



**BETWEEN DISCOURSE AND ACTION:
Agrarian Reform and Rural Social Movements
in Indonesia post-1965**

By

Dianto Bachriadi

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor Philosophy

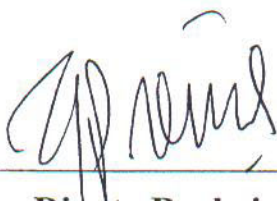
**The Flinders Asia Centre
School of International Studies
Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences
The Flinders University, Adelaide, South Australia**

August 2010

This work is dedicated to *papi* and *mami* – my parents, a couple from the past who taught me how to fight to live and to take on the challenges; all the peasants and working-class people who taught me about the struggle for the rights, justice and equality of the people, and the necessity to defend it; and my son, Ariakaffa, who taught me about changes and the future, as well as the need to be ready to deal with it all.

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.



Dianto Bachriadi

10 August 2010

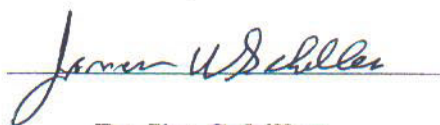
SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

We believe that this thesis is properly presented, conforms to the specifications for the thesis and is sufficient standard to be, *prima facie*, worthy of examination.



Associate Professor Anton Lucas

10 August 2010



Dr Jim Schiller

10 August 2010

**Between Discourse and Action:
Agrarian Reform and Rural Social Movements
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Glossary and Abbreviation

AAK	Aliansi Anti Komunis (Anti Communist Alliance)
ABM	Aliansi Buruh Menggugat (Alliance for Worker's Demands)
<i>Adat</i>	Custom, customary law
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AFA	Asian Farmers Association
AGRA	Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (Alliance of Agrarian Reform Movements)
<i>Agrarisch Wet</i>	Land Law [Dutch]
AJI	Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (Alliance of Independent Journalists)
<i>Aksi sepihak</i>	Unilateral action
<i>aliran</i>	political stream
AMA Kalbar	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Kalimantan Barat (Alliance of Indigenous People of West Kalimantan)
AMAN	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago)
AMPBT	Aliansi Mahasiswa Peduli Buruh-Tani (Alliance of Concerned Students for Workers and Peasants)
ANPA	All Nepalese Peasant Association
API	Aliansi Petani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasant's Alliance)
ARC	Agrarian Resource Center
ASIA-DHRA	Asian Network for Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas
ASOCODE	Asociación de Organizaciones Campesinas Centroamericanas para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo (a coalition of the Central American peasants)
ASPPUK	Asosiasi Perempuan untuk Pengembangan Usaha Kecil (Women's Association for Small Enterprise Development)
Babinsa	Bintara Pembina Desa (Non-commissioned Officer/Village Supervisors)
<i>Badan Pelaksana</i>	Executive Body

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

Bakorstanas	Badan Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas Nasional (Coordinating Body to Assist in Maintaining National Security)
BAL	Basic Agrarian Law
<i>Bandar</i>	middleman
Bappenas	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Planning Agency)
BAPPIT	Badan Pusat Penguasa Perusahaan-perusahaan Industri dan Tambang (Central Administrative Committee of Industrial and Mining Enterprises)
BAR	Barisan Advokasi Rakyat (Committee for People's Advocacy)
<i>Berjiwa gotong royong</i>	spirit of mutual work
BFL	Basic Forestry Law
<i>Biaya siluman</i>	Invisible cost, unofficial fees
Bimas	Bimbingan Massal (Mass Extension)
BKF	Bangladesh Krishok Federation
BKMB	Badan Koordinasi Mahasiswa Bandung (Bandung Student Coordination Committee)
BKPM	Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal (Investment Coordination Board)
BKPMRI	Badan Komunikasi Pemuda Remaja Masjid Indonesia (Indonesian Mosque Youth Communication Bureau)
BKU	Bharatiya Kisan Union
BPD	Badan Perwakilan Desa (Village Representative Council)
BPN	Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Agency)
BPRP	Badan Perjuangan Rakyat Penunggu (Struggle Front of Penunggu People)
BPRPI	Badan Perjuangan Rakyat Penunggu Indonesia (Struggle Front of Penunggu People of Indonesia)
BPS	Badan/Biro Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistic)
BSP	Biodiversity Support Program
BTI	Barisan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasant Front)
BUD	Badan Urusan Dagang (Committee for Trade Matters)
BULOG	Badan Urusan Logistik (Logistic Management Board)
CAPS	Center for Agriculture Policy Studies
CBO	Community-based Organization

CCFD	Comite Catholique contra la Faim et pour le Developpement
CEDAW	Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CNDS	Center for National Democratic Studies
CRS	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSSP	Civil Society Support and Strengthening Program
<i>Cukong</i>	local businessman who receives protection and privileges from a powerful patron
<i>Cultuurstelsel</i>	Cultivation system [Dutch]
Depkumham	Departemen Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia (Department of Legal Affairs and Human Rights)
<i>Desa mengepung kota</i>	Encircling the cities from countryside, Mao's guerrilla war strategy
DI	Daerah Istimewa (Special Administrative Region)
Disbunprop	Dinas Perkebunan Propinsi (Provincial Plantation Authority)
<i>Ditunggangi</i>	'exploited'
DKI	Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota (Special Administrative Region of the Capital City)
DM	Dewan Mahasiswa (Student Council of the University of Indonesia)
<i>Domein verklaring</i>	State Land Declaration [Dutch]
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representatives Assembly)
DPR RI	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (National Parliament)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (District or Provincial Assembly)
<i>Eceng gondok</i>	Kind of water hyacinth, <i>eichornia crassipes</i> , with swollen petioles that float on water and has lavender flowers
<i>Eigendom</i>	Ownership Rights [Dutch]
Electoral politicians	Politicians who actually have an interest in approaching people to get voter support
ELSAM	Lembaga Studi Hak Azasi Manusia (Institute of Human Rights Studies)
ELSPAT	Lembaga Studi Pedesaan dan Pertanian Terpadu (Institute for Integrated Rural and Agricultural Studies)
<i>Erfpacht</i>	Commercial use land rights [Dutch]
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

