulated in such a way as to produce the greatest possible benefit for those most disadvantaged and to provide a system of equal access and equal opportunities. According to Rawls, in

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<sup>13</sup> Benjamin Straumann, *Op.Cit.*

<sup>14</sup> John Rawls, "Some ordinalist-utilitarian notes on Rawls's theory of justice", *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 70 No. 9, 1973, pp. 245-263; Norman Daniels, *Reading Rawls: Critical Studies on Rawls' A Theory of Justice (Vol. 229)*, Redwood City CA, Stanford University Press, 1989, pp. 156-160.

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society, every individual has the same rights and freedoms. However, these rights and freedoms are often not enjoyed equally—for example, the right for everyone to get education, but this right cannot be enjoyed by everyone because of poverty. To overcome this, Rawls introduces the principle of difference. This principle states that an even distribution of resources should be prioritized, unless it can be proven that an unequal distribution will make the situation of the less fortunate for the better.<sup>15</sup>

In Rawls's view, everyone has rights based on the concept of justice that cannot be negotiated, even related to issues of public welfare in general. For this reason, justice will be realized if it is based on the principles and positions of each origin. In this situation each person will be assumed to have chosen two main principles of justice. The first principle, each person will be given equal rights. The second principle is equality which is based on fair competition and is only justified if it benefits the party most disadvantaged. If there is a conflict between the two, then equal freedom must be won from equal opportunities. The choice of these two principles, according to Rawls, will arise because the parties to the contract are in a state of ignorance or do not know the various facts that will place our position in a society.<sup>16</sup>

## **B. Theory of the Operation of Law in the Society**

Law as a means of social integration, it will not be possible to work in a vacuum. According to Harry C. Bredemeier, when law works in a social order, it will always get input from other fields such as economics, politics and culture. The intake received by law becomes input and output which is returned to society. Furthermore, Harry C. Bredemeier said that is why law in reality functions as a factor for integrating society, so law must be able to resolve conflicts in an orderly manner, as said by Bredemeier that the law function of the last is the orderly resolution of conflict.<sup>17</sup>

In principle, the law-making process takes place in four major stages, namely the initiation stage, the socio-political stage and the juridical stage, and the dissemination or dissemination stage. *First*, the initiation stage is a stage that signifies the birth or emergence of an idea in society. *Second*, the activities that take place at this socio-political stage begin with processing, discussing, criticizing, defending the initial ideas that come from society

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<sup>15</sup> John Rawls, *Op.Cit.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Harry C Bredemeier, "Law as an integrative mechanism", *Law and Sociology*, 1962, pp. 73-90.

through an exchange of opinions between various groups and forces in society. *Third*, the juridical stage is the final stage in which the idea is further elaborated or formulated in a more technical manner into legal provisions, including determining legal sanctions. *Fourth* is the stage of dissemination or dissemination, which is the stage of socializing a legal product. The end result of the entire law-making process as described above is closely related to the typology of society in which laws are made and enforced. Chambliss and Seidman make legal distinctions according to a community typology based on consensus on values with a conflict-based community typology.<sup>18</sup>

According to Robert B. Seidman and William J. Chambliss, the process of the operation of the law is largely determined by four main components, namely law-making institutions (laws), law enforcement bureaucracy, role holders, and the influence of personal and social forces. The first three components (law-making institutions, law enforcement bureaucracy, and role holders) play a role in the corridor of the law, while personal and social power are “non-legal” components.

Furthermore, the four comments can be described in Robert B. Seidman’s propositions, as follows: *First*, every rule of law prescribes how a role occupant is expected to act. Every rule of law according to the rules, and ordered the stakeholders should act and behave; *Second*, how a role occupant will act in response to norm of law is function of the rules laid down, their sanctions, the activity of enforcement institutions, and the inhere complex of social, political, and other forces affecting him. The responses and actions taken by the stakeholders are feedback from the function of an applicable regulation. Including sanctions, namely the performance and policies of the implementing agency/regulatory setting and the strategic environment that affects them; *Third*, how the enforcement institution, will act in response to norm of law is a function of the rule laid down their sanctions, the inhere complex of social, political, and other processes affecting them, and the feedbacks from role occupants. Actions taken by regulatory implementing agencies in response to legal regulations are a function of the applicable legal regulations and their sanctions and all forces in the strategic environment that affect them, in response to feedback from role stakeholders or those subject to regulation and *Fourth*, how the law maker will act is a function of the rules

