

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEES AND INDONESIA'S FREE AND ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

*PENGUNGSI INTERNASIONAL DAN POLITIK LUAR NEGERI BEBAS AKTIF
INDONESIA*

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Abstract.

Indonesia's Free and Active Foreign Policy has influenced the way the country deals with international refugees, especially as a transit country. Although it has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention, Indonesia uses domestic legal frameworks, such as Law No. 6/2011 on Immigration, to deal with refugee issues. This research uses a qualitative method with desk-based analysis to examine the relationship between Indonesia's foreign policy and international refugee management. The results show that although Indonesia does not grant asylum, the country provides temporary protection and basic assistance to refugees, in collaboration with international organizations such as UNHCR. The article concludes that Indonesia's Free and Active Foreign Policy plays a role in balancing national interests with humanitarian obligations, demonstrating a commitment to global cooperation despite not yet fully participating in international conventions related to refugees.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Free and Active Foreign Policy, International Refugees, Immigration, Indonesia

Abstrak.

Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif Indonesia telah memengaruhi cara negara ini menangani pengungsi internasional, terutama sebagai negara transit. Meskipun belum meratifikasi Konvensi Pengungsi 1951, Indonesia menggunakan kerangka hukum domestik, seperti Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2011 tentang Keimigrasian, untuk menangani isu pengungsi. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan analisis kepustakaan untuk mengkaji hubungan antara kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia dan pengelolaan pengungsi internasional. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun Indonesia tidak memberikan suaka, negara ini menyediakan perlindungan sementara dan bantuan dasar bagi pengungsi, bekerja sama dengan organisasi internasional seperti UNHCR. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif Indonesia berperan dalam menyeimbangkan kepentingan nasional dengan kewajiban kemanusiaan, menunjukkan komitmen terhadap kerja sama global meskipun belum sepenuhnya berpartisipasi dalam konvensi internasional terkait pengungsi.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif, Pengungsi Internasional, Keimigrasian, Indonesia



1. INTRODUCTIONS

Based on the Indonesian principles stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which later became a spirit in the movement of Indonesian Foreign Policy, which has the principle of “active free.” The definition of free is to ensure that the Indonesian nation is free or entitled to determine an attitude in dealing with various problems without taking sides against certain blocks in this world. There are two blocks after the outbreak of the Cold War after World War II. Among the two blocks are the Western block, controlled by the United States and its allies, and also the Eastern block, controlled by the Soviet Union and its allies. From the explanation of the 1945 Constitution, the Indonesian nation did not side with the two blocks concerned. In that sense, the Indonesian nation can cooperate with both blocs. Then, there is the meaning of Active, which means that the Indonesian people will always fight for “independence, lasting peace and social justice” (UUD NKRI, 1945) whose target is not just one or two countries but all countries in the world.

If we look at the GHBN in 1983, there are several statements related to foreign policy, including the implementation of free and active foreign policy carried out by Indonesia, which can be carried out consistently and perpetuated for various matters concerning national interests. Then, if we describe the free and active foreign policy of Indonesia's foreign relations, it is as follows (MPR, 1983):

1. Foreign policy can be implemented as a free and active policy by considering all the consequences.
2. In maintaining world order, Indonesia takes part in helping countries that will become independent.
3. Indonesia must play an active role in solving world problems
4. Always hold various collaborations both in the Southeast Asia region and also the Southwest Pacific region, especially in the ASEAN region.
5. Cooperate with ASEAN in various matters and aspects.
6. Indonesia mobilizes friendships between countries, with the expectation of establishing lasting peace.

Free and active as one of the determinants of Indonesia's foreign policy is very interesting to discuss. One of them is if we connect it with the international refugees who continue to come to Indonesia. These refugees are, of course, Indonesia's responsibility even though Indonesia has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention. This can greatly affect Indonesia's free and active foreign policy, in which, in managing this refugee problem, Indonesia collaborates with various NGOs and also the countries that are the destination of these refugees.

