

## Bibliography

### 1. Books and Articles

- Abdurrahman (1977) 'Meninjau Kembali Pelaksanaan Landreform di Indonesia', *Kompas* 29 Desember 1977.
- Adas, Michael (1979) *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order*, Chapel-Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Aditjondro, George J. (1990) 'The Student Movement in Indonesia in the 1980s', *Inside Indonesia* No. 23 (June 1990), pp. 20-22.
- Aditjondro, George J. (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Dimensi-dimensi Politis Masalah Pertanahan di Indonesia', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 25-34.
- Aditjondro, George J. (2002) 'Aksi Petani, Represi Militer, dan Sosialisme Marga: Memperluas Wacana Permasalahan Tanah di Indonesia', in *Berebut Tanah: Beberapa Kajian Berperspektif Kampus dan Kampung*, Anu Lounela and R. Yando Zakaria (ed.), Yogyakarta: Insist Press, pp. 392-412.
- Afiff, Suraya et al. (2005) *Redefining Agraria Power: Resurgent Agrarian Movements in West Java, Indonesia*, Center for Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No. 2-05, University California at Berkeley (downloaded from <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/7rf2p49g>).
- Agustiana (1995) 'Antara Klaim PERHUTANI dan Hak Rakyat: Kasus Sagara Kabupaten Garut Jawa Barat', in *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Boy Fidro and Noer Fauzi (ed.), Medan: Yayasan Sintesa – Pos YLBHI Lampung – LPPP – LEKHAT, pp. 147-154.
- Agustono, Budi, Mohammad Osmar Tanjung and Edy Suhartono (1997) *Badan Perjuangan Rakyat Penunggu Indonesia vs PTPN II – Sengketa Tanah di Sumatera Utara*, Bandung: Akatiga Foundation.
- Aidit, D.N. (1959a [originally 1954]) 'Hari Depan Gerakan Tani Indonesia', speech at the 5<sup>th</sup> National Congress of PKI in 1954, reprinted in *Pilihan Tulisan D.N. Aidit*, vol. 1 (1959), Jakarta: Jajasan Pembaruan, pp. 157-168.
- Aidit, D.N. (1959b [originally 1957]) 'Sekali Lagi Sembojan "Tanah untuk Kaum Tani"', first published in *Harian Rakyat* June 1957, reprinted in *Pilihan Tulisan D.N. Aidit*, vol. 2 (1959), Jakarta: Jajasan Pembaruan, pp. 182-185.

- Aidit, D.N. (1959c) 'Kibarkan Tinggi Pandji-pandji 'Tanah untuk Petani dan Rebut Kemenangan Satu Demi Satu', closing speech at the 1<sup>st</sup> National Peasant Conference of PKI, April 1959, reprinted in *Untuk Bekerja Lebih Baik Dikalangan Kaum Tani*, collected writings of D.N. Aidit, Asmu, Mau The-tung, W.I. Lenin, the 2<sup>nd</sup> printing (1960), Jakarta: Jajasan Pembaruan, pp. 5-17
- Aidit, D.N. (1962) *Sosialisme Indonesia (dan Sjarat-sjarat Pelaksanaannya)*, Jakarta: Akademi Ilmu Sosial "Aliarcham".
- Aidit, D.N. (1964 [originally 1957]) *Masyarakat Indonesia dan Revolusi Indonesia (Soal-soal Pokok Revolusi Indonesia)*, the 6<sup>th</sup> printing edition, Jakarta: Jajasan Pembaruan.
- Aji, Gutomo Bayu (2005) *Tanah untuk Penggarap: Pengalaman Serikat Petani Pasundan Menggarap Lahan-lahan Perkebunan dan Kehutanan*, Bogor: Pustaka Latin.
- Akhmad, Fazlur (1989) 'The Indonesian Student Movement 1920-1989: A Force for Radical Social Change?', *Prisma, the Indonesian Indicator* 47 (September 1989), pp. 83-95.
- Akhmadi, Heri (1981) *Breaking the Chains of Oppression of the Indonesian People: Defense Statement at His Trial on Charges of Insulting the Head of the State*, Translation Series (publication No. 59) of Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
- Akhmadi, Heri (1985) 'Gerakan Moral tidak Relevan Lagi', *Kompas* 16 June 1985.
- Alfian, Mely G. Tan and Selo Soemardjan (ed.) (1980) *Kemiskinan Struktural: Suatu Bunga Rampai*, Jakarta: Pulsar.
- Altbach, Philip G. (1967) 'Student and Politics', in *Student Politics*, Seymour Martin Lipset (ed.), New York: Basic Book, Inc. Pub., pp. 74-93.
- Altbach, Philip G. (1989) 'Perspectives on Student Political Activism', in *Student Political Activism: An International Reference Handbook*, Philip G. Altbach (ed.), New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 1-17.
- Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar (ed.) (1998) *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Amang, Beddu and Husein Sawit (2000) *Kebijakan Beras dan Pangan Nasional Pelajaran dari Orde Baru dan Era Reformasi*, Bogor: IPB Press.
- Ammarsyah (1990) *Indonesia: Kisah tentang Sangkur dan Topi Baja, Merebut Kembali Hak-hak Rakyat*, Pembelaan di Depan Pengadilan Negeri Bandung untuk Menjawab Semua Tuntutan Penguasa Negeri Ini Kepada Mahasiswa Indonesia, a defense statement at the Bandung State-Court, Bandung 31 January 1990.

- Anderson, Benedict R.O'G. (1972) *Java In a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Anderson, Benedict R. and Ruth T. McVey (1971) *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia*, Interim Report Series Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program Cornell University, Ithaca NY.
- Antlöv, Hans (2003), 'Not Enough Politics! Power, Participation and the New Democratic Policy in Indonesia', in *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia*, Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy (ed.). Singapore: ISEAS, pp. 72-86.
- Anwar, Yozar (1980) *Angkatan 66: Catatan Harian Seorang Mahasiswa*, Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Harapan.
- Apriyanto, Pemi (2007) *Database Pemilu 2004: Peta Daerah Pemilihan, Perolehan Suara dan Kursi untuk DPR RI, DPRD Provinsi dan DPRD Kabupaten/Kota se-Indonesia*, Jakarta: Spirit Research and Database.
- Arief, Sritua (1979) *Indonesia: Growth, Income Disparity and Mass Poverty*, Jakarta: SAA.
- Arifin, Bustanul *et al.* (2001) *Food Security and Markets in Indonesia: State-Private Sector Interaction in Rice Trade*, Quezon City: MODE Inc.
- Aritonang, Diro (1999) *Runtuhnya Rezim daripada Soeharto: Rekaman Perjuangan Mahasiswa Indonesia 1998*, Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah.
- Asian Development Bank (2007) *Republic Indonesia: Enhancing the Legal and Administrative Framework for Land Project*, ADB Technical Assistance Report Project No. 37304.
- Asmu (1964) *Masalah-masalah Landreform*, Vol. II, Jakarta: Yayasan Pembaruan.
- Aspinall, Edward (1993) *Student Dissent in Indonesia in the 1980s*, Central of Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No. 79, Monash University, Clayton of Victoria, Australia.
- Aspinall, Edward (1995) 'Student and the Military: Regime Friction and Civilian Dissent in the Late Suharto Period', *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995), pp. 21-44.
- Aspinall, Edward (2004) 'Indonesia: Transformation of Civil Society and Democratic Breakthrough', in *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space*, Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 61-96.
- Aspinall, Edward (2005) *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1995) *Ketergantungan Petani dan Penetrasi Kapital: Lima Kasus Intensifikasi Pertanian dengan Pola Contract Farming*, Bandung: Akatiga.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1996) *Changing of Political Regime: a Precondition for Revival of Land Reform in Indonesia*, paper presented in workshop of

- 'Landlessness, Poverty and Globalization' at People Conference against Imperialist Globalization, Manila, the Philippines, November 1996.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1997a) 'Pembangunan, Konflik Pertanahan, dan Resistensi Petani', in Noer Fauzi (ed.) *Tanah dan Pembangunan*, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, pp. 67-94.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1997b) 'Situasi Perkebunan di Indonesia Kontemporer', in Dianto Bachriadi, Erpan Faryadi dan Bonnie Setiawan (ed.) *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Pembaruan Agraria di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Faculty of Economics University of Indonesia Press, pp. 123-148.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1998a) *Sengketa Agraria dan Perlunya Menegakan Lembaga Peradilan Agraria yang Independen*, KPA Position Paper No. 002/1998, Bandung: Konsorisum Pembaruan Agraria.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1998b) *Merana di Tengah Kelimpahan: Pelanggaran-pelanggaran HAM pada Industri Pertambangan di Indonesia*, Jakarta: ELSAM.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1998c) 'Ketika Tanah Itu Diambil Alih', *D&R* 25 Juli 1998.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (1999b) *Landreform terhadap Tanah Negara dan Lahan Tidur*, paper presented to a paralegal training of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute 'Karya Latihan Bantuan Hukum (Kalabahu) 1999', Jakarta 7 April 1999.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2000) 'Land for the Landless: Why are the Democrats in Jakarta not Interested in Land Reform?', *Inside Indonesia* No. 64, Oct-Dec 2000, pp. 28-29.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2001a) *Pokok-pokok Kritik terhadap RUU Pertanahan Nasional Usulan BPN*, paper presented at KSPA internal discussion, Jakarta 14 May 2001.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2001b) *Pemetaan Pola Sengketa dan Konflik Agraria di Indonesia*, paper presented at National Seminar of 'Arah Kebijakan Nasional mengenai Tanah and Sumber Daya Alam Lainnya', organized by KSPA-Pokja PSDA-and KPA, Bandung, 20-23 Augustus 2001.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2001c) *Organisasi Rakyat (Kaum Tani) dan Pembaruan Agraria*, speech of KPA Chairperson at the 3<sup>rd</sup> KSKP Congress, Palembang, 1-3 September 2001.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (ed.) (2001d) *Meneguhkan Komitmen, Mendorong Perubahan: Argumen-argumen dan Usulan Ketetapan MPR RI tentang Pelaksanaan Pembaruan Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Alam yang Adil dan Berkelanjutan*, Bandung: KPA, KSPA, Pokja PSDA.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2002a) 'Lonceng Kematian atau Tembakan Tanda Start? Kontroversi Seputar Ketetapan MPR RI No. IX/MPR/2001 - Komentar untuk Idham Samudra Bey', *Kompas* 11 January 2002.

- Bachriadi, Dianto (2002b) 'Warisan Kolonial yang Tidak Diselesaikan: Konflik dan Pendudukan Tanah di Tapos dan Badega, Jawa Barat', in Anu Lounela and R. Yando Zakaria (ed.) *Berebut Tanah: Beberapa Kajian Berperspektif Kampus dan Kampung*, Yogyakarta: Insist Press, pp. 15-50.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2004) 'Tendensi dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Agraria di Indonesia: Menunggu Lahirnya Komisi Nasional untuk Penyelesaian Konflik Agraria (KNUPKA)', *Jurnal Dinamika Masyarakat* 3(3) (November 2004), pp. 497-521.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2005a) 'Menemukan Via Campesina di Indonesia: Gerakan Tani yang Berderak dari Aksi-aksi Protes Lokal hingga Terlibat dalam Gerakan Transnasional', an introduction of *La Via Campesina: Potret Gerakan Tani Transnasional*, Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Bandung: GarisPergerakan, pp.vii-xl.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2005b) *Konstelasi Upaya-upaya untuk Mengubah UUPA 1960*, pointers presentation [ppt.] presented at Institute for Global Justice, Jakarta 24 February 2005.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2005c) *Hantaman Neoliberalisme terhadap Industri Gula di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Institute for Global Justice.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2006) *Neo-liberal Land Policies and Consolidation of Power in Indonesia*, paper presented at the International Conference on 'Land, Poverty, Social Justice and Development', Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, The Netherlands, 12-14 January 2006.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2007) *Reforma Agraria untuk Indonesia: Pandangan Kritis tentang Program Pembaruan Agraria Nasional (PPAN) atau Redistribusi Tanah ala Pemerintahan SBY*, paper presented at Seminar of 'Consolidation for Democracy', Magelang 6-7 Juni 2007.
- Bachriadi, Dianto (2008) *Penantian Panjang yang Belum juga Berakhir: Refleksi 10 tahun Reformasi dalam Perspektif Reforma Agraria*, paper presented at Workshop on Refelctions of the Ten Years of Reformasi in Indonesia, Flinders Asia Center, Flinders University, Adelaide 14-15 April 2008.
- Bachriadi, Dianto, Erpan Faryadi and Bonnie Setiawan (ed.) (1997) *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Pembaruan Agraria di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Faculty of Economy Press, University of Indonesia and KPA.
- Bachriadi, Dianto and Anton Lucas (2001) *Merampas Tanah Rakyat: Kasus Tapos dan Cimacan*, Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Bachriadi, Dianto and Noer Fauzi (2001) *Dari Aksi-aksi Protes Menuju Pembaruan Agraria di Indonesia Masa Kini*, paper presented in the workshop on 'Reconstructing the Historical Tradition of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Indonesian Labour' organized by CLARA (Changing Labour Relations in Asia) Project, CAPSTRANS (Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation) and LIPI (Indonesian Sciences Institute) in Bali, 4-6 December 2001.

- Bachriadi, Dianto and Anton Lucas (2002) 'Hutan Milik Siapa? Upaya-upaya Mewujudkan *Forestry Land Reform* di Kabupaten Wonosobo, Jawa Tengah', in Anu Lounela and R. Yando Zakaria (ed.) *Berebut Tanah: Beberapa Kajian Berperspektif Kampus dan Kampung*, Yogyakarta: Insist Press, pp. 79-158.
- Bachriadi, Dianto, Hilma Safitri and Yudi Bachrioktora (2004) *Menuju Integrasi Sistem Hukum Agraria Nasional: Kajian Kebijakan dan Peraturan Perundang-undangan di Bidang Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam*, Unpublished Report for Comparative Study on Agrarian Reform (CSAR) Program, Bandung: CSAR.
- Bachriadi, Dianto, Yudi Bachrioktora and Hilma Safiri (2005) *Ketika Penyelenggaraan Pemeintahan Menyimpang: Mal Administrasi di Bidang Pertanahan*, Yogyakarta: Lapera Pustaka Utama.
- Bachriadi, Dianto and Mustofa Agung Sardjono (2006) *Local Action to Return Community Control over Forest Lands in Indonesia: Conversion and Occupation*, paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP), Bali – Indonesia, June 19-23, 2006.
- Bachriadi, Dianto and Dadang Juliantara (2007) *Demi Keadilan Agraria: Keharusan Menjalankan Pembaruan Agraria secara Menyeluruh untuk Keadilan Sosial di Indonesia (Sekali Lagi: Pandangan dan Usulan kepada Presiden RI)*, an unpublished document of Kelompok Studi Pembaruan Agraria (KSPA).
- Bachriadi, Dianto and Gunawan Wiradi (*forthcoming*) 'Land Tenure Problems in Post Colonial Indonesia: the Need for Reform', in *Land Tenure, Laws and Livelihood in Indonesia*, Anton Lucas and Carol Warren (ed.), Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Bantaya, Yayasan Bantuan Hukum dan Studi Hukum Adat (1997) 'Masalah Agraria di Sulawesi', in *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Pembaruan Agraria di Indonesia*, Dianto Bachriadi, Erpan Faryadi and Bonnie Setiawan (ed.), Jakarta: Faculty of Economy Press, University of Indonesia and KPA, pp. 227-243.
- Barker, Colin, Alan Johnson and Michael Lavalette (ed.) (2001) *Leadership in Social Movements*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Barker, Colin and Laurence Cox (2002) "What have the Romans Ever Done for Us?": *Academic and Activist Forms of Movement Theorizing*, paper presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference 'Alternative Future and popular Protest', Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester.
- Bartra, Roger (1993) *Agrarian Structure and Political Power in Mexico*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bastin, John (1953) *Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent system in Java and the Work of the Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission*, Verhandelingen KITLV XIV, 'S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoof.

- Bastin, John (1957) *The Native Policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and Sumatra: an Economic Interpretation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Baumüller, Heike and Geoff Tansey (2008) 'Responding to Change', in *The Future Control of Food: A Guide to Interanational Negotiations and Rules on Intellectual Property, Biodiversity and Food Security*, Geoff Tansey and Tasmin Rajotte (ed.), London: Earthscan, pp. 171-196.
- Bebbington, Anthony J., Samuel Hickey and Diana C. Mitlin (ed.) (2008) *Can NGOs Make a Difference? The Challenge of Development Alternatives*, London: Zed Books.
- Beckford, George L. (1972) *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economic of the Third World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benda, Harry J. (1965) 'Peasant Movements in Colonial Southeast Asia', *Asian Studies* 3(3), pp. 420-434.
- Benewick, Robert and Trevor Smith (ed.) (1972) *Direct Actions and Democratic Politics*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Bengkulu, Biro Pusat Statistik Propinsi (1995) *Sensus Pertanian 1993 Propinsi Bengkulu: Hasil Pendaftaran Rumah Tangga menurut Kabupaten/Kotamadia*, Seri A-2, Bengkulu: Kantor BPS Propinsi Bengkulu.
- Billah, M.M., L. Widjajanto and A. Kristyanto (1984) 'Segi Penguasaan Tanah dan Dinamika Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa (Tengah)', in *Dua Abad Penguasaan Tanah: Pola Penguasaan Tanah Pertanian di Jawa dari Masa ke Masa*, Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro and Gunawan Wiradi (ed.), Jakarta: PT Gramedia, pp. 250-285.
- Bina Desa (1980) *Hasil Lokakarya Hukum Tanah untuk Lembaga-lembaga Pembina Swadaya Masyarakat Desa*, Jakarta 28-30 March 1980, Jakarta: Bina Desa, HKTI and PERHEPI.
- Binswanger, H. P. and M. Elgin (1988) 'What Are the Prospects for Land Reform?', in A. Maunder and A. Valdes (ed.), *Agriculture and Governments in an Interdependent World*, proceeding of the 20<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Agricultural Economists, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Binswanger, H. P., K. Deininger and G. Feder (1995) 'Power, Distortions, Revolt, and Reform in Agricultural Land Relations', in J. Behrman and T.N. Srinivasan (ed.) *Handbook of Development Economics*, Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.
- Binswanger, H.P. and K. Deininger (1995) *World Bank Land Policy: Evolution and Current Challenges*, Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Boomgaard, Peter (1988) 'Forest and Forestry in Colonial Java: 1677-1942', in John Dargavel (ed.) *Changing Tropical Forests: Historical Perspectives on Today's Challenges in Asia, Australasia and Oceania*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, pp. 59-87.

- Boomgaard, Peter (1989a) *Between Sovereign Domain and Servile Tenure: The Development of Rights to Land in Java, 1780-1870*, Amsterdam: Free University Press.
- Boomgaard, Peter (1989b) *Children of the Colonial State: Population Growth and Economic Development in Java, 1795-1880*, CASA Monographs 1, Amsterdam: Free University Press.
- Booth, Anne (1988) *Agricultural Development in Indonesia*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Borras, Jr. Saturnino M (2001) *State-Society Relation in Land Reform Implementation in the Philippines*, Development and Change Vol. 32 No. 3, pp. 545-575.
- Borras Jr., Saturnino M. (2003) 'Questioning Market-Led Agrarian Reform: Experiences from Brazil, Colombia and South Africa', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3(3), pp. 367-394.
- Borras Jr., Saturnino M. (2004a) *La Via Campesina: an Evolving Transnational Social Movement*, Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.
- Borras Jr., Saturnino M. (2007) *Pro-poor Land Reform: A Critique*, Ottawa: the University of Ottawa Press.
- Borras Jr., Saturnino M. (2008) 'La Vía Campesina and its Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 8(2-3) (April and July 2008), pp. 258-289.
- Borras Jr., Saturnino M., Cristóbal Kay and A. Haroon Akram Lodhi (2006) *Agrarian Reform and Rural Development: Historical Overview and Current Issues*, ISS/UNDP Land, Poverty and Public Action Policy Paper No. 1, New York: United Nation Development Programme, Bureau of Development Policy.
- Boudreau, Vince (2004) *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brackman, Arnold C. (1969) *Indonesia: The Gestapu Affair*, New York: American-Asian Educational Exchange.
- Branford, Sue and Jan Rocha (2002) *Cutting the Wire: the Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil*, London: Latin American Bureau.
- Brockett, Charles D. (1991) 'The Structure of Political Opportunities and Peasant Mobilization in Central America', *Comparative Politics* 23(3) (April 1991), pp. 253-274.
- Brown, David W. (1999) *Addicted to Rent: Corporate and Spatial Distribution of Forest Resources in Indonesia; Implication for Forest Sustainability and Government Policy*, Jakarta: Indonesia-UK Tropical Forest Management Programme.



- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy (1999) *Sub-Saharan Africa Betwixt and Between: Rural Livelihood Practices and Policies*, African Studies Centre Working Paper 43, University of Leiden.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy and Vali Jamal (ed.) (1997) *Farwell to Farms: De-Agrarianisation and Employment in Africa*, Aldershof: Ashgate.
- Budhisantoso (1975) *Rice Harvesting in the Krawang Region (West Java) in Relation to High Yielding Varieties*, Working Paper No.6 Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Budiman, Arief (1976) 'Peranan Mahasiswa sebagai Intelegensia', *Prisma* No. 11 (November 1976).
- Budiman, Arief (1978) 'The Student Movement in Indonesia: A Study of the Relationship between Culture and Structure', *Asian Survey* 18(6) (June 1978), pp. 609-625.
- Budiman, Arief (1991) *Negara dan Pembangunan: Studi tentang Indonesia dan dan Korea Selatan*, Jakarta: Yayasan Padi dan Kapas.
- Burns, Peter J. (1999) *The Leiden Legacy: Concepts of Law in Indonesia*, Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita.
- Carroll, Thomas F. (1970) 'Land Reform as an Explosive Force in Latin America', *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America*, Rodolfo Stavenhagen (ed.), Garden City, NY: Anchor Books of Doubleday & Co., Inc., pp. 101-137.
- Carter, April (1973) *Direct Action and Liberal Democracy*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Castle, Lance (1965) 'Socialism and Private Business: the Latest Phase', *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 1(1), pp. 13-45.
- Chalmers, Ian and Vedi R. Hadiz (ed.) (1997) *The Politics of Economics Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives*, London: Routledge.
- Chang, Yen-Tien (1956) *Land Reform in Japan*, Taichung: Taiwan Provincial College of Agriculture.
- Chigara, Ben (2004) *Land Reform Policy: the Challenge of Human Right Laws*, Burlington: Ashgate.
- Ciamis, Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten (2004) *Ciamis in Figures 2003*, Ciamis: Kantor BPS Kabupaten Ciamis.
- Cleaver, Jr., Harry M. (1972) 'The Contradictions of the Green Revolution', *the American Economic Review* 62(1/2) (March 1972), pp. 177-186.
- Clemens, Elizabeth S. and Debra C. Minkoff (2007) 'Beyond the Iron Law: Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (ed.), Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 155-170.

- Cribb, Robert (1992) *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, Asian Historical Dictionaries No. 9, Methuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Cribb, Robert (ed.) (1990) *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-66: Studies from Java and Bali*, Monash Paper on Southeast Asia No. 21, Clayton: Center for Southeast Asian Studies Monash University.
- Cribb, Robert and Audrey Kahin (2004) *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, second edition, Methuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Crouch, Harold (1978) *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Crouch, Harold (1990) 'Introduction' for Part II: The Nature of State Control, in Arief Budiman (ed.) *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 22, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, Victoria, Australia, pp. 115-120.
- Culla, Adi Suryadi (1999) *Patah Tumbuh Hilang Berganti: Sketsa Pergolakan Mahasiswa dalam Politik dan Sejarah Indonesia (1908-1998)*, Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Dake, Antonie C. A. (2005) *Sukarno File: Berkas-berkas Soekarno 1965-1967; Kronologi suatu Keruntuhan*, Jakarta: Aksara Karunia.
- Danaher, Kevin (ed.) (1994) *50 Years is Enough: the Case Against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund*, Boston: South End Press.
- Darsono (1996) *Organisasi Tani sebagai Kebutuhan*, paper presented on the KPA Weekly Agrarian Course, 1 June 1996.
- Datuk, Arsjad (1977) 'U.U. Pokok Agraria dan Landreform Mau Dilaksanakan?', *Pelita* 7 December 1977.
- Davidson, Jamie S. and David Henley (ed.) (2007) *Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: the Development of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*, London: Routledge.
- Debes, Ulrich and Iskra Ismaya (Hrsg.) (1995) *High-Tech, Generale und ein Präsident: Politische Karakaturen aus Indonesien*, Gottinger Kulturwissenschaftliche Schriften 8, Munster: LIT Verlag.
- De Soto, Hernando (1993) 'The Missing Ingredient – the Future Surveyed', *the Economist* 11-17 September 1993, pp. 8-10.
- De Soto, Hernando (2000) *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*, London: Basic Books.
- DeGroot, Gerald (ed.) (1998) *Student Protest: the Sixties and After*, London: Longman.
- Deininger, Klaus (1999) *Making Negotiated Land Reform Work: Initial Experience from Colombia, Brazil and South Africa*, World Development Vol. 27 No. 4, pp. 651-672.

- Deininger, Klaus (2003) *Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction*, a World Bank Policy Research Report, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- della Porta, Donatella and Marco Diani (1999) *Social Movements: an Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Denny J.A. (1989) 'Understanding the Indonesian Student Movement in the 1980s', *Prisma, the Indonesian Indicator* 47 (September 1989), pp. 73-78.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (ed.) (2000) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Departemen Pertanian, Direktorat Jenderal Perkebunan (2007) *Program Revitalisasi Perkebunan*, handout presentation [ppt.] prepared by Direktorat Jenderal Perkebunan, Jakarta 29 March 2007.
- Desmarais, Annette A. (2008) 'The Power of Peasants: Reflections of the Meanings of La Via Campesina', *Journal of Rural Studies* 24(2) (April 2008), pp. 138-149.
- Desmarais, Annette (2002) 'The Via Campesina: Consolidating an International Peasant and Farm Movement', *Journal of Peasant Studies* 29(2) (2002), pp. 91- 124.
- Desmarais, Annette A. (2007) *La Via Campesina: Globalization and the Power of Peasants*, Halifax: Fernwood Pub.
- Dhanagare, D.N. (1983) *Peasant Movements in India 1920-1950*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Di Gregorio, Monica (2006) *The Influence of Civil Society Organizations on Forest Tenure Policies in Indonesia: Networks, Strategies and Outcomes*, paper presented in the IASCP Eleventh Biennial Conference 'Survival of the Commons: Mounting Challenges and New Realities', 19-23 June 2006, Bali, Indonesia.
- Diani, Mario (1992) 'The Concept of Social Movement', *The Sociological Review* 40(1) (February 1992), pp. 1-25.
- Diani, Mario and Ivano Bison (2004) 'Organization, Coalitions, and Movements', *Theory and Society* 33(3/4) (2004), pp. 281-309.
- Djurfeld, Göran and Magnus Jirström (2005) 'The Puzzle of the Policy Shift – The Green Revolution in India, Indonesia and the Philippines', in *The African Food Crisis: Lessons from the Asian Green Revolution*, Djurfeld, Göran et al. (ed.), Wallingford: CABI Publishing, pp. 43-64.
- Djuweng, Stepanus (1996) *Land Disputes Cases, the Strawberry of Development: Global Causes of Local Conflicts vs Local Costs of Global Problems*, paper presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> INFID Conference, Canberra 26-28 April 1996.
- Dore, Ronald P. (1959) *Land Reform in Japan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dorner, Peter (ed.) (1971) *Land Reform in Latin America: Issues and Cases*, Land Economics Monographs Number 3, Madison: Land Tenure Center of the University of Wisconsin.
- Douglas, Stephen A. (1970) *Political Socialization and Student Activism in Indonesia*, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Downton, Jones and Paul Wehr (1991) *Peace Movement: The Role of Commitment and Community in Sustaining Member Participation*, Research in Social Movement, Conflict and Change 13, pp. 113-134.
- Downton, Jones and Paul Wehr (1997) *The Persistent Activist: How Peace Commitment Develops and Survives*, Boulder CO: Westview.
- Duyvendak, Jan Willem (1992) *The Power of Politics: New Social Movements in France*, Boulder: Westview.
- Edelman, Marc (2003) 'Transnational Peasant and Farmer Movements and Networks', in *Global Civil Society 2003*, Mary Kaldor, Helmut Anheier and Marlies Glasius (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 185-220.
- Eldridge, Philip J. (1989) *NGOs In Indonesia: Popular Movement or Arm of Government?*, Central of Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No. 55, Monash University, Clayton of Victoria, Australia.
- Eldridge, Philip J. (1995) *Non-Government Organizations and Democratic Participation in Indonesia*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Eldridge, Philip J. (1997) 'Non-Government Organizations, the State, and Democratization in Indonesia', in *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture*, Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller (ed.), Monographs in International Studies Southeast Asian Series No. 97, Center for International Studies Ohio University, Athens USA, pp.198-228.
- Elson, R.E. (1997) *The End of the Peasantry in Southeast Asia: A Social and Economic History of Peasant Livelihood, 1800-1990s*, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Embu, Eman J. and Robert Mirsel (ed.) (2004) *Gugat!: Darah Petani Kopi Manggarai*, Maumere: Penerbit Ladalero.
- Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamison (1991) *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Pennsylvania: the Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Fakih, Mansour (1996) *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial: Pergolakan Ideologi LSM Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Fakih, Mansour (1997) 'Reformasi Agraria Era Globalisasi: Teori, Refleksi dan Aksi', Prolog in *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Pembaruan Agraria di Indonesia*, Dianto Bachriadi, Erpan Faryadi and Bonnie Setiawan (ed.), Jakarta: Faculty of Economy Press, University of Indonesia and KPA, pp. xvii-xxv.

- Farid, Hilmar (2000) *Clearing the Ground for Pembangunan: the Mass Extermination in Indonesia, 1965-1966*, paper presented at the Conference of 'the Politics of Identity in Contemporary Indonesia', University of Tasmania, 8-9 December 2000.
- Farid, Hilmar (2005) 'Indonesia's Original Sin: Mass Killings and Capitalist Expansion, 1965-1966', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6(1), pp. 3-16.
- Faryadi, Erpan (1997) 'Land Reform: Jawaban bagi Ketimpangan Penguasaan Tanah di Jawa Barat', in *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Perubahan Agraria di Indonesia*, Dianto Bachriadi, Erpan Faryadi dan Bonnie Setiawan (ed.), Jakarta: Lembaga Penerbit Fakultas Ekonomi UI dan KPA, pp. 285-327.
- Fauzi, Noer (1994) *Aksi-aksi Protes Petani 1980-1990-an dan Agenda Ke Depan*, paper presented in the Discussion Forum on 'Kecenderungan Ekonomi Politik Agraria Orde Baru dan Agenda Advokasi', LPPP, Bandung 4 June 1994.
- Fauzi, Noer (1995) *Agenda Menuju Organisasi Rakyat: Membedah Tanduk Politik "Atas Nama" Ornop*, paper presented in the workshop on 'Formulation of the Curriculum for Education and Cadre Building of the Peasant', LPPP, Bandung 20 May 1995.
- Fauzi, Noer (1996) *Politik Atas Nama: Otokritik terhadap Pembelaan terhadap Kasus-kasus Sengketa Pertanahan*, paper presented at YLBHI meeting, Semarang March 1996.
- Fauzi, Noer (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Dari Aksi-aksi Protes Petani menuju Embrio Organisasi Massa Petani', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 85-97.
- Fauzi, Noer (1999) *Petani dan Penguasa: Dinamika Perjalanan Politik Agraria Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Insist Press, KPA and Pustaka Pelajar.
- Fauzi, Noer (2001a) "Sesat Pikir" yang Dapat Melanggengkan Ketidakadilan Agraria: Kritik dan Pandangan KPA terhadap naskah Revisi UUPA versi BPN, paper presented at Public Hearing in the Indonesian Parliament, Jakarta, March 2001.
- Fauzi, Noer (2002) *Quo Vadis Pembaruan Hukum Agraria: Perspektif Transitional Justice untuk Menyelesaikan Konflik*, Jakarta: HuMA.
- Fauzi, Noer (2007) *Fajar Reforma Agraria di Indonesia? Dari Agenda Petani ke Agenda Bangsa*, paper presented at Annual Reflection of Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA), Jakarta 27 December 2007.
- Fauzi, Noer (2009) *Gelombang Baru Reforma Agraria di Awal Abad ke-21*, paper presented on the 'Agrarian Dialogue session I' of the 5th KPA National Meeting, Ciawi, 23-25 Juni 2009.

- Fauzi, Noer (ed.) (1997) *Tanah dan Pembangunan: Risalah dari Konferensi INFID ke-10*, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Fauzi, Noer and Dianto Bachriadi (1994) *Land Reform dan PIR-BUN*, unpublished manuscript, Bandung: LPPP and Akatiga.
- Fauzi, Noer and Dianto Bachriadi (1998) *Hak Menguasai dari Negara (HMN): Persoalan Sejarah yang Harus Diselesaikan*, KPA Position Paper No. 004/1998, Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria.
- Fauzi, Noer and R. Yando Zakaria (2000) *Men-siasati Otonomi Daerah: Panduan Fasilitasi Pengakuan dan Pemulihan Hak-hak Rakyat*, Yogyakarta: KPA and Insist Press.
- Fauzi, Noer and Dianto Bachriadi (2006) *Popular Education, Peasant Mobilization, and Rural-Urban Linkage Movement: Resurgence of an Agrarian Movement in Indonesia*, paper presented at the international conference on "Land, Poverty, Social Justice and Development: Social Movements Perspectives", 9-10 January 2006 - Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, The Netherlands.
- Feierman, Steven (1990) *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Fein, Helen (1993) 'Revolutionary and Antirevolutionary Genocides: a Comparison of State Murders in Democratic Kampuchea, 1975 to 1979, and in Indonesia, 1965 to 1966', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35(4), pp. 796-823.
- Femia, Joseph (1975) 'Hegemony and Consciousness in the Thought of Antonio Gramsci', *Political Studies* 23(1) (March 1975), pp. 29-48.
- Femia, Joseph (1981) *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferguson, D. Frances (1976) 'Rural/Urban Relations and Peasant Radicalism: A Preliminary Statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18(1) (January 1976), pp. 106-118.
- Fernandes, Bernardo Mançano (2001) *The Occupation as Form of Access to Land*, paper presented at the XXIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C., 6-8 September 2001.
- Fic, Victor (2004) *Anatomy of the Jakarta Coup: October 1, 1965: the Collusion with China which Destroyed the Army Command, President Soekarno and the Communist Party of Indonesia*, New Delhi: Abhinav.
- Fidro, Boy and Noer Fauzi (1995) *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa, Pos YLBHI Lampung, LPPP and Lekhat.
- Firmansyah et al. (1999) *Gerakan dan Pertumbuhan Organisasi Petani di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Gerakan Petani Era 1980-an*, Jakarta: YAPPIKA and Sekretariat Bina Desa.

- Fisher, William F. (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (Oct 1997), pp. 439-464.
- Fitzgerald, Kathleen J. and Diane M. Rodgers (2000) 'Radical Social Movement Organizations: A Theoretical Model', *The Sociology Quarterly* 41(4), pp. 573-592.
- Fitzpatrick, Daniel (1997) 'Disputes and Pluralism in Modern Indonesian Land Law', *Yale Journal of International Law* 22(1), pp. 171-212.
- Fitzpatrick, Daniel (2007) 'Land, Custom, and the State in Post-Suharto Indonesia: A Foreign Lawyer's Perspective', in *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics*, Jamie S. Davidson and David Henley (ed.), London: Routledge, pp. 130-148.
- Forrester, Geoff and R.J. May (1998) *The Fall of Soeharto*, London: C. Hurst & Co.
- Fox, Jonathan (ed.) (1990) *The Challenge of Rural Democratisation: Perspectives from Latin America and the Philippines*, London: Frank Cass.
- Franco, Jennifer (2005) *Making Property Rights Accessible: Movement Innovation in the Political Legal Struggle to Claim Land Rights in the Philippines*, IDS Working Paper Series No. 224 (June 2005), Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Franco, Jennifer (2006) *Making Land Rights Accessible: Potentials and Challenges of Human Rights Approach to Land Issues*, TNI Working Paper April 2006, Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.
- Franke, Richard (1972) *The Green Revolution in a Javanese Village*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts USA.
- Franke, Richard (1974) 'Solution to the Asian Food Crisis: "Green Revolution" or Social Revolution?', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 6(4) (Nov-Dec 1974), pp. 2-13.
- FWI/GFW (2002) *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*, Bogor: Forest Watch Indonesia, and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch.
- Gamson, William A. (1990) *The Strategy of Social Protest*, Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Garut, Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten (2005) *Garut in Figures 2004*, Garut: Kantor BPS Kabupaten Garut.
- Gautama, Soedargo (1993) *Tafsiran Undang-undang Pokok Agraria*, Bandung: Penerbit PT Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Gautama, Sudargo and Robert N. Hornick (1974) *An Introduction to Indonesian Law: Unity and Diversity*, revised edition, Bandung: Alumni.
- Geertz, Clifford (1960) *The Religion of Java*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.
- Ghimire, Krishna (1999) *Peasants' Pursuit of Outside Alliances in the Process of Land Reform: A Discussion of Legal Assistance Programmes in Bangladesh and the Philippines*, UNRISD Discussion Paper No. 102 (March 1999).

- Ghose, Ajit Kumar (ed.) (1983) *Agrarian Reform in Contemporary Developing Countries*, London: Croom Helm.
- Gilmartin, William M. And Wolf I. Ladejinsky (1972) 'The Promise of Agrarian Reform in Japan', in *Readings in Land Reform*, Sein Lin (ed.), Hartford, Connecticut: John C. Lincoln Institute, University of Hartford, pp. 194-204.
- Goldstone, Jack A. (2004) 'More Social Movements or Fewer? Beyond Political Opportunity Structure to Relational Fields', *Theory and Society* 33(3/4) (June 2004), pp. 333-265.
- Goldstone, Jack A. (ed.) (2003) *States, Parties, and Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1977) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Griswold, Deidre (1975) *Indonesia: the Bloodbath that Was*, New York: World View Press.
- Gunawan, FX Rudi et al. (2009) *Menyulut Lahan Kering Perlawanan: Gerakan Mahasiswa 1990-an, Tribute to Andi Munajat*, Jakarta: Spasi & VHR Book with Frederich Ebert Stiftung (FES).
- Gunawan, Rimbo, Juni Thamrin and Endang Suhendar (1998) *After the Rain Falls ... the Impact of the East Kalimantan Forestry Industry on Tribal Society*, Bandung: Akatiga.
- Gunawan, Rimbo, Juni Thamrin and Mies Grijn (1995) *Dilema Petani Plasma: Pengalaman PIR-BUN di Jawa Barat*, Bandung: Akatiga.
- Hadad, Toriq et al. (1998) *Amarah Tasikmalaya: Konflik di Basis Islam*. Jakarta: Penerbit ISAI.
- Hadiwinata, Bob S. (2003) *The Politics of NGOs in Indonesia: Developing Democracy and Managing a Movement*, London: Routledge Curzon.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. (2004) *Indonesia: Order and Terror in a Time of Empire*, SEARC Working Paper Series No. 73 (Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Working Paper No. 115), Hong Kong: Southeast Asia Research Centre, the City University of Hong Kong.
- Hafid, JOS (2001) *Perlawanan Petani: Kasus Tanah Jenggawah*, Bogor: Pustaka Latin.
- Hanlon, Joseph (1991) *Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots*. London: James Currey.
- Hansen, Gary E. (1978) 'Bureaucratic Linkages and Policy-Making in Indonesia: BIMAS Revisited', in *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye (ed.), Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 322-342.