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<sup>18</sup> Satjipto Rahardjo, “Budaya Hukum dalam Permasalahan Hukum di Indonesia”, *Paper*, presented on 4th National Law Seminar Lecture, National Law Development Agency, Jakarta, 1979. It is even further argued that *Het recht hinkt achter de feiten aan*, which means that the law shuffles according to facts. Therefore, the law is actually behind the facts, in the sense that it is the reality that inspires the emergence of the law. Of course, there are many facts going on around us and not all of them have to be confirmed as the legal norm.

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laid down for their behavior their sanction, the inhere complex of social, political, ideological, and other forces affecting them, and the feedbacks from role occupants and bureaucracy. What actions are taken by legislators is also a function of the applicable legal regulations, including the sanctions and the influence of all strategic forces on him, as well as the feedback that comes from the stakeholders, implementers and implementers of the regulations.<sup>19</sup>

The four propositions above, clearly describe how a rule of law works in society. Seidman's theory can be used to examine the legal regulations made by state elites, and whether the law works properly and effectively applies in society or is it the opposite ineffective.

## The Capture of Human Rights Fulfilment During Covid-19 Outbreaks

### A. Right to health as a constitutional right of citizens

Humans will lose all possibilities to get other rights without being based on health. Therefore, health is one of the basic human needs. The recognition and protection of the right to health are regulated constitutionally. Since the enactment of the Constitution of the United Republic of Indonesia 1949, the right to health has been regulated in article 40 which reads as follows: *The authorities have always made serious efforts to promote public cleanliness and the health of the people.* The regulation of the right to health in Article 40 of the Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was later adopted by Article 42 of the Provisional Basic Law.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> William J. Chambliss, and Robert B. Seidman, *Law, Order, and Power*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1971, pp. 176-179.

<sup>20</sup> Bagir Manan, et.al., *Dimensi-Dimensi Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia*, PSKN FH UNPAD, Bandung, 2009, p. 138. Furthermore, Bagir Manan even emphasized that Indonesia has had several paradigm shifts related to human rights. The paradigm shift is related to two aspects, namely civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. *See also* Manan, Bagir, "Aktualisasi Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia", *Paper*, presented on Panel Discussion 'Menyongsong Abad ke-21 Sebagai Abad Hak Asasi Manusia', held by PAHAM Jakarta, 1998; Bagir Manan, *Perkembangan Pemikiran Pengaturan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia*, Alumni, Bandung, 2000, pp. 34-37. For further discussion, *also see* Ridwan Arifin, "Pancasila, Human Rights, and Global Ideology: The Perspective of Human Rights Based on Pancasila in the Midst of the Global Human Rights Wave", *Law Research Review Quarterly*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2016, pp. 247-276; Ridwan Arifin, "Human Rights Interpretation in the Dimension of Pancasila Ideology", *Law Research Review Quarterly*, Vol. 2 No. 4, 2016, pp. 641-656; Ridwan Arifin, Rasdi, & Riska Alkadri, 2018, *Op.Cit.*; Ridwan Arifin & Lilis Eka Lestari, "Penegakan dan Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia dalam Konteks Implementasi Sila Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab", *Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum*, Vol. 5 No. 2, 2019, pp. 12-25; Ridwan

Then after the enactment of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the right to health is again regulated in Article 28H paragraph (1) with the following norms: “... *everyone has the right to live in physical and mental prosperity, to live, and to have a good and healthy living environment and the right to obtain health services...*”. As an attribute of these provisions, Article 4 of Law Number 36 of 2009 concerning Health states that *everyone has the right to health* in outline this Law implies that every individual, family and community has the right to receive protection for their health, and the state is responsible for arranging this fulfillment. the right to live to be healthy for the population, including for the poor and the poor. The inclusion of these provisions into the 1945 Constitution and the Health Act illustrates an extraordinary paradigm shift. Health is no longer only associated with fate or God's gift which is a personal matter for everyone and has absolutely nothing to do with the responsibility of the state, but now health has become a legal right that is guaranteed, protected, respected and must be fulfilled by country. This is very clearly reflected in Article 28I paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution which emphasizes that the protection, advancement, enforcement, and fulfillment of human rights are the responsibility of the state, especially the government.<sup>21</sup>