As of September 2021, 13,273 people are registered with UNHCR, including 73% adults and 27% children; of the total number of adults, 26% are women, and 74% are men. The majority of the refugee population in Indonesia is from Afghanistan, which is around 56%. Of the 3,595 children registered with UNHCR, 75 were unaccompanied by parents or other adult relatives, and 35 were

separated from their parents (UNHCR, 2021). Apart from Afghanistan, refugees and asylum seekers who come to Indonesia come from other countries such as Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan, Palestine, Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Vietnam, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Kuwait, Jordan, Bangladesh, Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea and stateless (Direktorat Jenderal Imigrasi, 2021). However, the number published by UNHCR is only derived from the number of refugees and asylum seekers who have registered or have received a refugee registration card from UNHCR. Indonesia not ratifying the 1954 Convention could cause around 4,694,484 Indonesian citizens registered at the Indonesian representation in the Indonesian Embassy (KPU, 2021) not to receive adequate protection.

From the international relations perspective, refugees are integral to migration studies. Therefore, the issue of refugees is closely related to international relations. International cooperation is something that results from the existence of these refugees. We can see in conceptual terms these refugees are people who have a disharmonious relationship with the state. It can be said that the country has a conflict that makes the people of the country leave in order to be free from all the dangers caused by the conflict (Zulkarnain, 2017).

Indonesia is one of the countries that has not ratified the 1951 International Convention on Refugees. Geographically, Indonesia is a strategically located country regarding the entry of refugees. This makes Indonesia have to face the impact of the presence of refugees from various countries entering Indonesia, such as problems related to threats to state sovereignty and problems related to human rights. Indonesia is currently only a recipient country of international refugees, which makes Indonesia obliged to provide a decent livelihood for refugees by providing shelter, food, and medicine. Despite only having the status of a receiving country and not as a country that ratified the 1951 Convention, problems related to international refugees have become a severe discourse of the UN Assembly forum, making all UN member countries, including Indonesia, have to find alternative solutions and provide guarantees of protection for international refugees.

The obstacles Indonesia faces in handling refugees are related to regulations. Indonesia still needs comprehensive regulations or legal instruments to protect international refugees. Despite its status as a receiving country and having yet to ratify the 1951 Convention and 19767 Protocol related to refugee status, Indonesia does not have full obligations and authority over handling international refugees. Indonesia can only handle and accommodate for approximately ten years and cannot take further action regarding the status of refugees in Indonesia. Furthermore, conditions related to the issue of refugee status in Indonesia are quite dilemmatic. Indonesia is faced with problems related to human rights and sovereignty due to the problem of refugees residing in Indonesian territory. According to the 1951 Convention, refugees must get good treatment regarding the guarantee of protection and survival of refugees. This is because of the situation of refugees who are no longer accepted by their country of origin, so each destination country for refugees must think about guaranteeing protection and guaranteeing the rights of refugees while still paying attention to and considering related state sovereignty (Desiandri et al., 2020). From the above background, a question can be drawn: "How is Indonesia's Active Free Foreign Policy in dealing with international refugees who continue to come to Indonesia?"

2. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach through library research. Data were gathered from secondary sources such as books, journal articles, UNHCR reports, and legal documents like Law No. 6 of 2011 on Immigration. These sources were analyzed to explore the connection between Indonesia's Free and Active Foreign Policy and its handling of international refugees.

A descriptive analysis was conducted, focusing on identifying key foreign policy elements that impact refugee management. The methods used are well-established in the fields of foreign policy and international relations. All materials and data used are publicly accessible through academic repositories and online resources, with no restrictions on availability.

3. CONCEPT

3.1. CONCEPT OF FOREIGN POLICY

National interests greatly influence the foreign policies of all countries in the world. Foreign policy is a reflection of a reality that occurs domestically but can also be influenced by international situations. Then this is reinforced by Rosenau's statement, which explains that in the study of foreign policy, a country will face a complex situation of a country that includes external needs and internal life (Perwita & Yani, 2011). Then, according to Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, there is an explanation of Indonesia's free and active politics as follows (Kusumaatmadja, 1983):

"Free: in the sense that Indonesia does not favor forces that are basically not in accordance with the personality of the nation as reflected in Pancasila. Active: meaning that in carrying out its foreign policy, Indonesia is not passive-reacting to international events, but is active."