- Harman, Benny K. *et al.* (1995b) *Pluralisme Hukum Pertanahan dan Kumpulan Kasus Tanah*, Jakarta: Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia.
- Harnecker, Marta (2003) *Landless People: Building a Social Movement*, Sao Paulo: Editoria Expresso Popular.
- Harriss, John, Kristian Stokke and Olle Törnquist (ed.) (2004) *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harsono, Boedi (1996) *Hukum Agraria Indonesia: Himpunan Peraturan-peraturan Hukum Tanah*, Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.
- Harsono, Boedi (1997), *Hukum Agraria Indonesia: Sejarah Pembentukan Undang-undang Pokok Agraria, Isi dan Pelaksanaannya*, Jilid 1 Hukum Tanah Nasional, revised edition, Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.
- Harsono, Boedi (2002) *Menuju Penyempurnaan Hukum Tanah Nasional*, Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Trisakti.
- Harsono, Soni (1994) *Tanah sebagai Komoditas Strategis dalam Menghadapi Pembangunan Jangka Panjang II*, speech of Ministry of Agrarian Affair/Head of National Land Agency at Dies Natalies of Muhammadiyah University Yogyakarta, 2 April 1994.
- Hart, Gillian (1986) *Power, Labor and Livelihood: Processes of Change in Rural Java*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Harvey, David (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hatta, Mohammad (1992) *Beberapa Pokok Pikiran*, collection of Hatta's articles previously published between 1946-1977, edited by Sri-Edi Swasono and Fauzie Ridjal, Jakarta: UI-Press.
- Hayami, Yujiro, Masao Kikuchi and Esther B. Marciano (1999) 'Middlemen and Peasants in Rice Marketing in the Philippines', *Agricultural Economics* 20(2) (March 1999), pp. 79-93.
- Hayami, Yujiro *et al.* (1987) *Agricultural Marketing and Processing in Upland Java: a Perspective from a Sunda Village*, Tokyo: School of International Politics, Economics and Business, Aoyama Gakuin Univ., Tokyo, Japan.
- Hearn, Julie (2007) 'African NGOs: The New Compradors?', *Development and Change* 38(6), pp. 1095-1110.
- Hellum, Anne and Bill Derman (2004) 'Land Reform and Human Rights in Contemporary Zimbabwe: Balancing Individual and Social Justice Through an Integrated Human Rights Framework', *World Development* 32(10), pp. 1785-1805.
- Hendardi (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Pembentukan Opini Publik Tandingan Lewat Pers', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar

- wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 99-107.
- Heryanto, Ariel (1989) 'Young Middle-Class Radicals', *Inside Indonesia* No. 19 (July 1989), pp. 16-17.
- Heryanto, Ariel (2006) *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia: Fatally Belonging*, London: Routledge.
- Hidayat, M. Jumhur (1990) *Menggugat Regim Anti-Demokrasi: Menyibak Tabir Anti-Demokrasi dan Memperjuangkan Demokrasi*, Pembelaan di Depan Pengadilan Negeri Bandung untuk Menjawab Semua Tuntutan Penguasa Negeri Ini Kepada Mahasiswa Indonesia, a defense statement at the Bandung State-Court, Bandung 31 January 1990.
- Higman, Spohie *et al.* (1999) *The Sustainable Forestry Handbook: A Practical Guide for Tropical Forest Managers on Implementing New Standards*, London: Earthscan Pub. Ltd.
- Hill, David T. (1994) *The Press in New Order Indonesia*, Asia Paper 4, Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press.
- Hill, Hal (1996) *The Indonesian Economy since 1966: Southeast Asia's Emerging Giant*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia (HKTI) (1979a) *Hasil-hasil Musyawarah Nasional I Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia (H.K.T.I.)*, Jakarta 13-16 February 1979, Jakarta: HKTI.
- Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia (HKTI) (1979b) *Himpunan Rumusan Pra-Seminar Petani Buruh*, Buku III, Jakarta: Dewan Pimpinan Pusat HKTI.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1974) 'Peasant Land Occupations', *Past and Present* 62 (February 1974), pp. 120-152.
- Holtzappel (1979) 'The 30 September Movement: A Political Movement of the Armed Forces or an Intelligent Operation?', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 9(2), pp. 216-240.
- Huizer, Gerrit (1971) 'Betting on the Weak: From Counterpoint towards Revolution', in *Buiten de Grenzen: Sociologische Opstellen Aangeboden aan Prof. DR W.F. Wertheim*, Meppel: J.A. Boom en Zoon, pp. 104-129.
- Huizer, Gerrit (1972) 'Land Invasion as a Non-Violent Strategy of Peasant Rebellion: Some Cases from Latin America', *Journal of Peace Research* 9(2), pp. 121-132.
- Huizer, Gerrit (1973) *Peasant Rebellion in Latin America: The Origins, Forms of Expression, and the Potential of Latin American Peasant Unrest*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Huizer, Gerrit (1980) *Peasant Movements and Their Counterforces in South-East Asia*, New Delhi: Marwah Pub.

- Huizer, Gerrit (1999) *Peasant Mobilization for Land Reform: Historical Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations*, UNRISD Discussion Paper No. 103, June 1999, Geneva: UNRISD.
- Human Rights Watch/Asia and Robert F. Kennedy Memorial for Human Rights (1996) *Gerakan Pro Demokrasi Digebug: Tentang Peristiwa 27 Juli 1996*, New York: HRW/Asia.
- Hunter, Helen-Louis (2007) *Sukarno and the Indonesia Coup: the Untold Story*, Westport: Praeger Security International.
- Husin, Muhammad (2006) 'Menolak Amandemen UUPA', *Pembaruan Tani* 28, Juni 2006, p. 6.
- Hutagalung, Arie Sukanti (1985) *Program Redistribusi Tanah di Indonesia: Suatu Sarana ke Arah Pemecahan Masalah Penguasaan Tanah dan Kepemilikan Tanah*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- Hutapea, B. Oloan (1959) 'Beberapa Peladjaran dari Konferensi Nasional Tani Pertama PKI', *Bintang Merah* 15 (1959).
- ICRAF, AMAN, FPP (2003a) *Satu yang Kami Tuntut: Pengakuan*, Bogor: World Agroforestry Center (ICRAF), Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) and Forest Peoples Programme (FPP).
- ICRAF, AMAN, FPP (2003b) *In Search of Recognition*, Bogor: Bogor: World Agroforestry Center (ICRAF), Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) and Forest Peoples Programme (FPP).
- Inayatullah (ed.) (1980) *Land Reform: Some Asian Experiences*, Kuala Lumpur: Asia Pacific Development Administration Centre.
- Indonesia, Badan Pusat Statistik (2001) *Statistic of Forest Concession Estate 1999*, Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- Indonesia, Badan Pusat Statistik (2005a) *Indonesian Statistical Book 2004*, Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- Indonesia, Badan Pusat Statistik (2005b) *Land Area by Utilization in Indonesia 2004*, Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- Irwan, Alexander (2005) 'Institutions, Discourse and Conflicts In Economic Thought', in *Social Science and Power in Indonesia*, Vedi R. Hadiz and Daniel Dhakidae (ed.), Singapore: Equinox Publishing, pp. 31-56.
- Ismet (1970) *Daftar Tanah Perkebunan-perkebunan di Indonesia*, Bandung: CV Biro Sinar.
- Iswandi (1998) *Bisnis Militer Orde Baru: Keterlibatan ABRI dalam Bidang Ekonomi dan Pengaruhnya terhadap Pembentukan Rezim Otoriter*, Bandung: Penerbit Remaja Rosda.
- Jacoby, Erich H. (1966) *Evaluation of Agrarian Structures and Agrarian Reform Programs: A Methodological Study*, FAO Agricultural Studies No. 69, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

- Jenkins, J. Craig (1981) 'Sociopolitical Movements', in *Handbook of Political Behaviour*, Vol. 4., S.L. Long (ed.), New York: Plenum, pp. 81-154.
- Joko HS (1994) 'Kasus Karimunjaya: Penggusuran Lagi', in *Demokrasi, antara Represi dan Resistensi: Catatan Keadaan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia 1993*, Mulyana W. Kusumah et al. (ed.), Jakarta: YLBHI, pp. 153-157.
- Jones, Gavin W. (1985) 'Indonesia: Program Transmigrasi dan Perencanaan Pembangunan', in *Sepuluh Windu Transmigrasi di Indonesia, 1905-1985*, Sri-Edi Swasono and Masri Singarimbun (ed.), Jakarta: UI-Press, pp. 232-253.
- Juliantara, Dadang (1996) 'Politik Perizinan, Gerakan Massa dan Demokrasi', in *Demokrasi dalam Pasungan: Politik Perizinan di Indonesia*, Hairus Salim HS and Angger Jati Wijaya (ed.), Yogyakarta: Forum LSM/LPSM DIY, pp. 93-117.
- Kahin, George McTurnan (1952) *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono (1966) *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel, a Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia*, S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono (1972) 'Agrarian Radicalism in Java: Its Setting and Development', in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, Claire Holt (ed.), Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 71-125.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono (1973) *Protest Movements in Rural Java: A Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono (1984) *Ratu Adil*, Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Harapan.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono (1991) 'Banditry and Political Change in Java', in *A Comparative Study of Peasant Unrest in Southeast Asia*, Leslie E. Bauzon (ed.), Singapore: Southeast Asian Studies Program, pp. 6-21.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono and Djoko Suryo (1991) *Sejarah Perkebunan di Indonesia: Kajian Sosial-Ekonomi*, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Aditya Media.
- Kasdi, Aminuddin (2001) *Kaum Merah Menjarah: Aksi Sepihak PKI/BTI di Jawa Timur 1960-1965*, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Jendela.
- Kasryno, Faisal (ed.) (1984) *Prospek Pembangunan Ekonomi Pedesaan Indonesia*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Katjasungkana, Nursyahbani (2007) *Kebijakan Agraria di Indonesia dari Masa ke Masa*, pointer presentation [ppt.] presented at Rapat Pimpinan Asosiasi Petani Indonesia (API), Jakarta 11 December 2007.
- Kawuryan, Megandaru W. (2006) *Kamus Lengkap Jawa-Indonesia, Indonesia-Jawa*, Bantul: Bahtera Pustaka.

- Kemala Foundation (2005) *Tanah Masih di Langit: Penyelesaian Masalah Penguasaan Tanah dan Kekayaan Alam di Indonesia yang Tak Kunjung Tuntas di Era Reformasi*, Jakarta: Kemala Foundation and the Ford Foundation.
- Kiernan, Victor G. (1972) 'Patterns of Protest in English History', in *Direct Action and Democratic Politics*, Robert Benewick and Trevor Smith (ed.), London: George Ullen & Unwin Ltd., pp. 25-48.
- King, Russell (1977) *Land Reform: A World Survey*, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Kirk, Colin (1987) 'Contracting Out: Plantations, Smallholders, and Transnational Enterprises', *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin* 18(8), p. 45-51.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. (1986) 'Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti Nuclear Movement in Four Democracies', *British Journal of Political Science* 16(1) (January 1986), pp. 57-85.
- Klandermans, Bert (2007) 'The Demand and Supply of Participation: Social-Psychological Correlates of Participation in Social Movement', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movement*, David A Snow, Sarah A Soule and Hansperter Kriesi (ed.), Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Klandermans, Bert and Suzanne Staggenborg (ed.) (2002) *Methods of Social Movement Research*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kluver, Alan R. (1998) 'Student Movement in Confucian Societies: Remembrance and Remonstrance in South Korea', in *Student Protest: the Sixties and After*, Gerald DeGroot (ed.), London: Longman, pp. 219-231.
- Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (1995) *Laporan Tahunan 1995*, Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal Komnas HAM.
- Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (1996) *Laporan Tahunan 1995*, Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal Komnas HAM.
- Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (1998) *Laporan Tahunan 1995*, Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal Komnas HAM.
- Komite Pergerakan Mahasiswa untuk Rakyat Indonesia (1992) *Data Dasar Kasus Tanah di Jawa Barat: Badega, Jatiwangi, Cimerak, Gunung Batu dan Cimerak*, Bandung: KPMuRI.
- Kondo, Yasuo (1952) *The Land Reform in Japan*, Tokyo: National Research Institute of Agriculture.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1996a) *Land Disputes: Strawberries of Development*, KPA's first memorandum on Land Administration Project in Indonesia, 17 April 1996.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1996b) *Our Land is Not for Sale*, KPA's second memorandum on Land Administration Project in Indonesia, 27 June 1996.

- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1997a) *To Ignore or To Engage NGOs*, KPA's third memorandum on Land Administration Project in Indonesia, October 1997.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1997b) *NO! For Communal Land Registration*, KPA's fourth memorandum of Land Administration Project, 27 June 1996
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1998a) *Deklarasi Pembaruan Agraria 1998*, a pamphlet of Consortium for Agrarian Reform, Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1998b) *Seri Panduan Organisasi Tani*, 13 volumes, Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2002a) *Komite Nasional untuk Pembaruan Agraria: Usulan Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) kepada Presiden Republik Indonesia*, Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2005) *Siaran Pers Peringatan Hari HAM Sedunia 10 Desember 2005*, [www.kpa.or.id](http://www.kpa.or.id)
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2007) *Reforma Agraria: Antara Hambatan dan Harapan – Catatan KPA atas Dinamika Politik Agraria Tahun 2007 dan Proyeksi Tahun 2008*, available at <http://serikat-tani-nasional.blogspot.com/2007/12/akhir-tahun-kpa-atas-dinamika-politik.html>
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2008) *Daftar Anggota KPA, 2005-2008*, document of KPA 2008.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2009a) *Daftar Anggota KPA Periode 2009-2012*, document of KPA 2009.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria *et al.* (2007) *TNI AL Memakan Korban 4 Jiwa Suci Petani di Pasuruan, Jawa Timur*, joint press release of KPA and other organizations, [www.kpa.or.id](http://www.kpa.or.id)
- Koopmans, Ruud (1992) *Democracy from Below: New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany*, Boulder: Westview.
- Kowalchuk, Lisa (2005) 'The Discourse of Demobilization: Shifts in Activist Priorities and the Framing of Political Opportunities in a Peasant Land Struggle', *The Sociological Quarterly* 46(2) (May 2005), pp.237-261.
- KPA Wilayah NTB, Tim Studi (1997) 'Kondisi dan Permasalahan Agraria di Nusa Tenggara Barat', in *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Pembaruan Agraria di Indonesia*, Dianto Bachriadi, Erpan Faryadi and Bonnie Setiawan (ed.), Jakarta: Faculty of Economy Press, University of Indonesia and KPA, pp. 257-273.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter (1989) 'The Political Opportunity Structure of the Dutch Peace Movement', *West European Politics* 12(3) (July 1989), pp. 295-312.

- Kuntowijoyo (1990) 'Perubahan Sosial dan Budaya Politik: Prospek Demokrasi di Pedesaan', in Mubyarto *et al. Prospek Pedesaan 1990*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Yogyakarta: P3PK UGM, pp.57-66.
- Kuntowijoyo (1993) *Radikalisasi Petani: Esei-Esei Sejarah*, Jogjakarta: Penerbit Bentang.
- Kurosawa, Aiko (1993) *Mobilisasi dan Kontrol: Studi tentang Perubahan Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa 1942-1945*, Jakarta: Yayasan Karti Sarana dan Gramedia.
- Kusumah, Mulyana W. *et al.* (1991) *Demokrasi Masih Terbenam: Catatan Keadaan Hak-hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia 1991*, Jakarta: YLBHI.
- La Via Campesina (1996) *La Via Campesina: Proceedings from the II International Conference of the Via Campesina*, Brussel: NCOS Publicaion.
- La Via Campesina (2007) *Deklarasi Hak Asasi Petani, Menuju Kovenan Internasional*, Jakarta: Petani Pres and FSPI.
- La Via Campesina (2008) *Food Sovereignty For Africa: A Challenge at Fingertips*, compilation of the documents produced in Nyeleni, Mali, 23 - 27 February 2007 and the outcomes of several conferences held at the same place in November-December 2007, Maputo: Via Campesina Africa - UNAC.
- Ladejinsky, Wolf (1977a [originally 1961]) 'Land Reform in Indonesia' (memorandum, 24 January 1961), in *Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business: the Selected Papers of Wolf Ladejinsky*, Louis J. Walinsky (ed.), pp. 297-299, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ladejinsky, Wolf (1977b [originally 1964]) 'Land Reform in Indonesia' (memorandum, 27 February 1964), in *Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business: the Selected Papers of Wolf Ladejinsky*, Louis J. Walinsky (ed.), pp. 340-352, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lane, Max (1989) 'Student on the Move', *Inside Indonesia* No 19 (July 1989), pp. 10-14.
- Lane, Max (2008) *Unfinished Nation: Indonesia Before and After Suharto*, London: Verso.
- Lasijanto, Bambang Sugianto (1990) *Mentari Belum Lagi Terbit (dan kita masih juga harus bermimpi)*, a defense statement at Bandung State-Court, 3 February 1990.
- Latief, Kolonel Abdul (1999) *Pledoi Kol. A. Latief: Soeharto Terlibat G 30 S*, Jakarta: ISAI.
- LBH Nusantara, Yayasan and Forum Pemuda Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Garut (1997) *Laporan Sementara Hasil Investigasi Peristiwa 26 Desember 1996 Tasikmalaya*, unpublished report, Bandung: LBH-Nusantara and FPPMG.

- Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (1994a) *ABC Organisasi Tani*, Bandung: Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (LPPP).
- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1947a [originally 1902]) 'What is to be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement', in *The Essentials of Lenin in Two Volumes*, Vol. I, Westport: Hyperion Press, Inc., pp. 149-274.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1947b [originally 1905]) 'Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution', in *The Essentials of Lenin in Two Volumes*, Vol. I, Westport: Hyperion Press, Inc., pp. 351-445.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1947c [originally 1905]) 'The Attitude of Social-Democracy Toward the Peasant Movement', in *The Essentials of Lenin in Two Volumes*, Vol. I, Westport: Hyperion Press, Inc., pp. 446-453.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1947d [originally 1917]) 'The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution: Draft of a Platform for the Proletarian Party', in *The Essentials of Lenin in Two Volumes*, Vol. II, Westport: Hyperion Press, Inc., pp. 25-49.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1959) *Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1962 [originally 1917]) 'The Agrarian Programme of Social – Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907', *Collected Works* Vol. XIII, Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, pp. 217-431.
- Lev, Daniel S. (2000) *Legal Evolution and Political Authority in Indonesia: Selected Essays*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Li, Tania M. (2000) 'Articulating Indigenous Identity in Indonesia: Resource Politics and the Tribal Slot', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4(1), pp. 149-179.
- Liddle, R. William (2000) 'Indonesia in 1999: Democracy Restored', *Asian Survey* 40(1) (January-February 2000), pp. 32-42.
- Liddle, R. William (2001) 'Indonesia in 2000: A Shaky Start for Democracy', *Asian Survey* 41(1) (January-February 2000), pp. 208-220.
- Liddle, R. William (2005) *Revolusi dari Luar: Demokratisasi in Indonesia*, Jakarta: Penerbit Nalar.
- Liddle, R. William (2005) 'Indonesia in 2004: The Rise of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono', *Asian Survey* 45(1), pp. 119-126.
- Lin, Sein (ed.) (1972) *Readings in Land Reform*, Taipei: Land Reform Training Institute and University of Hartford.
- Linz, Juan J. (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub. Inc.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (ed.) (1967) *Student Politics*, New York: Basic Book, Inc. Pub.



- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Philip G. Altbach (ed.) (1970) *Student in Revolt*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Lubis, T. Mulya (1986) *Bantuan Hukum dan Kemiskinan Struktural*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Lubis, T. Mulya and Mas Achmad Santosa (1999) 'Economic Regulation, Good Governance and the Environment: an Agenda for Law Reform in Indonesia', in Arief Budiman, Barbara Hatley and Damien Kingsbury (ed.) *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute of Monash University, pp. 343-362.
- Lucas, Anton (1992) 'Land Disputes in Indonesia: Some Current Perspectives', *Indonesia* No. 53 (April 1992), pp. 79-92.
- Lucas, Anton (1996) *Repression and Resistance: Continuing Characteristics of Land Disputes in Indonesia*, paper presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> INFID Conference: Land and Development, Canberra, Australia, 26-28 April 1996.
- Lucas, Anton (1997) 'Land Disputes, the Bureaucracy, and Local Resistance in Indonesia', in *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture*, Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller (ed.), Monographs in International Studies Southeast Asian Series No. 97, Center for International Studies Ohio University, Athens USA, pp. 229-260.
- Lucas, Anton (2008) *Indonesian Ways of Knowing Indonesia: Three Case Studies*, paper presented at the 17<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Melbourne 1-3 July 2008.
- Lucas, Anton and Carol Warren (2000) 'Agrarian Reform in the Era of Reformasi', in *Indonesia in Transition: Social Aspects of Reformasi and Crisis*, Chris Manning and Peter van Diermen (ed.), Singapore: ISEAS, pp. 220-238.
- Lucas, Anton and Carol Warren (2003), 'The State, The People and Their Mediators, The Struggle over Agrarian Law Reform in Post New Order Indonesia', *Indonesia* 76 (October 2003), pp. 87-126.
- Lucas, Anton and Dianto Bachriadi (2000) *Gambaran Keadaan Tanah-tanah Obyek Land Reform di Indonesia: Pelajaran dari 3 Kasus di Jawa Barat*, paper presented at the seminar of Faculty of Social and Political Science, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta 20 June 2000.
- Luhulima, James (2001) *Hari-hari Terpanjang: Menjelang Mundurnya Presiden Soeharto*, Jakarta: Penerbit Kompas.
- Lukmanudin, Ibang (2002) 'Menolak Klaim Perhutani atas Tanah Rakyat Sagara', in *Memecah Ketakutan Menjadi Kekuatan: Kisah-kisah Advokasi Indonesia*, Indonesian Advocacy Development Initiative (IADI) Team (ed.), Yogyakarta: Insist Press, pp. 305-348.
- Luwarso, Lukas et al. (1997) *Jakarta Crackdown (Peristiwa 27 Juli)*, Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi and Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.