Not only in Indonesia, the global community through the 1946 World Health Organization (WHO) Constitution has outlined that obtaining the highest degree of health is a human right for everyone (the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being). Based on this, the right to health is recognized as a basic right or fundamental right. The existence of the right to health as a fundamental right is then emphasized in the general comments of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the right to health which states health is a fundamental human right indispensable for the exercise of other human rights. This general comment from the Committee on Economic,

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Arifin, “Revealing the Other Side of Human Rights Issue: How We Look to the Existed Various Problems”, *JILS (Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies)*, Vol. 2 No. 1, 2017, pp. 79-82.

<sup>21</sup> Rif'atul Hidayat, “Hak Atas Derajat Pelayanan Kesehatan Yang Optimal”, *SYARIAH Jurnal Hukum dan Pemikiran*, Vo. 16 No. 2, 2016, pp. 130-131. See also Sam Foster Halabi, “Participation and the right to health: lessons from Indonesia”, *Health and Human Rights*, 2009, pp. 49-59; Meita Veruswati & Al Asyary, “Implementation of Information Systems Toward Health System Strengthening in Indonesia: A Policy Brief”, *Public Health of Indonesia*, Vol. 3 No. 3, 2017. It also further highlighted that Human rights, including the right to health, also emphasize the concept of equality and demand the role of the state to meet everyone's basic needs. The state is demanded to be more active, especially the government as the holder of the executive branch, so that these rights can be fulfilled or available. One form of community welfare is the right to health. Everyone has the right to get health services.

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Social and Cultural Rights provides an emphasis on placing the right to health as a fundamental human right and should be prioritized for the implementation of other human rights.<sup>22</sup>

It is appropriate that the right to health is respected and implemented by the state as one of the fundamental rights. The State's obligation to provide protection for the right to health possessed by all citizens is in line with what is stated by WHO, namely the state in this case the government has responsibility for the health of its citizens. According to WHO, government has a responsibility for the health of their people which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures.<sup>23</sup>

The responsibility of the state to fulfill the right to health as a fundamental right is reinforced by the Declaration of Address. The affirmation is stated in the following sentence: The important WHO and UNICEF Declaration of Alma-Ata adopted at the International Conference on Primary Health Care in 1978, also used similar language: *The Conference strongly reaffirms that health, which is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, is a fundamental human right and that the attainment of the highest possible level of health is a most important world-wide social goal whose realization requires the action of many other social and economic sectors in addition to the health sector.*<sup>24</sup> In the declaration made by WHO and UNICEF, it

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<sup>22</sup> CESCR General Comment No 14. *The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health*. Committee on Social and Cultural Rights, 2000, p. 1. This document also emphasized that Health is a fundamental human right indispensable for the exercise of other human rights. Every human being is entitled to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health conducive to living a life in dignity. The realization of the right to health may be pursued through numerous, complementary approaches, such as the formulation of health policies, or the implementation of health programmes developed by the World Health Organization (WHO), or the adoption of specific legal instruments. Moreover, the right to health includes certain components which are legally enforceable. For further explanation please see <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4538838d0.html>

<sup>23</sup> Tinton Slamet Kurnia, *Hak Atas Derajat Kesehatan Optimal Sebagai HAM di Indonesia*, PT. Alumni, Bandung, 2007, p. 15. See also Tedy Sudrajat, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Hak Anak Sebagai Hak Asasi Manusia dalam Perspektif Sistem Hukum Keluarga di Indonesia", *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 13 No. 2, 2011, pp. 111-132; Fheriyal Sri Isriawaty, "Tanggung Jawab Negara Dalam Pemenuhan Hak Atas Kesehatan Masyarakat Berdasarkan Undang Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945", *Dissertation*, Tadulako University, 2015; Udiyo Basuki, "Merunut Konstitusionalisme Hak Atas Pelayanan Kesehatan Sebagai Hak Asasi Manusia", *Jurnal Hukum Caraka Justitia* Vol. 1 No. 1, 2020; Ridwan Arifin, Raden Muhammad Arvy Ilyasa, & Septhian Eka Adiyatma, *Covid-19 dan Hak Asasi Manusia: Bagaimana Perlindungan Warga di Masa Pandemi?*, BPFH UNNES, Semarang, 2020, pp-15-20.

