International Journal of Law
ISSN: 2455-2194; Impact Factor: RJIF 5.12
Received: 26-09-2020; Accepted: 11-10-2020; Published: 27-10-2020
www.lawjournals.org
Volume 6; Issue 5; 2020; Page No. 395-399

Reconstruction of the law politics on the protection of workers in employment termination disputes in Indonesia based on justice value

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Abstract
Industrial relations in Indonesia often set labor or workers' rights aside. One of these practice can be seen in Article 163, Article 164, and Article 165 of Law Number 13 of 2003, both Article 163, Article 164, and Article 165 of Law Number 13 of 2003, where dismissal only rests on the position of the entrepreneur, either due to losses, changes in business status, to bankruptcy, employers can do unilaterally layoffs without considering the position of workers. This problem is then are examined further in a study with the subject matter of why the implementation of labor protection policies in disputes over the termination of employment in Indonesia is currently not fair and how is the reconstruction of labor protection policies in an Industrial disputes based on the value of justice. The method of research used in this research is juridical-empirical where the research type is qualitative research with a sociological juridical approach (Socio-Legal Approach).
As for the research conducted by this author, it is found that during this time, the implementation of the settlement of work relations has mostly only prioritized the interests of entrepreneurs, while workers are often ignored, this is because with layoffs workers always lose their livelihoods, jobs, and also get severance. in accordance with the provisions in Law no. 13 of 2003 where its weaknesses, one of which is the implementation of industrial relations court decisions that are reluctant to be carried out because there are no compelling sanctions if the judicial decisions are not carried out. The factors that cause injustice in the matter of dismissal of workers are legal factors, the role of labor organizations, economic factors, and political factors. So it is necessary to carry out reconstruction in Article 163, Article 164, Article 165 of Law Number 13 of 2003 and Article 58 and Article 98 of Law Number 2 of 2004 so that it can better reflect the justice value.

Keywords: reconstruction, labour protection, justice value

Introduction
Termination of Employment, as regulated in Article 150 to Article 172 of Law Number 13 of the year 2003 is clearly regulated, however, regarding the regulation regarding sanctions for violations of the fulfillment of labor rights, namely the payment of severance pay when a dismissal occurs is not clearly regulated. This shows that lawmakers are not serious in protecting workers' rights when layoffs occur. This problem can be seen in Law Number 2 of 2004 concerning the Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes.
According to Law No.2 of 2004, there are four types of Industrial Relations Disputes, namely Rights Disputes, Interests Disputes, Employment Termination (PHK) Disputes, and Disputes between trade unions / labor unions in only one company. In its development, with the enactment of Law Number 2 of 2004 concerning the Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes in connection with the Implementing Regulations concerning the Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes, it is obtained an illustration that the process of settling industrial relations has undergone quite complex developments. It is called a complex nature because the handling of disputes when it can be taken in (2) two ways, namely: First, the Judicial Path: Settlement of disputes through the judiciary has been regulated in the judicial system that the Judges have been added to the Ad-Hoc Judges, whose litigation process runs in court. General. The judicial system in the general courts only consists of 2 (two) levels, namely, the settlement of industrial relations disputes at the first level and at the cassation level, this change is actually replacing the moot court system, which was previously handled by P4D or P4P. It is hoped that this system will be more effective so that in this way Judges in the industrial relations court have applied aspects of legal justice to workers and employers.
Second, Out of Court Dispute Handling, namely: (a) conciliation; (b) arbitration; (c) mediation. The second objective of the industrial relations dispute settlement system is to: (a) Create peace or tranquility in work and business peace; (b) Increase production; (c) Increasing the welfare of workers and their degree according to human dignity, therefore industrial relations must be carried out in accordance with the three partnership principle, namely partnership in responsibility, partnership in production, and partnership in profit. Previously, the settlement of labor disputes was based on Law Number 22 of 1957 concerning the Settlement of Labor Disputes, hereinafter referred to as Law Number 22 of 1957. However, along with the development of the era, Law Number 22 of 1957 was no longer in accordance with developments in circumstances and The above needs, this is due to several things, first, the Decision of the Labor Dispute Settlement Committee, hereinafter abbreviated as P4-Central, which was originally final, the party who did not accept the decision could file a lawsuit at the higher-level state administrative court and only then can an appeal be filed at the Supreme Court. This process takes a relatively long time and is very inappropriate if applied in cases of employment (industrial relations) which require a quick settlement of cases, as they are related