Farmaci	Forum Aspirasi Rakyat dan Mahasiswa Ciamis (Ciamis Students' Forum)
FDPY	Forum Diskusi Perempuan Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta's Women Discussion Forum)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIAN	Foodfirst Information and Action Network
FKMY	Forum Komunikasi Mahasiswa Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Student Communication Forum)
FMN	Front Mahasiswa Nasional (National Student Front)
FoE-I	Friends of the Earth International
Foker LSM Papua	Forum Kerjasama LSM Papua (Papuan NGOs Cooperation Forum)
Forda Jawa Barat	Forum Daerah Jawa Barat (West Java Local Forum)
Forum LSM DI Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta NGO Forum
FPB	Forum Pemuda Betawi (Betawi Youth Forum)
FPMR	Forum Pemuda dan Mahasiswa untuk Rakyat (People's Youth and Student Forum)
FPPI	Front Perjuangan Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesian Youth Struggle Front)
FPPMG	Forum Pemuda, Pelajar, dan Mahasiswa Garut (Garut Youth and Student Forum)
Front Merah Putih	Red and White Front
FSBKU	Federasi Serikat Buruh Karya Utama (Karya Utama Worker's Union)
FSPI	Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (Indonesian Federation of Peasant Unions)
FSPJT	Federasi Serikat Petani Jawa Timur (Federation of East Java Peasant's Union)
FWI/GWF	Forest Watch Indonesia/Global Forest Watch
<i>ganti garap</i>	replacement of cultivator
GBHN	Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara (Broad Outlines of State Policy)
GERAK LAWAN	Gerakan Rakyat Melawan Neokolonialisme (People's Movement against Neo-colonialism)
<i>Gerakan Pembetulan</i>	Corrective move
GERINDRA	Gerakan Indonesia Raya (the Greater Indonesia Movement)
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
GMNI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Student Movement)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

Golkar	Golongan Karya (Functional Group)
<i>Gotong-royong</i>	Working together in community
GPI	Gerakan Pemuda Islam (Islamic Youth Movement)
GRA-Sumut	Gerakan Reforma Agraria Sumatera Utara (Agrarian Reform Movement of North Sumatera)
GRM	Gerakan Rakyat Marhaen (Mahaenist People's Movement)
GRO	Grassroots Organizations
GTI	Gerakan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasant Movement)
<i>Hak asal usul</i>	Original rights
<i>Hak milik</i>	Ownership rights
<i>Hak Ulayat</i>	Customary proprietary rights of communal property
Hasatil	Hametin Sustainibelidade Agrikultor Timor-Leste (Strengthen Sustainable Agriculture in Timor Leste)
HGU	Hak Guna Usaha (Commercial Use Rights)
HIPIS	Himpunan Pengembangan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial (Association for the Development of Social Sciences)
HIVOS	Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelings-Samenwerking
HKTI	Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Harmonious Farmers Association)
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Islamic Student's Association)
HMN	Hak Menguasai Negara (State Rights of Control)
HNSI	Himpunan Nelayan Seluruh Indonesia (All Indonesian Association of Fisherman)
HPHTI	Hak Pengusahaan Hutan Tanaman Industri (Forestry Estate Concession Rights)
HPMB	Himpunan Pedagang Mandiri Bengkulu (Association of Bengkulu Independent Traders)
HPMJT	Himpunan Petani Mandiri Jawa Tengah (Central Java Independent Peasant's Association)
HPMP	Himpunan Pedagang Mandiri Bengkulu (Association of Bengkulu Independent Traders)
HPNP	Himpunan Petani dan Nelayan Pakidulan (<i>Pakidulan</i> Peasant and Fisherfolk's Association)
HUMA	Perkumpulan untuk Hukum dan Masyarakat (Association for Law and Society)
<i>Hutan lindung</i>	conservation forest