<sup>24</sup> The Declaration of Alma-Ata. Even in this declaration it is also said that the government's obligation to fulfil health services is something that must be fulfilled, Governments have a responsibility for the health of their people which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures. A main social target of governments, international

reaffirms the right to health which is part of human rights, thus the fulfillment of the right to health is the responsibility of the State and a goal of all over the world which must also be supported by various sectors.

Through its various policies, such as the provision of a health insurance system, provision of health infrastructure, optimization of human resources as medical personnel, is one form of the state's efforts to meet the public health status at large. Likewise, in the midst of a disease pandemic, the State's responsibility to maintain public health has become even more extra. The state must optimize the allocation of state finances, optimize the available regulations, and not forget to keep the media workers at the forefront. The success or failure of the state in handling the corona pandemic shows the success or failure of the state in maintaining public health for which it is responsible.

Then, in relation to the right to health for workers during the COVID-19 Pandemic, juridically, guarantees for the provision of workers' health rights are regulated in various laws and regulations. First, Article 166 paragraphs 1 and 2 of Law Number 36 of 2009 concerning Health which states that paragraph (1): *"The employer is obliged to guarantee the health of workers through prevention, improvement, treatment and recovery and is obliged to bear all costs of maintaining the health of the workers..."* Paragraph (2): *"Employers bear the costs of work-related health problems suffered by workers in accordance with statutory regulations."* Second, Article 35 paragraph (3) of Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower which states that: *"Employers in employing workers are required to provide protection that includes welfare, safety and health, both mental and physical workers."*

The two laws above are sufficient to provide legitimacy that entrepreneurs who are still implementing WFO during a pandemic are obliged to consistently fulfill the health rights of their workers. Equipment that supports health for workers must be equipped in the workplace such as a sterile and hygienic work environment, the availability of gloves, hand sanitizers, masks, thermogun, disinfectant tools, medicines, multivitamins for body immunity, soap and hand washing place. adequate, etc. in accordance with the Covid-19 virus prevention protocol established by WHO.

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organizations and the whole world community in the coming decades should be the attainment by all peoples of the world by the year 2000 of a level of health that will permit them to lead a socially and economically productive life. Primary health care is the key to attaining this target as part of development in the spirit of social justice



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The fulfillment of this right to health is also strengthened by the Minister of Manpower Circular Number M/3/HK.04/III/2020 concerning Protection of Workers and Business Continuity in the Context of Preventing and Overcoming Covid-19. The Minister of Manpower instructs each company leader to anticipate the spread of Covid-19 to workers by taking preventive measures such as clean and healthy living habits. If there are workers or employers who are suspected of being sick due to Covid-19, then steps must be taken in accordance with the health standards issued by the Ministry of Health.<sup>25</sup>

### **B. How is the government responsible for the health rights of its citizens?**

Constitutionally, the Government is obliged to provide adequate health services, and the public has the right to receive protection as an inherent right, so the protection and health insurance for everyone is the front line. The government's obligation to fulfill the constitutional rights of the people to health has an international juridical basis, namely in Article 2 paragraph (1) of the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.<sup>26</sup>

Then the national constitution has also stated in Article 28 I paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution that the protection, advancement, upholding and fulfillment of human rights are the responsibility of the state, especially the government. This government's obligation is also emphasized in Article 8 of the Human Rights Law, then Article 7 of the Health Law which states that the government is tasked with organizing health efforts that are evenly distributed and affordable to every community. Then Article 9 of the Health Law states that the government is responsible for improving the degree of public health.

Efforts to fulfill the right to health can be carried out in various ways, in the form of prevention and cure. Prevention efforts include the creation of conditions that are adequate for health, both ensuring the availability of food and jobs, good housing, and a healthy environment. Meanwhile, healing efforts are carried out by providing optimal health services.