- Lynch, Kenneth (2005) *Rural-Urban Interaction in the Developing World*, London: Routledge.
- Lyon, Margo L. (1970) *Bases of Conflict in Rural Java*, Research Monograph No. 3 Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies University of California at Berkeley.
- MacAndrews, Colin (1986) *Indonesia: A Study of Land Issues in the New Order Period*, Boston: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain Pub. Inc. and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- MacAndrews, Colin (1986) *Land Policy in Modern Indonesia: A Study of Land Issues in the New Order Period*, Boston: Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Hain, and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Maclean, J.L. et al. (2002) *Rice Almanac: Source Book for the Most Important Economic Activity on Earth*, Wallingford: CABI Publishing with IRRI, ADRAO, CIAT and FAO.
- Maguantara, Yusuf N. et al. (2006) *Reforma Agraria: Kepastian yang Harus Dijaga*, Bogor: KRKP.
- Maliki, Zainuddin (1999) *Penaklukan Negara atas Rakyat: Studi Resistensi Petani Berbasis Religio Politik Santri terhadap Negaraisasi*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Mamock (1995) 'Perjuangan Rakyat Ujung Negoro Merebut Kembali Tanah yang Terampas', in *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Boy Fidro and Noer Fauzi (ed.), Medan: Yayasan Sintesa – Pos YLBHI Lampung – LPPP – LEKHAT, pp. 286-296.
- Mangiang, Masmimar (1981) 'Mahasiswa, Ilusi tentang Sebuah Kekuatan', *Prisma* No. 12/X (December 1981), pp. 96-107.
- Manning, Chris (1988) *The Green Revolution, Employment, and Economic Change in Rural Java: A Reassessment of Trends under the New Order*, ISEAS Occasional Paper No. 84, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Mas'oeed, Mochtar (1989) *Ekonomi dan Struktur Politik Orde Baru, 1966-1971*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (ed.) (1996) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly (2001) *Dynamic of Contention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAuslan, Patrick (1986) *Tanah Perkotaan dan Perlindungan Rakyat Jelata*, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald (1973) *The Trend of Social Movement in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization*, Morristown:

- General Learning Press.
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald (1977) 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory', *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6), pp. 1212-1241.
- Mears, Leon A. (1981) *The New Rice Economy of Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Mears, Leon A. and Sidik Moeljono (1981) 'Food Policy', in Anne Booth and Peter McCawley (ed.) *The Indonesian Economy during the Soeharto Era*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press pp. 23-61.
- Meijer, Willem (1981) 'Lowland Forestry Management', in Gary E. Hansen (ed.) *Agricultural and Rural Development in Indonesia*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 295-306.
- Mencher, Joan P. (ed.) (1983) *Social Anthropology of Peasantry*, Bombay: Somaiya Pub. Pvt. Ltd.
- Menezes, Francisco (2001) 'Food Sovereignty: A Vital Requirement for Food Security in the Context of Globalization', *Development* 44(4), pp. 29-33.
- Menteri Negara Riset Republik Indonesia (1978) *Laporan Interim Masalah Pertanahan*, a report delivered to the President of Republic of Indonesia, 4 March 1978.
- Mercer, Claire (2006) 'Working with Partners: NGOs and CBOs', in *Doing Development Research*, Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter (ed.), London: Sage Pub., pp. 94-103.
- Meyer, David S. and Sidney Tarrow (1998) 'A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century', in *The Social Movement Society*, Meyer and Tarrow (ed.), Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub., Inc., pp. 1-28.
- Meyer, David S. and Sidney Tarrow (ed.) (1998) *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub., Inc.
- Meyer, David S. and Debra C. Minkoff (2004) 'Conceptualizing Political Opportunity', *Social Forces* 82(4) (June 2004), pp. 1457-1492.
- Miftahuddin (2004) *Radikalisasi Pemuda: PRD Melawan Tirani*, Jakarta: Desantara.
- Migdal, Joel S. (1974) *Peasants, Politics, and Revolution: Pressures toward Political and Social Change in the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Milne, R.S. (1982) 'Technocrats and Politics in the ASEAN Countries', *Pacific Affairs* 55(3) (Autumn 1982), pp. 403-429.
- Mintz, Sydney W. (1956) 'The Role of the Middleman in the Internal Distribution System of a Caribbean Peasant Economy', *Human Organization* 15(2) (Summer 1956), pp. 18-23.

- Mismuri, Herdi and Andi Supriadi (2002) *Nyucruk Galur Napak Tilas Perjuangan Rahayat Cieceng: Perebutan Tanah ex-Perkebunan PTPN VIII Bagianegara*, unpublished paper in a collection of land struggle cases, document of SPP.
- Mismuri, Herdi and Prasetyohadi (2008) *Gerakan Petani Dusun Cieceng di Tasikmalaya*, available at <http://spppasundan.multiply.com/tag/kebun>.
- Mitchell, C. Clyde (1952) *Land Reform in Asia: An Agriculture Committee Report*, Washington, DC: National Planning Association.
- Mitchell, C. Clyde (1972) 'Land Reform in South Korea', in *Readings in Land Reform*, Sein Lin (ed.), Hartford, Connecticut: John C. Lincoln Institute, University of Hartford, pp. 343-352.
- Moertopo, Ali (1974) *Strategi Politik Nasional*, Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Moertopo, Ali (1975) *Buruh dan Tani dalam Pembangunan*, Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Moise, Edwin E. (1983) *Land Reform in China and North Vietnam: Consolidating the Revolution at the Village Level*, Chapel Hill/London: the University of North Carolina Press.
- Morad, Aly A. (1970) *Land Reform: Report to the Government of Indonesia*, Rome: FAO.
- Morgan, David L. (1997) *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*, Qualitative Research Methods Series Vol. 16, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Morris, Aldon D. and Suzanne Staggenborg (2007) 'Leadership in Social Movement', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (ed.), Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 171-196.
- Mortimer, Rex (1972) *The Indonesian Communist Party and Land Reform 1959-1965*, Monash Paper on Southeast Asia No. 1/1972, Center of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia.
- Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (1999) *The Massacre of Eldorado dos Carajás – Para/Brazil*, Sao Paolo: MST.
- Moyo, Sam (2000) *The Political Economy of Land Acquisition and Redistribution in Zimbabwe, 1990-1999*, Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 26 No. 1, pp. 5-28.
- Moyo, Sam and Paris Yeros (ed.) (2005) *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgence of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, London: Zed Books.
- Mubyarto (1992) *Tanah dan Tenaga Kerja Perkebunan: Kajian Sosial Ekonomi*, Yogyakarta: Aditya Media.

- Mustain (2007) *Petani vs Negara: Gerakan Sosial Petani Melawan Hegemoni Negara*, Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media.
- Nababan, Abdon (2003) 'Foreword: Restoring Regional Autonomy', in *In Search for Recognition*, ICRAF, AMAN and FPP, Bogor: World Agroforestry Center (ICRAF), Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) and Forest Peoples Programme (FPP), pp. iii-viii.
- Naipospos, Bonar Tigor (1996) 'Gerakan Mahasiswa dalam Panggung Politik: Ke Arah Gerakan Rakyat?', *Prisma* No. 7/XXV (July 1996), pp. 17-33.
- Napitupulu, A.S., Sam Patty and Soemartojo (1979) *Meningkatkan Martabat Petani Buruh sesuai Tujuan Pembangunan Nasional*, working paper presented on the HKTI's seminar 'Peasant-Labour', Jakarta 24-29 September 1979.
- Nasution, Adnan Buyung (1994) 'Defending Human Rights in Indonesia', *Journal of Democracy* 5(3) (July 1994), pp. 114-123.
- National Development Planning Agency and National Land Agency (1997) *Executive Summary of Final Report and Policy Matrix: Land Policy Reform in Indonesia*, a Topic Cycle 4 of LAP-Part C, Indonesian Land Administration Project.
- Nordholt, Henk Schulte (2004) 'Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less State, More Democracy?', in *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*, John Harris, Kristian Stokke and Olle Törnquist (ed.), Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 29-50.
- Notosusanto, Nugroho and Ismail Saleh (1968) *The Coup Attempt of the "September 30 Movement" in Indonesia*, Jakarta: Pembimbing Masa.
- Nugroho, Bimo (1995) 'Kebebasan Ekspresi vs Represi Negara', in *Catatan Keadaan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia 1994*, Benny K. Harman et al. (ed.), Jakarta: YLBHI, pp. 67-81.
- Nuh, Afnawi (1995) 'Dari Petani Reba ke Petani Jaluran', in *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Boy Fidro and Noer Fauzi (ed.), Medan: Yayasan Sintesa - Pos Yayasan LBH Lampung - LPPP - LEKHAT, pp. 297-315.
- Nurdin, Iwan (2008) *Tentang Peresmian Program Layanan Rakyat untuk Sertifikasi Tanah (LARASITA) BPN-RI*, unpublished short report prepared for KPA, Jakarta: KPA..
- Nusantara, Abdul Hakim G. and Budiman Tanuredjo (1997) *Dua Kado Hakim Agung buat Kedung Ombo: Tinjauan Putusan-putusan Mahkamah Agung tentang Kasus Kedung Ombo*, Jakarta: ELSAM.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo (1973) *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

- O'Donnell, Guillermo (1978) 'Reflection on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State', *Latin American Research Review* 13(1), pp. 3-38.
- Offe, Claus (1985) 'New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics', *Social Research* 52(4) (Winter 1985), pp. 817-868.
- Oltmans, Willem (2001) *Di Balik Keterlibatan CIA: Bung Karno Dikhianati?*, Jakarta: Aksara Karunia.
- Omvedt, Gail (1994) 'We Want the Return from Our Sweat': The New Peasant Movement in India and the Formation of a National Agricultural Policy', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 21(3/4) (April/July 1994), pp. 126-164.
- Otero, Gerardo (1989) 'Agrarian Reform in Mexico', in *Searching for Agrarian Reform in Latin America*, William C. Thiesenhusen (ed.), Boston: Unwin Hyman, pp. 276-304.
- Owada, Keiki (1956) 'Land Reform in Japan', in *Land Tenure: Proceedings of the International Conference on Land Tenure and Related Problems*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 219-229.
- Pact-Indonesia (2002) *Belajar dari Proses Belajar: Laporan Perjalanan Program Initiative of Advocacy Development in Indonesia*, unpublished report of the Pact-Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Padmo, Soegijanto (2000) *Land Reform dan Gerakan Protes Petani Klaten, 1959-1965*, Yogyakarta: KPA dan penerbit Media Pressindo.
- Paige, Jeffrey M. (1975) *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World*, New York: Free Press.
- Palmer, Robin (2000) 'Mugabe's "Land Grab" in Regional Perspective', in *Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Constraint and Prospect*, T.A.S. Bowyer-Bower and C. Stoneman (ed.), Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Parayil, Govindan (2003) 'Mapping Technological Trajectories of the Green Revolution and the Gene Revolution from Modernization to Globalization', *Research Policy* 32 (2003), pp. 971-990.
- Parlindungan, A.P. (1983) 'The Development of Smallholder Estate in Indonesia', in *Land Tenure and the Small Farmers in Asia*, Food and Fertilizer Technology Center for Asia and Pasific Region, Taipei: FFTC Book Series No. 24, pp. 107-111.
- Parlindungan, A. P. (1991) *Landreform di Indonesia: Suatu Studi Perbandingan*, Bandung: Penerbit Mandar Maju.
- Parlindungan, A.P. (1998) 'Anatomi Penjarahan Tanah', *Kompas* 25 September 1998.
- Parsons, Kenneth H. (1972) 'Land Reform in the Postwar Era', in *Readings in Land Reform*, Sein Lin (ed.), Hartford, Connecticut: John C. Lincoln Institute, University of Hartford, pp. 63-80.

- Partadiredja, Ace (1972) *Land Reform di Sulawesi Selatan: Tindjauan dari Tingkat Propinsi*, Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Ekonomi, Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Partadiredja, Ace (1973b) *Ijon di Jawa Barat*, Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Ekonomi, Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Gadjah Mada and Jurusan Antropologi Universitas Padjadjaran.
- Partadiredja, Ace (ed.) (1973a) *Ijon di Jawa Tengah, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta dan Jawa Timur*, Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Ekonomi, Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Partadiredja, Ace and Moekroni (1973) *Land Reform di Sumatera Selatan: Tinjauan dari Tingkat Propinsi, Kabupaten dan Petani*, Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Ekonomi, Fakultas Ekonomi, Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Peluso, Nancy Lee (1990) 'A History of State Forest Management in Java', in *Keepers of the Forest: Land Management Alternatives in Southeast Asia*, Mark Poffenberger (ed.), Connecticut: Kumarian Press, pp. 27-55.
- Peluso, Nancy Lee (1992a) *Rich Forests, Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Peluso, Nancy Lee (1992b) *Coercing Conservation: The Politics of State Resource Control*, paper submitted to Global Environmental Change, 21 January 1992.
- Peluso, Nancy Lee, Suraya Afiff and Noer Fauzi Rachman (2008) 'Claiming the Grounds for Reform: Agrarian and Environmental Movements in Indonesia', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 8 (2-3) (April and July 2008), pp. 377-407.
- Pelzer, Karl J. (1978) *Planter and Peasant: Colonial Policy and the Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra, 1863-1947*, Verhandelingen KITLV 84, 'S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Pelzer, Karl J. (1982) *Planters against Peasants: The Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra, 1947-1958*, Verhandelingen KITLV 85, 'S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Perdana, R. Herlambang (2003), 'Land Conflict, Farmers' Politics and Democratisation', in *Indonesia's Post-Soeharto Democracy Movement*, Stanley Adi Prasetyo et al. (ed.), Jakarta: Demos, pp. 243-258.
- PERGERAKAN, Team (2004a) *Pengalaman Advokasi Organisasi Rakyat*, unpublished materials of PERGERAKAN (People-Centered Advocacy Institute), Bandung.
- PERGERAKAN, Team (2004b) *Merumuskan Advokasi Kerakyatan: Merajut Pengetahuan yang Berasal dari Praktek Advokasi dan Pengembangan Aksi-aksi Kolektif di Lingkar-lingkar Gerakan Sosial (LGS)*, unpublished report of reflective study, Bandung: PERGERAKAN.

- Perhutani, Divisi Perencanaan dan Pengembangan (2001) *Statistik Tahun 1996-2000*, Jakarta: Perhutani.
- Petras, James (1998) 'the Political and Social Basis of Regional Variation in Land Occupations in Brazil', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 25(4) (July 1998), pp. 124-133.
- Petras, James (1999) 'NGOs: In Service of Imperialism', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 29(4), pp. 429-440.
- Petras, James and Hugo Zemelman Merino (1972) *Peasants In Revolt: A Chilean Case Study, 1965-1971*, Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- Petras, James and Robert Laporte Jr. (1971) *Cultivating Revolution: the United States and Agrarian Reform in Latin America*, New York: Random House.
- Piao, Lin (1965) 'Long Live the Victory of People's War!', in *Peking and People's Wars: An Analysis of Statements by Official Spokesmen of the Chinese Communist Party on the Subject of Revolutionary Strategy*, Samuel B. Griffith, London: The Pall Mall Press Ltd., pp. 51-114.
- Pieke, Frank N. (1998) 'The 1989 Chinese People's Movement in Beijing', in *Student Protest: the Sixties and After*, Gerald DeGroot (ed.), London: Lonfman, pp. 248-263.
- Pieterse, Edgar (1997) 'South African NGOs and the Trials of Transition', *Development in Practice* 7(2) (May 1997), pp. 157-166.
- Po Ta, Tzen (2000) *Mao Tze Tung: Desa Mengepung Kota, Daari Revolusi Demokrasi ke revolusi Sosialisme*, the Indonesian translation of Chinese original version published in 1951, Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- Poletta, Francesca (2002) *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*, Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.
- Poniman, Anton et al. (2005) *Petisi Cisarua: Rekomendasi untuk Presiden Republik Indonesia Periode 2004-2009, 'Reforma Agraria dalam Rangka Pelaksanaan Visi, Misi dan Program Pemerintah Baru'*, Bandung: Pergerakan.
- Poulgrain, Greg (1998) *The Genesis of Konfrontasi: Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia, 1945-1965*, London: C. Hurst & Co.
- Powelson, John and Richard Stock (1987) *The Peasant Betrayed: Agriculture and Land Reform in the Third World*, Boston: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Praptodihardjo, Singgih (1952) *Sendi-sendi Hukum Tanah di Masa Depan*, Jakarta: Yayasan Pembangunan.
- Prosterman, Roy L. (1972), "Land Reform as Foreign Aid", *Foreign Policy* 6, pp. 128-141.



- Prosterman, Roy L. and Jeffrey M. Riedinger (1987) *Land Reform and Democratic Development*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, particularly pp. 7-34.
- Purba, Arnold (1990) *Biarkan Rakyat Bicara: Tangan Besi Merampas Tanah Kami*, Pembelaan di Depan Pengadilan Negeri Bandung untuk Menjawab Semua Tuntutan Penguasa Negeri Ini Kepada Mahasiswa Indonesia, a defense statement at the Bandung State-Court, Bandung 27 January 1990.
- Pussbik, Team (2002) *Tanah Lampung: Sengketa Pertanahan dan Perjuangan Rakyat Tani Lampung*, Bandar Lampung: PUSSBIK.
- Rachbini, Didik J. (2000) *Dampak Lol pada Pembangunan Pertanian – Beberapa Catatan Pokok*, paper presented at workshop on 'Impact of Trade Liberalization on Food and Agriculture Sector in Indonesia', Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) dan IUF-Asia Pasific, Jakarta 24-25 Juli 2000.
- Rachman, Agustam *et. al.* (2005) *Jejak Langkah Orang-orang Bengkulu*, edition 2005-2006, Bengkulu: Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu and Lopera Pustaka Utama,
- Rachman, M. Fadjrul (1990) *Manifesto Perjuangan Manusia Baru*, Pembelaan di Depan Pengadilan Negeri Bandung untuk Menjawab Semua Tuntutan Penguasa Negeri Ini Kepada Mahasiswa Indonesia, a defense statement at the Bandung State-Court, Bandung 7 February 1990.
- Radin, Fernando (1995) 'The Trumpet Shall Sound for Rich Peasants: Kasan Mukmin's Uprising in Gedangan, East Java, 1904', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26(2) (September 1995), pp. 242-262.
- Radin, Fernando (1999) 'In the Eyes of the Beholder: Discourses of a Peasant Riot in Java', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 30(2) (September 1999), pp. 263-285.
- Radjab, Suryadi A. (1991) 'Panggung-panggung Mitologi dalam Hegemoni Negara: Gerakan Mahasiswa di Bawah Orde Baru', *Prisma* No. 10/XX (October 1991), pp. 67-79.
- Radjab, Suryadi A. (1999) 'Budaya Tandingan Gerakan 5 Agustus', prolog in *Menolak Menunduk: Menentang Budaya Represif*, Enin Supriyanto, Jakarta: Grasindo, pp. ix-xxviii.
- Radjagukguk, Erman (1979) 'Pemahaman Rakyat terhadap Hak atas Tanah', *Prisma* 9 (September 1979), pp. 3-16.
- Railon, François (1985) *Politik dan Ideologi Mahasiswa Indonesia*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Rajagukguk, Erman (1995) *Hukum Agraria, Pola Penguasaan Tanah dan Kebutuhan Hidup*, Jakarta: Chandra Pratama.
- Ramagundam, Rahul (2001) *Defeated Innocence: Adivasi Assertion, Land Rights and the Ekta Parishad Movements*, New Delhi: GrassrootsIndia.