to the production process and work relations. Second, there is the Minister's authority to postpone or cancel the P4-Central decision or what is commonly known as the veto right. The veto right is considered to be government interference and incompatible with the paradigm that develops in society, where the role of the government should be reduced.Third, in Law Number 22 of the Year 1957 only workers or labor unions could become parties to the settlement of industrial relations. The best dispute resolution is the settlement by the disputing parties so that the results can be obtained that is beneficial to both parties. However, the government, in its efforts to provide community services, especially to the working community or laborers and employers, is obliged to facilitate the settlement of industrial relations disputes. Facilitation efforts are made by providing mediators who are tasked with reconciling the interests of the two disputing parties. With the era of democracy in all fields, it is necessary to accommodate public order in resolving industrial relations disputes through negotiation, conciliation, or arbitration. Dispute settlement through arbitration, in general, is regulated in Law Number 30 of 1999 concerning Arbitration and Alternative Dispute Resolution, hereinafter referred to as Law Number 30 of 1999 is an effort to answer the demands of acceleration and community dynamics in managing commercial conflicts whose volume and density are increasingly complex. However, even though arbitration has been regulated in Law Number 30 of the Year 1999, it does not establish the arbitration institution as a State court at all. Arbitration is simply a method chosen by the disputing parties to give a decision on a particular dispute. Even disputes that can be resolved through arbitration are limitedly stated, namely only narrow civil disputes and disputes in the trade sector. Arbitration contained in Law Number 30 of 1999 is a special form of arrangement, while arbitration for the settlement of industrial relations disputes has not been specifically determined and formed. With the need for a special arrangement regarding the settlement of industrial relations disputes in accordance with current conditions, the government of the Republic of Indonesia ratifies and enforces Law Number 2 of 2004 concerning The Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes which is later called Law Number 2 of 2004. Law Number 2 of 2004 is recognized as a special arrangement for the settlement of industrial relations disputes, in accordance with the legal principle of *Lex Specialis Derogad Lex Generali* (A More Common Law can be set aside if it has been regulated in a more specified Law). The transitional provisions contained in Article 125 state that with the coming into effect of this Law (Law Number 2 of 2004), Law Number 22 of 1957 concerning the Settlement of Labor Disputes is declared invalid. Law Number 2 of 2004 regulates the form of industrial relations disputes settlement, including through the litigation, namely at the industrial relations court, then through non-litigation, which includes the settlement of industrial relations disputes by means of bipartite, mediation, conciliation and arbitration [1]. The formulation of industrial relations disputes in Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, hereinafter referred to as Law Number 13 of 2003, even expands the scope of labor disputes that are not solely between workers or laborers and employers in opposite positions but also disputes. Among fellow workers or laborers in one company. The following is the definition of industrial relations disputes according to the provisions of Article 1 point 22 of Law Number 13 of 2003, which states that industrial relations disputes are differences of opinion that result in conflicts between employers or a combination of employers and workers or laborers and / or trade unions or labor unions. There are disputes regarding rights, disputes over interests, disputes over the initiation of work relations as well as disputes between trade unions/labor unions only within a company. The enactment of Law Number 2 of 2004 as a special regulation that regulates the settlement of industrial relations disputes makes the author interested in writing about a form and implementation of industrial relations dispute settlement. However, on this occasion, the author is very interested in focusing on the settlement of industrial relations disputes through arbitration. This problem could endanger the Industrial Climate of Indonesia as there are still many people who do not know about arbitration as an alternative settlement of industrial relations disputes and in fact other than through industrial relations courts, not knowing that the industrial relation dispute settlement can be resolved through channels outside the court, namely through arbitration. Based on various kinds of industrial relations problems, there is an interesting problem, namely the problem of the violation of the party convicted by the court in the implementation of the obligations convicted by a judge's decision which has permanent strength. This will have an impact on the welfare of workers when the employers who are convicted by the judge to compensate for all the losses suffered by workers must face the fact that the verdict was not carried out without coercion for the entrepreneur who was found guilty. For every case that is submitted to the court, of course, the parties hope that there will be a decision that can resolve the problem, and what has been decided by the court by the won party hopes that the court decision can be implemented. This can be implemented when the court's decision has permanent legal force (*Inkracht van Gewijsde*). A decision can be said to have permanent legal force (*in Cracht van Gewijsde*) if the judgment implies a form of a definite and definite legal relationship between the parties in case the legal relationship must be obeyed and must be fulfilled by the parties. A verdict that has permanent legal force (*in Cracht van Gewijsde*) is a decision that can no longer be challenged by Verzet, Appeal, and Cassation. A court decision that has permanent legal force, if implemented voluntarily by the defeated party, will not cause problems, because the case has been resolved. In fact, the defeated party feels dissatisfied, even thinks that the court's decision is unfair, so the defeated party does not want to implement the court's decision voluntarily even though it is realized that all legal remedies have been made so that the court's decision has permanent legal force. Based on the various problems above, the author then study it further in research with the following problem:

