

more appreciation and admiration for the women who undertake the sort of work described in order to improve the living conditions of their families.

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DOI: 10.1355/sj30-2o

Land for the People: The State and Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia. Edited by Anton Lucas and Carol Warren. Ohio University Research in International Studies: Southeast Asia series No 126. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2013. 405 pp.

While this book began with an Australian Research Council grant to Anton Lucas and Carol Warren in 1998, its focus has been widened and its time frame expanded to include several general descriptions of land-related laws and struggles in Indonesia, and six case studies from across the country. The time frame now encompasses the final decade of Soeharto's New Order regime between 1988 and 1998, with a backward glance at Sukarno's "Old Order"; the heady years of Reformasi, decentralization, popular protest and land occupation from 1998 to the winding back of some reforms in 2004; and the government of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono up to 2012.

Lucas and Warren set the scene in Chapter One, beginning with an analysis of the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL/UUPA 5/60) and its treatment under both the Old and New Orders, especially its famous qualification that acknowledgment of the territorial rights of *adat* communities must accord with the national interest. They point out that "the most acute conflicts" during the Soeharto period were caused by this application of "national interest" to the disposition of "state lands", both those classified as forests and those previously occupied by colonial-era plantations on Java and Sumatra (p. 9). In addition, urban and industrial areas were cleared of "squatters"

by wealthy investors, with inadequate compensation paid to their former occupants.

Chapter Two, by Dianto Bachriadi and Gunawan Wiradi, is not a case study but a further exploration of the BAL, especially the principle that land should not be commoditized. There is a general overview of the commoditization process initiated during the New Order and continuing to the present, which has left a small proportion of land remaining for “people based agricultural activities” (p. 49). The authors’ detailed analysis of agricultural census data from 1963 to 2003 concludes that “no significant benefit has occurred in landholding structures over the forty years” (p. 70), while landlessness has increased. They suggest that needed land reform should focus on abandoned land (*tanah terlantar*); land held above recommended ceilings; and those plots occupied by landless farmers or originally distributed in the 1960s but repossessed during the Soeharto period.

In Chapter Three, Warren and Lucas continue their general discussion of the capital-intensive development espoused by Soeharto, focusing on the land titling scheme on Java promoted by the World Bank following the ideas of Hernando de Soto. Titling was designed to end conflict and provide a land market, but it was not “land reform”. Questions of land concentration and redistribution were not addressed. The downside was that “simplified land titling may permanently fix previous flexible arrangements and privilege some rights/claims holders (elites, males, the current generation) at the expense of others” (p. 103).

Individual authors providing case studies of well-known land disputes originating in the 1990s have attempted to update their discussions, though somewhat unevenly. They include the Cimacan Golf Course in West Java (Chapter Four, by Lucas); oil palm plantations in the Nagari Kinali of West Sumatra (Chapter Five, by Afrizal); the “Million Hectare Rice Scheme” in Central Kalimantan (Chapter Six, by John McCarthy); village land versus the government and the Catholic Church on Flores (Chapter Seven, by John Mansford Prior); and tourism in Gili Trawangan on Lombok (Chapter Eight, by Warren). The one urban case study — of Pascal Hyper Square

in Bandung (Chapter Nine, by Gustaaf Reerink) — treats an episode that in fact began during the Reformasi period; the result was almost the same as those of cases dating from the Soeharto era, although there was more resistance to eviction and the project proceeded more slowly.

Chapter Ten, by Dianto Bachriadi, Lucas and Warren, describes unsuccessful efforts to secure land reform in the post-Soeharto period against the forces of neoliberalism. A coalition of disparate NGOs and peasant organizations succeeded in having the People's Consultative Assembly pass a policy directive on agrarian reform (TapMPR IX 2001), but its impact was limited as “the call for agrarian reform has been drowned out by power politics and a one-sided focus on investment liberalization” (p. 325). In 2007, President Yudhoyono's PPAN (National Agrarian Reform Program) to redistribute 9.25 million hectares of land mostly still classified as forest but more suitable for agriculture met with Forestry Department objections and changed its focus to titling.

The final chapter of the book deals with the contemporary scene, including questions of food security, land grabbing by large plantations and deteriorating terms of production and sale for oil palm smallholders. The limitations of Indonesia's “transition to democracy” are very much apparent. Lucas and Warren conclude, “[t]here is every likelihood that the contradictions in Indonesian government policy, practice and law will remain ... until social groups consolidate and/or until further grave crises force the issue” (p. 381).

The book is rich, at times almost overwhelming, in detail, its copious notes and references providing further sources of information. It represents a unique collation of historical and current analyses from some direct participants in the land reform struggles in Indonesia. While the cover illustration is brilliant, a map indicating the locations of the case studies would have been useful.

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