



Agrarian Conflict in Banyuwangi Indonesia 1960-1966

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Abstract

This research examines the agrarian conflict in Banyuwangi from 1960-1965 due to the land-reform policy. Research questions raised are (1) How happening conflict agriculture occurs in Banyuwangi, (2) How the way conflict occurred, (3) groups or the parties involved in the conflict, and (4) How the impact of the conflict. This study is qualitative with method studies sourced literature from journals and books about land reform. Methods used analysis scientific about contents message something communication, whether on the news, radio, letters news, journals, books and materials documentation another. Research results show that the land reform policy that applies in Indonesia, particularly in Banyuwangi, cause conflict and was done well yet in distributing soil to people farmer. The land reform aimed to welfare farmers small precisely to cause prolonged conflict like rejection and action unilaterally involving the landlords, the government, and even the PKI to reach its importance. The conflict's impact was the decline of the farmers' quality of life and the growth of acts of violence.

Keywords: *Land Reform; Conflict Agrarian; Action One-Sided; Landlord; Farmer*

Introduction

In 1960 the government launched Undang Undang Pokok Agraria (UUPA/Basic Law of Agrarian), in which there was a policy land reform (Padmo, 2000). Speech President Soekarno in 1959 explained that the UUPA aims to abolish feudalism. Wealthy farmers mainly control soil agriculture, and most have no land. From this viewpoint, UUPA mainly aims to expand and strengthen farmers' soil ownership as the majority in Indonesia (Safitri, 2018) so that they reach well-being as well as needs will food in Indonesia is also sufficient (Susanto, 2015). Besides that, UUPA also aims to abolish dualism law, the prevailing land laws during the Dutch colonial period, namely Customary Law and Western Law (Sucianti, 2004).

During the colonial period, the Dutch colonial government owned all the land. They utilized village heads, civil servants, and regents to manage and exploit the land. Farmers who cultivate the soil for planted paddy must pay land tax. They are also required to work without wages by the Dutch colonial. Even in the days of Cultuurstelsel, farmers were required to plant a cash crop at one-fifth of the land.

Though formally, all costs were borne by the Dutch colonial, farmers must bear the loss consequence of harvest failure (Zein, 2019).

Implementation of the UUPA faced various constraints experienced both by the government area and society, so bring up conflict agrarian in various areas. Conflict agrarian caused including limitations land, overlap regulation in problem soil, structure supervision, lack of implementation of UUPA effective, manipulation of land, and dualism authority Among government region and government center (Isnaeni, 2017). An agrarian conflict that will be the focus of this study is the Banyuwangi land reform conflict from 1960-1965.

Banyuwangi's land reform conflict lasted long and involved many parties, including Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI/Indonesian Communist Party). The PKI led the farmers so that the land reform was conducted radical, that is, to do action unilaterally, to snatch force soil that belonged to the masters without change loss (Rakhmanto, 2018). The landlord group and the local government are other parties involved in the conflict. The rich peasants rejected the UUPA and considered the government officially applied unfairness because they confiscated soil without change adequate loss.

From complexity problem of the Banyuwangi land reform conflict, the study focused on discussing four questions research, namely (1) How happening conflict agriculture in Banyuwangi, (2) How the way conflict occurs, (3) character or the parties involved in the conflict, and (4) How the impact consequence conflict.

Research Methodology

Study this use study qualitative with method literature review. Method this is study analysis scientific about contents message something communication, whether on the news, radio, letters news, journals, books and materials other documentation (Asfar, 2019). Literature review used for interesting conclusion with recognizes various characteristics by objective, systematic as well as generalist (Holisti, 1969). Destination from use method literature review is to study more about conflict agrarian issues in Banyuwangi. The object of research is conflict agriculture in Banyuwangi, along with sources related that can be used as a base in writing. Data was collected through a literature study as a secondary source from article journals and dissertations.

Results and Discussion

Background Behind

In the 1960s, carried out implementation land reform with destination for giving birth to ownership soil new and fix inequality agrarian nature redistribution that takes absentee or soil advantages max and shares it to farmer homeless as well as allocation soil plantation the former Netherlands which has mastered people (Lutfi, 2018). Land reform was organized as an effort to arrange repeat ownership of land and division of soil among farmers who did not have land. The land reform policy will be a priority in Java with reason density of residents who started increasing.

