

Indonesia's Policy in Handling the Humanity Crisis of Rohingya's Refugees and Protecting National Security

Rasid Priesdiantoro¹⁾, Yulian Azhari²⁾, Puguh Santoso³⁾, Pujo Widodo⁴⁾, Achmed Sukendro⁵⁾
^{1,2,3,4)}Peace and Conflict Resolution Study Program/Faculty of National Security, Indonesia Defense University, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author

Email: rasidpriesdiantoro@gmail.com, azharivyulian6@gmail.com, puguh28838@yahoo.com,
pujowidodo78@gmail.com, achmedsukendro@gmail.com.

Abstract

The Rohingya crisis has garnered global attention due to its wide-ranging humanitarian and security impacts. Indonesia, as a country committed to humanitarian principles and national security, has been involved in addressing this crisis. This study analyzes Indonesia's policy in handling the Rohingya crisis, with a focus on efforts to strengthen national security while providing humanitarian assistance. Through a descriptive-analytical approach, the author investigates the steps taken by the Indonesian government, including diplomacy, coordination with international organizations such as UNHCR, and collaboration with neighboring countries within ASEAN. The research also depicts the challenges faced by Indonesia in addressing this crisis, including the rejection of assistance from the Myanmar government and the complexity of Rohingya refugee repatriation. This analysis provides insights into Indonesia's role in resolving humanitarian crises and strengthening national security at regional and international levels.

Keywords: *Indonesia, Policy, National Security, Rohingya Refugees, Humanity Crisis Introduce.*

INTRODUCTION

The Rohingya conflict was triggered by significant changes in the political system that heavily discriminated against the Rohingya ethnic group through the policy of Burmanization. This policy marginalized the Rohingya by denying them citizenship, land rights, access to education, and adequate employment opportunities (Mitzy, 2014).

Furthermore, the Myanmar government exerted influence on the predominantly Muslim Rohingya population to adopt Buddhism, the majority religion in the country. Additionally, the conflict was not solely driven by the actions of the Myanmar government. The Rohingya community itself often experienced social envy toward the Rakhine ethnic group, the majority ethnic group in Myanmar, which acted as one of the proximate factors in the conflict. Ultimately, the conflict was sparked by an incident involving the rape of a Rakhine woman by a Rohingya youth, which escalated into rebellion, resistance, and acts of direct violence (Siba & Qomari'ah, 2018). The violence experienced by the Rohingya over the past decades has constituted human rights violations, garnering significant international attention.

As of the time this study was conducted, the Rohingya ethnic group is estimated to number approximately 725,000 individuals originating from Myanmar and residing in Rakhine State. This group has faced prolonged persecution, including systemic violence, discrimination, and human rights violations, which have forced many to flee their homeland. As a result, Rohingya refugees seek refuge in several countries, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, which serve as primary transit points before they reach their ultimate destination: Australia. These countries act as temporary stopovers, where refugees try to continue their journey toward Australia, which is perceived as a place of asylum that can provide political protection and security. For many Rohingya refugees, Australia is considered a relatively safe destination due to its established refugee protection system and its ability to offer a more stable life. However, the journey to Australia is not without significant risks. Many refugees face dangerous sea routes aboard overcrowded, unseaworthy vessels. Along the way, they are exposed to dangers such as

human trafficking, exploitation, and life-threatening conditions. In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, Rohingya refugees often live in highly vulnerable situations, without clear legal status and in constant uncertainty. While these countries provide some humanitarian assistance, they are generally unable to offer long-term solutions due to resource limitations and political constraints. On the other hand, Australia faces a complex dilemma regarding immigration policy and refugee protection. While Australia has international obligations to protect refugees, it has also increasingly tightened its immigration policies to prevent the illegal arrival of refugees by sea. The controversial "boat turnbacks" policy, which involves turning back boats carrying refugees before they reach Australian waters, has sparked international controversy. This has further complicated the situation for Rohingya refugees, who are often trapped in transit countries, continuing to face numerous challenges in their quest for asylum and the protection they desperately need (Azhari & Wilopo, 2022).