HYV	High Yielding Varieties
IADI Program	Initiatives for Advocacy Development Program in Indonesia
IAIN-SGD	Institute Agama Islam Negeri – Sunan Gunung Djati (Sunan Gunung Djati Islamic Institute)
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICW	Indonesian Corruption Watch
IDRD	Institute of Dayakology Research and Development
IFAD	International Food and Agricultural Development
IFAP	International Federation of Agricultural Producers
IGJ	Institute for Global Justice
IHCSJ	Indonesian Human Rights Committee for Social Justice
IISH	International Institute of Social History
ILAP	Indonesian Land Administration Project
ILC	International Land Coalition
ILS	International Labour Studies
INDECO	Integrated Development Consultant
InDHRRA	Indonesian Secretariat for Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas
<i>Indonesia Menggugat</i>	Indonesia Accuses
INFID	International NGOs Forum on Indonesian Development
INFIGHT	Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights
INMAS	Intensifikasi Massal (Mass Intensification)
INPI-Pact	Indonesian NGO Partnership Initiatives
INSAN	Informasi dan Studi Hak-hak Asasi Manusia (Centre for Human Rights Information and Studies)
INSIST	Institute for Social Transformation
IPK	Ijin Pemanfaatan Kayu (Logging Permit)
IPPHT	Ikatan Petani untuk Pemberantasan Hama Terpadu (Farmers Association for Integrated Pest Control)
IRI	Index of Rural Instability
IRRI	International Rice Research Institute
Jabodetabek	Jakarta-Bogor-Depok-Tangerang-Bekasi
JAKAD	Jaringan Advokasi Rakyat (Advocacy Network for the People)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

Jakker	Jaringan Kerja Kesenian Rakyat (Network of poor People's Arts)
<i>Jaluran</i> land	land allocated in between rows of tobacco plants for food crops (<i>jaluran</i> strip cultivation)
JAPHAMA	Jaringan Pembela Hak-hak Masyarakat Adat (Network of the Defenders of Indigenous People's Rights)
JARIM	Jaringan Informasi Masyarakat (Network for Community Information)
JARNOP-PP	Jaringan Organisasi Non Pemerintah Pendamping Petani (Pro Farmers NGO Network)
JATAM	Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (Network for Mining Advocacy)
JKPP	Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif (Indonesian Community Mapping Network)
KAAPLAG	Kesatuan Aksi Anti Pembangunan Lapangan Golf (Action Group Againsts Golf Course Development)
<i>Kalangan tengah</i>	middle class
KAM LAKSI 31	Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Laksi 31 (Laksi 31 Student Action Front)
KAMAGA	Komite Aksi Mahasiswa Garut (Garut Student Action Committee)
Kanwil Pertanahan	Kantor Wilayah Pertanahan (Provincial Land Agency)
KARSA	Lingkar Belajar untuk Pembaruan Agraria dan Pedesaan (Learning Circle for Agrarian Reform and Rural Reconstruction)
KARTI	Komite Aksi Rakyat Tani Indonesia (Action Committee of Indonesia Peasants)
KAU	Koalisi Anti Utang (Anti Debt Coalition)
KAU-Unpad	Keluarga Aktivis Universitas Padjadjaran (Activist Group of Padjadjaran University)
KBH-B	Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu (Bengkulu Legal Aid Office)
Keppres	Keputusan Presiden (Presidential Decree)
KIRAB	Komite Solidaritas untuk Rakyat Blangguan (Solidarity Committee for the People of Blangguan)
KKPI	Kelompok Kebangkitan Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Awakening Group)
KMAI	Komite Mahasiswa Anti Imperialisme (Student Committee Against Imperialism)
KMG	Komite Mahasiswa Garut (Garut Students' Committee)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

KMP	Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (Peasant Movement of the Philippines)
KNPI	Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (National Committee of Indonesian Youth)
KNUPKA	Komite Nasional untuk Penyelesaian Konflik Agraria (National Committee for Agrarian Conflict Resolution)
KOMNAS – HAM	Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (National Human Rights Commission)
KON	Komisi Ombudsman Nasional (National Ombudsman Commission)
KONPORT	Konsorsium Pendukung Gerakan Organisasi Tani (Consortium to Support Peasant Movement Organizations)
Kopkamtib	Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban (Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order)
Kowani	Korps Wanita Indonesia (Indonesia Women Corps)
KP	Kantor Pertanahan (District Land Office)
KPA	Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (Consortium for Agrarian Reform)
KPH	Kesatuan Pemangku Hutan (Forest Supervisory Office)
KPI	Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (Coalition of Indonesian Women)
KPMuRI	Komite Pergerakan Mahasiswa untuk Rakyat Indonesia (Student Movement Committee for Indonesian People)
KPSB	Kelompok Perempuan untuk Solidaritas Badega (Women’s Solidarity Group for Badega)
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission)
KPUD	Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah (Regional General Election Commission)
<i>Krismon</i>	<i>‘Krisis moneter’</i> (Monetary Crisis)
KRKP	Komite Rakyat untuk Kedaulatan Pangan (People’s Committee for Food Sovereignty)
KRM	Koalisi Rakyat Menggugat (Coalition for the People’s Demands)
KRRS	Karnatka Rajya Raitha Sangha (Karnataka State Farmers’ Association)
KSBA	Koalisi Solidaritas Kemanusiaan Bencana Alam (Coalition of Humanitarian Solidarity for Natural Disasters)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