The land reform program as a strategy for reaching justice in the acquisition and utilization of soil agriculture started with the issuance of Law no. 56 Prp 1960. Policy land reform is motivated by inequality in land ownership. It occurs in developing countries with a very high population, and the capacity of industry to accommodate the population in rural areas is minimal (Isnaeni, 2017).

The government issued UUPA in 1960 as a total decomposition of the agrarian system during the reigning colonial period. Diversion object land-reform to soil agriculture based on facts that there are

injustices in soil ownership. The transfer of agricultural land owned by foreigners, individuals, and corporations, exceeds the extensive list of land in UUPA (Panjaitan, 2020). Individuals with large land did not agree to the land reform program, and they undertook diversion to their families (Mustafa, 2020).

The land reform implementation was a barrier because landlords did not allow local governments to implement the UUPA. On the other hand, farmers provoked by PKI took one-side action. Poor farmers unilaterally seize land belonging to the landlord and plant it with their rice seeds. The PKI used spontaneous action caused by the worst social economy situation for their political interests (Rakhmanto, 2018).

PKI's involvement in Conflict Land reform

Sukarno's administration could not avoid the influence of PKI. In 1953, President Soekarno gave more political access to PKI cadres to enter in military and government. The policy was covered by a program that united all parts of Indonesia, especially the Nationalist, Religion, and Communist parties. With the strengthening of the PKI influences in government, President Soekarno became a dictator and began to shift to the left (Kasdi, 2015).

Since 31 October 1953, daily newspapers belonging to the PKI carried much news about the life of laborers and peasants. Asmu's rubric answer was introduced to the reader in April 1961, labeling landlords as the wrong person and often oppressing farmers. The PKI newspapers criticized the poor implementation of the UUPBH and the UUPA. On the other hand, the PKI has taken advantage of conditions to encourage poor peasants to seize the land of their landlords using violence. At the beginning of July 1964, 22 combined organizations under the auspices of the Banyuwangi PKI demanded accountability for the delay in implementing the UUPBH and UUPA (Anshori, 2017). On the other hand, farmers who joined the Nahdatul Ulama organization (PETANU) and the Indonesian National Party (PETANI) stated that the land reform program would be successful if all parties united and cooperated, not by taking unilateral action (Luthfi, 2017).

Differences in views with NU and PNI made the PKI fully use its influence in society. The implementation of the UUPA, which experienced many obstacles, including fraud committed by landlords, such as falsifying land areas, prompted the PKI to hold local governments accountable for the delays in the UUPA and UUPBH programs (Mustafa, 2020).

The land reform conflict that led to unilateral action in Banyuwangi received tremendous support from the PKI, assisted by the strength of the Pemuda Rakyat and the Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI/Indonesian Farmers' Front). This one-sided action is a form of a struggle between the landless peasant community and the landowner group (Mustafa, 2020). Since the G30S Incident on 30 September 1965, there has been a murder tragedy in Banyuwangi from October to January 1966. This incident caused at least 1,040 people to die, the suspect being the military regime. The existence of the PKI riots made the peasants who had received land distributions have to come into conflict with the landlords. The landlords then used this moment to take over the land they once owned. The farmers did not remain silent about the incident and fought back so that the landlord did not seize their land. However, because of the power of the farmers, they lost in this case (Novianto, 2017).

The unilateral actions carried out by the peasants with great support from the PKI were a form of social movement where the aim was to realize the interests of the small people. Farmers and farm laborers experience oppression and misery due to land controlled by landlords, which causes the lives of farmers and farm workers to decline. The situation sparked anger, and resistance ensued. The problem was also due to land reform policies that seem slow and are considered not working well. In this case, the peasants' resistance was supported by the PKI. The resistance with unilateral action aims to achieve the welfare of farmers through land reform policies so that farmers can live prosperously (Mustafa 2020).

