



Local To Global ; How Serikat Petani Indonesia Has Accelerated The Movement For Agrarian Reform

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Serikat Petani Indonesia's (the Indonesian Peasants' Union's) emergence as a peasant movement organisation was driven by three factors. *Firstly*, the imbalance of power over agrarian resources and the expropriation of peasants' land. *Secondly*, the involvement of activists in advocacy around land disputes, conducting education activities for peasants and building up peasant movement networks at the regional and national level. *Thirdly*, the momentum resulting from new opportunities for open political engagement.

Originally Serikat Petani Indonesia was formed because of the similar problems being faced by peasants whose land had been expropriated. Initially their impulse to take action was based on one simple and practical demand - to be able to cultivate the land they used to own once again. Activists were also becoming involved in advocacy in land disputes in various regions at that time, which caused the emergence of a new consciousness amongst farmers themselves. The issues they raised were no longer limited to these practical demands - now they also demanded agrarian reform. Out of this new awareness, farmers and activists collaborated to build up local peasant organisations, as well as regional and national networks. The short-term agenda was to form regional and national peasant organizations, to strengthen the peasant movement and increase the pressure on the government to push an agrarian reform agenda.

The long process of founding Serikat Petani Indonesia started with creating peasant organisations at the local or village level, then taking this one step further by setting

up provincial or regional organisations and then in 1998 the existence of Serikat Petani Indonesia was officially declared (from its inauguration until its third congress SPI had a federative structure). The networks that some activists from a group named Sintesa had built up meant that SPI became known to La Via Campesina, an international organisation for peasants and small-scale farmers. In fact, the North Sumatra Peasant Union (Serikat Petani Sumatera Utara - SPSU), which was involved in setting up SPI, had already started making contact with La Via Campesina back in 1996. Once SPI was launched, SPSU's membership in La Via Campesina passed over to SPI.

The Struggle for the Agrarian Political Agenda

In its efforts to push its agenda for agrarian reform, SPI used the 1945 Constitution and the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (Law 5/1960) as the legal basis for its struggle. Both these legal instruments were conceived by Indonesia's founding fathers, and were results of the desire to make fundamental changes in the imbalances in the economic and agrarian systems inherited from the colonial era. SPI's struggle for agrarian reform had several strategic goals: *First*, to carry out popular educational programmes to develop critical consciousness, so that its peasant members could emerge with leadership skills and the practical expertise needed to organise social movements. *Second*, to strengthen organisational structures and expand the organisation's mass support base. *Third*, mass actions to reclaim or occupy land to put pressure on the government and other groups opposing their demands. *Fourth*, to develop sustainable alternative practices as a form of struggle against the dominant hegemony. *Fifth*, to promote SPI's demands to influence policy in every space where decisions are taken. *Sixth*, Build alliances with other social movements. *Seventh*, take the struggle to the international level through La Via Campesina, to challenge the policies of the World Bank, WTO, IMF, TNCs and all other international organisations that repress peasant farmers or harm their way of life.

As a progressive law aiming to redress the unfair distribution of agrarian and economic resources, the Basic Agrarian Law had come under pressure from several different groups. One group that opposed the Basic Agrarian Law were supporters of the free market, with the agenda of liberalising land law in the interests of capital. This group comprises the World Bank, WTO, IMF and TNCs. The second group are those that claim that the Basic Agrarian Law is no longer relevant, because it is already half a century old and cannot be used to resolve agrarian conflicts. SPI's struggle against these two groups can be seen as a battle of interests over the Basic Agrarian Law. SPI's efforts to defend the law and push for its implementation are confronted with the other two groups' attempts to get the law revised. But although both want to change the Basic Agrarian Law, their aims are different, as explained above.

The World Bank has played an important role in attempts to revise the Basic Agrarian Law, through the Indonesian Government's National Land Agency (BPN) and National Development Planning Board (Bappenas). In the World Bank's Project Information Document AB414 it is clearly stated that these two agencies will undertake a program

known as the *Land Administration Project-II* or *Land Management Development Project* (LMPDP). That document reveals that the aim of the LMPDP project is to completely liberalise Indonesian land policy. The project has been funded to a sum of US\$ 84 million in total, of which US\$ 53 is money borrowed (debt) from the World Bank and IBRD. In the project report it is made explicit that all aspects of the project are intended to synchronise land regulations with free-market principles.

In fact, the re-emergence of agrarian politics in the government policy agenda arises from two directions. First is the aforementioned World Bank intervention, through the *Land Administration Project* (LAP) and *Land Management Development Project* (LMPDP) programmes in conjunction with the BPN, Bappenas and the Interior Ministry. The other driving factor is the growing strength of the movement to demand the implementation of agrarian reform, which has meant an increase in the number of agrarian conflicts.