KSKP	Kelompok Kerja Studi Perkotaan (Urban Studies Working Group)
KSKPKO	Komite Solidaritas untuk Korban Pembangunan Kedung Ombo (Solidarity Committee for the Victims of Kedung Ombo Dam Development)
KSKPLGC	Komite Solidaritas untuk Korban Pembangunan Lapangan Golf Cimacan (Solidarity Committee for the Victims of Cimacan Golf Course Development)
KSMPSK	Komite Solidaritas Mahasiswa dan Pemuda untuk Sumber Klampok (Student and Youth Solidarity Committee for Sumber Klampok)
KSMuRB	Komite Solidaritas Mahasiswa untuk Rakyat Badega (Student Solidarity Committee for the People of Badega)
KSPA	Kelompok Studi Pembaruan Agraria (Agrarian Reform Study Group)
KSPPM	Kelompok Studi Prakarsa dan Pengembangan Masyarakat (Study Group for People's Initiatives and Community Development)
KTNA	Kontak Tani dan Nelayan Andalan (Contact of Reliable Farmers and Fishermen)
KUB	Kelompok Usaha Bersama (Collective Enterprise Units)
KUD	Koperasi Unit Desa (Village Cooperative Unit)
Kudatuli	Kerusuhan Dua Puluh Tujuh Juli (27 th of July incident)
KWPA	Korean Women Peasants' Association
<i>Landrente</i>	Land Tax [Dutch]
<i>Landsdomein</i>	Crown Land [Dutch]
LAP	Land Administration Project
LAPERA	Lembaga Pembela Rakyat (Institute of Defenders of the Peoples)
LARASITA	Layanan Rakyat untuk Sertifikasi Tanah (Serving the People with Land Certification)
LATIN	Lembaga Alam Tropika Indonesia (Indonesia Tropical Institute)
LBH Ampera	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Ampera (Ampera Legal Aid Institute)
LBH	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (Legal Aid Institute)
LBHN	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Nusantara (Nusantara Legal Aid Institute)
LEKHAT	Lembaga Kajian Hak-hak Masyarakat (Institute for Studies of People's Rights)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

<i>Lengser keprabon</i>	step down, abdicate, 'withdrawn from power' [Javanese]
LKMD	Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (Village Community Resilience Board)
LMD	Lembaga Musyawarah Desa (Village Consultation Board)
LMPDP	Land Management and Policy Development Project
LoI	Letter of Intent
LPHAM	Lembaga Pembela Hak-hak Azasi Manusia (Defence of Human Rights Institute)
LPHAM	Liga Pembela Hak-hak Asasi Manusia (League for the Defence of Basic Human Rights)
LPIST	Lembaga Pengembangan Ilmu Sosial Transformatif (Institute for Development of Transformative Social Science)
LPM	Landless People's Movement
LPMA	Lembaga Pembela Masyarakat Adat (Institute of Defenders of Indigenous Peoples)
LPPP	Lembaga Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Pedesaan (Institute for Rural Education and Development)
LS-ADI	Lembaga Studi-Aksi untuk Demokrasi Indonesia (Action-Study Institute for Indonesian Democracy)
LSP	Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (Institute for Development Studies)
M Ha	million hectare
M	million
Mahkamah Kosntitusi	Constitutional Court
<i>Mandor</i>	overseer
MARI	Majelis Amanat Rakyat Indonesia (The Indonesia People's Mandate Council)
<i>Maro</i>	Traditional sharecropping system with equal margin/profit-sharing between the tenant and the owner (1:1) [Javanese]
<i>Menerima gadai</i>	mortgaging
MENPAN	Menteri Negara Penertiban Aparatur Negara (Minister of State for the Regulation of the State Apparatus)
<i>Merapat</i>	Traditional sharecropping system with 3:4 margin/profit-sharing between the tenant and the owner [Javanese]

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

<i>Mertelu</i>	Traditional sharecropping system with 1:3 margin/profit-sharing between the tenant and the owner [Javanese]
MOLNAR	Movement for National Land and Agriculture Reform
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MST	Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Movement of Landless Rural Workers)
Musda	Musyawahar Daerah (Local/District Meetings)
NASAKOM	Nasionalis-Agama-Komunis (the Unity of Nationalists, Religious People, and Communists)
NES	Nucleus Estate and Smallholders
NFFC	National Family Peasants Coalition
NJOP	Nilai Jual Objek Pajak (Taxable Market Value)
NU	Nahdatul Ulama
Opstib Pusat	National Operation for Public Order
Organisasi Tani Indonesia	Indonesian Peasant Organization
ORI	Organisasi Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian People's Organization)
OTL	Organisasi Tani Lokal (local chapter of peasant's organization)
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
Panca Usaha Tani	Five Farming Efforts
<i>Panchayat</i>	Indian traditional social institution to mediate social conflicts and resolutions, as well as for reconciliation among villagers, social groups, classes and castes
Panitya Agraria Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta Agrarian Committee
Papernas	Partai Persatuan Pembebasan Nasional (United National Liberation Party)
Parkubel	Partai Kucing Belang (Striped Cat Party)
Partai Buruh	Labour Party
PD	Partai Demokrat (Democrat Party)
Partai Hanura	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (People's Consciousness Party)
Partai Petani	Peasant Party
Partai Republik	Republican Party
Partai Pelopor	Pioneer Party
<i>Particuliere Landrijen</i>	private estates [Dutch]
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang (Crescent-and-Star Party)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