Foreign policy is a set of intentions, ways, procedures, and goals. This is formulated by experts who are in an official or authoritative position. Foreign policy is addressed to actors and conditions in the external environment of a country. The purpose of this is so that specific targets use a method based on the wishes of policymakers.

There are approximately two factors that have to be considered when making a foreign policy. The two factors are international factors and domestic factors. These two factors will be used as the basis for considering foreign policy in making a policy or decision. The results of the decisions issued can be in the form of adjusting problems or goals, programs, and also international orientation.

4. RESULT

Indonesia is a transit point before their final destination while waiting for their cases to be processed by UNHCR and awaiting transition to Western countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. When refugees first arrive in Indonesia, they seek asylum status, which is a lengthy process to achieve refugee status through UNHCR. While going through the process,

refugees have no right to social security and cannot find a job or start a business, which results in a financial crisis (Briskman & Fiske, 2016). According to UNHCR, approximately 13,743 officially registered refugees live in Indonesia as of December 2020. Most of these migrants are from Afghanistan (55%), Somalia (10%), and Myanmar (7%) (UNHCR, 2020), where they come in different ways. Some travel by boat from Bangladesh or Myanmar, such as Rohingya refugees. Some travel by plane from Central Asia or Africa on tourist visas. Others come from Malaysia by sea, either legally or illegally (Susetyo, 2020). The absence of solid regulations has stranded refugees in Indonesia.

Between 1975 and 1995, the Indonesian archipelago hosted more than 120,000 refugees fleeing political unrest in Indochina who arrived in large groups and were granted refugee status through a rapid process known as “prima facie.” Indonesia also hosted refugees on Galang Island and Riau Islands and entrusted the military with the care of the refugees (Ilham, 2019). In the mid-1990s, Indonesia hosted fewer refugees and asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and other conflict-torn Middle Eastern countries. Indonesia experienced another influx of asylum seekers in 2009. Not only did the number of asylum seekers arriving in the country increase during that time, but the nationalities of those registered with UNHCR also became more numerous (Ilham, 2019).

When refugees arrive in Indonesia, most travel to Jakarta to register with UNHCR, where they receive a document identifying them as asylum seekers that protects them against possible deportation. UNHCR invites refugees to a Refugee Status Determination (RSD) interview to determine whether they will be granted refugee status under the 1951 Refugee Convention. For people recognized as refugees in Indonesia, resettlement is the only solution available as the return is impossible, and Indonesia does not allow for local integration (Briskman & Fiske, 2016). Allowing refugees to reside in Indonesia temporarily is also due to support from members of the international community. Under the Regional Cooperation Arrangement signed by Australia, Indonesia, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2001, Australia provides funding to IOM to meet the basic needs of refugees. The refugee issue in Indonesia dominates Australia's political agenda. This is evident from the increasingly restrictive immigration policy as well as the federal election campaign that saw all major political parties supporting the country's offshore defense policy. As Australia does not want illegal migrants coming into the country, it will continue to pay Indonesia to take care of them (Ilham, 2019).

Indonesia is not a state party to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees or the 1967 Protocol and does not have a national refugee status determination system. There is a reason why Indonesia is not involved in the 1951 refugee convention and its 1967 protocol. This is because Indonesia's legal instruments and framework in dealing with refugee issues are minimal. Although it has not ratified the convention, Indonesia considers international refugee issues closely related to human rights. The principle of humanity by upholding human rights is evidence of Indonesia's humanitarian tradition. This is evidenced by Indonesia's efforts and roles, such as allowing UNHCR to open its first office in Indonesia in 1979 to help the Indochinese refugee crisis and establish a camp on Galang Island for Indochinese refugees.