The Rohingya ethnic group first arrived in Indonesia in 2016, with a total of 959 individuals entering the country during the 2016-2017 period (Thurana, 2024). This marked the beginning of a significant refugee influx due to the violent persecution they faced in Myanmar, particularly in Rakhine State. The Rohingya were fleeing widespread human rights abuses, including systemic violence, forced displacement, and ethnic cleansing carried out by the Myanmar military and government. However, by 2019, the number of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia had decreased to 582 individuals, a reduction attributed to the transitional period in Myanmar's political landscape. During this time, the Myanmar government implemented some reforms aimed at improving the democratic process, which briefly led to a decline in the number of people fleeing the country. Nonetheless, the Rohingya population in Indonesia increased again in 2020, reaching 921 individuals (Khairani & Yuniasih, 2021). This resurgence occurred as violence in Myanmar persisted, and more Rohingya sought refuge in neighboring countries, including Indonesia, in the face of continued persecution.

The initial arrival of the Rohingya in Indonesia saw them landing primarily in Aceh, a province located on the northern tip of Sumatra (Detik News, 2023). This was not the first time Aceh had been a destination for displaced persons; the region has a history of being a transit point for refugees due to its proximity to the conflict zones in Myanmar. Aceh's geographical location, situated just across the Andaman Sea from Myanmar, made it a common first stop for many Rohingya escaping the violence. During the 2015-2016 period, around 454 Rohingya individuals arrived in Aceh as part of a broader wave of refugees attempting to flee across Southeast Asia (CNN Indonesia, 2023). Aceh, with its deep Islamic cultural roots and strong religious values, became a place of relative safety and acceptance for the Rohingya refugees. The province's majority Muslim population, sharing religious ties with the Rohingya, provided a sense of solidarity and comfort. Many Rohingya refugees felt that the people of Aceh understood their struggles and offered them a warmer welcome compared to other regions. The local community's willingness to assist, alongside government efforts to accommodate the refugees, allowed many Rohingya to find temporary shelter, food, and basic services, making them feel safer and more secure (BBC News Indonesia, 2020).

In addition to Aceh, other cities such as Medan and Makassar also became significant transit points for some of the Rohingya refugees arriving in Indonesia. These cities served as places where Rohingya individuals would stay temporarily before continuing their journey to other countries or seeking asylum in Indonesia itself. While Aceh remained the primary entry point, the larger urban centers offered better access to support networks, aid organizations, and logistical services. As the situation in Myanmar continued to deteriorate, the flow of Rohingya refugees into Indonesia remained a humanitarian challenge for both the local authorities and international agencies. Despite the challenges, Indonesia, while not a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention, has played a critical role in offering protection and basic rights to the Rohingya community (Gunawan et al., 2024).

Over time, Indonesia's response to the influx of Rohingya refugees has evolved, balancing humanitarian concerns with national security and legal considerations. Although Indonesia has extended temporary relief to refugees, including access to humanitarian aid, education, and health services, the country faces growing pressure regarding the long-term settlement and integration of refugees. The issue remains complicated by Indonesia's status as a non-signatory state to the international refugee conventions, which means it does not have a formal framework to offer permanent asylum or a clear path to resettlement for refugees. As a result, the Rohingya, while receiving temporary safety and support, continue to live in a state of uncertainty regarding their future. This complex situation highlights the tension between providing humanitarian relief and addressing broader concerns related to national security, immigration policies, and regional cooperation. The arrival of the Rohingya in Indonesia underscores the need for a comprehensive regional approach to addressing the root causes of displacement, as well as finding durable solutions for refugees in Southeast Asia (Global Village Space, 2024).

With the multitude of conflicts and controversies surrounding the Rohingya ethnic group in Indonesia, the author aims to analyze the government's efforts by titling the study "Indonesia's Policy in Handling the Humanity Crisis of Rohingya's Refugees and Protecting National Security". The goal is to understand and assess the issues faced by the Rohingya community during their time in Indonesia and to examine the government's strategies in addressing the Rohingya crisis in Indonesia from the perspective of national security.

RESEARCH METHODS

In this study, a qualitative research approach will be utilized. Qualitative research methods have a focus on social construction, have unquantifiable variables, have an internal point of view because the researcher is the determining factor, his reasoning tends to focus on the context, research results are used to interpret phenomena, and the contents of the research are explained to comprehend the perspective of sources or actors whose information is sought (Widana et al., 2022).