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<sup>25</sup> Indra Rahmatullah, "Jaminan Hak Kesehatan Pekerja Work from Office Selama Masa PSBB Covid-19", *ADALAH: Buletin Hukum dan Keadilan*, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2020, pp. 57-62

<sup>26</sup> Latipah Nasution, "Hak Kesehatan Masyarakat dan Hak Permintaan Pertanggungjawaban Terhadap Lambannya Penanganan Pandemi Global Coronavirus Covid-19", *ADALAH: Buletin Hukum dan Keadilan*, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2020, pp. 19-28

Health services include aspects of social security for health, adequate health facilities, qualified medical personnel, and service financing that is affordable to the community. Article 12 of the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also outlines the steps that must be taken to achieve the highest standards in achieving physical and mental health, namely:

- 1) Improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial health
- 2) Prevention, treatment and control of all endemic infectious diseases, work-related diseases and other diseases
- 3) Creation of conditions which ensure the availability of all medical care and attention when disease occurs.

Article 6 of Law no. 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management Affirming that the Government is responsible for implementing disaster management. This includes protecting community activities from the impact of disasters, ensuring the fulfillment of the rights of people affected by disasters in a fair manner and in accordance with minimum service standards, and reducing disaster risk.<sup>27</sup>

### C. Right to information

In the context of handling a pandemic, valid, reliable, and continuously updated information regarding the pandemic situation and its handling must be fulfilled and provided to the public without exception. This is very important because in the absence of vaccines, the safety of citizens depends on information about prevention and control of individual behavior.

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<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, WHO stated *that the best defense against any outbreak is a strong health system. COVID-19 is revealing how fragile many of the world's health systems and services are, forcing countries to make difficult choices on how to best meet the needs of their people. Countries should identify essential services that will be prioritized in their efforts to maintain continuity of service delivery and make strategic shifts to ensure that increasingly limited resources provide maximum benefit for the population. They also need to comply with the highest standard in precautions, especially in hygiene practices, and the provision of adequate supplies including personal protective equipment This requires robust planning and coordinated actions between governments and health facilities and their managers. Some examples of essential services include: routine vaccination; reproductive health services including care during pregnancy and childbirth; care of young infants and older adults; management of mental health conditions as well as noncommunicable diseases and infectious diseases like HIV, malaria and TB; critical inpatient therapies; management of emergency health conditions; auxiliary services like basic diagnostic imaging, laboratory services, and blood bank services, among others. Well-organized and prepared health systems can continue to provide equitable access to essential service delivery throughout an emergency, limiting direct mortality and avoiding increased indirect mortality. See <https://www.who.int/news/item/30-03-2020-who-releases-guidelines-to-help-countries-maintain-essential-health-services-during-the-covid-19-pandemic>*

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However, at the beginning of the spread of COVID-19, the government did the opposite. The involvement of the State Intelligence Agency through silent operations, delivery of incomplete information, denial and inconsistency of statements and information of political elites and state officials on the vulnerability and handling of the COVID-19 emergency in Indonesia has actually exacerbated the crisis and created uncertainty and uncertainty in handling the crisis.

In many cases it was found that the government continued to cover up and monopolize information on the distribution of red areas which made it difficult for not only the public but also local governments to take effective and adequate preventive measures. This closure and denial of information has actually given wrong signals and directions to the public, lowering vigilance which could result in the expansion of the spread of the epidemic and exacerbate the disaster. A number of cases that endanger health and violations of human rights that result from not fulfilling the right to information include procedures for the use of disinfectants, use of drugs and supplements that are not recommended, violations of privacy to discriminatory practices such as refusing to bury a corpse exposed to COVID-19.<sup>28</sup>

This condition is contrary to the obligation to convey information from a number of regulations, such as Article 154 Jo. 155 Law No. 36 of 2009 concerning Health which states that the Government periodically determines and announces the types and spread of diseases that have the potential to be contagious and spread in a short time, as well as Article 9 paragraph (2) letter d of Law Number 14 of 2008 concerning Freedom of Information, Article 19 of Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and Article 14 of Law 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights which in essence guarantees the right of everyone to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey information.