PBHI	Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Indonesia (Indonesian Association for Legal Aid and Human Rights)
PBR	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Star Reformation Party)
PDAP	Perusahaan Daerah Agribisnis dan Pertambangan (Local State Agribusiness and Mining Company)
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party)
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan (Indonesia Democratic Party – Struggle)
PDK	Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan (National Democracy Party)
PELITA	Pembangunan Lima Tahun (Five-Years Development)
<i>'pembangunanisme'</i>	<i>'developmentalism'</i>
<i>Pemerintahan Swapraja</i>	Autonomous local government
<i>Penguasa Perang Pusat</i>	Central War Administration
Pengadilan Land Reform	Land Reform Adjudication Court
PERADIN	Persatuan Advokat Indonesia (Indonesian Advocate's Association)
<i>perantau tanah</i>	<i>'land migrants'</i> ; people who move or migrate from one place to another looking for land that they can occupy to improve their family income from agriculture
PEREKAT OMBARA	Persatuan Masyarakat Adat Lombok Utara (United Indigenous People of North Lombok)
PERGERAKAN	Perhimpunan Penggerak Advokasi Kerakyatan untuk Keadilan Sosial (People-Centered Advocacy Institute)
Perhepi	Perhimpunan Ahli Ekonomi Pertanian Indonesia (Indonesian Association of Agricultural Economists)
<i>Perhutani</i>	State-owned Forestry Company
<i>Peristiwa Jengkol</i>	1958 incident at East Java Jengkol plantation estate
PERMATA	Perhimpunan Masyarakat Tani Aceh (Acehnese Peasants' Association)
Permendagri	Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri (Regulation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Pertajam	Persatuan Petani Jambi (Jambi Peasant's Union)
PETANI	Persatuan Tani Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Peasant's Union)
PETANU	Persatuan Tani Nahdlatul Ulama (Nahdlatul Ulama Peasant's Union)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

PETANI MANDIRI	Pergerakan Tani dan Nelayan Indonesia Mandiri (Self-Reliant Indonesian Peasant and Fisherfolk's Movement)
<i>Petani Menggugat</i>	The Peasantry Accuse / Peasant's Demands
Piagam Petani Jawa Barat	West Java Peasant Charter
PIAR	Pusat Informasi dan Advokasi Rakyat (Center of Information and People's Advocacy)
PIB	Partai Indonesia Baru (New Indonesian Party)
PIJAR	Pusat Informasi dan Jaringan Aksi untuk Reformasi (Centre of Information and Action Network for Reformation)
Pilkada	Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Local [Direct] Election)
PIPHAM	Pusat Informasi Hak Azasi Manusia (Centre for Human Right's Information)
PIR-Bun	Perkebunan Inti Rakyat (Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Plantation)
PITL	Persatuan Insan Tani Lampung (Lampung Peasant's Union)
PK	Partai Keadilan (Justice Party)
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
PKBH	Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum (Association of Legal Aid Offices)
PKBHB	Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu (Association of Bengkulu Legal Aid Offices)
PKBI	Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PKNU	Partai Kebangkitan Nahdlatul Ulama (Moslem Scholars Awakening Party)
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa (Concern for the Nation Functional Party)
PKPI	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Bangsa (Indonesia Justice and Unity Party)
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperity Party)
PMKI	Persatuan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia (Union of Indonesian Christian Students)
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party)
PNP	Perusahaan Negara Perkebunan (State Plantation Company)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

Pokja PSDA	Kelompok Kerja untuk Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Alam (Working Group for Natural Resources Management)
<i>'Politik atas nama'</i>	Politics of 'on behalf of' the people
POPOR	Partai Persatuan Oposisi Rakyat (Party of United People's Opposition)
PPAN	Program Pembaruan Agraria Nasional (National Agrarian Reform Program)
PPBI	Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia (Centre of Indonesian Worker's Struggle)
PPN	Perusahaan Perkebunan Nasional (National Plantation Company, a state-owned plantation company)
PPNSI	Perhimpunan Petani Nelayan Seluruh Indonesia (All Indonesian Peasant and Fisherfolk Association)
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Development Unity Party)
PPPI	Partai Pengusaha dan Pekerja Indonesia (Indonesian Entrepreneurs and Workers Party)
PPR	Partai Perserikatan Rakyat (People's Confederation Party)
PPRTS	Persatuan Perjuangan Rakyat Tani Subang (Subang Peasant's Struggle Front)
PPTSI	Perjuangan Persaudaraan Tani Seluruh Indonesia (Fraternal Struggle of All Indonesian Peasants)
PRD	Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik (Democratic Peoples' Union)
PRD	Partai Rakyat Demokrasi (People's Democratic Party)
PRN	Partai Rakyat Nasionalis (Nationalist People's Party)
PRONA	Proyek Operasi Nasional Agraria (National Agrarian Operation Project)
PRPTE	Peremajaan, Rehabilitasi dan Perluasan Tanaman Ekspor (Rejuvenation, Rehabilitation and Extension of Export Crops)
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Indonesian Socialist Party)
PSII	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (United Indonesia Islamic Party)
PT	Perseroan Terbatas (Limited Liability Company)
PT BAM	PT Bandung Asri Mulia
PT BLA	PT Bandung Lestari Abadi
PT SAM	PT Surya Andaka Mustika