1. Why is the Implementation of Labor Protection Policy in Disputes on Termination of Employment in Indonesia are unable to reflect the Justice Value?
2. How is the Reconstruction of Labor Protection Policy in Disputes of Termination of Employment in Indonesia Based on Justice Values?

[1] Seidman, Lorne & Aalberts, Robert & Gaston, Jolie. (1993). the Model Employment Termination Act. Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly. 34. 43-50. 10.1177/001088049303400610.

Method of Research

The paradigm that is used in the research this is the paradigm of constructivism which is the antithesis of the understanding that lay observation and objectivity in finding a reality or science knowledge [2] Paradigm also looked at the science of social as an analysis of systematic against *Socially Meaningful Action* through observation directly and in detail to the problem analyzed.

The research type used in writing this paper is a qualitative research. Writing aims to provide a description of a society or a certain group of people or a description of a symptom or between two or more symptoms.

Approach method used in this research is *Empirical-Juridical* [3], which is based on the norms of law and the theory of the existing legal enforceability of a law viewpoint as interpretation.

As for the source of research used in this study are:

1. Primary Data, is data obtained from information and information from respondents directly obtained through interviews and literature studies.
2. Secondary Data, is an indirect source that is able to provide additional and reinforcement of research data. Sources of secondary data in the form of: Primary Legal Material and Secondary Legal Materials and Tertiary Legal Material.

In this study, the author use data collection techniques, namely literature study, interviews and documentation where the researcher is a key instrument that is the researcher himself who plans, collects, and interprets the data [4] Qualitative data analysis is the process of searching for, and systematically compiling data obtained from interviews, field notes and documentation by organizing data into categories, describing it into units, synthesizing, compiling into patterns, selecting important names and what will be studied and make conclusions.

Research Result and Discussion

1. Reason Why the Implementation of Labor Protection Policy in Disputes on Termination of Employment in Indonesia are unable to reflect the Justice Value

Based on the above explanations, it can be seen that the issue of execution in industrial relations dispute cases occurs due to two main factors, namely the political factor of the settlement of industrial relations and the cultural factor of implementing the law for the settlement of industrial relations disputes. Legal political factors for the settlement of industrial relations are divided into Economic factors (Global Economic Condition) [5] where Indonesia has not been able to free itself from the grip of economic globalization that is present through the liberalization of national legal policies which has resulted in national legal politics being far opposite from the mandate of Pancasila and the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 NRI Constitution), Philosophical Factors (The blurring of national borders which resulted in uncontrolled dissemination and dissemination of information).