Meanwhile, Indonesia also played an active role in migration during the

1990s. This was also reinforced by Indonesia's active role in developing the Bangkok Declaration, which emphasized Asian values related to human rights. In addition, Indonesia was also involved in regional cooperation, such as regional seminars on migration and the Asia-Pacific Intergovernmental Consultation on Refugees and Migrants (Gordyn, 2018).

However, Indonesia continues to accept refugees due to humanitarian concerns and the fact that rejecting them goes against the right to seek asylum, which is legally recognized in Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, although not fully enforced. Laws explicitly mentioning the right to seek asylum were introduced more intensively since 1998, as seen in the birth of Law No. 39 on Human Rights and Law No. 37 on Foreign Relations in 1999 (Susetyo, 2020). The article talks about human rights, which means that human rights are a set of rights inherent like a human being as a creature of God that must be respected, upheld, and protected by the state, law, government, and everyone for the sake of honor and protection of human dignity. To further uphold the value of human rights, there is the establishment of National human Rights Commission as an effort by the Indonesian government to help develop the implementation of human rights by Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the UN Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In addition, the amendment of the Constitution by the MPR in 2000 further strengthened Indonesia's humanitarian tradition in responding to the challenges of human rights issues. After the amendment, several regulations regulate more diverse human rights in Indonesia, such as the right to self-determination, the right to life, the right to express opinions, and the right to health and protection (Soeryabrata, 2020). In addition, as a member of the UN, Indonesia signed eight core international human rights conventions, some of which have been adopted in domestic regulations. In addition to international conventions, Presidential Regulation 125/2016 on the Treatment of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Indonesia has acknowledged and recognized refugees in the context of national law. However, the regulation does not present a protection clause (Castor, 2019).

Indonesia's national legal instruments that can be used as a reference in handling refugees can be said to be limited and not comprehensive enough. This can be seen from several legal frameworks related to refugee-related issues, such as national laws relating to human rights. Regarding the existence of refugees in Indonesia, there are provisions in the 1945 Constitution in articles 28A and 28D that guarantee that everyone has the right to life and that everyone has the right to security, protection, and legal certainty. In this case, refugees in Indonesia are not only entitled to international legal guarantees but are also entitled to national legal guarantees as stated in the 1945 Constitution and other regulations. However, refugees who have been in the territory of Indonesia must follow the essential obligations, which, if these obligations are not fulfilled, will affect the guarantee rights concerned.

On the other hand, other special provisions regulate refugees who enter Indonesia, namely the Director General of Immigration Regulation No. IMI-148.UM.08.5/2010, which contains the handling of illegal immigrants. The

regulation regulates and emphasizes the administrative enforcement process that the Indonesian government can carry out against illegal immigrants. However, it is explained that Indonesian authorities will handle asylum seekers and refugees in cooperation with UNHCR (Afriansyah & Zulfa, 2018).

In the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it has been explained that one of the state's guarantees for its people is to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all of Indonesia's blood. In this case, the state is mandated to protect the entire nation from various threats, including in matters related to Indonesian workers. Problems that are often faced by Indonesian workers who work in other countries are related to the problem of human crimes, such as the problem of human trafficking. Many cases of human trafficking are often faced by Indonesian workers who want to work abroad. The act of sexual exploitation to slavery is a form of human trafficking, so the state needs to protect its citizens and prevent these crimes (Mahrus & Pramono, 2011).

Indonesia has tried to minimize the prevention of human crimes through various cooperation carried out by Indonesia with countries that are often the destination countries for migrant workers, such as Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates. Indonesia makes efforts to protect its citizens through the MoU as a bilaterally agreed agreement in the hope of minimizing the occurrence of human crimes for migrant workers. In cooperation with Malaysia, Indonesia temporarily stopped sending migrant workers to Malaya due to the increasing number of human trafficking and violence experienced by migrant workers in 2009. However, in 2010, Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to sign a new MoU to protect migrant workers in Malaysia. Similarly, Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates have signed a new MoU on the protection of migrant workers in Malaysia to address the issue of human trafficking, as well as law enforcement regulations on the prevention and eradication of human trafficking, including investigation and prosecution. In addition, the MoU also includes protection and rehabilitation assistance for victims, as well as regulations on prevention efforts and capacity building. However, the increasing number of cases of violence and human trafficking against migrant workers in countries in the Middle East region led the Indonesian Government to issue Ministerial Regulation No. 260/2015, which listed the Termination of Employment and Prohibition of Placement of Indonesian Workers. The Indonesian Government also emphasizes that the destination countries for migrant workers should improve regulations and governance of the placement and protection of migrant workers so that the problems that befall migrant workers can be minimized (Mahardika & Wicaksono, 2020).