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<sup>28</sup> Bangun Santoso, "Kenapa Indonesia Masih Juga 'Tertutup' Soal Corona? Negara Lain Transparan", March 13, 2020, <https://www.suara.com/news/2020/03/13/111222/kenapa-indonesia-masih-juga-tertutup-soal-corona-negara-lain-transparan?page=all>; Dieqy Hasbi Widhana, "BNPB: Data Corona Kemenkes Tertutup & Tak Sinkron dengan Pemda", April 6, 2020, <https://tirto.id/bnpb-data-corona-kemenkes-tertutup-tak-sinkron-dengan-pemda-eLh2>; Detik, "Saat Jokowi Tak Ingin Dianggap Tertutup soal Data Corona", April 21, 2020, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4984637/saat-jokowi-tak-ingin-dianggap-tertutup-soal-data-corona?single=1>; Reza Aditya Ramadhan, "Kasus Positif Corona Hampir 100, Pemerintah RI Semakin Tertutup soal Data Pasien", March 14, 2020, <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/kasus-positif-corona-hampir-100-pemerintah-ri-semakin-tertutup-soal-data-pasien-1t1YYtcSV38/full>

On the other hand, the COVID-19 outbreak also threatens the right to privacy. In a number of media reports, the first two patients who tested positive for corona felt depressed because of the massive media coverage of their place of residence conveyed by public officials. Not to mention, the impact of this news also affects their immediate environment, such as family, friends, and neighbors.

In fact, Article 17 of the ICCPR and Law No. 14 of 2008 on Freedom of Information have guaranteed information and personal rights. Exceptions to be opened can be given if it is related to a person's history, condition of family members, physical and psychological health care. Therefore, open disclosure of the identity of a corona sufferer is considered a violation.

#### **D. Right to fair trial**

As of April 2020, the National Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (KontraS) noted that there were 93 incidents of prosecution by security forces related to the threat of civil liberties during the large-scale social restrictions period. A number of incidents such as arbitrary arrests (17 cases), arrests on charges of insulting state officials (8 cases) and handling hoaxes (41 cases), problems of access to legal aid in case assistance such as in the case of the *Anarko* group and *Ravio Patra* showed the police officers' arbitrariness in carrying out law enforcement.<sup>29</sup>

Large Scale Social Restrictions, especially those related to restrictions on gathering, must refer to statutory regulations, this is clear that the implementation of PSBB in an area must be based on a decision from the Minister of Health based on a request from the Regional Head, so that it does not necessarily follow the PSBB argument submitted by President Joko Widodo, used as a tool and arbitrary interpretation by the security apparatus to carry out the action of dissolution, considering that from the documented data we have done, many regions have not implemented the PSBB status that has been determined by the Minister of Health, security forces with arbitrary actions have taken action—dissolution action, this is contrary to the guarantee of the right to freedom of assembly, where the right to freedom of assembly is guaranteed by law and can be limited in accordance with legal and human rights standards. So it is fitting that law enforcement officers in the field and in the regions must understand that the dissolution of the right

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<sup>29</sup> Yati Andriyani, "Wabah COVID-19 Bukan Alasan untuk Mengorbankan HAM dan Demokrasi", May 11, 2020, <https://kontras.org/2020/05/11/15985/>

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to assembly cannot be carried out before the PSBB status determination is issued by the Minister of Health.

Referring to Articles 14-15 of the Civil and Political Covenant and their elaboration in General Comment No. 32 of 2007, the concept of the right to a fair trial includes the treatment of suspects/defendants during and before the trial process, including the right not to be processed legally without criminal articles being violated (Article 15 of the ICCPR) and the right of everyone to legal assistance (General Comment 32/2007 point 10). The government should be consistent in adopting the provisions of the ICCPR not only legally in Law no. 12 of 2005 concerning the ratification of the Civil and Political Covenant, but also in practice by the authorities in their daily work. And in this case, the internal police also have various regulations that oblige the police to uphold human rights and adhere to the principles of fair trial.

### **E. The right to be free from discrimination and stigmatization**

The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in a wave of stigma and discrimination in certain groups, one of which is health workers. They get a negative stigma from society as virus carriers because their daily work carries a high risk of being exposed to the virus. This can be seen from the incidents of nurses being evicted from their homes,<sup>30</sup> health workers who were rejected by their neighbors,<sup>31</sup> to the refusal of a nurse's funeral in Semarang.<sup>32</sup>

This stigmatization was born as a result of the dissemination of information by the government that was inaccurate and partial, resulting in the public receiving incomplete information and taking the wrong attitude. This reaffirms the impact of the violation of information rights on other dimensions of rights. COVID-19 is a test for society, government, communities and individuals. Respect for human rights across the spectrum, including economic, social, cultural, and civil and political rights, will be