The uncontrolled dissemination and dissemination of information resulted in the intrusion and transplantation of foreign cultures into Indonesian culture which ultimately led to the erosion of Indonesian culture), Political factors (globalization has resulted in the occurrence of reversal of values (Die Umwertung Aller Werte) in all aspects of people's life, including in the field of education) and Legal Regulatory Factors (Weaknesses in Law Number 13 of the Year 2003 and Law Number 2 of the Year 2004 which have not accommodated Labor Protection in Disputes over Termination of Employment in Indonesia at this time).

In connection with these factors, Chambliss and Seidman stated that any action that will be taken by stakeholders, implementing agencies, and legislators is always within the scope of the complexity of social, cultural, economic and political forces, and so on. All social forces are always at work in every effort to make the applicable regulations function, impose sanctions, and in all the activities of the implementing institutions.

Montesquieu and Immanuel Kant [6] stated that law is a mouthpiece of law, which means that the judge in deciding a case must be based on the prevailing laws and regulations. this also occurs in the case of the execution of judicial decisions on industrial relations disputes. The existence of provisions in Article 58 of Law Number 2 of 2004 concerning the Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes and the doctrine of judges as mouthpieces of law have resulted in the execution of unjust industrial relations disputes. Basically, textual law will not be able to realize justice completely without the basis for the interpretation of the law from the judge which is based on the values of society and the sociology of dynamic community life.

The fact above makes it clear that judges being the mouthpiece of law are something that is wrong in the development of the legal world today, especially in the law regarding the execution of judicial decisions on industrial relations disputes. Apart from the doctrine of judges as a mouthpiece of law, the pragmatic attitude, and apathy of judges who have lived in a damaged system but are a status quo zone have contributed to the problem of injustice in the execution of judicial decisions on industrial relations disputes.

Teddy Asmara [7] stated that a greedy judge is basically a judge who is unable to resist his wish to live in luxury and wealth quickly and is dishonest by winning over those who dare to pay large fees. Furthermore, the misconceptions that have been present and developing on the basis of the government and the All Indonesian Workers' Union are hereinafter abbreviated as SPSI regarding the necessity to maintain permanence and peace in the industrial world is growing rapidly and has contributed to the development of the world of labor in Indonesia.

This wrong mindset was present for the first time since the Minister of Manpower's Decree Number 438 in 1992, which states that one of the functions of the same task is to improve the skills and dedication of its members for the

[2] Faisal, (2010), *Menerobos Positivisme Hukum*, Rangkang Education, Yogyakarta.

[3] Johnny Ibrahim, (2005), *Teori dan Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Normatif*, Bayumedia, Surabaya.

[4] L. Moleong, (2002), *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, PT Remaja Rosdakarya, Bandung.

[5] Rahayu Sandi, Purnamawati Linda. (2002). Pemutusan Hubungan Kerja oleh Pengusaha, Law Review, Vol 2, No 1.

[6] Montesquieu and Immanuel Kant, in Wahyu Widodo, Toebagus Galang. (2019). Poverty, Evictions and Development: Efforts to Build Social Welfare Through the Concept of Welfare State in Indonesia, Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Globalization of Law and Local Wisdom (ICGLOW 2019), https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/icglow-19.2019.65

[7] Teddy Asmara. (2011). Budaya Hukum Hakim, Fasisndo, Semarang, p. 20.3.

sustainability of the company, increase participation and responsibility for maintaining peace of mind and peace. Effort. Human Resources management of labor organizations that do not have sufficiently good quality, this is due to the use of labor organizations by irresponsible individuals, especially related to the use of large amounts of foreign donor funds originating from abroad and the occurrence of disputes between labor organizations within one company due to freedom of each group to establish a workers' organization in a company.

The Problem regarding labor protection policy other than human resources, the management of labor organizations also exists regarding the issue of recognizing the existence of labor organizations normatively by the company where the labor organization is established. This problem is especially seen with the requirement of 10 members for the establishment of a labor organization, this requirement is very difficult when it must be applied to informal worker workers whose members are less than 10 people. It is clear that the responsibility and role of the organization, in general, is to strive for and realize the welfare of the workers, which has been the object of training for the government and employers.