The efforts of the Indonesian Government in carrying out the mandate of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia to protect the entire Indonesian nation and the entire Indonesian blood sphere can be seen from various laws that the Government has made. This has been regulated in several laws, such as those listed in Article 21 of Law Number 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations, which states that "In the case of Indonesian citizens who are threatened with real danger, the Mission of the Republic of Indonesia is obliged to provide protection and assistance and gather Indonesian citizens in a safe place and seek to repatriate the citizen to Indonesia with the help of the State of Indonesia. Repatriate the citizen to Indonesia at state expense". In addition, Indonesia's efforts to protect its citizens are listed in Article 7, letter e of Law Number 39 of 2004 concerning the placement and protection of

Indonesian workers abroad. The article states, "The government protects Indonesian workers before departure, during placement, and after placement." The existence of these laws directly explains that the Indonesian Government has carried out the mandate in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia by taking concrete steps to create a sense of security and provide protection, especially for all Indonesian citizens (Herawati, 2018).

Indonesia's status as one of the Muslim-majority countries in the world has also become a dilemma position for Indonesia, which has become urgent in ratifying the 1951 convention and 1967 protocol related to refugees. This is because there are currently an increasing number of refugees from the Muslim world. Seeing the irony of this, several member countries of the OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation) have discussed various efforts to map the concept of Islamic science in handling and overcoming refugees, especially Muslim refugees. In addition, the OIC itself has also made a resolution that emphasizes condemnation of all repressive actions for refugees, inviting all parties to find solutions and solutions for refugees, especially Muslim refugees. Furthermore, the OIC also encourages the involvement of all parties to cooperate with humanitarian agencies to provide assistance and help for the placement of refugees. On the other hand, the OIC also encourages member countries to be involved in burden sharing related to funding the handling of refugees through humanitarian institutions that the Islamic Development Bank will channel (Yulianto, 2019).

The 1951 Refugee Convention is important because it is an international treaty that covers essential aspects related to the lives of refugees. This Convention also sets minimum standards for the rights that refugees will get. Refugees' rights include the right to be non-refouled, the right to work, the right to obtain education, the right to freedom of religion, the right to obtain an identity card, and others (UNHCR, 1951). Unfortunately, Indonesia has not ratified it because it feels heavily related to several articles that are considered quite challenging to implement. In addition, even though it has not been ratified, Indonesia is considered to have respected the main principles in the Convention, namely the principle of non-refoulement, the principle of not criminalizing refugees, and the principle of non-discrimination. If Indonesia ratifies the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, Indonesia will get two benefits. The first is that Indonesia can determine its status of refugees and asylum seekers, which allows the Government to be directly involved and contribute to handling refugee issues by Indonesia's national interests. The second is that Indonesia can get international assistance and cooperation to strengthen its national capacity in handling refugees and asylum seekers so that it is expected to be a more comprehensive solution in handling refugees and asylum seekers so that refugees and asylum seekers who are not fully covered by the Government can get subsidies through international cooperation funds (Ady, 2012).