In the 1950s-1960s, in the rural community of Banyuwangi, there were two major forces, namely the PKI, which interfered in the land reform issue. The PKI defended the peasants because it had the motto "land for the people" so that the peasants would get land rights from the government. After the G 30 S incident, the East Java region, especially Banyuwangi, became chaotic. There were murders and pursuits of farmers who were considered PKI members. In addition, the conditions were exploited by the landlords who hated the PKI because they had provoked the peasants to seize their land and take unilateral action. To crush the PKI, the people did it with cruelty and violence. There were kidnappings and massacres of peasants who were considered communists. The massacre and murder are called the Cemethuk Incident (Luthfi, 2018).

One-sided Action

On 24 September 1960, Indonesia's new agrarian law, Law Number 5 of 1960, concerning UUPA. Essential aspects of UUPA are the introductory provisions listed in articles 7, 10, 13, and 17. In all of these articles, the critical point is that the state has the authority to regulate land allocation and use. Government has the right to manage lands and legal relations concerning lands that exceed the limits and determine the minimum limit of an individual or joint ownership of land to achieve the welfare of the whole people.

The land reform committee was formed on 1 September 1961, and the Committee consisted of bureaucrats consisting of the President to village heads. However, due to preparations, this Committee only worked one year later, on 24 September 1962. Land reform contained three main points, namely, (1) Land registration, (2) Identification of more land and determination of landless farmers (3) Implementing Basic Law on Profit Sharing (UUPBH), or Law no. 2 of 1960.

However, there are many obstacles or bottlenecks in implementing land reform. The PKI was involved in supporting, defending, and advocating unilateral actions by the peasants against all forms of sabotage and play in implementing land reform. The PKI and BTI steps to carry out unilateral action had long been prepared (Aidit, 1964:15). When the UUPA was passed, the PKI was a political party closely related to the peasant movement. The PKI and the BTI had the same spirit of the agrarian revolution, which was anti-feudalism and imperialism.

As a result of the ineffectiveness of the land reform policy, it caused unrest that grew in community organizations, especially BTI/PKI. Landlords made various efforts to protect their land. Some landlords put psychological pressure on farmers by using special people considered vital. Some bribed the land reform committee or government officials to protect their land from the status quo. Many landlords sell land at low prices or give it on the grounds of grants, waqf to religious leaders (Abidin: 2016).

The targets of the PKI/BTI were lands that exceeded the provisions, absenteeism, nationalized foreign plantations, and forestry lands. This unilateral action campaign was carried out in various parts of Indonesia. However, many unilateral actions took place in East Java, such as Jember, Surabaya, and Banyuwangi. Especially in Banyuwangi, there was a unilateral action in 1965-1966 between the PKI/BTI and Pemuda Rakyat. This action is a struggle for the rights of small communities who do not own land to elite groups who own land. (Pancasila Sakti Foundation: 1982). This unilateral action drew criticism from parties harmed by the takeover (Sundhaussen, 1986:323). The PKI impacts on the peasants were so significant that the movement spread from one area to another.

On 5 January 1965, Suara Indonesia Daily reported that there had been unilateral action in 9 villages in Genteng District with approximately 6,720 people. In Glenmore, 70 farmers abstained from the unilateral movement on 9 hectares of land. Also, starting with a boycott of the land, it developed into the destruction or burning of houses, confiscation of crops, and chaos (Iwan, 1992: 224).

Tensions in Banyuwangi were seen when the Cemetuk incident occurred. The Cemetuk area itself was the PKI mass base in Banyuwangi. As we know that on 30 September 1965, the G30SPKI Incident occurred, this was also a symbol of revenge from the anti-PKI groups. Following the many unilateral actions taken, non-communists in Banyuwangi also committed acts of violence between Ansor and Marhaenism youths with PKI supporters (Abul, 2014). In October 1965, in the first week of the GP. Ansor and Pemuda Democrats coordinated to fight against the communists by choosing Mursid from Anshor as the leader. This group, under Mursid, carried out the purge of PKI members in Banyuwangi (Cribb, 2004: 256). Then in the second week of October, there were various forms of attacks, arrests, kidnappings, assaults, murders, burning of houses marked with BTI, and other attacks. Ansor youth who dared to murder the PKI. The Ansor and the military were also involved in the elimination process of PKI mass in Banyuwangi in 1965.