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<sup>30</sup> Labib Zamani, "3 Perawat RSUD Bung Karno Solo Diusir dari Indekos", April 27, 2020, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/04/27/16500591/3-perawat-rsud-bung-karno-solo-diusir-dari-indekos>

<sup>31</sup> Pebriansyah Ariefana, "Kronologis Dokter dan Perawat Pasien Virus Corona Ditolak Tetangga", March 25, 2020, <https://www.suara.com/news/2020/03/25/152418/kronologis-dokter-dan-perawat-pasien-virus-corona-ditolak-tetangga>

<sup>32</sup> CNN Indonesia, "Kisah Pilu dari Penolakan Jenazah Perawat Corona di Semarang", April 10, 2020, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200410174518-20-492451/kisah-pilu-dari-penolakan-jenazah-perawat-corona-di-semarang>

fundamental to a successful public health response and recovery from the pandemic. The global pandemic COVID-19 cannot and cannot be an excuse for every country to make policies that are repressive and violate human rights. Instead, this should be an evaluation to re-see the COVID-19 incident as a public health issue that has an impact on social welfare issues. Moreover, in issuing policies, the state must think long-term about the long-term impact on civil liberties in society after the pandemic is over because the real threat is the virus, not citizens.<sup>33</sup>

## F. Right to work: what is really going on?

Implementation of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) with a policy of social distancing and work from home, workers in the formal to informal sectors, from home industry workers and micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) ), so that casual daily workers and other low-income workers are prone to the risk of wage cuts, denial of leave rights, being laid off without wages, and termination of employment.<sup>34</sup>

If the company chooses to cut leave for workers who do not enter as a means of controlling COVID-19, the Government is obliged to ensure that the company continues to pay workers' wages, in accordance with Paragraph 41 General Comment No. 23 of 2016 regarding the right to work. Workers who experience reduced income due to illness also have the right to access benefits (cash and non-cash), which include at least health, water and sanitation services, and food in accordance with paragraph 2 and paragraph 59 of General Comment No. 19 of 2007 regarding the Right to Social Security.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Galuh Dwi Novanda, "Advocacy and Legal Aid During Covid-19 Pandemic: How Indonesia Survives?". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2020, pp. 101-110; Tessa Septy Dynesia, "The Effectiveness of Indonesian Government Assistance in Handling and Breaking Covid-19 Chains". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 3, 2020.

<sup>34</sup> Muhammad Haikal Fathan, "COVID-19 Emergency Regulation: How We Survive?". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 3, 2020; Ratna Desinta Mega Kumala, "Legal Analysis of Government Policy on Large Scale Social Restrictions in Handling Covid-19". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2020, pp. 181-200. Ulil Albab Junaedi, "Analysis of Covid-19 Impact for Law and Society". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 3, 2020.

<sup>35</sup> Diki Mardiansyah, "The Corona Virus and Labor Rights Issues: How Do Workers Get Their Rights?". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2020, pp. 129-146; Namira Ivanka, "Large-Scale Social Restrictions: What's Next?". *The Indonesian Journal of International Clinical Legal Education*, Vol. 2 No. 2, 2020, pp. 201-214.

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Most importantly, handling an emergency, regardless of its cause and impact, must not violate human rights principles. In the midst of concern, cooperation, solidarity and humanity should be made into a common spirit.<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusion

This research highlighted that the Covid-19 Pandemic directly impacts various aspects of human rights. These human rights aspects in Semarang City are more related to access to health, access to education, proper treatment (non-discrimination), rights to work, as well as rights to privacy and information disclosure. This research confirms that various legal instruments both national and international have clearly regulated the rights of these communities. Various obstacles that make the fulfillment of citizens' rights are not optimal include: inadequate law enforcement facilities and infrastructure, quality of law enforcement officials (human resources), quality of government officials, political interests versus public interests, the level of information disclosure on services and community rights, the level of public understanding of their rights is inadequate, to the influence of religious leaders and the level of community religiosity.

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<sup>36</sup> Amnesty International Indonesia, "COVID-19 dan Hak Asasi Manusia", April 9, 2020, <https://www.amnesty.id/covid-19-dan-hak-asasi-manusia/>

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