- Ramli, Rizal and Mubariq Ahmad (1983) *Rente Ekonomi Pengusahaan Hutan Indonesia*, Jakarta: WALHI.
- Ransom, David (1970) 'The Berkeley Mafia and the Indonesian Massacre', *Ramparts*, October 1970, pp. 27-49.
- Rebong, Jacob N. (1977) 'Land-Reform di Indonesia: Mission Impossible?', *Sinar Harapan* 19 September 1977.
- Redfield, Robert (1956) *Peasant Society and Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rigg, J. (1998) 'Rural Urban Interactions, Agriculture and Wealth: A Southeast Asian Perspective', *Progress in Human Geography* 22(4) (December 1998), pp. 497-522.
- Rinakit, Sukardi (2005) *Indonesian Regional Elections in Praxis*, IDSS Commentaries (65/2005), Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technology University.
- Robinson, Geoffrey (1995) *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Robison, Richard (1978) 'Toward a Class Analysis of the Indonesian Military Bureaucratic State', *Indonesia* No. 25 (April 1978), pp. 17-39.
- Robison, Richard (1986) *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin Pty. Ltd.
- Robison, Richard and Andrew Rosser (1998) 'Contesting Reform: Indonesia's New Order and the IMF', *World Development* 26(8), pp. 1593-1609.
- Robison, Richard and Vedi R. Hadiz (2004) *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: the Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*, London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Rodriguez, J. (1987) 'A Waiting the Harvest of a Liberated Peasantry', in National Council of Churches of the Philippines-Urban Rural Mission (ed.), *Genuine Agrarian Reform Essays*. Quezon City: NCCP.
- Romm, Jeff (1980) *Forest Development in Indonesia and the Productive Transformation of Capital*, paper presented at the Ninth Annual Conference on Indonesian Studies, 31 July – 3 August 1980, University of California at Berkeley.
- Roosa, John (2006) *Pretext for Mass Murder: the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement and Suharto's Coup d'État in Indonesia*, Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rosendale, Phyllis (1981) 'The Balance of Payment', in Anne Booth and Peter McCawley (ed.) *The Indonesian Economy during the Soeharto Era*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, pp. 162-180.
- Rosset, Peter (2002) *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: World Bank Land Policies*, paper presented at the seminar on 'the Negative Impacts of the World

- Bank's Policies on Market-Based Land Reform', Washington DC, 15-17 April 2002.
- Rosset, Peter (2006b) 'Moving Forward: Agrarian Reform as a Part of Food Sovereignty', in *Promised Land: Competing Visions of Agrarian Reform*, Peter Rosset, Raj Pathel and Michael Courville (ed.), Oakland: Food First Books, pp. 301-322.
- Royo, Antoinette G. (2000) 'The power of networking: building force to navigate cross-scale turbulence where solo efforts fail', in *Indigenous Social Movements and Ecological Resilience: Lessons from the Dayak of Indonesia*, Janis B. Alcorn and Antoinette G. Royo (ed.), Peoples Forest and Reefs (PeFoR) Program Discussion Paper Series, Washington, DC: Biodiversity Support Program.
- Rucht, Dieter (2007) 'Movement Allies, Adversaries, and Third Parties', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (ed.), 1<sup>st</sup> paperback edition, David A. Snow, , Malden: Blackwell Pub. Ltd., pp. 197-216.
- Rusin, Sapei, et.al. (2002) *Program Persiapan Pengembangan Sistem Dukungan Pengembangan Kapasitas Advokasi di Indonesia*, Laporan Akhir Kelompok Advokasi Kebijakan, unpublished report for the Pact-Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Ruwiastuti, Maria R. (1998) *Menuju Pluralisme Hukum Agraria: Analisa dan Kritik terhadap Marginalisasi Posisi Hukum-hukum dan Hak-hak Adat Penduduk Asli atas Tanah dan Sumber-sumber Agraria oleh Pembuat Undang-undang Pokok Agraria (UUPA 1960)*, KPA Position Paper No. 006/1998, Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria.
- Ruwiastuti, Maria R., Noer Fauzi and Dianto Bachriadi (1998) *Penghancuran Hak Masyarakat Adat atas Tanah: Sistem Penguasaan Tanah Masyarakat Adat dan Hukum Agraria*, Bandung: KPA.
- Sachs, Wolfgang (1992) (ed.) *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, London: Zed Books.
- Sachs, Wolfgang (1995) (ed.) *Kritik atas Pembangunanisme*, Jakarta: CPSM.
- Saefudin, AM (2005) 'Kabinet Indonesia Berseteru', *Republika* 25 November 2005.
- Safitri, Hilma (2010) *Gerakan Politik Forum Paguyuban Petani Kabupaten Batang (FPPB)*, Bandung: Akatiga (available at [www.akatiga.org](http://www.akatiga.org)).
- Saidi, Ridwan (1989) *Mahasiswa dan Lingkaran Politik*, Jakarta: LPMI.
- Sajogyo (1976) 'Preface', in *Penduduk dan Kemiskinan: Kasus Sriharjo di Pedesaan Jawa*, Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara, pp. 7-21.
- Sajogyo (1993) 'Agriculture and Industrialization in Rural Development', in Jan-Paul Dirkse, Frans Husken, and Mario Rutten (ed.) *Development and*

- Social Welfare: Indonesia's Experiences under the New Order*, Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 45-59.
- Sajogyo (2000) 'Pengantar', in *Reforma Agraria: Perjalanan yang Belum Berakhir*, Gunawan Wiradi, Yogyakarta: Insist Press, KPA and Pustaka Pelajar, pp. v-xiv.
- Sajogyo and Gunawan Wiradi (1985) *Rural Poverty and Efforts for Its Alleviation in Indonesia*, FAO in-depth studies series No. 18, Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization.
- Salamini, Heather Fowler (1978) *Agrarian Radicalism in Veracruz, 1920-1938*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Saludo, Rocardo and Assif Shameen (1997) 'A Question of Oppenness', *Asiaweek* 3 October 1997, pp. 62-63.
- Samego, Indria *et al.* (1998) *Bila ABRI Berbisnis*, Bandung: Pustaka Mizan.
- Sandjaja, Utama P. (2004) *Membangun Organisasi Gerakan Sosial untuk Advokasi Kerakyatan*, unpublished research report for the PERGERAKAN (People-Centered Advocacy Institute), Bandung.
- Santoso, Agus Edi (1995) *Standar Kurikulum Pendidikan dan Kaderisasi Tani*, paper presented in the workshop on 'Formulation of the Curriculum for Education and Cadre Building of the Peasant', LPPP, Bandung 20 May 1995.
- Santoso, Agus Edi (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Katakanlah dengan Seribu Satu Bunga Mawar Merah', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 79-83.
- Saragih, Henry (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Analisis Kasus-kasus Sengketa Tanah Sepanjang Orde Baru', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 35-58.
- Saragih, Henry (2002) *Political Struggle and Agrarian Reform*, paper presented at seminar on 'Agrarian Reform and Human Rights', organized by 11.11.11. Via Campesina, FIAN and Maastricht Center for Human Rights, Masstricht, the Netherlands, 15-17 April 2002.
- Saragih, Henry (2006) 'Memperkuat Organisasi dan Menggalang Kekuatan Bersama dalam Memperjuangkan Pelaksanaan Pembaruan Agraria', speech of General Secretary of FSPI on the 46<sup>th</sup> Aniversary of the National Peasant Day 24 September 2006, reprinted in *Pembaruan Tani* edition 32, October 2006, pp. 8-9.
- Sato, Yuri (2003) *Post-Crisis Economic Reform in Indonesia: Policy for Intervening in Ownership in Historical Perspective*, IDE Research Paper

- No. 4, September 2003, Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO).
- Sawit, M. Husein (2006) 'Indonesia dalam Tatanan Perubahan Perdagangan Beras Dunia', *Majalah Pangan* edition 2006, pp. 1-7.
- Sawit, M. Husein (2007) 'Usulan Kebijakan Beras dari Bank Dunia: Resep yang Keliru', *Analisa Kebijakan Pertanian* 5(3) (Sept 2007), pp. 193-212.
- Schanbacher, William D. (2010) *The Politics of Food: the Global Conflict between Food Security and Food Sovereignty*, Santa Barbara: Praeger.
- Schram, Stuart R. (1969) *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, enlarge and revised edition, Harmondsworth: Pelican Books.
- Scott, James C. (1976) *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. (1977b) 'Hegemony and the Peasantry', *Politics and Society* 7(3), pp. 267-296.
- Scott, James C. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. and Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet (ed.) (1986) *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in South-east Asia*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- Scott, Peter Dale (1985) 'The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-1967', *Pacific Affairs* 58(2) (Summer 1985), pp. 239-264.
- Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia (1994) *Gerakan 30 September: Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia; Latar Belakang, Aksi, dan Penumpasannya*, Jakarta: Sekneg RI.
- Seligson, Mitchell A. (1995) 'Thirty Years of Transformation in the Agrarian Structure of El Salvador, 1961-1991', in *Latin American Research Review* 30(3), pp. 43-74.
- Seligson, Mitchell A. (1996) 'Agrarian Inequality and the Theory of Peasant Rebellion', in *Latin American Research Review* 31(2), pp. 140-157.
- Senior, Clarence (1958) *Land Reform and Democracy*, Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Serikat Petani Pasundan (2006b) *Profile of Serikat Petani Pasundan (Pasundan Peasant Union) – SPP, 2006*, Garut: SPP and Yapemas.
- Setiawan, Bonnie (1990) *Petani Penyakap dan Buruh Tani: Tinjauan tentang Dinamika Perubahan Hubungan Sosial di Pedesaan*, unpublished research report of SPES and LP3ES, Jakarta.
- Setiawan, Bonnie (1996) 'Organisasi Non-Pemerintah dan Masyarakat Sipil', *Prisma* No. 7/XXV (July 1996), pp. 35-52.
- Setiawan, Usep (2004) 'Belasan Pasal UUPA Masih Relevan dan Perlu', *Sinar Harapan* 15 June 2004.

- Setiawan, Usep (2007) 'Cegah Reforma Agraria Gagal', *Suara Pembaruan* 24 September 2007.
- Setiawan, Usep (2008) 'Membumikan Reforma Agraria', article in [www.kpa.or.id](http://www.kpa.or.id) (accessed at 03 September 2008).
- Shanin, Theodore (ed.) (1971) *Peasant and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings*, Harmondworth: Penguin Books.
- Sharma, Kaushal Kishore (1989) *Agrarian Movements and Congress Politics in Bihar*, Delhi: Anamika Prakashan.
- Shililinglaw, Geoffrey (1974) 'Land Reform and Peasant Mobilization in Southern China, 1947-1950', in *Peasants, Landlords and Governments: Agrarian Reform in the Third World*, David Lehmann (ed.), New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., pp. 120-155.
- Siahaan, Hotman (1980) 'Struktur Sosial dan Kemiskinan Petani', in *Kemiskinan Struktural: Bunga Rampai*, Alfian, Mely G. Tan and Selo Soemardjan (ed.), Jakarta: Pulsar, pp. 111-121.
- Sidel, John T. (2003) 'Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia: Toward an Alternative Framework for Study of 'Local Strongmen'', in *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*, John Harris, Kristian Stokke and Olle Törnquist (ed.), Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 51-74.
- Simarmata, Dj. A (1997) *Ekonomi Pertanahan dan Properti di Indonesia: Konsep, Fakta, dan Analisis*, Jakarta: CPIS.
- Simpul Bengkulu, Inisiatif Perlawanan Lokal (2006a) 'Tanah untuk Rakyat', in *Negara adalah Kita: Pengalaman Rakyat Melawan Penindasan*, Eko Bambang Subiyantoro et. al. (ed.), Jakarta: FBB Prakarsa Rakyat and Perkumpulan Praxis, pp. 135-151.
- Simpul Bengkulu, Inisiatif Perlawanan Lokal (2006b) 'Dari Penonton Menjadi Pemain: Konsolidasi Gerakan Politik Kerakyatan di Bengkulu', in *Negara adalah Kita: Pengalaman Rakyat Melawan Penindasan*, Eko Bambang Subiyantoro et. al. (ed.), Jakarta: FBB Prakarsa Rakyat and Perkumpulan Praxis, pp. 337-361.
- Sinaga, Kastorius (1995) *NGOs in Indonesia: A Study of the Role Non Governmental Organizations in the Development Process*, Saarbrucken: Verlag Entwicklungspoilt.
- Sinaga, Rudolf and Benjamin White (1980) 'Beberapa Aspek Kelembagaan di Pedesaan Jawa dalam Hubungannya dengan Kemiskinan Struktural', in *Kemiskinan Struktural: Bunga Rampai*, Alfian, Mely G. Tan and Selo Soemardjan (ed.), Jakarta: Pulsar, pp. 138-158.
- Singarimbun, Masri and David H. Penny (1976) *Penduduk dan Kemiskinan: Kasus Sriharjo di Pedesaan Jawa*, Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara.

- Siregar, Hariman (1994) *Hati Nurani Seorang Demonstran*, Jakarta: Mantika Media Utama.
- Siregar, M. R. (2007) *Tragedi Manusia dan Kemanusiaan: Holokaus Terbesar Setelah Nazi*, Yogyakarta: Resist Book.
- Siregar, R. H. (1977) 'Masalah Pertanahan di Indonesia', 3 series articles, *Sinar Harapan* 28, 29 and 30 November 1977.
- Siswowihardjo, Tri Agus S. (1995) *Jaman Edan: Sak Beja Beja Edan Ning Kuasa*, Defence Statement at Jakarta High Court, 1 September 1995.
- Situmorang, Abdul Wahib (2005) *The Toba Batak: Fighting for Environmental Justice, 1998-2003*, Jakarta: WALHI.
- SKEPO (2002) *Laporan Assessment Kapasitas Advokasi Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP)*, unpublished report, Jakarta: IADI.
- Skocpol, Theda (1979) *State and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Skocpol, Theda (1994) *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smelser, Niel (1962) *Theory of Collective Behavior*, New York: Free Press.
- Soedargo, R. (1962) *Perundang-undangan Agraria Indonesia*, Vol. I, Bandung: N.V Eresco.
- Soekarno (1960) *Like an Angel that Strikes from the Skies: the March of Our Revolution*, speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia on the 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic, 17th August 1960, special issue 66, Jakarta: Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia.
- Soekarno (1962) *Saja Tjinta BTI*, speech of P.J.M. Presiden Sukarno at the 4<sup>th</sup> National Congress of BTI, Jakarta 23 July 1962, Jakarta: Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Barisan Tani Indonesia.
- Soekarno (1963) *Deklarasi Ekonomi dan "Ambeg Parama-Arta"!* (Berwatak Pandai Mendahulukan Urusan Jang Penting), Jakarta: Jajasan Prapantja.
- Soemardjan, Selo (1984) 'Land Reform di Indonesia', in *Dua Abad Penguasaan Tanah: Pola Penguasaan Tanah Pertanian di Jawa dari Masa ke Masa*, Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro dan Gunawan Wiradi (ed.), Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Soemardjan, Selo and Kennon Breazeale (1993) *Cultural Change in Rural Indonesia: Impact of Village Development*, Solo: Sebelas Maret University Press.
- Soepardi, Goeswono (2000) 'Revolusi Hijau mengecewakan Petani?', *Kompas* 16 October 2000.
- Soeromihardjo, Soedjarwo, Achmad Sodiki and Risnanto (ed.) (2008) *Pengabdian Seorang Guru Pejuang Petani – Bunga Rampai: Fokus pada*

- Mengangkat Harkat Petani*, Jakarta: Lembaga Pengkajian Pertanahan Indonesia.
- Soetiknjo, Iman (1983) *Politik Agraria Nasional*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Soetrisno, Loekman (1990) 'Status Pembangunan Pedesaan dalam Konteks Pembangunan Nasional di Indonesia', in Mubyarto *et al. Prospek Pedesaan 1990*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Yogyakarta: P3PK UGM, pp.25-37.
- Soewardi, Herman (1976) *Respons Masyarakat Desa terhadap Modernisasi Produksi Pertanian terutama Padi*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Soule, Sarah. A and Brayden G. King (2008) 'Competition and Resource Partitioning in Three Social Movement Industries', *American Journal of Sociology* 113(6) (May 2008), pp. 1568-1610.
- Southwood, Julie and Patrick Flanagan (1983) *Indonesia: Law, Propaganda and Terror*, London: Zed Books.
- Stake, Robert E. (2000) 'Case Studies', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (ed.), Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 435-454.
- Stanley (1994) *Seputar Kedung Ombo*, Jakarta: Elsam.
- Stavenhagen, Rodolfo (ed.) (1970) *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America*, Garden City, NY: Anchor Books of Doubleday & Co., Inc.
- Stevens, Alan M. and A. Ed. Schmidgall-Tellings (2004) *A Comprehensive Indonesia-English Dictionary*, Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Stiffler, Steve (2002) *In the Shadow of State and Capital: The United Fruit Company, Popular Struggle, and Agrarian Restructuring in Ecuador, 1900-1995*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stoller, Ann Laura (1985) *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870-1979*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sudibyoy, Agus (2001) *Politik Media dan Pertarungan Wacana*, Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Suhartono (1993) *Bandit-bandit Pedesaan di Jawa: Studi Historis, 1850-1942*, Yogyakarta: Aditya Media.
- Suhendar, Endang (1994) *Pemetaan Pola-pola Sengketa Tanah di Jawa Barat*, Bandung: Akatiga.
- Suhendar, Endang (2002) 'Land Reform by Leverage: Perjuangan Petani Mewujudkan Kebijakan Agraria yang Berkeadilan', in *Menuju Keadilan Agraria, 70 Tahun Gunawan Wiradi*, Endang Suhendar *et al.* (ed.), Bandung: Akatiga, pp. 319-337.
- Suhendar, Endang and Ifdhal Kasim (1996) *Tanah Sebagai Komoditas: Kajian Kritis atas Kebijakan Pertanahan Orde Baru*, Jakarta: ELSAM.



- Sulistyo, Hermawan (2000) *Palu Arit di Ladang Tebu: Sejarah Pembantaian Massal yang Terlupakan*, Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Sulistyo, Hermawan (2002) 'Electoral Politics in Indonesia: A Hard Way to Democracy', in *Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia*, Aurel Croissant, Gabriele Bruns and Marei John (ed.), Singapore: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, pp. 75-99.
- Sumardjono, Maria S.W. (2001) *Kebijakan Pertanahan: Antara Regulasi dan Implementasi*, Jakarta: Penerbit Buku KOMPASS.
- Sumardjono, Maria Sriwulani (1998) *Kewenangan Negara Untuk Mengatur dalam Konsep Penguasaan Tanah oleh Negara*, Pidato Pengukuhan Jabatan Guru Besar pada Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, 14 Februari 1998.
- Sumodiningrat, Gunawan (2001) *Menuju Swasembada Pangan – Revolusi Hijau II: Introduksi Manajemen dalam Pertanian*, Jakarta: RBI.
- Suprpto, Eddy (1995) 'Rakyat versus Modal: Perjuangan Melawan Pencaplokan Tanah oleh Pabrik Ollefin di Lomanis-Cilacap', in *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Boy Fidro and Noer Fauzi (ed.), Medan: Yayasan Sintesa, Pos YLBHI Lampung, LPPP and Lekhat, pp. 1- 11.
- Suprpto, Eddy (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Pergulatan di Tengah Massa', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 59-78.
- Supriadi, Andi *et al.* (2005) *Gerakan Rakyat untuk Pembaruan Agraria*, Garut: Serikat Petani Pasundan.
- Supriatma, A. Made Tony *et al.* (ed.) (1997) *1996: Tahun Kekerasan, Potret Pelanggaran HAM di Indonesia*, Jakarta: YLBHI.
- Supriyanto, Enin (1999) *Menolak Menunduk: Menentang Budaya Represif*, Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Suryaalam, Maria R.R. (ed.) (2003) *Menguak Rahasia di Balik Merebaknya Konflik-konflik Agraria di Flores dan Timor*, Denpasar: Veco Indonesia.
- Suryadinata, Leo (2002) *Elections and Politics in Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Susilo, Wahyu (1995 [originally 1993]) 'Belajar Bersama Rakyat: Pengalaman Pengorganisasian Petani di Kedung Ombo Pasca Penggusuran', in *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Boy Fidro and Noer Fauzi (ed.), Medan: Yayasan Sintesa, Pos YLBHI Lampung, LPPP and Lekhat, pp. 237-245.
- Sutarto, Endriatmo (2006) *Perlunya Konsensus Mengenai Reforma Agraria ala Indonesia*, Speech of the Principal of the National Land Affair Academy

- (STPN) in Workshop to Formulate Results of National Symposium on Agrarian, Yogyakarta 17-18 December 2006.
- Tabor, Steven R. (1992) 'Agriculture in Transition', in Anne Booth (ed.) *The Oil Boom and After: Indonesian Economic Policy and Performance in the Soeharto Era*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 161-203.
- Tai, Hung-Chao (1974) *Land Reform and Politics: A Comparative Analysis*, Berkeley: California University Press.
- Tamara, Nasir (1997) *Mengkaji Indonesia: Pengaruh Amerika dalam Dunia Intelektual Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya.
- Tandon, Yash (1996) 'An African Perspective', in *Compassion and Calculation: the Business of Private Foreign Aid*, David Sogge, Kees Biekart and John Saxby (ed.), London: Pluto Press with Transnational Institute, pp. 179-184.
- Tannenbaum, Frank (1929) *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*, New York: Anchor Book.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1983) *Struggling to Reform: Social Movements and Policy Change During Cycles of Protest*, Western Societies Program Occasional Paper No. 15. New York Center for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1991) *Struggle, Politics, and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements, and Cycles of Protest*, Western Societies Program Occasional Paper No. 21, New York Center for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1994) *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tasikmalaya, Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten (2006) *Tasikmalaya in Figures 2004/2005*, Tasikmalaya: Kantor BPS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya.
- Tasikmalaya, Biro Pusat Statistik Kabupaten (1994) *Sensus Pertanian 1993: Hasil Pendaftaran Rumah Tangga Kabupaten Tasikmalaya*, Seri A-2, Tasikmalaya: Kantor BPS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya.
- Tauchid, Mochammad (1952) *Masalah Agraria sebagai Masalah Penghidupan dan Kemakmuran Rakyat Indonesia*, Vol. 1, Jakarta: Penerbit Tjakrawala.
- Tauchid, Mochammad (1953) *Masalah Agraria sebagai Masalah Penghidupan dan Kemakmuran Rakyat Indonesia*, Vol. 2, Jakarta: Penerbit Tjakrawala.
- Thoolen, Hans (ed.) (1987) *Indonesia and the Rule of Law: Twenty Years of 'New Order' Government*, a study prepared by the International Commission of Jurist and the Netherland Institute of Human Rights (SIM), London: Frances Pinter.
- Thorbecke, Erik and Theodore van der Pluijm (1993) *Rural Indonesia: Socio-Economic Development in a Changing Environment*, IFAD Studies in Rural Poverty No. 3, New York: New York University Press.