In 1966, massacres began to decline, and in the same year, the purge of PKI members was stopped. The Cemetuk incident has caused this hamlet to experience a decline. The residents are not ready for the quiet condition of the hamlet and leave only a few families and more women from PKI sympathizers. However, life in the Cemetuk area had to return to normal over time. They began to reorganize their lives. The massacres carried out by the military, and anti-PKI groups left a lasting trauma for the victims' families.

Landlord Refused

In its implementation, the land reform policy encountered various obstacles. One of them is the landlords who refuse their land to be distributed. They refused because they thought the government had confiscated their land due to a lack of funds. The second reason is that most landlords in East Java are respected kyai and ulama. The relationship that played a significant role in people's lives in rural Java in the 1960s was the kawula-gusti relationship. The relationship model causes traditional, formal leaders and the landlords or wealthy farmers who, on average, the ulama or kyai, to have a significant role for the poor farmers. The peasants thought the landlords protected them from the PKI/BTI even though their economic condition was still wrong. In addition, the large number of waqf lands owned by Islamic boarding schools and other religious institutions further complicates land redistribution. (Lyon, 1984)

Landlords do various ways to protect their land. Some landlords distribute their land to relatives so that no more land is left to be redistributed (Mustafa, 2020). Many landlords end up selling their land at a low price so that the land is not given away for free. In other cases, landlords give their land to religious leaders or other parties under the pretext of grants. However, the land was not granted (Abidin, 2016).

In 1966, there was a conflict over the land of H. Bahrowi. A group of people consisting of Bahrudin, Rahmah, Mochtar, and Marzukni admitted that the land had been given to them by H. Bahrowi. During the land redistribution, they refused to distribute H. Bahrowi's ex-land because they had already claimed that the land was a grant that already belonged to them. However, the Land reform Committee of the Bangorejo Sub-district stated that the land was a guntai land in 1964. It shows that Bahrudin cs has no right to the land (Luthfi, 2017).

The Farmers whom Pertanu assisted demanded that the ex-land case of H. Bahrowi and all disputes related to the land subject to land reform should be resolved relatively through the Committee. Unlike the case in Bangorejo, the confiscation was carried out improperly by the police. They confiscated the decrees (SK) of recipients of redistribution belonging to 43 farmers. As a result, the land becomes unmanaged because the farmers are afraid to manage the land. Farmers and Pertanu forced the authorities to take firm action against these irresponsible persons. They also have to be able to return the land to the farmers receiving the redistribution so that certainty can be created and the land can be helpful for the farmers. To strengthen this claim, on 25 November 1966, the Banyuwangi Farmers Branch Executive Board issued a letter of demand signed by Djoehdi as chairman I and Achmad Sanimin as secretary II.

The problem regarding the Haji Bahrowi land, designated as the object of land reform but has not been distributed, was still left to the farmers or cultivators who have the rights. All land rights changes and transfers should be regulated by Government Regulation no. 10/1961 by authorized agrarian agencies and not simply taken over by unauthorized agencies or officials, including police or military institutions (Luthfi, 2017).

The Impact of the Banyuwangi Landreform Conflict

1. Regions are not ready to implement policies properly.

The Land reform policy is a policy that President Soekarno inaugurated to change the agrarian law, which was initially based on the legacy of the Dutch Colonial Government to become a national one based on customary law. The Land reform policy is implemented by providing equal land distribution to the livelihoods of farmers in the form of land based on the principle of agricultural land and protection against the weak economy.

In contrast to its objective, the government's steps to implement the land reform policy are far from ready. In the end, there are many obstacles to implementing the land reform policy, as the first factor, namely the unpreparedness of the Regional Committee to carry out the policy. Not a few local committees have colluded with local government officials or the state army to protect land ownership for personal gain. The Committee approached the military to take advantage of the Regional Placement Coordinator's Letter to gain control of former colonial plantations throughout Indonesia.

The second factor is that there has been a delay in forming the Land reform policy committee in some regions. Residents and local governments lack information about the land reform committee's formation, so the area's residents cannot feel the impact on the policy's benefits.