This research is conducted to understand and analyze the Rohingya crisis, where they have been denied legal citizenship recognition by the world, particularly by their home country, Myanmar. Additionally, it aims to examine the government's measures in handling the Rohingya crisis in Indonesia from the perspective of national security. The reference materials utilized and processed in this study are obtained through a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is conducted within specific settings in real-life situations with the intention of investigating and comprehending phenomena: what happens, why it happens, and how it happens? This means that qualitative research is based on the concept of going exploring, which involves in-depth and case-oriented study or examination of a number of cases (Fadli, 2021, p. 35).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Rohingya Crisis in Indonesia

The term "crisis" originates from the Greek language, meaning any event that is currently unfolding leading to an unstable and dangerous situation affecting individuals, groups, or society. Crisis is also defined as a time of testing or an emergency event. It is also associated with the concept of psychological pressure (Krisis, n.d.).

Similar to what happened with the Rohingya ethnic group, the arrival of Rohingya to several countries, including Indonesia, caused a global uproar (BBC News Indonesia, 2017).

This prompted the Indonesian government to undertake various plans and diplomacy efforts regarding the Rohingya ethnic conflict. The number of Rohingya refugees who landed in Aceh was approximately 400 people. They sailed using two boats and landed in two different places, namely Pidie Regency and Aceh Besar (BBC News Indonesia, 2023a). UNHCR stated that before the arrival of the latest group of refugees, there were already 1,200 Rohingya who had landed in Aceh since November 2023. The arrival of Rohingya refugees has faced rejection from the people of Aceh. The local community there has started to become reluctant to accommodate them. Since Indonesia is not a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Addressing Rohingya Refugees, Indonesia Seeks Trafficking, 2023). Additionally, for the Indonesian people, the arrival of Rohingya carries several risks related to national security and resilience. These include security risks, social risks, health risks, economic risks, and public risks (Billy et al., 2024, p. 6).

One of the main concerns of the local community is the security risk posed by the presence of these refugees, as it has the potential to foster social jealousy among the local population and create security challenges, especially in terms of monitoring and surveillance of individuals or groups who may have intentions or involvement in extremist activities or organized crime. This risk requires careful handling to ensure that national security remains intact (Billy et al., 2024, p. 8).

The arrival of Rohingya has also sparked both pros and cons among Indonesian society (Rinaldi, 2023), particularly regarding criminal acts that drive the flow of Rohingya refugees to Aceh, namely human trafficking and smuggling, as expressed by the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Muhamad Iqbal. He stated that Indonesia, as a party to the UN convention on transnational crimes, has an international obligation to prevent and participate in the eradication of human trafficking and smuggling. Therefore, the Indonesian government reaffirms its commitment to prosecute perpetrators of criminal acts, both in human smuggling and human trafficking that occur within the movement of Rohingya refugees to Aceh. Iqbal revealed that countries party to the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime have an international obligation to prevent and prosecute perpetrators of human smuggling and human trafficking crimes (Budiono, 2023).

The spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also appealed to the countries party to the 1951 Convention to show more responsibility in handling the Rohingya refugee crisis. Indonesia continues to make efforts to assist in the resolution of the conflict in Myanmar and the restoration of democracy (Addressing Rohingya Refugees, Indonesia Seeks Trafficking, 2023).

Policy of Indonesia in Handling the Rohingya Crisis in Indonesia from the Perspective of National Security

Security, according to its literal meaning, signifies being free from danger, being free from fear (Mardhani, 2020). Barry Buzan, a security expert, divides security sectors into five aspects, namely: military security, political security, environmental security, economic security, and social security. This demonstrates that military security is just one aspect of national security systems (Barry, 1991).

National security is a concept anchored in the values of Pancasila as the nation's guiding principles, worldview, and the foundation of the state, as stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. This statement signifies that every citizen is entitled to protection from the state along with all natural resources. This means that both humans and the environment are entitled to protection (Wira, 2017).

According to Darmono (2010), cited in Ahmad (2018), national security is defined as the condition that describes a state's freedom from all internal and external threats or actions. This activity must be fully endorsed by government agencies to be realized, referred to as the function of national security (Ministry of Defense, 2018).

The function of national security is to provide security protection to the entire nation and all layers of society, which includes state security protection, public security protection, and citizen security protection, from all forms of threats or actions originating from within or outside (Indonesia Defense White Paper, 2008). This has been reflected in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, paragraph four. It states that the state functions to provide security protection to it (National Security: A Concept and Security System for the Indonesian Nation: 48-51).