In its development, this labor organization model cannot run effectively due to the interference of the government and employers as previously described above, this dilemma is emphasized by the low bargaining power of workers in every negotiation of issues between workers and employers, in the above explanation it has also been clearly stated that the organization In its development, laborers stand at two points, namely the point of defending workers and the point of guaranteeing the fulfillment of the interests of entrepreneurs in the industrial world.

As a result of these labor organization problems, the roles and responsibilities of labor organizations cannot run effectively. According to Law Number 21 of 2000 concerning Workers Unions as stipulated in Article 4, trade unions/labor unions, federations, confederations of trade unions/labor unions aim to provide protection, defend their rights and interests, and increase decent welfare for workers and their families. In fact, the problems of labor organizations have resulted in this Article not being implemented properly.

This problem then has an impact on the problem of obstructing the implementation of the mandate of Law Number 13 of 2003. Especially Articles 67 to Article 101 related to Protection, Wages, and Welfare. Apart from the issue of protection, wages, and welfare, this is one of the things that is made clear by the data on the number of labor wages in Indonesia compared to workers in several other countries.

The President of KSPI [8] stated that the amount of labor wages in Indonesia is the lowest when compared to the wages of workers in several regions in ASEAN, this can be seen from the data obtained by KSPI which shows that the amount of labor wages in Vietnam is US $ 181 per month, Malaysia as much as US $ 506 per month, the Philippines, US $ 206 per month and in Thailand, it is US $ 357 per month, while the amount of labor wages in Indonesia is still around US $ 174 per month as seen from the data in the first discussion regarding the small number of executable decisions related to industrial relations disputes.

2. Reconstruction of Labor Protection Policy in Disputes of Termination of Employment in Indonesia Based on Justice Values

Based on the various explanations above, it is clear that it is necessary to revise the system of execution of industrial relations court decisions in order to maximize justice, especially for workers. Therefore, the author proposes a reconstruction of the law that includes the reconstruction of legal politics and the reconstruction of the implementation of the legal formulation.

The law politics reconstruction of provisions related to the execution of industrial relations court decisions must look in all directions, meaning that it must be able to absorb the various needs of various groups related to labor, labor unions, employers, and employers 'associations, and not only focused on the interests of entrepreneurs and/or employers' associations.

Apart from that, it is also necessary to look at the development of the social and economic welfare of the workers, and not only the interests of big investors as well as the local culture and wisdom of the Indonesian people who uphold noble values including the value of justice.

Community life in its development always requires an orderly and orderly state, an orderly and regular state in that society can be realized if there is one order in a society. The order in the community is not the same, this is because an order consists of different norms. These differences can be observed in the relationship between Das Sollen (What condition is hoped) and Das Sein (What it really is) or between the ideals of law and law in practice in society. This is referred to by Gustav Radbruch as "*Ein Immer Zunehmende Spannungsgrad Zwischen Ideal Und Wirklichkeit*." which means that any differences in the existing order and norms can be seen from the different content in the ideals of law and law in its implementation in society [9].

Furthermore, in its development, the law is different from adversity because law binds itself to society, which is its social basis so that law always pays attention to the needs and interests of society and always serves the community. With regard to the issue of justice, the law in realizing it is not easy, so it requires reflection and consideration in a timely manner that cannot be taken briefly.

Based on the various explanations above, it can be seen that the community does not want a fair law and is able to serve their needs and interests alone but must also be able to create legal certainty that is able to guarantee a sense of security in people's lives both in interacting or realizing the needs of one member of society with other community members, therefore it is clear that the implementation of the execution of court decisions regarding industrial relations issues is influenced by various problems, namely the influence of the Corruption practice and the practice of suppressing labor and law enforcement in the presence of large capital has resulted in unfair execution of the execution of industrial relations court decisions which have permanent strength. In order to achieve this, According to

[8] Achmad Dwi Afriyadi. (2016). Upah Buruh Indonesia di Bawah Thailand dan Vietnam, Taken From https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/2664582/upah-buruh-indonesia-di-bawah-thailand-dan-vietnam on August 2020.