The third factor is the deviation from implementing the Land reform policy. The UUPA explains that the acquisition of land ownership is carried out fairly and equitably based on customary law and Pancasila. However, in practice in the field, it is not easy for farmers to get land ownership on land that has been their livelihood source. Judging from the People's Daily on 10 June 1963, farmers who get priority are those who work on land owned by landlords whose land exceeds the maximum limit. Moreover, giving land to farmers is not instant and accessible because the peasants get a share of the land and have obligations after two years of land ownership. Furthermore, every year farmers must achieve an increase in yield according to the amount set by the Regional People's Agriculture Service as regulated in PP no. 224 of 1961, article 14, paragraph 5.

2. Anarchy Acts go beyond the limits.

Groups that reject the Land reform policy then take action against it, which tends to overstep the boundaries and cause much harm to the people and the facilities of government institutions. The anti-land reform group took this action because of disappointment and feeling aggrieved by the enactment of the policy. The PKI group joined in to make things worse. Many people's houses were burned due to anarchic actions by irresponsible groups.

The land cases that occurred in the Banyuwangi area due to this Land reform policy also ended in a sense of disappointment in the people's minds against the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ir Soekarno. Matters in the land reform policy for the people of Banyuwangi are considered unnecessary to be regulated and disputed in the policy. The reason is that after the implementation of the land reform policy, landowners and farmers did not receive benefits and protection. On the contrary, the community was challenged because local government institutions did not understand their duties and could not carry out what was expected.

3. There is no legal umbrella that will protect the peasants.

The peasants of Kedungsari and Banyuwangi were forced to leave the land where they had lived for a long time. Perhutani carried out the expulsion of the Kedungsari peasants in line with the Land reform policy in 1961. In fact, according to the contents of the UUPA, it was the fair procurement of land rights and an effort to protect the weak economy and people's welfare. However, Perhutani said that the Kedungsari peasants violated the use of forest land for private use. The differences of opinion and interests of the two camps impact the implementation of Land reform. Furthermore, it makes the peasants worried about the absence of a legal instrument that can protect them, even though the Kedungsari farmers are very dependent on the disputed land to earn their livelihood with the results of their land.

4. Farmers experience violence and arrest.

In September 1963, in the Kencong sub-district, Jember, East Java, the BTI member farmers launched an action against the land belonging to Mrs. Sudarno. The BTI forced Mrs. Sudarno to accept his share under the provisions of the UUPA and UUPBH but failed because the village and sub-district officials refused the coercion. However, BTI members did not care. As a result, five cultivators were arrested by the Kencong police on charges of taking other people's rights. The detention process for the five former cultivators was handed over to the Jember District Attorney (Rakhmanto, 2018).

Violence occurs in plantation areas with a vertical nature, namely between the plantation industry and people who tend not to be active plantations but already belong to their ancestors. Not only BTI but the action also contained elements of the PKI in it. These actions had an initial goal: to pressure the Committee and block land, which continued to increase until there was a lot of fraud, land use changes, and opposition from the owner. These actions got more extensive and worse until they were known as the "ground shoving" incident in Banyuwangi, which was also accompanied by the destruction of houses.

Landreform Conflict Resolution Banyuwangi

1. Land reform court formed.

To defend cases related to Land reform, the government issued Law No. 21 1964 regarding the Landreform Court. This institution was explicitly formed to resolve cases through the court. In this institution, the formation of judges in the court consists of a unitary assembly consisting of 5 judges, three of whom have backgrounds from representatives of peasant mass organizations that reflect the cooperative nature of nationalist, religious, and communist groups. As already manifested in the Central Java region, a Land reform Court was established with Imam Churmen as one of the judges.

2. The Settlement of a Unilateral Action by President Soekarno

President Soekarno summoned 10 Party Leaders to the Bogor Palace on 12 December 1964. The party leaders who attended included PNI Chairman Hardi SH and PNI Secretary-General Ir. Surachman, NU General Chair Idam Chalid, NU Secretary General Aminudin Aziz, PKI Chair, Deputy Chairperson D.N. Aidit, and M.H. Lukman. The party leaders were present in the meeting to support and practice Pancasila, the Manipol Usdek, and implementation guidelines. Regarding the implementation of the UUPA and UUPBH, which was heating up in the village community, the ten parties were committed to prioritizing a system of consultation and deliberation based on the spirit of national cooperation. Revolutionary axis Nasakom. This meeting successfully reduced the escalation of the conflict, as evidenced by the decrease in the level of action for several weeks after the Bogor Declaration agreement (Rakhmanto, 2018).