The concept of national security has been emphasized in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which explains that the state must protect all citizens, as well as the existence, sovereignty, and authority of the state (Ministry of Defense, 2018). Thus, it can be concluded that the concept of security referred to in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution is not only state-centered security (Sumoro, 2022). The state's obligation to protect the entire nation also indicates that the concept of security referred to in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution does not entirely reject the individual-centered approach (people-centered security). This can be seen in the state's obligation to provide protection to its citizens because they are the ones who constitute the state (Mahkamah Konstitusi, 2015). The concept of security based on an individual-centered approach is essentially the concept of human security. However, the concept of human security in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution is a community-based concept of human security, not a liberal-based concept (Author, 2010).

However, the state, in this case, the Indonesian government, still bears constitutional responsibility for the security of its citizens, even when Indonesian citizens are not within the jurisdiction of Indonesia. Similarly, vice versa (Mahkamah Konstitusi, 2015). Indonesia also has an international obligation to provide security protection to everyone, regardless of their nationality, who is within the jurisdiction of Indonesia (territoriality principle) (Budiarto, 1981).

Before the era of President Joko Widodo, diplomatic cooperation regarding Rohingya refugees had already been designed by President SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono). He adopted a system of sharing technology to support delegations from Myanmar and Aceh (Sudrajat, 2017). During SBY's administration, Indonesia supported the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in helping to resolve the Rohingya conflict (Suastha, 2017). This included being a pioneer in discussing the Rohingya conflict at ASEAN Summits with assistance from the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) (KontraS, 2017).

President Joko Widodo responded to the Rohingya crisis by sending Retno Marsudi, the Foreign Minister, as a delegate to engage in consolidation with the Myanmar government back in 2017. However, there was some disruption in the process as the Myanmar government rejected humanitarian aid from Indonesia. This information was sourced from the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2018). The report also mentioned that the government of Aung San Suu Kyi, who was praised worldwide for her struggle for democracy, seemed to turn a blind eye to what was happening (Azhari & Wilopo, 2022, p. 482).

Indonesia has also coordinated with UNHCR Indonesia along with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Based on discussions in these meetings, first, Indonesia and UNHCR decided to seek a third country willing to accept Rohingya refugees from Aceh. Second, they agreed to provide temporary shelters along with clean water and other basic necessities. Third, they aimed to enact laws on asylum seekers and refugees. Fourth, they facilitated the repatriation process (return and self-awareness); and fifth, they collaborated with ASEAN countries, especially members of the 1951 Convention (Zulkarnain, 2020).

The temporary shelters facilitated by Indonesia for Rohingya refugees are operated by IOM. The facilities available include clean water, health equipment, children's play areas, prayer rooms, sports facilities, and more (IOM, 2023).

Quoting from Detik.com, (2015) the three countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, held a conference on Rohingya ethnic refugee issues in Putrajaya, Malaysia. The results of the conference included:

- a. Conducting Search and Rescue (SAR) operations for refugees still adrift at sea.
- b. Coordinating maritime patrols and facilitating maritime evacuation if refugee boats are detected.
- c. Providing assistance to refugees in the form of housing, food, medicines, and other basic needs.
- d. Enhancing coordination and cooperation between UNHCR and IOM by identifying and verifying refugees, including seeking third countries for the repatriation process.
- e. Activating resources owned by the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre) to address this issue (Azhari & Wilopo, 2022, p. 482).

During the meeting, it was mentioned that Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to accommodate up to 7,000 Rohingya refugees within one year, while Thailand did not agree to this because it had already accommodated refugees from Myanmar. After one year, the refugees living in the shelters in Indonesia and Malaysia still remained. This was because Myanmar was still unwilling to grant citizenship to Rohingya ethnicity, which automatically hindered repatriation. Additionally, sectarian tensions in Rakhine also caused chaos resulting from this conflict (Bangun, 2017, p. 570).

On an international scale, the Rohingya crisis should be investigated collectively. As conveyed by foreign ministers, they agreed that the Rohingya refugee issue has escalated into a regional issue that requires joint handling, and no ASEAN country can handle the issue alone (Viska, 2023). Additionally, Anifah Aman, the Malaysian Foreign Minister, stated that the Rohingya refugee issue is not just an ASEAN problem but has become an issue for the international community due to its humanitarian crisis (Bonasir, 2015a). Meanwhile, in the context of ASEAN itself, the Rohingya ethnic crisis has placed ASEAN in a significant dilemma regarding its credibility as a regional organization (Bangun, 2017, p. 582).