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

PTI	Persaudaraan Tani Indonesia (Indonesia Peasant Fraternity)
PTP	Perseroan Terbatas Perkebunan (Limited Liability Plantation Company)
PTPN	Perseroan Terbatas Perkebunan Negara (State-Owned Plantation Company)
PT-TUN	Pengadilan Tinggi Tata Usaha Negara (State Administration High Court)
PTUN	Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara (State Administration Courts)
PUDI	Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesia Democratic Party)
PWI	Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (Indonesian Journalist's Association)
RACA Institute	Rapid Agrarian Conflicts Assessment Institute
RDI	Rural Development Institute
<i>Reformasi Hukum</i>	Law Reform
<i>Reformasi</i>	Reformation
REPELITA	Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun (Five-Year Development Plan)
ROPPA	Réseau des Organisations Paysannes & de Producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (Network of Farmers and Producers' Organizations of West Africa)
RPP	Rancangan Peraturan Pemerintah (Draft of Government Regulation)
RUU Pertanahan Nasional	Draft of National Land Law
SAE	Survey Agro Ekonomi (Agro Economic Survey)
SAINS	Sayogyo Institute
SBJ	Serikat Buruh Jabotabek (Jabotabek Worker's Union)
SBM	Serikat Buruh Makassar (Makassar Worker's Union)
SBSI	Serikat Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (Federation of All Indonesian Workers)
SBY-JK	nickname of the duet of President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Vice President Jusuf Kalla
Serta NTB	Serikat Tani Nusa Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara Peasant's Union)
Sepetak	Serikat Petani Karawang (Karawang Peasant Union)
SHMI	Suara Hak Asasi Manusia Indonesia (Voice of Indonesian Human Rights)
SKD	Surat Keterangan Domisili (residency permit document)

SKEPHI	Sekretariat Kerjasama untuk Pelestarian Hutan Indonesia (Indonesian NGO Network for Forest Conservation)
SKT	Surat Keterangan Tanah (Document of Land Rights Recognition)
SMDI	Solidaritas Mahasiswa untuk Demokrasi di Indonesia (Student's Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia)
SMI	Serikat Mahasiswa Indonesia (Indonesian Student's Union)
SMID	Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (Student's Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia)
SMO	Social Movement Organization
SMPT	Senat Mahasiswa Perguruan Tinggi (University Student's Council)
SNeB	Serikat Nelayan Bengkulu (Bengkulu Fisherfolk's Union)
SNM	Serikat Nelayan Merdeka (Freedom Fisherfolk's Union)
<i>Sosialisme Marga</i>	Kinship-based Socialism
SP	Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity)
SP-Banten	Serikat Petani Banten (Banten Peasant's Union)
SPBU	Serikat Perempuan Bengkulu Utara (North Bengkulu Women's Union)
SPI	Serikat Petani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasant's Union)
SP-Jateng	Serikat Petani Jawa Tengah (Central Java Peasant's Union)
SPJB	Serikat Petani Jawa Barat (West Java Peasant's Union)
SPJT	Serikat Petani Jawa Timur (East Java Peasant's Union)
SPKB	Serikat Pemulung Kota Bengkulu (Bengkulu Municipality Waste Collector's Union)
SPKS	Serikat Petani Kabupaten Sikka (Sikka District Peasant's Union)
SPL	Serikat Petani Lampung (Lampung Peasant's Union)
SPM	Serikat Petani Manggarai (Manggarai Peasant's Union)
SPORA	Sekolah Politik Reforma Agraria (Political School for Agrarian Reform)
SPP	Serikat Petani Pasundan (Pasundan Peasant's Union)
SPP-U	Serikat Petani Pasundan Utara (North Pasundan Peasant's Union)
SPR	Serikat Pendamping Rakyat (Indonesian Community Organizer's Network)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

SPREAD	Supporting Program for Participatory Advocacy Capacity
SPSB	Serikat Petani Sumatera Barat (West Sumatera Peasant's Union)
SPSS	Serikat Petani Sumatera Selatan (South Sumatra Peasant's Union)
SPSU	Serikat Petani Sumatera Utara (North Sumatra Peasant's Union)
SRI	Sarekat Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian People's Union)
<i>Staatsblad</i>	State Gazette (Dutch]
STaB	Serikat Petani Bengkulu (Bengkulu Peasant's Union)
<i>Statuta</i>	Statute
STHB	Sekolah Tinggi Hukum Bandung (Bandung Tertiary Institute of Law)
STII	Serikat Tani Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Peasant's Union)
STKS	Serikat Tani Kerakyatan Sumedang (Sumedang Populist Peasant Union)
STN	Serikat Tani Nasional (National Peasant's Union)
STPN	Sekolah Tinggi Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Academy)
SU-MPR	Sidang Umum MPR (People Representative General Assembly)
Surat Instruksi	Directive Letter
<i>Tanah jaluran</i>	<i>Jaluran</i> Land
Tanah Negara Bebas	'free' State Land
Tanah Negara	State Land
<i>Tanah Swapraja</i>	ex-autonomous [Sultanate] land
<i>Tanah timbul</i>	sand bank; a new land area at the sea/lake/riversides that appeared because of the decline of water level
Tap MPR	Ketetapan MPR (People's Consultative Assembly Decree)
TCSSP	Tree Crops and Smallholders Scheme Project
TGHK	Tata Guna Hutan Kesepakatan (Forestry Land Use Agreement)
TMII	Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park)
TMPA	Tri Manunggal Pasifik Abadi
TNI-AU	Tentara Nasional Indonesia – Angkatan Udara (Indonesian Air Force)