There is an invisible rule in the regulation of these refugees. This can be seen from how much the Government cares about Indonesian citizens abroad. Based on migrant care, many Indonesian citizens are abroad, and not all of them are treated well by the world community. Establishing migrant care is an initiation

aimed at migrants scattered in Indonesia. We can describe the urgency of Indonesia in ratifying the Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, namely the formation of this Convention and protocol, which can be said to be the beginning of a bright spot that can be a way to solve this refugee problem. Several legal instruments established in Indonesia have not yet reached the definition of refugee regulations. The 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol provide a permanent solution for refugees, and the 1967 New York Protocol confirms the status of refugees. If we look further, the 1951 Refugee Convention defines who is a refugee and who is not. The state is responsible for refugees who come to its country. Refugees use a good host country as a country they live in or as a transit point.

The state must be able to guarantee safety, security, and welfare and uphold human rights. The discussion about ratifying the Convention Relating to the Status of the Refugees 1951 and the New York Protocol 1967 can guarantee refugee welfare. The advantage of ratifying the Convention is that it can solve refugee-related problems and clarify the status of the refugees. In addition, ratifying the Convention will ensure that Indonesian citizens abroad are safe and prosperous. There is an explanation for the ratification of the refugee convention: if a country has ratified the Convention, the country concerned will get support and assistance from the international community. Therefore, the refugee problem will not only be a burden on the country that is visited or occupied by the refugees (Fatchur Royyan et al., 2018).

A discussion about Indonesia not ratifying the Convention and Protocol led to an opinion that cornered Indonesia. This is because Indonesia is considered a country with a majority Muslim Population but has not ratified the Refugee Convention. As is known, many of the refugees who come are predominantly Muslim. Then, Indonesia is considered a Muslim country that does not fight for *ukhuah* as fellow Muslims.

As the largest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia has a religious and regional obligation to help the Rohingya. Indonesia, as the largest country in ASEAN, should use regional groupings to convince Myanmar to stop this persecution and to find a comprehensive, peaceful, and dignified solution to the Rohingya problem (Flor, 2016). Indonesia needs to lobby Myanmar to stop its security operations in Rakhine state immediately. Furthermore, Indonesia should offer humanitarian assistance to the 30,000 Rohingya refugees. In the long term, Jakarta needs to utilize bilateral and multilateral efforts to address the persecution of the Rohingya if a more permanent solution is to be found (Nirmala, 2021).

Throughout 2021, it was stated that as many as 206 Indonesian citizens who were abroad were threatened with the death penalty, where the majority of cases were drug cases and murder. Of these Indonesians, 79 of them have received official decisions. Indonesian citizens who are threatened with the death penalty are scattered in several countries, namely in Malaysia, around 188 people. In Saudi Arabia, five people; in the UAE, four people; in Laos, three people; in China, two people, and one person each in Vietnam, Singapore, and Myanmar, where of the 206 Indonesian citizens, around 39 of them are women (Antara, 2021). The death penalty is usually applied to punish serious crimes, such as murder. From 2015 to 2018, four Indonesian migrant workers were

executed in Saudi Arabia for murder. The first was Siti Zainab, who was executed in April 2015, followed by Karni in May 2015, then M Zaini Misrin, who was beheaded in September 2018, and finally followed by Tuti Tursilawati who was also sentenced to death in November 2018 (Utama et al., 2020).

5. CONCLUSION

Indonesia is a transit country for illegal immigrants destined for Western countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. Because of their illegal status, these immigrants are trapped and waiting for a decision from the UNHCR. The UNHCR decision is critical for the immigrants; it will affect their ability to get refugee status and be immediately dispatched to their destination country.

Indonesia is a country that has not ratified the 1951 Convention. The Convention discusses the status of refugees. Indonesia has also not ratified the 1967 Protocol and does not have an international refugee status determination system. However, Indonesia still accepts refugees who live there temporarily. Indonesia's free and active foreign policy encourages Indonesia to accept refugees and protect them. The pressure from this foreign policy makes Indonesia have to immediately ratify the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, which will benefit Indonesia.

Indonesia has not ratified because several articles are still challenging to implement. There is another reason why Indonesia has not ratified the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, namely because even though Indonesia has not ratified the two treaties, Indonesia has implemented protection by practicing the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which contains sentences that encourage Indonesia to be able to protect and protect refugees who come to Indonesia.

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