The Indonesian government is urged to provide legal protection based on the provisions of International Refugee Law to ensure that Rohingya refugees do not face discriminatory treatment from local residents (Aulia, 2023). As a result of this discrimination, many Rohingya have been forced to leave their homes. The mass expulsion and forced migration to neighboring countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand have created a highly complex situation. At sea, many refugees find themselves trapped in dangerous conditions, relying on unseaworthy boats and facing the risk of death. This situation is not only a humanitarian issue but also poses challenges to regional stability. The uncertainty brought about by the influx of refugees can lead to social tensions and conflicts in the host countries. Some ASEAN nations continue to struggle with the impact of the arrival of Rohingya refugees, including the potential for conflict between local communities and refugees. Indonesia, as a receiving country for Rohingya ethnic immigrants, has undertaken various efforts and procedures for handling refugees, involving the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), the Department of Immigration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UNHCR, IOM, and others. This includes the process of detaining refugees or immigrants passing through Indonesia (Sektob.com, 2022). Immigrants are placed in Immigration Detention Centers (Rudenim) under the supervision of local immigration authorities (Sugiyono, 2020). This arrangement allows UNHCR to conduct status determination processes, and eventually, after the determination of refugee status, they can be resettled to a third country or repatriated to their country of origin. This process can take 1-2 years or even longer (Azhari & Wilopo, 2022).

International law and international legal protection are crucially important to be involved in the Rohingya ethnic conflict to ensure security, cooperation, and justice at the global level, especially regarding human rights (Kurniawan, 2017). International law refers to a set of norms and principles governing the behavior among states in various contexts, including laws of war, maritime law, and human rights law (Ketut, et al., 2020). These norms are produced through

treaties, conventions, and practices of states recognized by the international community (Renata, 2024). A rule or principle is considered international law if it is accepted by the majority of states as a binding obligation (Mochtar, 1949).

Meanwhile, international legal protection is closely related to the enforcement of rights and justice at the international level (Ketut, et al., 2020). This involves efforts to secure the rights of individuals and groups and respond to violations of those rights, such as human rights, asylum rights, refugee rights, and minority rights (UN Indonesia, 2024). One of the main pillars of international legal protection is the principle of the rule of law, which acknowledges that every country has an obligation to protect human rights and adhere to international legal norms. Thus, international law and international legal protection are essential elements in upholding justice and human rights at the global level (Savira et al., 2024).

According to Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International regarding the Rohingya ethnic unrest, around the 1920s-1930s, there was persecution in Myanmar by the tyrannical government, leading to the expulsion of the Rohingya ethnic group from the country. The Myanmar government rejected the Rohingya ethnicity in their country by enacting a law called the Burma Citizenship Law 1982. Article 3 of the law states: *Nationals such as the Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine or Shan and ethnic groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the State as their permanent home from period anterior to 1185 B.C., 1823 A.D. are Burma citizens.* Continuing to article 4, it reads: *“the Council of State may decide whether any ethnic group is national or not”* (Darnela & Nugroho, 2017).

Until now, international institutions have not been able to resolve the Rohingya ethnic conflict due to their status as asylum seekers (Hamdi, 2023). According to Sulaiman Hamid, in international law, the meaning of refugee and asylum seeker differs. A refugee is always an asylum seeker, but an asylum seeker is not necessarily a refugee. Refugee status will receive legal recognition internationally and nationally (Hamid, 2002). Protection for the Rohingya ethnic group is based on the conditions in their country of origin and its impact, resulting in migration to neighboring countries (Budi, 2012). In the past, in 2012, the migration of the Rohingya ethnic group increased. Therefore, international legal institutions must follow up on the Rohingya ethnic conflict to obtain their citizenship status (LK2FHUI, 2023).

Not only for Indonesia, which serves as a haven for Rohingya refugees, but also for other countries, it is essential to provide legal protection for immigrants. They should be granted international protection rights to ensure human rights are upheld, preventing asylum seekers from being forcibly returned to their home countries and facing persecution (Aulia, 2023). The Rohingya ethnic group also deserves equal access and attention from UNHCR in accordance with applicable laws (Siwy, 2021).