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

TNKS	Taman Nasional Kerinci Seblat (Kerinci Seblat National Park)
<i>Tokoh petani</i>	'prominent peasant leader'
TRK	Tim Relawan Kemanusiaan (Humanitarian Volunteer Team)
Tugu Monas	National Monument Statue
TWF	Third World Forum
UGM	Universitas Gadjah Mada (Gadjah Mada University)
UI	Universitas Indonesia (University of Indonesia)
UII	Universitas Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic University)
UKSW	Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana (Satya Wacana Christian University)
UN	United Nations
<i>onderbouw</i>	mass-organization of political parties [Dutch]
Unisba	Universitas Islam Bandung (Bandung Islamic University)
UNORKA	Pambansang Ugnayan ng Nagsasariling Lokal na mga Samahang Mamamayan sa Kanayunan (National Body of Autonomous Local Rural People's Organizations)
Unpad	Universitas Padjadjaran (Padjadjaran University)
Unpar	Universitas Katolik Parahyangan (Parahyangan Catholic University)
USAID	United State Agency for International Development
USAID-BSP	United States Biodiversity Aid Program
USU	Universitas Sumatera Utara (North Sumatera University)
UUPBH	Undang-undang Pokok Bagi Hasil (Basic Sharecropping Law)
<i>Verponding</i>	land and building tax [Dutch]
VNPU	Viet Nam Peasants Union
WALHI	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (Friends of the Earth Indonesia)
WARSI	Warung Konservasi Indonesia (Indonesian Conservation Community)
WCARRD	World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development
WFP	World Food Program
WIM	Wahana Informasi Masyarakat (People's Information Network)

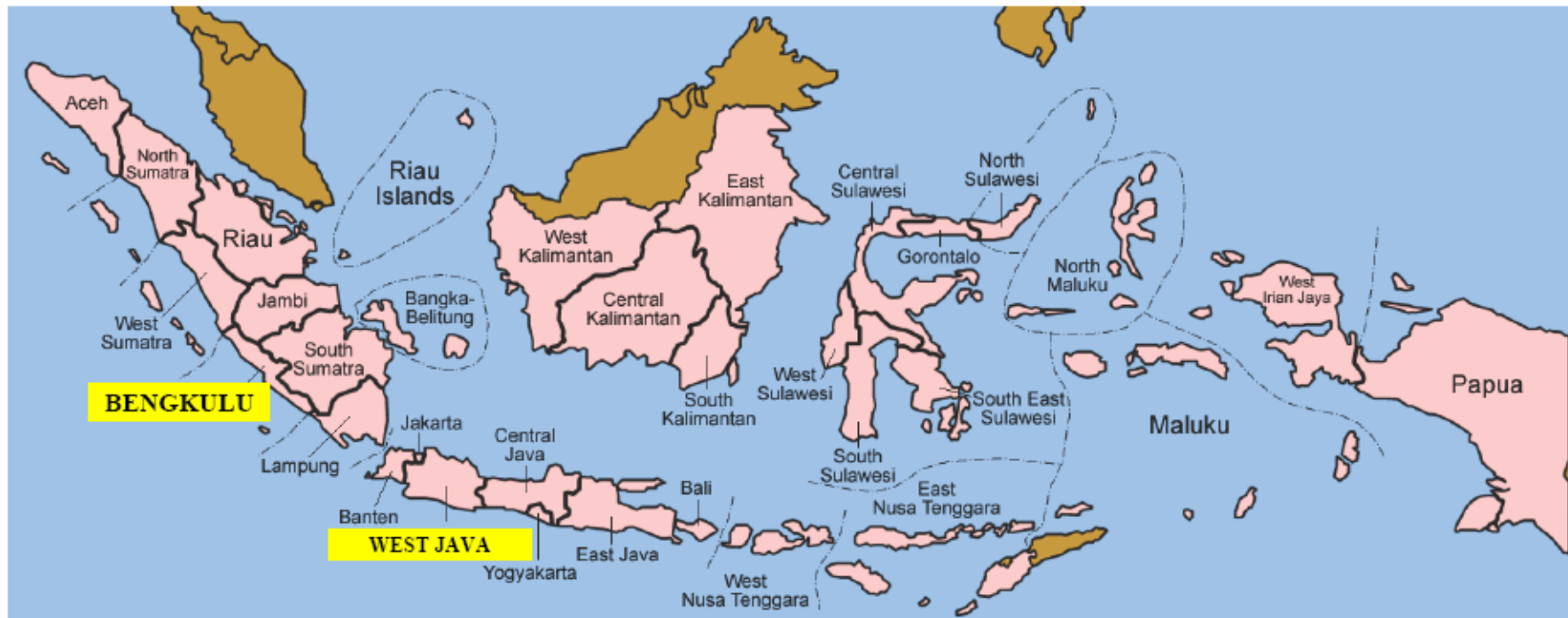
GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wild Fund
YAPEMAS	Yayasan Pengembangan Masyarakat (Community Development Foundation)
YAPUSHAM	Yayasan Pusat Studi Hak Asasi Manusia (Human Rights Study Centre Foundation)
YAR	Yayasan Akar Rumput (Grassroots Foundation)
Yayasan KEHATI	Yayasan Keanekaragaman Hayati (Biodiversity Foundation)
YLBHI	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation)
YLBHR	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Rakyat (People's Legal Aid Foundation)
YPBHI	Yayasan Pendidikan Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (Indonesian Foundation for Legal Aid and Education)
YTM	Yayasan Tanah Merdeka (Tanah Merdeka Foundation)

Map 1. Indonesia



Map 2. Provinces of Indonesia



Between Discourse and Action: Agrarian Reform and Rural Social Movements in Indonesia post-1965

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is about dynamics, emergence and development (changes and 'continuation') of rural social movements in Indonesia post-1965. Many studies have been conducted to examine the dynamics of the economic and political changes during and after the New Order took power in 1966, and its impacts to rural communities including rural unrest. But these studies were generally focused on the resistance of peasants or rural villagers, as so-called 'victims of development', to the oppression of the New Order regime. Other studies have focus on dynamics of pro-peasant and agrarian reform movements, their organizations and networks that emerged either in the midst of the authoritarian regime or during the *reformasi* era.