- Tilly, Charles (1978) *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Tilly, Charles (2004) *Social Movements, 1768-2004*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow (2007) *Contentious Politics*, Boulder: Paradigm Publisher.
- Tim Cidesindo (ed.) (1999) *Membuka Lipatan Sejarah: Menguak Fakta Gerakan PKI*, Jakarta: Pustaka Cidesindo.
- Tim Kerja Komnas HAM (2005) *KNuPKA: Sebuah Keniscayaan*, Jakarta: Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi Manusia.
- Tim Legal Drafting KPA (1998) *Usulan Revisi Undang-undang Pokok Agraria (UUPA): Menuju Penegakan Hak-hak Rakyat atas Sumber-sumber Agraria*, Jakarta: Konsorsium Reformasi Hukum Nasional (KRHN) and Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA).
- Tim Relawan (1996) *Urgent Action: Ketua PRD, Budiman Sudjatmiko Ditangkap, Puluhan Orang Terancam*, Press Release of 'Tim Relawan Penolong Korban Insiden Jakarta 27 July 1996', 12 August 2007, available at [www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/1996/08/13/0024.html](http://www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/1996/08/13/0024.html).
- Tjahjono, Sukmadji Indro (1979) *Indonesia di Bawah Sepatu Lars: Pembelaan di Muka Pengadilan Mahasiswa Bandung, Agustus-September 1979*, Bandung: Komite Pembelaan Mahasiswa DM-ITB.
- Tjondronegoro, Sediono M. P. (1971) *Land Reform or Land Settlement: Shifts in Indonesia's Land Policy, 1960-1970*, paper presented at the 19<sup>th</sup> Study Seminar on Land Tenure, Distribution and Reform, the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK, 19 February – 25 March 1971.
- Tjondronegoro, Sediono M. P. (1972) *Land Reform or Land Settlement: Shift in Indonesia's Land Policy, 1960-1970*, Land Tenure Center Working Paper No. 81, Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Tjondronegoro, Sediono M. P. (2001) *Kebijakan Agraria di Indonesia*, paper presented at 'Panel on Local Autonomy and Agrarian Reform' (8 April 2001) in the National Conference on Agrarian Reform to Maintain and Protect Peasant's Rights, Cibubur 8-11 April 2001.
- Tjondronegoro, Sediono M. P. (2007) *A Brief Quarter Century Overview of Indonesia's Agrarian Policies*, paper presented at the National Seminar of 'Land and Households Economy 1979-2005: Changing Roads for Poverty Reduction', ICASEPS and UNESCAP-CAPSA, Bogor 25 June 2007.
- Tjondronegoro, Sediono M. P. and Gunawan Wiradi (ed.) (1984) *Dua Abad Penguasaan Tanah: Pola Penguasaan Tanah Pertanian di Jawa dari Masa ke Masa*, Jakarta: YOI and Gramedia.

- Tjondronegoro, Sediono M.P. *et al.* (2004) *Kritik terhadap Nasakah Rancangan UU Sumberdaya Agraria (sebagai Hasil 'Penyempurnaan UU No. 5 Tahun 1960 tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-pokok Agraria oleh BPN')*, unpublished document distributed at Public Consultation Forum held by National Land Agency, Jakarta 23 April 2004.
- Toer, Pramoedya Ananta (1999) *The Mute's Soliloquy: a Memoir*, New York: Hyperion.
- Topatimasang, Roem, Mansour Fakhri and Toto Rahardjo (ed.) (2000) *Merubah Kebijakan Publik: Panduan Pelatihan Advokasi*, Yogyakarta: Read Books, Pact and Insist.
- Törnquist, Olle (1984) *Dilemmas of Third World Communism, The Destruction of the PKI in Indonesia*, London: Zed Books.
- Törnquist, Olle (2000) 'Dynamics of Indonesian Democratisation', *Third World Quarterly* 21(3) (June 2000), pp. 383-423.
- Törnquist, Olle (2004) 'The Political Deficit of Substantial Democratisation', in *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*, John Harris, Kristian Stokke and Olle Törnquist (ed.), Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 201-225.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965a [originally 1927]) 'Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol I*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 23-59.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965b [originally 1929]) 'On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol I*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 105-116.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965c [originally 1930]) 'A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol. I*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 117-128.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965d [originally 1936]) 'Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol I*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 179-254.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965e [originally 1938]) 'Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War against Japan', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol II*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 79-112.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965f [originally 1938]) 'The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol II*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 195-211.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965g [originally 1939]) 'The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol II*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 305-334.

- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965h [originally 1945]) 'Production is Also Possible on the Guerrilla Zones', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* Vol III, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 197-200.
- Tse-Tung, Mao (1965i [originally 1945]) 'On Coalition Government', *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* Vol III, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, pp. 205-270.
- Tuma, Elias H. (1965) *Twenty-Six Centuries of Agrarian Reform, a Comparative Analysis*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Turner, Brian (1993) *Community Politics and Peasant-State Relations in Paraguay*, Lanham: University Press of America.
- Uhlin, Anders (1997) *Indonesia and the Third Wave of Democratisation: the Indonesian Pro-Democracy Movement in a Changing World*, Surrey: Curzon.
- Useem, Bert (1998) 'Breakdown Theories of Collective Action', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, pp. 215-238.
- Utrecht, Ernst (1969) 'Land Reform', *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 5(3) (November 1969), pp. 5-13.
- van der Kroef, Justus M. (1960) 'Agrarian Reform and the Indonesian Communist Party', *Far Eastern Survey* 29(1) (January 1960), pp. 5-13.
- van der Kroef, Justus M. (1963) 'Peasant and Land Reform in Indonesian Communism', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 4 (1963), pp. 31-67.
- van der Kroef, Justus M. (1971) *Indonesia since Soekarno*, Singapore: Asia Pacific Press.
- van der Kroef, Justus M. (1972) 'Origins of the 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Probabilities and Alternatives', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 3(2) (Sept. 1972), pp. 277-298.
- van der Kroef, Justus M. (1984) 'Penguasaan Tanah dan Struktur Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa', in *Dua Abad Penguasaan Tanah: Pola Penguasaan Tanah Pertanian di Jawa dari Masa ke Masa*, Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro dan Gunawan Wiradi (ed.), Jakarta: Gramedia, pp. 145-167.
- van Niel, Robert (1964) 'The Function of Landrent under the Cultivation System in Java', *Journal of Asian Studies* 23(3) (May 1964), pp.357-375.
- van Niel, Robert (1992) *Java Under the Cultivation System: Collected Writings*, Leiden: KITLV.
- van Tuyl, Peter and Ben Witjes (1993) 'Popular Participation in Indonesia's Development Process', in Jan-Paul Dirkse, Frans Husken, and Mario Rutten (ed.) *Development and Social Welfare: Indonesia's Experiences under the New Order*, Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 195-217.

- Vltchek, Andre and Rossie Indira (2006) *Saya Terbakar Amarah Sendirian! Pramoedya Ananta Toer dalam Perbincangan dengan Andre Vltchek dan Rossie Indira*, Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Wahana Informasi Masyarakat and Akatiga (1993) *Laporan Pelatihan Analisa Sosial dan Masalah-masalah Agraria di Sumatera Utara*, unpublished report.
- Wahono, Francis (ed.) (2001) *Rancangan Hak-hak Azasi Petani Indonesia (sebagaimana disuarakan petani Indonesia)*, Yogyakarta: Cindelaras Pustaka Rakyat Cerdas.
- Wahono, Francis (ed.) (2002) *Hak-hak Petani dan Proses Perumusannya*, Yogyakarta: Cindelaras Pustaka Rakyat Cerdas.
- Wahyudi (2005) *Formasi dan Struktur Gerakan Sosial Petani: Studi Kasus Reklaiming atau Penjarahan atas Tanah PTPN XII (Persero) Kalibakar, Malang Selatan*. Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang Press.
- Wallace, Jude and Ian Williamson (2006) 'Building Land Markets', *Land Use Policy* 23(2) (April 2006), pp. 123-135.
- Wanembu, Zadrak (1996) *In the Name of National Development: the Manipulation of Local Institutions and Traditions to Take Control of Customary Land Rights, Two Case Studies of Industrial Plantation Estate Development in the Region Surrounding Jayapura, Irian Jaya*, paper presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> INFID Conference, Canberra 26-28 April 1996.
- Wargadipura, Nissa (2005) *Bekerja Bersama Anggota Serikat Petani Pasundan dalam Mempengaruhi Kebijakan Reforma Agraria: Studi Kasus Organisasi Tani Lokal Serikat Petani Pasundan di Desa Mekarmukti, Sukamukti dan Dangieng, Cilawu Garut*, paper presented on the National Meeting of Forum for Development of Community Participation (FPPM, *Forum Pengembangan Partisipasi Masyarakat*) 'Formulating Participation on Planning, Budgeting and Formulation of Local Policies', Senggigi Lombok, 27-29 January 2005.
- Wargadipura, Nissa (no date) *Perang Serikat Petani Pasundan: Studi Kasus Organisasi Tani Mekarmukti, Sukamukti dan Dangieng, Cilawu Garut*, unpublished manuscript, SPP's Collection.
- Weedon, Chris (1987) *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wertheim, W.F. (1964) *East-West Parallels: Sociological Approaches to Modern Asia*, The Hague: W. van Hoeve.
- Wertheim, W.F. (1979) 'Whose Plot? – New Light on the 1965 Events', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 9(1), pp. 197-215.
- White, Ben (1990) 'Agroindustri, Industrialisasi Pedesaan dan Transformasi Pedesaan', in *Industrialisasi Pedesaan*, Sajogyo and M. Tambunan (ed.), Jakarta: Sekindo Eka Jaya, pp. 199-250.

- White, Ben (1997) 'Agroindustry and Contract Farmers in Upland West Java', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 24(2) (April 1997), pp. 100-136.
- White, Benjamin (2005) 'Between Apologia and Critical Discourse: Agrarian Transitions and Scholarly Engagemnet in Indonesia', in *Social Science and Power in Indonesia*, Vedi R. Hadiz and Daniel Dhakidae (ed.), Singapore: Equinox Publishing, pp. 107-141.
- White, Benjamin and Gunawan Wiradi (ed.) (1984) *Agrarian Reform in Comparative Perspective: Policy Issues and Research Needs*, The Hague and Bogor: Institute of Social Studies and Agro Economic Survey Foundation.
- White, Benjamin and Gunawan Wiradi (1989) 'Agrarian and Non Agrarian Bases of Inequality in Nine Javanese Villages', in Gillian Hart, Andrew Turton and Benjamin White (ed.) *Agrarian Transformations: Local Processes and the State in Southeast Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 266-302.
- White, Benjamin and Gunawan Wiradi (2009) *Reforma Agraria dalam Tinjauan Komparatif: Hasil Lokakarya Kebijakan Reforma Agraria di Salabintana*, Bogor: Brighten Press.
- Wignjosoebroto, Soetandyo (1994) *Dari Hukum Kolonial ke Hukum Nasional: Dinamika Sosial-Politik dalam Perkembangan Hukum di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Wijardjo, Boedhi (1994) 'Insiden Nipah: Pengunjuk Rasa Ditembaki', in *Demokrasi, antara Represi dan Resistensi: Catatan Keadaan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia 1993*, Mulyana W. Kusumah et al. (ed.), Jakarta: YLBHI, pp. 178-183.
- Wijardjo, Boedhi and Herlambang Perdana (2001) *Reklaiming dan Keadulatan Rakyat*, Jakarta: YLBHI and the RACA Institute.
- Wilson, John (1986) 'The Political Economy of Contract Farming', *Review of Radical Political Economy* 18(4), pp. 47-70.
- Windfuhr, Michael and Jennie Jonsen (2005) *Food Sovereignty: Toward Democracy in Localized Food Systems*, Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) Working Paper, Rugby: ITDG Pub.
- Wiraatmadja, Emir (1997) 'Biaya Siluman Hantu Ekonomi Kita', *Eksekutif* edition March 1997, pp. 37-40.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1984a) 'Pola Penguasaan Tanah dan Reforma Agraria', in *Dua Abad Penguasaan Tanah: Pola Penguasaan Tanah Pertanian di Jawa dari Masa ke Masa*, Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro and Gunawan Wiradi (ed.), Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, pp. 286-328.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1984b) 'Piagam Petani, Piagamnya Rakyat Miskin', *Kompas* 23 April 1984.

- Wiradi, Gunawan (1984c) *Aspek Sosial dalam Masalah Pertanahan*, paper presented in Academic Speech and Presentation at Bandung Institute of Technology, Bandung, 27 October 1984.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1985) '25 Tahun UUPA, Penataan Penguasaan Tanah', *Kompas* 24 September 1985.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1986) *Kepenguasaan Tanah dalam Perspektif Transformasi Struktural*, paper presented in the 4<sup>th</sup> National Conference of Sciences, LIPI, Jakarta, September 1986.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1991) *Industri Gula di Jawa dalam Perspektif Model "Inti-Satelit": Kasus di Kabupaten Cirebon, Jawa Barat*, PSP-IPB Working Paper Vol. A-31, Bogor: Pusat Studi Pembangunan IPB.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1996) 'Menguak Kembali 'Jasa' Revolusi Hijau', in *Suara Pembaruan Agraria* No. 2 (1996), pp. 12-15.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1997) 'Pembaruan Agraria: Masalah yang Timbul Tenggelam', in *Reformasi Agraria: Perubahan Politik, Sengketa, dan Agenda Perubahan Agraria di Indonesia*, Dianto Bachriadi, Erpan Faryadi dan Bonnie Setiawan (ed.), Jakarta: Lembaga Penerbit Fakultas Ekonomi UI dan KPA, pp. 39-43.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (1998 [originally 1993]) 'Kebijakan Agraria, Modal Besar dan Kasus-kasus Sengketa Tanah', in *Perlawanan Kaum Tani: Analisis terhadap Gerakan Petani Indonesia Sepanjang Orde Baru*, kumpulan makalah lokakarya antar wilayah advokasi kasus-kasus tanah, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa dan SPSU, pp. 1-14.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (2000) *Reforma Agraria: Perjalanan yang Belum Berakhir*, Yogyakarta: Insist Press, KPA and Pustaka Pelajar.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (2002) *Tantangan Gerakan Pembaruan Agraria Posta Tap MPR No. IX/2001*, paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Meeting of KPA, Garut 23-28 April 2002.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (2008) *Menyambungkan Kembali Keterputusan Sejarah Masalah Agraria Kita*, paper presented in a seminar with topic 'Kebangkitan Landreform demi Mengangkat Harkat Petani dalam Rangka Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria', Jakarta 14 May 2008.
- Wiradi, Gunawan (2009) *Reforma Agraria: Dari Desa ke Agenda Bangsa (Dari Ngandagan, Jawa Tengah sampai Porto Alegre, Brasil)*, Bogor: IPB Press.
- Wolf, Eric (1966) *Peasants*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Wolf, Eric R. (1969) *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Wolford, Wendy (2003) 'Producing Community: The MST and Land Reform Settlements in Brazil', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3(4) (October 2003), pp. 500-520.



- Woodruff, Archibald, James R. Brown and Sein Lin (ed.) (1966) *Proceeding of International Seminar on Land Taxation, Land Tenure, and Land Reform in Developing Countries*, University of Hartford, 17-21 October 1966.
- Woods, Michael (2003) *Deconstructing Rural Protest: The emergence of a New Social Movement*, *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (2003), pp. 309-325.
- Worby, Eric (2001) *A Redivided Land? New Agrarian Conflicts and Question in Zimbabwe*, *Journal of Agrarian Change* Vol. 1 No. 4, pp. 475-509.
- World Bank (1994) *Staff Appraisal Report: Indonesia Land Administration Project*, unpublished World Bank Report No. 12820-IND.
- World Bank (1997a [originally 1981]) 'The Need for Policy Reform', in *the Politics of Economics Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives*, Ian Chalmers and Vedi R. Hadiz (ed.), London: Routledge, pp. 96-98.
- World Bank (1997b [originally 1983]) 'Structural Adjustment for Continued Growth', in *the Politics of Economics Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives*, Ian Chalmers and Vedi R. Hadiz (ed.), London: Routledge, pp. 98-100.
- World Bank, (2004), *Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Loan to the Government of Republic of Indonesia for a Land Management and Policy Development Project*, March 31, 2004, Report No. 28178-IND, Rural Development and Natural Resources Sector Unit East Asia and Pacific Region.
- Wright, Angus and Wendy Wolford (2003) *To Inherit the Earth: the Landless Movement and Struggle for New Brazil*, Oakland: Food First Books.
- Wright, Warren L. (1999) *Final Report on the Review of the Basic Agrarian Law 1960*, unpublished report for the Indonesian Land Administration Project.
- Ya'cub, Achmad (2005) 'Reforma Agraria sebagai Kebijakan Dasar Revitaliasi Pertanian', *Pembaruan Tani* 19, May-June 2005, p. 10.
- Yayasan Arek Surabaya (1995 [originally 1993]) 'Tanah Kami Menjadi Tempat Latihan Perang: Kasus Pembebasan Tanah Blanggung, Situbondo', in *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: 29 Tulisan Pengalaman Advokasi Tanah*, Boy Fidro and Noer Fauzi (ed.), Medan: Yayasan Sintesa, Pos YLBHI Lampung, LPPP and Lekhat, pp. 225-235.
- Yayasan Sintesa and Serikat Petani Sumatera Utara (1998) *Pembangunan Berbuah Sengketa: Kumpulan Kasus-kasus Sengketa Pertanahan Sepanjang Orde Baru*, Medan: Yayasan Sintesa and SPSU.
- Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (1998) *Perampasan Tanah dan Sumber Daya Alam Lain Milik Rakyat oleh Negara Akan Terus Berlanjut*, unpublished report of Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia.

- YLBHI and JARIM (1990) *Laporan Kasus/Case Reports: Cimerak, Badega, Pulau Panggung*, Vol 1/1990, Jakarta: Yayasan LBH-Indonesia and Jaringan Informasi Masyarakat.
- Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (ed.) (1990) *Laporan Keadaan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia 1990*, Jakarta: YLBHI.
- Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang (2007) *Pidato Presiden Republik Indonesia DR. H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Pada Awal Tahun 2007, Jakarta 31 Januari 2007*.
- Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang and Boediono (2009) *Membangun Indonesia yang Sejahtera, Demokratis, dan Berkeadilan: Visi, Misi dan Program*, a document for candidacy on the 2009 Indonesian presidential election, 25 May 2009.
- Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang and Muhammad Jusuf Kalla (2004) *Membangun Indonesia yang Aman, Adil, dan Sejahtera: Visi, Misi, dan Program Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan M. Jusuf Kalla*, a document for candidacy on the 2004 Indonesian presidential election.
- Yulianto, Otto Adi (2005) 'Kaum Marginal dan Legenda Muspani', *Tempo* 22 Mei 2005 ([www.demosindonesia.org/more.php?id=51\\_0\\_6\\_20\\_M14](http://www.demosindonesia.org/more.php?id=51_0_6_20_M14), accessed 7 October 2008).
- Zacharias, Johannes Daniel (1983) *A Lurah and His Disnaty: A Study of Village Officialdom in a Village of North Central Java, Indonesia*, unpublished MA thesis at Department of Politics, Monash University, Australia.
- Zakaria, R. Yando (1998) *Kemajemukan Masyarakat Bangsa Indonesia dan Penegakkan Hak Masyarakat Adat*, KPA Position Paper No. 005/1998, Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria.
- Zakaria, R. Yando (2000) *Abih Tandeh: Masyarakat Desa di Bawah Rejim Orde Baru*, Jakarta: ELSAM.
- Zakir, Ibrahim G. (1980) *Dari Jenggawah ke Siria-ria: Sebuah Peneguhan Sikap Dihadapan Pengadilan Mahasiswa*, Jakarta: Badan Kerjasama Pembelaan Mahasiswa Indonesia (BPK-PMI).
- Zald, Mayer and John D. McCarthy (1987) 'Social Movement Industries: Competition and Conflict amongst SMOs', in *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*, Mayer N. Zald and John McCarthy (ed.), New Brunswick: Transaction, Inc., pp. 161-180.