The legal framework supporting the international refugee protection regime is established by states (Hukumonline, 2022). Over the years, countries have reaffirmed their commitment to protecting refugees by acceding to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which serves as the fundamental document for refugee protection. The Convention delineates the rights and responsibilities of refugees as well as the obligations of states parties to the Convention (UNCHR, n.d.). Consequently, the majority of Rohingya ethnic group members lack official citizenship documentation. Meanwhile, Myanmar's 1948 Nationality Law was exclusive in nature, and the Military Junta, which seized power in 1962, introduced another law twenty years later that fully revoked Rohingya citizenship rights (Budaya, 2017).

CONCLUSION

The arrival of Rohingya ethnic group members has sparked both support and opposition among the local community in Indonesia, garnering global attention and eliciting diverse reactions. The Indonesian government has responded with plans and diplomacy despite facing rejection from some citizens. Risks associated with the arrival of Rohingya include security, social, health, economic concerns, and fears of extremism. Despite controversy, Indonesia insists on complying with international obligations in combating human trafficking and smuggling while advocating for conflict resolution in Myanmar.

National security, based on the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, underscores the right to protection for all citizens and natural resources. This concept encompasses protection from internal and external threats and strengthens the state's function in safeguarding society. Although focusing on national security, this concept also recognizes the need for individual protection, demonstrating a communitarian approach to human security. The Indonesian government has constitutional and international obligations to protect its citizens within and outside its jurisdiction.

President Joko Widodo responded to the Rohingya crisis by sending Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi to Myanmar in 2017, but Indonesia's aid was rejected. Indonesia worked with UNHCR to find solutions, including providing shelters and collaborating with ASEAN countries. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand coordinated to rescue, provide assistance, and accommodate Rohingya refugees. Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to accommodate 7,000 refugees, but repatriation was difficult as Myanmar refused to grant citizenship. The Rohingya crisis demands international and ASEAN joint handling. Indonesia's efforts towards the Rohingya ethnic group are in accordance with regulations, but the global community has yet to address this conflict transparently and openly.

REFERENCES

- Abdi, H. (2023). *Sejarah Rohingya dan Penyebab Konflik Etnis di Myanmar*. Liputan 6. <https://www.liputan6.com/hot/read/5456342/sejarah-rohingya-dan-penyebab-konflik-etnis-di-myanmar>.
- Adelia, N. (2023). *Ngaku Terdampar, Warga Aceh Resah Datangnya Rohingya*. IAIN PAREPARE. <https://kpi.iainpare.ac.id/2023/12/opini-ngaku-terdampar-warga-aceh-resah.html>
- Aulia, R. C. (2023). *Apakah Indonesia Wajib Melindungi Pengungsi Rohingya?* <https://www.hukumonline.com/klinik/a/apakah-indonesia-wajib-melindungi-pengungsi-rohingya-lt6571bcf11ec52/>
- Azhari, Y., & Wilopo. (2022). ENCEGAHAN POTENSI KONFLIK ANTARA PENGUNGGSI ROHINGYA DAN MASYARAKAT LOKAL INDONESIA. *JURNAL PENGABDIAN MANDIRI*, 1(3), 475–488. <https://bajangjournal.com/index.php/JPM/article/view/1805>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2017). *Siapa sebenarnya etnis Rohingya dan enam hal lain yang harus Anda ketahui*. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-41149698>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2020). *Rohingya: Cerita penyelamatan pengungsi yang terdampar di Aceh serta dilema antara kemanusiaan dan kecemburuan sosial*. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-53163613>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2023a). *Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh akan dikembalikan ke negara asal - Apakah itu solusi yang tepat?* <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cljp9xzw5zro>