There is relatively less attention given to the strategic changes developed by pro-peasant activists and agrarian reform movements to the challenges of different regimes since the New Order. What were the contentious issues and debates about strategy and leadership among the activists that caused splits, the breakup of organizations, and the emergence of new movement organizations that were involved in politics? This dissertation will look into these issues.

This thesis will study the development of the discourse on agrarian reform in Indonesia since the '70s and attempts of 'urban-educated activists' to link their activism with rural radicalism that occurred in various land conflicts during the 1980s-1990s. This discourse was reflected in the development of various peasants' organizations, both at local and national levels, and in other national coalitions for agrarian reform.

This study concludes that there are three things to pinpoint about these dynamics: Firstly, trajectories of rural social movements in Indonesia post 1965 until now are reflected a 'transmutation' processes of urban-based and urban-led pro-peasant movements to 'urban-led and rural-based' movements. 'Transmutation' processes mean changes in qualities of organizing, issues and claims, and actions strategies while the substance of these changes remains the same.

In organizing activities and forms, important substances are establishing rural-urban alliances that were dominated by urban-educated activists. In issues and claims, important substances that remain are land rights for the people, policy changes towards pro-poor agrarian policies, and recognition of political rights of rural people. While in actions strategies, important substances that remains are a combination of advocacy, collective land claims actions and political actions.

Secondly, agrarian reform as a revived discourse was becoming a uniting issue for activists and peasants to strengthen their rural-urban coalition, and at the same time a source of contention among activists. On one side, through the idea of structural reform, rural-urban coalitions that emerged from protests against land evictions, continued to develop into more permanent movement organizations. On the other side, competitions to control the movement occurred amongst the activists as manifested through their debates on strategy and political orientation to push the government to implement agrarian reform. With a similar idea of structural reform on landholding, pro-agrarian reform activists built their owned movement organizations, using either the same or different consolidated peasant groups.

Thirdly, there is an exchange of interests between the activists and the peasants. Rural-urban coalitions as reflected in various movement organizations, such as local peasant's organizations, national coalitions of peasant movements or coalitions for agrarian reform, which emerged in the 80s until now, could be developed and maintained even though with different

types of organizing because activists can maintain the process of exchange of interests with peasant groups. Through these coalitions, ideological and political interests of the activists were exchanged for the material interests of the peasants for land, better livelihoods or improved rural infrastructures. The peasants could follow the activists' directions in the movement as long as their interests are articulated, but enthusiasm to be involved will decline once they got what they struggled for. Activists will lose their grassroots bases if they cannot discover new formulations of common struggle agendas that can bind again the different interests between them and the peasants.

The three characteristics that we have pinpointed in this thesis strengthened theoretical arguments which said that social movements is politics, and social movement organizations are actually political instruments both for activists and for the grassroots to express their interests politically in unconventional ways. Therefore the entrepreneurial leadership capacity of the activists had a significant role in determining the dynamics of social movement politics.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation was originally formulated because of dissatisfaction with various academic explanations about social movements, particularly rural social movements in Indonesia. A long involvement of more than two decades in these movements has of course influenced my perspective on them, as well as teaching me to be self-critical about the phenomena described in this thesis.

During this long involvement I heard and read many explanations about the politics of social movements in Indonesia that mostly focused on urban-based social movements, while explanations about the emergence of rural social movements were mostly colored by analyses of the peasantry as 'victims of development'. Almost all analysis about these phenomena were focused on the interests and claims of victims and protesters against development projects, reflected in slogans such as: 'Don't take our land!', or 'Return land to small cultivators!'

During my long involvement in these movements, I had seen, or perhaps it gradually developed in my mind as one who grew up in urban areas and has enjoyed a tertiary education, that there are political interests that are influenced by things beyond *just* peasants' interests on land. These interests had the power to influence the minds of peasants' defenders and organizers, namely social movement activists who 'eat, sleep and breath the urban way of life' but needed to build their political influence with the rural masses.

However rather than become trapped in an explanation about the dominance of the urban middle class riding roughshod over the peasantry, I have tried in this dissertation to explain how both peasants and activists have shared and exchanged their interests with the emergence and dynamics of change in rural social movements. In other words, I conclude in this thesis that rural social movement organizations are the vehicles developed by movement

participants, the activists and the rural villagers, to achieve different objectives based on different interests. This process of 'exchange of interests' was laid as the backbone of the emergence of new social movements particularly after 1965.

I am indebted so much to so many colleagues, friends, and relatives in order to finish this dissertation, which seems to have been a more ambitious effort than *just* to fulfill my academic and intellectual interests. As an activist I care less about academic titles that may be awarded based on examiners recommendations, and academic committee decisions that this thesis has or has not satisfied certain academic standards and criteria. However, to formulate this dissertation, I have tried to work within the guidelines of academic standards and criteria in writing this thesis; the result that you are about to read would not have been possible without the efforts of my supervisors. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Jim Schiller and Anton Lucas of the Flinders Asia Center at Flinders University in Adelaide.

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