## 2. Documents

- Agustiana (2003) 'Reforma Agraria sebagai Jalan Pembebasan untuk Kaum Tani dan Pembentukan Dunia yang Lain', testimonial speech of SPP General Secretary at World Social Forum 2003, Porto Alegre, 25 January 2003.

- Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (2004a) 'Prinsip-prinsip Pokok Organisasi AGRA' (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (2004b) 'Tidak ada Demokrasi Tanpa Landreform: Sikap Politik Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (AGRA) terhadap Kondisi Agraria dan Situasi Politik Nasional Terkini', political resolution of the 1<sup>st</sup> National Peasant Conference of AGRA, Wonosobo, 23 February 2004.
- Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (2006) 'Reforma Agraria Sejati: Jalan Utama Menuju Kedaulatan dan Kemakmuran Bangsa Sejati, Pokok-pokok Pandangan Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (AGRA)', Bandung: AGRA (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (1999) 'Catatan Hasil Kongres AMAN, Jakarta 15-22 Maret 1999', Jakarta: Rumah Aman.
- AMAN, General Secretary (2009) 'Ten Years of AMAN', a speech of General Secretary of AMAN commemorating the past decade of the Indigenous Peoples movement in Indonesia and celebrating AMAN's 10th anniversary, 17 March 2009, document downloaded from [www.aman.or.id](http://www.aman.or.id) (26 May 2010).
- Asosiasi Pengusaha Hutan Indonesia (2005) 'Daftar HPH dan HPHTI Anggota APHI per 1 April 2004', document APHI 7 January 2005 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Badan Pelaksana KPA (1996) 'Satu Tahun Badan Pelaksana Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria', a Report of BP-KPA for the 1<sup>st</sup> National Consultative Meeting of KPA, Lembang-Bandung, 2 December 1996.
- Badan Pelaksana KPA (1997) 'KPA di Persimpangan Jalan: Analisa Perjalanan Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria Sepanjang Separuh Masa Kerja Badan Pelaksana, Desember 1995-Oktober 1997', a Report of BP-KPA for the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Consultative Meeting of KPA, Jatinangor, 11-12 October 1997.
- Badan Pelaksana KPA (1998) 'Menghidupkan Agenda Pembaruan Agraria (Agrarian Reform) di Akhir Abad XX: Meneguhkan Cita-cita, Menyebarkan Gagasan, Menggiatkan Kerja, Merajut Prakarsa, Membuka Kemungkinan - Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Badan Pelaksana Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (BP-KPA) Periode 1996-1998', the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Meeting of KPA, Yogyakarta, 5-8 December 1998.
- Badan Pelaksana KPA (2000) 'Melapangkan Jalan Menuju Perwujudan Agenda Agrarian Reform', a Report of BP-KPA for the Meeting of Board of Council and Regional Facilitator of Consortium for Agrarian Reform, 1-4 March 2000.
- Badan Pelaksana KPA (2001) 'Strategi Advokasi untuk Implementasi Tap MPR No. IX/2001 tentang Pembaruan Agrarian dan Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Alam', unpublished KPA document.

- Badan Pelaksana KPA (2002) 'Pembaruan Agraria adalah Amanat Kemerdekaan, Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Badan Pelaksana Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (BP-KPA) Periode 1999-2001', the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Meeting of KPA, Garut 23-28 April 2002.
- Badan Pertanahan Nasional (2006) 'Data Hak Guna Usaha (HGU) Seluruh Indonesia, 1 Juni 2006', unpublished BPN document, produced by the Deputi Bidang Pengendalian Pertanahan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat BPN (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Bengkulu, Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Tingkat I Provinsi (2004) 'Dokumen Berita Acara Perhitungan Suara KPU Provinsi Bengkulu untuk Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD), Lampiran Model DC 1 - DPD', dated 22 April 2004 (copy document collection of PKBH, Bengkulu).
- Bengkulu, Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Propinsi (2000) 'Surat Keputusan Gubernur Bengkulu Nomor 65 Tahun 2000 tentang Pembentukan Tim Pemanfaatan Lahan Eks HGU di Propinsi Bengkulu', 7 April 2000, document of STaB.
- Bengkulu, Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Propinsi (2002) 'Surat Keputusan Bersama Menteri Pertanian RI and Gubernur Bengkulu No. 372 Tahun 2002 and No. 29/Kpts/PL.820/9/2002', 11 September 2002, signed by Governor of Bengkulu and General Director of Food Crops Production and Management on behalf of Ministry Agriculture (document of STaB).
- Ciamis, Pemerintah Kabupaten Tingkat II Ciamis (2005) 'Surat Keputusan Bupati Ciamis No. 522/Kpts.21-HUK/2005 tentang Pemberntukan Tim Terpadu untuk Penyelesaian Masalah Pertanahan di Kabupaten Ciamis', (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Dinas Perkebunan Propinsi Bengkulu (2004) 'Daftar Perkebunan Besar Swasta di Propinsi Bengkulu, Keadaan Laporan s/d 2004', document of the Provincial Plantation Office of Bengkulu (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (1998) 'Deklarasi Pendirian Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia' (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (1999) 'Pandangan dan Sikap Dasar Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia terhadap Pembaruan Agraria Indonesia Dewasa Ini', Medan: FSPI.
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (2002) 'Surat Keputusan Rapat Pengurus Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia No. 003/SK/Rapat Pengurus/FSPI/10/2002 tentang Pemberhentian Keanggotaan Badan Perjuangan Rakyat Penunggu Indonesia (BPRPI) di Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (FSPI)', dated 25 October 2002, signed by Henry Saragih (Chairman of the Executive) and Indra Sago (Chairman of the

- Central Leadership Council) (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (2003) 'Pandangan dan Sikap FSPI tentang Kedaulatan Pangan', a resolution of the 2<sup>nd</sup> FSPI Congress 2007, [www.spi.or.id/?p=329](http://www.spi.or.id/?p=329)
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (2004) 'Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga (AD/ART) & Garis-garis Besar Halauan Organisasi (GBHO) Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (FSPI)', Jakarta: FSPI.
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (2005) 'Pandangan, Sikap dan Seruan Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (FSPI) No. 001/06/FSPI/2005 tentang Peraturan Presiden No. 36/2005 tentang Pengadaan Tanah Bagi Pelaksanaan Pembangunan untuk Kepentingan Umum', signed by Sumaeri (Head of Presidium) and Henry Saragih (General Secretary), dated 19 June 2005 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (2006) 'Laksanakan Pembaruan Agraria Berdasarkan UPA 1960, Tolak Kebijakan Agraria Nasional yang Pro-Pasar', pers release of FSPI on the 46<sup>th</sup> Aniversary of the Peasant Day, 19 September 2006.
- Garut, Pemerintah Kabupaten (2001) 'Invetarisasi Masalah Tanah di Kabupaten Garut', Document of Pemkab Garut (copy document collection of SPP, Garut).
- Gerak Lawan (2006) 'IMF - World Bank Memfasilitasi Negara Melakukan Pelanggaran Kemanusiaan', press release of Gerak Lawan, 12 September 2006 (downloaded from <http://www.pbhi.or.id/artikel56/Press+Release+Gerak+Lawan.html>).
- Indonesian Human Rights Committee for Social Justice (2009) 'Perlunya Mekanisme Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia', IHCS' press release, 21 April 2009 ([www.ihcs.or.id/s2/indek.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=8](http://www.ihcs.or.id/s2/indek.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8), downloaded on 26 May 2010).
- International Monetary Fund (1997) 'Letter of Intent of the government of Indonesia', 31 October 1997 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- International Monetary Fund (1998a) 'Letter of Intent of the government of Indonesia', 15 January 1998 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- International Monetary Fund (1998b) 'Letter of Intent of the government of Indonesia', 10 April 1998 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Koalisi Rakyat Menggugat (2006) 'Notulensi Rapat Persiapan Aksi Koalisi Rakyat Menggugat' (Minutes of preparation meeting for the 'Koalisi

- Rakyat Menggugat' Action), 3 May 2006 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum (2009) 'Jumlah Perolehan Kursi DPR Parpol Peserta Pemilu 2009', available at <http://mediacenter.kpu.go.id>
- Komite Pergerakan Mahasiswa untuk Rakyat Indonesia (1998) 'Seruan Umum KPMURI: Nasionalisasi Harta Milik Koruptor: Langkah Darurat Atasi Krisis', KPMuRI flyer-pamphlet 10 February 1998 (<http://www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/1998/02/14/0113.html>; accessed 10 April 2008).
- Komite Rakyat Tani Indonesia (1998) 'Laksanakan Pembaruan Agraria Sekarang Juga !!!', statement of the Action Committee of Indonesian Peasants (KARTI, Komite Rakyat Tani Indonesia) on Peasant Day 24<sup>th</sup> September 1998 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1995a) 'Executive Summary Lokakarya Nasional Agraria dan Musyawarah Nasional Anggota 1995 Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria', Bandung 7-10 December 1995.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1995b) 'Laporan Narasi Lokakarya Nasional Agraria dan Musyawarah Nasional Anggota 1995 Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria', Bandung 7-10 December 1995.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1997) 'Minutes of Meeting, the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Consultative Meeting of KPA, 10 December 1997', document of KPA (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1998c) 'Ringkasan dan Laporan Narasi Munas II KPA 1998', Yogyakarta, 5-8 Desember 1998.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1998d) 'Daftar Anggota KPA Periode 1995-1998', document of KPA 1998 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1998e) 'Menyikapi Perkembangan Politik Terakhir: Momentum bagi Perwujudan Pembaruan Agraria pun Sudah Hampir Tiba', internal communiqué of KPA No. 02/1998, 15 May 1998 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (1998f) 'Saatnya untuk Mengibarkan Bendera Organisasi Rakyat Tani Setinggi-tingginya sebagai Alat Perjuangan Kaum Tani Merebut Kembali Hak-haknya yang Hilang Selama Ini', internal communiqué of KPA No. 03/1998, 13 June 1998 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2001) 'Strategi Advokasi untuk Implementasi TAP MPR RI No. IX/MPR/2001 tentang Pembaruan Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Alam', unpublished KPA document, dated 31 December 2001 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).

- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2002b) 'Laporan Kegiatan Munas III KPA: Pembaruan Agraria adalah Amanat Kemerdekaan', Agustus 2002.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2003) 'Daftar Anggota KPA, 1997-2003', document of KPA (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2003) 'Daftar Anggota KPA, 2002-2005', document of KPA 2003.
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2005) 'Daftar Anggota KPA, 2005-2008', document of KPA (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2006) 'Mari Rapihkan Barisan untuk Mengawal Program Pembaruan Agraria Nasional!', Internal Communiqué KPA No. 02/December/2006, [www.kpa.or.id](http://www.kpa.or.id) (accessed 03 September 2008).
- Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2009) 'Daftar Anggota KPA, 2009-2012', document of KPA (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- 'Laporan Pelaksanaan Lokakarya Antar Wilayah Kasus-kasus Tanah' 1993, Yayasan Sintesa – Pos YLBHI Lampung – Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (LPPP)– Lembaga Kajian Hak-hak Masyarakat (LEKHAT), Lembang Jawa Barat, 8-11 November 1993 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- 'La Via Campesina (2009) Declaration of Rights of Peasants – Women and Men', adopted by the Via Campesina International Coordinating Committee, Seoul, March 2009 (downloaded from [www.viacampesina.org](http://www.viacampesina.org), 20 May 2010).
- Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Bandung (1998) 'Terms of Reference for the Workshop on Dispute Resolution, Bandung 29-30 May 1998' (copy document of LBH Bandung)
- Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Bandung (2008) 'Data Kasus Reclaiming di Jawa Barat Tahun 1984 – 2008', document of LBH-Bandung (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (1994b) 'Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Proyek Pengembangan SPJB, March-August 1994', unpublished report of Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (LPPP) (copy document collection of the ARC Library Bandung).
- Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (*no date*) 'Ajaran-ajaran Lapangan untuk Kader Petani', brochure on Popular Education, document of LPPP (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).

- Mahkamah Konstitusi (2007) 'Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi No. 21-22/PUU-V/2007', Constitutional Court decision on review of the Law No. 25/2007 concerning investment.
- NGO/CSO Forum for Food Sovereignty (2002) 'Food Sovereignty: A Right For All', political statement of the NGO/CSO Forum for Food Sovereignty, Rome 14 June 2002 (copy document, <http://www.foodfirst.org/progs/global/food/finaldeclaration.html>).
- Paguyuban Masyarakat Ciamis Selatan (2006) 'Himbauan dan Seruan oleh Paguyuban Masyarakat Ciamis Selatan', flyer-pamphlet of Paguyuban Masyarakat Ciamis Selatan, 8 May 2006 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Panitia Konferensi Nasional Reforma Agraria untuk Pemenuhan dan Perlindungan Hak Asasi Petani (2001) 'Laporan Pelaksanaan Konferensi Nasional Reforma Agraria untuk Perlindungan dan Pemenuhan Hak Asasi Petani, Cibubur, 17-20 April 2001' (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Panitia Kongres I FSPI (1999) 'Siaran Pers Kongres I FSPI' (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Pemerintah Republik Indonesia (2007) 'Rancangan Peraturan Pemerintah tentang Reforma Agraria', the 6<sup>th</sup> draft, 14 May 2007 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Perhimpunan Rakyat Pekerja, Komite Pusat (2006) 'Pernyataan Sikap Perhimpunan Rakyat Pekerja (PRP) atas Kekerasan terhadap Petani', Statement of PRP, 15 December 2006 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu (2003) 'Notulensi Rapat Pleno PKBH, 29 March 2003', document of PKBH-Bengkulu (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu (2004) 'PKBH-B Profile', flyer-brochure of Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu (PKBH-B) (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu (2005) 'Tapak Perjalanan PKBHB', 2001-2004, document of PKBH-Bengkulu (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Perum Perhutani, Public Relation (2008) 'Perambahan Hutan di KPH Ciamis', Perum Perhutani's report, available at <http://www.perumperhutani.com> (accessed 10/10/2008).
- 'Piagam Petani Jawa Barat' (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Republic of Indonesia, Government of (1960) 'Act No. 5 of the Year 1960 Concerning Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles', provisional



- English translation, Jakarta: Government of Indonesia (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Reuters (2000) 'Detail of draft Indonesia/IMF letter of intent', obtained by *Reuters* on Monday, 1 May 2000 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Sekretaris Jenderal KPA (2005) 'Menjalankan Gerakan Pembetulan dalam Gerakan Pembaruan Agraria, Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Sekretaris Jenderal Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) untuk Masa Kerja Tahun 2002-2005', the 4<sup>th</sup> National Meeting of Consortium for Agrarian Reform, Prapat of North Sumatera 12-15 September 2005.
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (2007a) 'Tentang Pembaruan Agraria dan Pembangunan Pedesaan', a resolution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of FSPI/SPI 2007, [www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id)
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (2007b) 'Tentang Kesatuan Kaum Tani', a resolution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of FSPI/SPI 2007, [www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id)
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (2007c) 'Tentang Menegakan Kedaulatan Rakyat', a resolution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of FSPI/SPI 2007, [www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id)
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (2007d) 'Tentang Persatuan Nasional Gerakan Rakyat', a resolution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of FSPI/SPI 2007, [www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id)
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (2008a) 'HUT SPI: Petani harus berinisiatif mendorong pembaruan agraria', SPI press release at 22 August 2008 in [www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id) (accessed at 03 September 2008).
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (2008b) 'Indonesia Tidak Laksanakan Pembaruan Agraria: Indonesia Terus Menderita Konflik Agraria dan Rawan Pangan', downloaded from [www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id)
- Serikat Petani Jawa Barat (1994) 'Anggaran Dasar & Anggaran Rumah Tangga Serikat Petani Jawa Barat', Bandung: SPJB.
- Serikat Petani Jawa Barat (1998) 'Kerangka Acuan Kongres Serikat Petani Jawa Barat 1998', document of SPJB (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Serikat Petani Jawa Barat (2002) 'Serikat Petani Jawa Barat Menolak TAP MPR No. IX/MPR-RI/2001 mengenai Pembaruan Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam', press release Serikat Petani Jawa Barat (SPJB), 15 February 2002 (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Serikat Petani Pasundan (2006a) 'Daftar Rekapitulasi Kasus-kasus Tanah Wilayah SPP, 2006', document of SPP (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (2000) 'Letter of STaB Withdrawal from FSPI', dated 5 September 2000 and signed by Zainan Sagiman (General Secretary) and Amri Jausa (Chairperson) (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).

- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (2006a) 'Data Pendudukan Tanah oleh Anggota-anggota STaB sampai dengan Tahun 2006', internal document of Serikat Tani Bengkulu.
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (2006b) 'Data Anggota Kelompok Pasca Rapat Umum II – November 2001, Serikat Tani Bengkulu', internal document of Serikat Tani Bengkulu No. Dok/BKL-001/STAB/2006.
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (2007a) 'Kumpulan Laporan Pelaksanaan Musda STaB, 2006-2007', documents of STaB.
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (2007b) 'Surat STaB No. 0123/BPP-STAB/V/2007 Kepada Pimpinan dan Anggota OR Tani untuk Menyikapi PAPAN', signed by Marhendi (General Secretary of STaB), 15 May 2007 (document of STaB, Bengkulu).
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (*no date* - a) 'Kumpulan Dokumen Kasus TCSSP', document of Serikat Tani Bengkulu (STaB) (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (*no date* - b) 'Peristiwa dan Perjalanan STaB, 1998-2006', document of STaB (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Serikat Tani Bengkulu (*no date* - c) 'Kumpulan Dokumen Kasus-kasus Tanah di Bengkulu', documents of STaB (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).
- Serikat Tani Nasional (1999) 'Serikat Tani Nasional', brochure of STN (copy document collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).

### 3. Clippings (e-News, Newspapers, Magazines and Bulletins)

Angkatan Bersenjata (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

'Ketua HKTI di depan Komisi II DPR: UUPA Belum Dilaksanakan Secara Konsekwen', *Angkatan Bersenjata* 24 November 1977.

Bisnis Indonesia (daily newspaper on business and economy published in Jakarta)

'Presiden: Ada Kelompok Ingin Terapkan Teori Mao Tse Tung', *Bisnis Indonesia* 18 January 1997.

'Hutan Wonosobo Menunggu Kejelasan Status', *Bisnis Indonesia* 29 January 2002.

DetikNews (daily online news, [www.detiknews.com](http://www.detiknews.com))

'Merasa Dijajah Pejabat, Ratusan Petani Tolak Impor Beras', *DetikNews* 17 November 2005.

'200 Petani Jateng Demo Kecam DPR Soal Impor Beras', *DetikNews* 25 January 2006.

'20 Delegasi Infid Dicekal Masuk Singapura', *DetikNews* 13 September 2006.

'Teror SMS & Demo Warnai Pertemuan Aktivis LSM di Batam', *DetikNews* 15 September 2006.

D&R (weekly magazine published in Jakarta)

'Menteri Soni Harsono Keliru', Letters from the Reader, *D&R* edition 13 September 1997.

'Soni Harsono: 'Hanya Keinginan Segelintir Orang'', *D&R* edition 27 September 1997, pp. 92-93.

'Dr. Maria S.W. Sumardjono: "Tergantung Kemauan Politik"', *D&R* edition 27 September 1997, pp. 92-93.

Editor (weekly magazine published in Jakarta)

'Protes Mahasiswa: Sejumlah Aksi Pasca-NKK', *Editor* No. 34/II, 22 April 1989, pp. 22-23.

Inside Indonesia (quarterly magazine published in Australia)

'Student Protest against Kedung Ombo Dam', *Inside Indonesia* No. 18 (April 1989), pp. 12-14.

'Student Movement Take More Steps Forward', *Inside Indonesia* No. 21 (December 1989), pp. 2-3.

'Farmers Take on Golf Course Development', *Inside Indonesia* No. 18 (April 1989), pp. 6-8.

Jawa Pos (daily newspaper published in Surabaya)

'Ribuan Petani Serbu Istana', *Jawa Pos* 18 May 2006.

Kompas (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

'Menata Kembali Pemilikan Tanah', *Kompas* 5 Agustus 1977a.

'UU Pokok Agraria Masih Memadai: Mengapa Seolah-olah Diabaikan?', *Kompas* 5 Agustus 1977b.