- BBC News Indonesia. (2023b). *Rohingya: Kebakaran kamp terbesar di dunia “direncanakan dan disengaja” menurut tim penyelidik*. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-64859303>
- Bonasir, R. (2015a). *Indonesia, Malaysia siap tampung pengungsi dengan syarat*. BBC. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2015/05/150520_dunia_indonesia_malaysia_tampung
- Bonasir, R. (2015b). *Mengapa orang-orang Rohingya melarikan diri dari Myanmar?* BBC. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2015/05/150522_dunia_myanmar_exodus
- Budaya, B. (2017). DAMPAK KEWARGANEGARAAN ETNIS ROHINGYA DI MYANMAR TERHADAP PELANGGARAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA DAN NEGARA SEKITAR. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum*, 11(1).
- Budiarto. (1981). *Ekstradisi Dalam Hukum Nasional*. PT. Ghalia Indonesia.
- Budiono, E. (2023). *Atasi Pengungsi Rohingya, Indonesia Buru Pelaku Penyelundupan Orang*. InfoPublik. <https://infopublik.id/kategori/nasional-politik-hukum/807845/atasi-pengungsi-rohingya-indonesia-buru-pelaku-penyelundupan-orang>
- Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia. (2008). *Dapartemen Pertahanan RI*. Departemen Pertahanan RI. <https://www.kemhan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/04f92fd80ee3d01c8e5c5dc3f56b34e31.pdf>
- CNN Indonesia. (2023). *Jumlah Imigran Rohingya di Aceh Capai 1.684 Orang*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20231212151630-20-1036223/jumlah-imigran-rohingya-di-aceh-capai-1684-orang>
- Darmawan, R. (2018). *PENGELOLAAN ANGGARAN PADA PROGRAM PENGEMBANGAN STRATEGI KEAMANAN DAN KETERTIBAN KEVVILAYAHAN DI KEPOLISIAN RESORT KOTA PALEMBANG TAHUN 2014*.
- Darnela, L., & Nugroho, M. A. (2017). *Perlindungan Pemerintah Indonesia terhadap Stateless Person Imigran Rohingya di Aceh* 1 Lindra Darnela & Mohammad Ady Nugroho *Pendahuluan Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 menetapkan bahwa memperoleh status kewarganegaraan merupakan hak bagi setia*. 51(2).
- Detik News. (2015). *Menlu RI, Malaysia dan Thailand Bahas Pengungsi Rohingya di Putrajaya*. <https://news.detik.com/abc-australia/d-2919557/menlu-ri-malaysia-dan-thailand-bahas-pengungsi-rohingya-di-putrajaya>
- Detik News. (2023). *Alasan Warga Aceh Kini Tolak Kedatangan Pengungsi Rohingya*. <https://www.dw.com/id/alasan-warga-aceh-kini-tolak-kedatangan-pengungsi-rohingya/a-67446138>
- Global Village Space. (2024). *Rohingya Refugees: A Persistent Humanitarian Crisis Reaches Indonesia*. Global Village Space. <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/rohingya-refugees-a-persistent-humanitarian-crisis-reaches-indonesia/>
- Gunawan, Y., Novendra, C. S., & Febrila, A. (2024). Indonesia’s Responsibility Towards Rohingya Refugees: Analysis of the 1951 Refugee Convention. *LEGALITY: JURNAL ILMIAH HUKUM*, 32(2), 182–194. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/380136954_Indonesia's_responsibility_towards_Rohingya_refugees_analysis_of_the_1951_Refugee_Convention
- Hamdi, M. Arief. (2023). FENOMENA PENCARI SUAKA DAN PENGUNGGSI ETNIS ROHINGYA DI INDONESIA. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Keimigrasian*, 6(1).
- Hukumonline. (2022). *Kenali 3 Prinsip Perlindungan Pengungsi dalam Hukum Internasional*. <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/kenali-3-prinsip-perlindungan-pengungsi-dalam-hukum-internasional-lt61f96b880e083/>
- IOM. (2023). *Pengungsi Rohingya Direlokasi dari Tempat Penampungan Sementara ke Akomodasi Berbasis Masyarakat dengan Dukungan IOM*. <https://indonesia.iom.int/id/news/pengungsi-rohingya-direlokasi-dari-tempat-penampungan-sementara-ke-akomodasi-berbasis-masyarakat-dengan-dukungan-iom>