[9] Gustav Radbruch, in Purnomo, Sugeng. (2019). Pekerja Tetap Menghadapi Pemutusan Hubungan Kerja. Jurnal Hukum Bisnis Bonum Commune. 2. 137. 10.30996/jhbbc.v2i2.2493.

the author, it is necessary to:

a. Maximize the role of labor organizations and government that is fair and impartial;
b. To supervise the fair execution of industrial relations court decisions;
c. Create and maximize legal remedies against obstruction of the execution of industrial relations court decisions;
d. Maximize out-of-court channels for industrial relations dispute resolution; and
e. Amend Article 58 of Law Number 2 of 2004 to delegate more accountability to the defendant along with strict sanctions if the defendant is reluctant to carry out the decision of the industrial relations court which has permanent strength.

The realization of the five things presented by the author above will be able to realize justice in terms of the execution of industrial relations court decisions in Indonesia so that there will be a welfare state.

J.M. Keynes[10] states that the state must actively strive for prosperity, act fairly that can be felt by all people equally and equally, not for the welfare of certain groups, but for all the people. It is very careless if economic development is neglected and economic growth is only viewed and concentrated on mere percentage figures as People's welfare is the real indicator. So it is clear that the problems in Article 58 of Law Number 2 of the Year 2004 have resulted in the failure of the state to prosper workers and protect labor rights in Indonesia therefore it is necessary to return to the concept of a welfare state based on Pancasila so that the goals of the state will be able to be realized, especially related to the welfare and protection of labor or workers' rights.

In connection with the various explanations above, it can also be said that there is a need for reformulation related to efforts to protect workers in terms of disputes with employers in industrial relations dispute courts, where reformulation must consider aspects of labor rights both materially and materially as mandated in the concept of *Maqasid al Sharia*/Islamic Politics[11]. Therefore, it is necessary to reconstruct the philosophy/value of the execution of industrial relations court decisions that have a permanent legal force which is simple, fast, cheap, and responsible with legal reconstruction so that the reconstruction as referred to is in Article 163, Article 164, Article 165 of Law Number 13 2003 and Article 58 and Article 98 of Law Number 2 of 2004, because this article makes the position of workers very weak, because in the implementation of layoffs when a change in company status occurs without considering the position of the worker and also without the consent of the worker and without absorbing the aspirations of workers first so that after reconstruction it can strengthen the position of workers.

Conclusion

1. The completion of work relations mostly only prioritizes the interests of employers, while workers are often ignored, this is because, with the layoffs, workers always lose their livelihoods, jobs, and also get severance pay that is not in accordance with the provisions in Law no. 13 of 2003. Then in terms of legal efforts to fight for labor rights when layoffs occur, it also has weaknesses, one of which is the implementation of industrial relations court decisions that are reluctant to be carried out because there are no compelling sanctions if the judicial decisions are not carried out. The factors that cause injustice in the matter of dismissal of workers are legal factors, the role of labor organizations, economic factors, and political factors.
2. Reconstruction as referred to in Article 163, Article 164, Article 165 of Law Number 13 of 2003 and Article 58 and Article 98 of Law Number 2 of 2004, because this article makes the position of workers very weak, because in The implementation of layoffs when there is a change in company status is carried out without considering the position of the worker and also without the consent of the worker and without first accepting the aspirations of the workers so that after reconstruction it can strengthen the position of workers.

[10] JM. Keynes, in Strolka, Marion. (2019). Terminating Employment Relationships – Employment Termination Law. 10.1007/978-3-658-17107-0_18.

[11] Sipalan, Joseph (2014). "Najib calls for Muslim unity, months after Shia witch hunt". Malay Mail Online Article on 10 July 2014. Retrieved 10 February 2019.

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