- 'Kongres Nasional Ilmu Tanah: UU Pokok Agraria yang Menyangkut Pengawetan Tanah dan Air Perlu Dikaji Kembali', *Kompas* 5 Agustus 1977c.
- 'Landreform Gagal Hampir di Semua Negara Asia', *Kompas* 31 Oktober 1977.
- 'Mendagri Yakin Cara-cara Pemilikan Tanah Sudah Sesuai dengan Peraturan', *Kompas* 4 November 1977.
- 'Prof. Drs. Iman Soetikinjo: Landreform Macet Karena Pelaksananya Justru Pemilik Tanah', *Kompas* 23 November 1977.
- 'Rampung, Penelitian Soal Pertanahan', *Kompas* 7 March 1978.
- 'Presiden Gariskan Penanganan Kasus-kasus Tanah: Opstib bantu langsung Ditjen Agraria untuk tangani-cepat setiap kasus', *Kompas* 5 February 1979.
- 'Ganti Rugi Tanah Solok By Pass Naik', *Kompas* 5 February 1979.
- 'Adam Malik: Struktur Masyarakat Harus Diubah untuk Hilangkan Kemelaratan Struktural', *Kompas* 14 November 1979.
- 'Amir Machmud: Sarjana Ilmu Sosial Diberi Kesempatan Mengkaji Usaha Pemerataan', *Kompas* 15 November 1979.
- 'Emil Salim: Sampai Sekarang Belum Ada Model Pembangunan Sosial', *Kompas* 16 November 1979.
- 'Dr Alfian: Akan Ada Perkembangan dan Perubahan dalam Sistem Masyarakat', *Kompas* 17 November 1979.
- 'Dari Lokakarya Reformasi Agraria: Reorganisasi Struktur Agraria, Kebutuhan yang Mendesak', *Kompas* 1 June 1981.
- 'Kasus Pembubaran Seminar Pertanahan: Dasar Hukum Keharusan Izin Dipertanyakan', *Kompas* 10 September 1994.
- 'Kasus Pembubaran Seminar Tanah: YLBHI Akan Bawa Masalah Politik Perizinan ke Sub Komisi HAM PBB;', *Kompas* September 1994.
- 'Jenggawah yang Terus-menerus Bergejolak', *Kompas* 1 June 1995.
- 'LSM Mengadu ke Komnas HAM', *Kompas* 7 September 1996.
- 'Presiden: Usut Tuntas Pemalsuan Sertifikat Tanah', *Kompas* 3 September 1997.
- 'Jangan Pilih Kasih dalam Penyelesaian Kasus Pertanahan', *Kompas* 4 September 1997.
- 'Masyarakat Harus Waspada Melihat Sertifikat Tanah', *Kompas* 8 September 1997.
- 'Sertifikat Palsu, Mengoyak Perhatian....', *Kompas* 24 September 1997.
- 'Meneg Agraria Soni Harsono: Ada Kelompok yang Ingin Konflik Tanah Terus Ada', *Kompas* 25 September 1997.

- 'Pembatasan Lahan tetap Buka Peluang Penyimpangan', *Kompas* 24 September 1998.
- "Penjarahan' Lahan, Potret Jawa Timur', *Kompas* 27 September 1998.
- 'Aksi Buruh vs Isu Investor Hengkang', *Kompas* 24 June 2001.
- 'Serikat Tani Bengkulu (STAB) Merelokasi Keluarga Transmigran Terlantar', *Kompas* 17 January 2005.
- Ketika Rakyat Mentrasmigrasikan Rakyat', *Kompas* 3 February 2005.
- 'Istana Presiden Didemo Petani ', *Kompas Cyber Media* 17 May 2006, 10:59.
- 'Petani Tagih Janji SBY', *Kompas* 18 May 2006.
- 'Kedaulatan RI 'dijual' kepada Singapura', *Kompas* 9 September 2006.
- '8,15 Juta Lahan akan Dibagikan, Tahap Awal 5.000 Keluarga Miskin akan Diberi Lahan Bersertifikat', *Kompas* 13 Desember 2006.
- 'Intervensi Asing di Sektor Energi Terkuak', *Kompas* 5 September 2008.
- 'Lahan PTPN Diduduki', *Kompas* 11 January 2010.

*Koran Tempo* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

- 'Tanah dan Hutan di Dataran Tinggi Dieng Dijarah', *Koran Tempo* 20 January 2002.

*Merdeka* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

- 'Laksanakan Landreform Secepatnya', *Merdeka* 17 November 1977.
- 'Untuk Atasi Kelaparan di Karawang Perlu 'Landreform"', *Merdeka* 19 November 1977.

*Media Indonesia* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

- 'Terdapat 65 LSM Berusaha Ganti UU Agraria', *Media Indonesia* 29 Agustus 1996.
- 'Presiden: Usut Pemalsuan Sertifikat Tanah', *Media Indonesia* 3 September 1997.
- 'BPN Jaksel menyita 587 Sertifikat Tanah Palsu, Terbanyak di Kecamatan Pesangrahan', *Media Indonesia* 6 September 1997.
- 'KPA Tampik Tudingan Pak Menteri', *Media Indonesia* 7 September 1997.
- 'Ribuan Buruh Desak Presiden Batalkan Revisi UU 13/2003', *Media Indonesia* 8 March 2006.
- '9,25 juta Hektar Tanah Gratis untuk Rakyat Miskin', *Media Indonesia* 22 May 2007.

'Pertanahan untuk Rakyat! Bukan Omong Kosong', a political advertisement of DPP Jaring Nusantara, *Media Indonesia* 24 June 2009.

*Pembaruan Tani* (monthly bulletin of Indonesian Federation of Peasant Unions, FSPI)

'Tsunami Special edition', *Pembaruan Tani* 17, January-February 2005.

'Kongres Ke-3 Sepkuba, Struktur Kepengurusan Dirubah', *Pembaruan Tani* 17, July-Agustus 2005, p. 16.

'Impor Beras Menikam dari Belakang', 'Impor Beras: Ketidakbijakan Pemerintah', and 'Sudah Jatuh Tertimpa Beras Impor Pula', *Pembaruan Tani* 22, November-December 2005, p. 4-8.

'Perlawanan Petani pada Pertemuan WTO Hong Kong', *Suplement Pembaruan Tani* 22, November-December 2005, pp. I-VIII.

'SPJT Membangun Perjuangan Bersama', *Pembaruan Tani* 26, April 2006, p.12.

'Ribuan Petani Turun ke Jalan', 'FSPI Menuntut Pembaruan Agraria', and 'Perwakilan Petani Diterima Istana', *Pembaruan Tani* 28, June 2006, pp. 4-5.

'Deklarasi: Beras adalah Kehidupan, Kebudayaan dan Kedaulatan – Konferensi Rakyat Asia Pasifik untuk Beras dan Kedaulatan Pangan', *Pembaruan Tani* 28, June 2006, pp. 12-13.

'SPKS Gelar Kongres Ke-2', *Pembaruan Tani* 29, July 2006, p. 16.

'Bank Dunia dan IMF Memiskinkan Rakyat'; 'Jepang, Inggris dan Jerman Harus Mendukung Rakyat Miskin'; 'Pemerintah Singapura Jangan Mau Jadi Alat Kolonial'; 'Gerak Lawan: Hentikan Penjajahan Baru!'; 'Bank Dunia dan IMF Harus Dibubarkan'; 'Pergelaran Seni Budaya Melawan Renternir Internasional'; 'Kedutaan Singapura Didemo Dua Hari Berturut-turut'; 'Pemerintah Singapura Mengusir 2 Anggota FSPI'; 'Giliran Depkeu, Istana dan Kantor Bank Dunia Didemo', *Pembaruan Tani* 31, September 2006, pp. 8-10.

'FSPI: Impor Beras Hamburkan Uang Negara' and 'Massa FSPI Tuntut Bulog Hentikan Impor Beras', *Pembaruan Tani* 31, September 2006, p. 12.

'Peringatan Hari Tani Nasional: Tolak Impor Beras, Laksanakan Reforma Agraria', *Pembaruan Tani* 32, October 2006, pp. 4-5.

'Hari Tani: Petani NTB Tuntut Reforma Agraria Sesuai UUPA 1960', *Pembaruan Tani* 32, October 2006, p. 13.

'Peringatan Hari Tani Nasional ke-46: Laksanakan Pembaruan Agraria berdasarkan UUPA 1960, Tolak Kebijakan Agrarian Nasional yang Pro-Pasar', *Pembaruan Tani* 32, October 2006, p. 15.

- 'SP Jateng Deklarasi Serikat Petani Kudus', *Pembaruan Tani* 36, February 2007, p. 16.
- 'Pejuang Reforma Agraria itu Telah Pergi', *Pembaruan Tani* 37, March 2007, p. 15.
- 'Catatan dari Ketua Umum: Dari Federatif ke Kesatuan', *Pembaruan Tani* 47, January 2008, p. 3.
- 'Kongres III FSPI, Ribuan Petani Hadiri Pembukaan Kongres', *Pembaruan Tani* 47, January 2008, p. 4-5.
- 'Undang-undang Penanaman Modal Digugat ke Mahkamah Konstitusi', *Pembaruan Tani* 41, July 2007, p. 11

*Pikiran Rakyat* (daily newspaper published in Bandung)

- 'Ribuan Petani Demo di Istana Presiden', *Pikiran Rakyat* 18 May 2006.
- 'Rakyat Miskin Bisa Punya Tanah', *Pikiran Rakyat* 23 May 2007.
- 'Setelah Operasi Hutan Lestari, Lalu Apa?', *Pikiran Rakyat* 30 June 2008.
- "Kiamat Kecil" di Perkebunan', *Pikiran Rakyat* 1 July 2008.

*Radar Bandung* (daily newspaper published in Bandung)

- 'Agustiana', *Radar Bandung* 23 June 2008.

*Resonance* (quarterly bulletin of Frère des Hommes of France published in Paris)

- 'Farmers' Organisations Mobilising to Take Back the Land', *Resonance* No 12, March 2007, Frère des Hommes of France.

*Republika* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

- 'Kepala BPN: PAPP Jalan Terus Meski Dikritik 65 LSM', *Republika* 30 Agustus 1996.
- 'YLBHI Sesalkan Sinisme Kepala BPN Terhadap KPA', *Republika* 2 September 1996.
- 'YLBHI Sesalkan Sinisme Kepala BPN terhadap KPA', *Republika* 12 September 1996.
- 'LBH Palembang: Perlu Diadakan Pembaruan Hukum Agraria', *Republika* 25 September 1997.
- 'Timbang, Distribusi Pemilikan Tanah', *Republika* 6 September 1997.
- 'Meneg Agraria: Pelaksanaan UUPA Abaikan Rakyat Kecil – Petani Demo Tuntut Reformasi Agraria', *Republika* 25 September 1998.

'Petani Tuntut Reforma Agraria', *Republika* 18 May 2006.

'Para Gubernur Tolak Rencana Impor Beras', *Republika* 6 September 2006.

'Rakyat Miskin Akan Dapat Lahan', *Republika* 23 May 2007.

*Sorana Tani* (monthly SPP's internal bulletin)

'Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Koperasi', *Sorana Tani* June 2007.

*Setiakawan* (an English monthly magazine published by the NGOs Network for Forest Conservation in Indonesia)

'A Legacy of Japanese Fascism in Jatiwangi, West Java', *Setiakawan* No. 7, January- June 1992, pp. 78-79.

'Koto Panjang Dam: Progress to Justice', *Setiakawan* No. 7, January – June 1992, pp. 86-88.

*Sinar Harapan* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

'UU Agraria dan Kedudukan Tanah-tanah Adat di Indonesia', *Sinar Harapan* 3 Oktober 1977.

'Simposium UUPA dan Kedudukan Tanah-tanah Adat: Dikonstatir Manipulasi dalam Penyediaan Tanah untuk Bangunan', *Sinar Harapan* 17 Oktober 1977.

'Hukum Acara dan Kasus Siria-ria', *Sinar Harapan* 3 August 1979.

'Kasus Tanah Kalibakar, Kesalahan BPN', *Sinar Harapan* 22 November 2001.

*Sinar Indonesia Baru* (daily newspaper published in Medan)

'David Siregar dan Lumban Raja Diterima Pangkoptik: Pengacara Harus Kembalikan Uang Penduduk Siria-ria', *Sinar Indonesia Baru* 8 August 1979.

*Suara Karya* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

'Pelaksanaan UU Landreform Masih Tanda Tanya', *Suara Karya* 15 November 1977.

'Ketua FKP Sugiharto: Harus Ada Kemauan Politik untuk Laksanakan Landreform dan UUPA', *Suara Karya* 10 November 1977.

*Suara Pembaruan* (daily newspaper published in Jakarta)

'Mulyana Cs akan Gugat YLBHI', *Suara Pembaruan* 7 May 1996.



- 'LSM Sangkal Keras Tudingan Meneg Agraria/Kepala BPN', *Suara Pembaruan* 6 September 1997.
- 'Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria Merasa 'Ditembak' Soni Harsono', *Suara Pembaruan* 3 Oktober 1997.
- 'Pembakaran Buku dan Marxisme: 'Bonfire of Liberties' di Era Reformasi' and 'Pembakaran Buku dan Marxisme: Bisnis Buku 'Kiri' dan Perlawanan', *Suara Pembaruan* 22 May 2001.
- 'Pemerintahan Baru Harus Implementasikan UUPA', *Suara Pembaruan* 24 September 2004.
- 'Aliansi Buruh Tolak Revisi UU Ketenagakerjaan', *Suara Pembaruan* 9 March 2006.
- '45 Persen Hutan Bengkulu Rusak', *Suara Pembaruan* 23 February 2008.
- '3.000 Ha Hutan Lindung Dibuka untuk Pertambangan', *Suara Pembaruan* 1 March 2008.

Surya (daily newspaper published in Surabaya)

- 'Gus Dur: PTP nyolong tanah rakyat!', *Surya* 24 May 2000.

Tadjuk (weekly newspaper published in Tasikmalaya)

- 'Ciamis, Kabupaten Pertama Selesaikan Sengketa Tanah: 368 Petani SPP Dapat Sertifikat', *Tadjuk* 18-24 February 2008.

Tempo (weekly magazine published in Jakarta)

- 'Dan Kerawang Pun Bergoyang', *Tempo* No. 32/VII, 8 October 1977, pp. 55-56.
- 'Sudah Lapar, Dipecat', *Tempo* No. 35/VII, 29 October 1977, pp. 27-28.
- 'Kenapa Rakyat Marah di Jenggawah', *Tempo* No. 24/IX, 11 August 1979, pp. 8-9.
- 'Bila 'Mia' Mengamuk', *Tempo* No. 24/IX, 11 August 1979, pp. 10-11.
- 'Sadar Menggusur, Tanpa Kecuali', *Tempo* No. 27/IX, 1 September 1979, pp 17-18.
- 'Konflik Kuno, Tapi Terus', *Tempo* No. 27/IX, 1 September 1979, pp. 18-19.
- 'Mengapa Terjadi di Ujung Pandang?', *Tempo* 36/17, 7 November 1987, p. 26.
- 'Setelah Protes Anti Helm', *Tempo* 37/17, 14 November 1987, p. 34.
- 'Dicari: Protes Mahasiswa yang Tidak Semrawut', *Tempo* No. 7/XVIII, 15 April 1989, p. 26.
- 'Aksi Mahasiswa: Dengan Isu Lokal, Membentuk Opini Nasional', *Tempo* No. 8/XVIII, 22 April 1989, pp. 22-27.

- 'Awalnya dari Yogya', *Tempo* No. 8/XVIII, 22 April 1989, pp. 26-27.
- 'Bukan Cuma Menghitung Bintang', *Tempo* No. 8/XVIII, 22 April 1989, pp. 28-30.
- 'Tanah dan Kaki-kaki Besar', *Tempo* No. 13/XXI, 25 May 1991, p. 85
- 'Kajang, Perlawanan Tak Berujung', *Tempo* No. 23/XXXII, 04-10 August 2003, pp. 36-37.

*Tempo Interaktif* (daily online news, [www.tempointeraktif.com](http://www.tempointeraktif.com), and paper edition)

- 'Penjarahan: Ya Kelaparan, Ya Dendam', 'Penduduk Tapos Diancam Dicap PKI', 'Warga Cibodas Dikhianati', *Tempo Interaktif* 21/III, 25 July 1998, paper edition, pp. 208-214.
- 'Redistribusi Tanah Petani', *Tempo Interaktif* 16/XXVII, 19 January 1999.
- 'Ketua HKTI: Hentikan Impor Beras!', *Tempo Interaktif* 26 Agustus 2002.
- 'Petani Protes Impor Beras', *Tempo Interaktif* 17 November 2005.
- 'HKTI Tuding Menteri Perdagangan Berbohong Soal Impor Beras', *Tempo Interaktif* 17 November 2005.
- 'Serikat Pekerja Tetap Tolak Revisi UU Ketenagakerjaan', *Tempo Interaktif* 17 March 2006.
- 'Pemerintah Bagikan 9 Juta Hektar Tanah', *Tempo Interaktif* 28 September 2006.

*Warta FKKM* (FKKM's monthly online bulletin, [www.fkkm.org/Warta](http://www.fkkm.org/Warta))

- 'Reforma Agraria ala Kehutanan', *Warta FKKM* edition November 2006 (available at <http://www.fkkm.org/Warta/index2.php>), published by Forum Komunikasi Kehutanan Masyarakat, Bogor.

#### 4. Oral History Materials

- '*Berjuang untuk Tanah, Penghidupan, dan Kebebasan*' (Struggle for Land, Livelihood, and Freedom) (2003), set recorded voices of the peasants on West Java peasant struggle oral history (interviewed by Dianto Bachriadi and Hilma Safitri, 28 tapes), the 2002-2003 CLARA Oral History Research Project of the Oppressed People in Indonesia, collection of the ARC Library, Bandung.
- '*Ikhlas Mengamalkan Ilmu: Perjalanan Hidup Gunawan Wiradi*', an interview with Gunawan Wiradi by Ratna Saptari and Noer Fauzi, a vcd of digital voice recorded (*no date*), collection of the ARC Library, Bandung.

## 5. Documentary Films

Pergerakan (2008) 'Koalisi Rakyat Menggugat', in *Menuju Daulat Politik Rakyat*, a selection of documentary films produced by PERGERAKAN, Bandung.

Serikat Tani Bengkulu (2005) *Sare: Kisah Suram Petani dalam Mempertahankan Hak Hidupnya*, a documentary film of land struggle in Bengkulu produced by STaB, KBH-B and KOPI in collaboration with PERGERAKAN and YSIK.

## 6. Databases

Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (2002c) *Database Konflik Agraria di Indonesia, 1970-2001*, unpublished database of KPA (electronic file copy collection of the ARC Library, Bandung).

'*The 2003 Agricultural Census Results*', unpublished electronic file of the 2003 Agricultural Census data on land holding structure, accessed directly from the Office of Indonesian Statistical Central Bureau (BPS, *Biro Pusat Statistik*), 2007.

## 7. Websites

<http://blogs.usyd.edu.au/maxlaneintlusia/>

<http://depnakertrans.go.id>

<http://escholarship.org/uc/>

<http://fprsatumei.wordpress.com/>

<http://ihcs.or.id/>

<http://kaum-tani.blogspot.com/>

<http://mediacenter.kpu.go.id>

<http://spppasundan.multiply.com/tag/kebun>

<http://worldwildlife.org/bsp/kemala>

[www.akatiga.org](http://www.akatiga.org)

[www.aman.or.id](http://www.aman.or.id)

[www.api.or.id](http://www.api.or.id)

[www.dephut.go.id/informasi/luas\\_perum.htm](http://www.dephut.go.id/informasi/luas_perum.htm)

[www.berita.liputan6.com](http://www.berita.liputan6.com)

[www.binadesa.or.id](http://www.binadesa.or.id)

[www.brighten.co.id](http://www.brighten.co.id)

[www.fkkm.org/warta](http://www.fkkm.org/warta)

[www.foodfirst.org](http://www.foodfirst.org)

[www.hivos.nl/english/community/partner/10005933](http://www.hivos.nl/english/community/partner/10005933)

[www.hkti.or.id](http://www.hkti.or.id) and [www.hkti.blogspot.com](http://www.hkti.blogspot.com)

[www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)

[www.irri.org/science/ricestat](http://www.irri.org/science/ricestat)

[www.kpa.or.id](http://www.kpa.or.id)

[www.krkp.org](http://www.krkp.org)

[www.landcoalition.org](http://www.landcoalition.org)

[www.library.ohio.edu/indopubs](http://www.library.ohio.edu/indopubs)

[www.demosindonesia.org](http://www.demosindonesia.org)

[www.pbhi.or.id](http://www.pbhi.or.id)

[www.sintesa.or.id](http://www.sintesa.or.id)

[www.spi.or.id](http://www.spi.or.id)

[www.tempo-interaktif.com](http://www.tempo-interaktif.com)

[www.viacampesina.org](http://www.viacampesina.org)