President Soekarno formed a drafting committee ratified at the DPA session on 20 January 1965. The drafting committee was tasked with formulating the main discussion points by DPA members related to the issue of implementing Land reform. In the trial, a formulation was also determined regarding implementing Landreform without elements of violence. The purpose of the proposal from the DPA is to make land reform run smoothly. These proposals include: resolving land disputes through deliberation by

prioritizing a system of consultation and deliberation based on the spirit of togetherness based on the Nasakom axis without intimidation and weapons (Rakhmanto, 2018).

3. Issuance of a letter of instruction relating to the implementation of the Settlement of agricultural lands

In 1966, the East Java Regional Level 1 Landreform Committee issued a letter of instruction to deal with land issues in the garden area cultivated by the people. Since then, regulations and laws have been strictly enforced. Furthermore, at the national level, securing the distributed land is contained in the Central Landreform Committee Instruction No. 10/PLP/1966 and Minister of Home Affairs Decree No.16/DDAT/agr/68, which prohibits all governors or regional heads or heads of land services from withdrawing SK grants of land reform results. This step was enough to provide peace for farmers at that time (Luthfi A. S., 2017).

4. Settlement and local government's effort to end agrarian conflicts

To further resolve the Banyuwangi Regency National Land Agency intervened by providing several solutions, as follows:

- a. By asking for assistance from the Minister of Forestry to release the disputed area from the forest zone and give it to the people
- b. By bartering or exchanging by giving reciprocal land as a forest zone
- c. Carry out steps through the green table by bringing all the facts that each has
- d. Deliberation efforts between all parties and the moderator as a mediator between the two parties in dispute (Karomah, 2020).

5. Land reform Policy Suspension and Landreform Committee

Land reform activities were stopped on 26 October 1965 by the Minister of Agrarian Affairs R. Hermanses, S.H. This termination was carried out to maintain order, security, and an atmosphere of tranquility. The impact of unilateral actions and the political chaos caused by the G 30 S incident made the political atmosphere volatile. Based on the Decree of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs No. 88/depag/1965, in addition to freezing the implementation of land reform, the Minister of Agrarian Affairs also temporarily suspended all activities of members of the land reform committee at the central and regional levels, especially those from the Indonesian Farmers Front (Rakhmanto, 2018).

Conclusion

In the implementation of the UUPA, the President formed a supervisory committee to assist and supervise the smooth implementation of this policy, but it is still not enough to launch the Land reform policy. Local governments are also required to play an active role in implementation, especially in guiding and assisting the community when facing obstacles or concerns. Through the local government, the community will collect data so that the data can be submitted to the central government as a report on implementing the Land reform policy.

The 1960 Agrarian Law passed by President Soekarno aimed to change agrarian law from colonial law to being based on Pancasila. In the UUPA, President Soekarno emphasized that one of the goals of implementing the UUPA was to protect agricultural land from improving and prospering the people's economy. However, due to obstacles and differences of opinion, this problem has never stopped rolling even to this day, so it impacts people who have difficulty finding sources of life and lose their crops.

Agrarian conflict is a social issue that needs to be kept in mind because, if left unchecked, it will lead to bigger and broader disputes, especially in the agrarian conflict in the Banyuwangi region, East Java, where the conflict has been widespread for decades ago, namely between formal state law and community law. as well as private institutions. Each party, community, government, and private

institution claims based on conflicting rules. The community claims the land is ancestral land they have occupied for generations. Meanwhile, other agencies claim that it is based on an official permit.

Massive agrarian conflicts in several parts of Indonesia significantly impact society. Communities who depend on the natural resources of their land must always worry if the government or other agencies sue or claim their land forcibly. This problem is caused by the government's lack of clarity in determining a land with its status. In addition, this cannot be separated from the implementation of the Land reform policy, which gave rise to various polemics.

The existing conflicts and disputes gave birth to a social movement carried out by a group of people who experienced the adverse effects of the policy, especially the people of Banyuwangi, East Java. The people of Banyuwangi, predominantly farmers, carry out social movements to demand their rights to the land they currently occupy. The social movements they carry out are in various ways, such as visiting the regent, governor, and even the court, making petitions, and holding demonstrations.

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