- Kemhan. (2018). *BENTUK DAN WUJUD PENERAPAN SIKAP DAN PERILAKU BELA NEGARA*. <https://www.kemhan.go.id/poahan/2018/08/28/bentuk-dan-wujud-penerapan-sikap-dan-perilaku-bela-negara.html>
- Khairani, F., & Yuniasih, T. (2021). *Peran UNHCR dalam Melindungi Pengungsi Rohingya di Indonesia pada tahun 2016-2020*.
- KontraS. (2017). *KTT ASEAN Gagal Menjawab Krisis Rohingya: Pemerintah Indonesia Harus Menjadi Pionir Dalam Mendorong Akuntabilitas HAM dalam Krisis Rohingya*. <https://kontras.org/2017/11/27/ktt-asean-gagal-menjawab-krisis-rohingya-pemerintah-indonesia-harus-menjadi-pionir-dalam-mendorong-akuntabilitas-ham-dalam-krisis-rohingya/>
- Kurniawan, N. (2017). Kasus Rohingya dan Tanggung Jawab Negara dalam Penegakan Hak Asasi Manusia. *Jurnal Komunitas Yustitia Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha Jurusan Ilmu Hukum*, 3(2).
- LK2FHUI. (2023). *Pembantaian Etnis Rohingya Sebuah Kasus Laten Mengenai Kemanusiaan*. <https://lk2fhui.law.ui.ac.id/pembantaian-etnis-rohingya-sebuah-kasus-laten-mengenai-kemanusiaan/>
- Mahkamah Konstitusi. (2015). *HAK DAN KEWAJIBAN WARGA NEGARA INDONESIA DENGAN UUD 45*. <https://www.mkri.id/index.php?id=11732&page=web.Berita>
- Mardhani, D. (2020). KEAMANAN DAN PERTAHANAN DALAM STUDI KETAHANAN NASIONAL GUNA MEWUJUDKAN SISTEM KEAMANAN NASIONAL. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, 10(3).
- Mitzy, G. I. (2014). Perlawanan Etnis Muslim Rohingya terhadap Kebijakan Diskriminatif Pemerintah Burma-Myanmar. *Global South Review*, 1(2), 153–164. <https://doi.org/10.22146/globalsouth.28836>
- Mochtar Kusumaatmadja. (1979). *Konvensi-konvensi Palang Merah Tahun*.
- PBB Indonesia. (2024). *Dalam Dialog dengan Indonesia, Para Ahli di Komite Hak Asasi Manusia Memuji Tindakan yang Mempromosikan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan, Mengajukan Pertanyaan mengenai Polusi Udara dan Air, dan Penggunaan Kekuatan Berlebihan terhadap Masyarakat Adat Papu*. <https://indonesia.un.org/id/263166-dalam-dialog-dengan-indonesia-para-ahli-di-komite-hak-asasi-manusia-memuji-tindakan-yang>
- Siwy, A. V. V. (2021). *PERLINDUNGAN HUKUM TERHADAP WARGA NEGARA INDONESIA DALAM PERKAWINAN CAMPURAN DENGAN PENGUNGI ROHINGYA*. 9(5).
- Suastha, R. D. (2017). *Indonesia Tekan OKI Bantu Selesaikan Konflik Rohingya*. CNN Indonesia. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20170118133600-106-187149/indonesia-tekan-oki-bantu-selesaikan-konflik-rohingya>
- Sudrajat. (2017). *Dari SBY sampai Jokowi, Ini Aksi Indonesia untuk Rohingya*. Detik News. <https://news.detik.com/infografis/d-3629644/dari-sby-sampai-jokowi-ini-aksi-indonesia-untuk-rohingya>
- Sugiyono, O. A. H. (2020). *PENDETENSAN DAN DEPORTASI*. Pohon Cahaya.
- Sumoro, H. (2022). *Solusi Mengatasi Ancaman Multidimensi*. Dewan Keamanan Nasional.
- Thurana, G. A. (2024). *Dilema Indonesia Hadapi Pengungsi Rohingya*. Kumparan. <https://kumparan.com/gabriela-adeline/dilema-indonesia-hadapi-pengungsi-rohingya-21xXAVIpej/1>
- UNCHR. (n.d.). *Konvensi Pengungsi Tahun 1951*. Retrieved December 6, 2024, from <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/who-we-are/1951-refugee-convention>
- Viska. (2023). *[HOAKS] Menteri Luar Negeri Retno Marsudi Tegas Usir Rohingya*. Kominfo. https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/53677/hoaks-menteri-luar-negeri-retno-marsudi-tegas-usir-rohingya/0/laporan_isu_hoaks

Wira. (2017). *BELA NEGARA DALAM PERSPEKTIF STRATEGI DAN KEBIJAKAN PERTAHANAN NEGARA.* <https://www.kemhan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/wiraindoedsusrevisi.pdf>