This battle of interests around the agrarian political agenda is set to continue, and in all possibility will increase. The basis for this assumption is as follows: Firstly, the World Bank's push to liberalise land law is going to increase. Flows of foreign investment, which have recently sharply increased, need a guarantee that they can procure land as a principal asset for capital accumulation. Secondly, increasing outbursts of agrarian conflict across the regions will trigger ever more massive peasant struggles.

Acceleration of Local and Global Struggles

Globalisation has already pushed aside traditional understandings of forms and patterns of power relations. State boundaries become blurred, and both capital and people cross these borders with increasing fluidity. The role of state institutions is decreasing in importance, with private institutions taking their place. Many decisions that decide the fate of a country's citizens no longer come only from the government itself, but from international and global institutions which have a major influence in determining that country's economic dynamics. Political and economic globalisation brings changes to which actors have power and can be involved in determining and influencing policy over agrarian resources. These arguments help to understand why SPI, whose members are peasant farmers from remote villages, has chosen to confront international financial and trade institutions. Economic and political globalisation has already placed peasants face-to-face with financially powerful TNCs, and they directly feel the effects of international financial and trade organisations' policies.

Before any movement can change the power relations that have caused such inequality and injustice, there must be a deeper analysis of the different forms of power we are faced with in a range of spaces and settings. Transformative and fundamental changes can occur when a social movement or agent of change is able to work effectively in each dimension simultaneously. In other words, when a social movement is able to connect its demands to open up spaces that were previously closed, and also creating or claiming space through direct action and mobilisations, with actions reaching out at the local, national and global level, then it is tackling three

dimensions of power (*visible, hidden and invisible*) at the same time.¹ Merely relying on a strategy to influence policy in the public arena is simply not enough, if we want to push for fundamental change. For such fundamental changes in power relations, a strategy is needed which consistently raises the issue in the public arena, carries out mass mobilisations to expand political space and builds up the consciousness of marginalised people.²

Building popular consciousness and power at the local level

Peasants will not get involved in direct political action to claim their rights if they have not yet attained a critical consciousness. Building up critical consciousness is a starting point by which peasants who have been subjected to domination can move away from a condition of helplessness, and reach a point where they are able to resist those who hold the dominant power.³ SPI's educational activities, using a framework of Gaventa's 'power cube' analysis, are a strategy to oppose the invisible power that is at the root of peasants' powerlessness.⁴

Once knowledge and critical consciousness are built up, the desire for political participation returns once more. That political participation has been strongly influenced by the traumatic experience of Suharto's New Order regime, from 1965 to 1998. Subsequent political reforms which had no effect on the everyday economic conditions of peasant farmers have only served to strengthen apathetic attitudes towards the current economic and political system. It is due to this situation that the peasants of SPI aim to create their own space free of hegemony.

In its attempts to put this into practice, SPI has tried to build up autonomous spaces which act as a counter-example or a tool to oppose an unjust system. An illustration of this have been SPI's efforts to develop alternative practices at the local level, using values that come from the wisdom of peasant societies. The autonomous spaces SPI has created stand in contrast to the formal decision-making arena, which has been shown not to work as it was supposedly designed to. Citing a study by Soja, Gaventa says that this 'space' is a 'third space' whereby social actors reject hegemonic space and instead create space for themselves.⁵ Cornwall calls this an 'organic' space which, emerging from peasants' common concerns, can be shaped through mass mobilisations or when like-minded people with the same objectives join together.⁶

Social movements will be more effective if they have a strong popular base at the grassroots. Serikat Petani Indonesia believes in the strengths of the masses and its peasant members. A political struggle focussed only on policy is not enough to make sure that the current imbalanced agrarian structure can be changed. The fact that there is no strong political will from the government to put in place an agrarian reform program (*land reform by grace*), pushes SPI to choose a strategy of agrarian struggle that is based on the strength of the people themselves (*land reform by leverage*). Under this strategy, strength at the grassroots level is the central pillar of SPI's own strength.

SPI members' actions to reclaim the land are part of a strategy to open up political space, and reclaim peasants' rights as citizens. Although they are frequently faced with arrest and criminalisation for these land reclamations, SPI has stated that such actions are in fact legal and are grounded in law. The legal basis for SPI's *reclaiming* actions are the 1945 constitution, the Basic Agrarian Law and Presidential Regulation number 224 of 1961.⁷ A strategy of agrarian struggle which includes land occupations at the local level, taking back the land, will influence the subsequent process of struggle in the decision-making arena. Usually the government will respond to peasants' demands if the conflict reaches the surface and becomes a public issue.

Taking the fight beyond national borders

Violations of peasants' rights do occur. Nevertheless, huge economic divides and unbalanced agrarian distributions can be found everywhere, whether or not a specific conflict or movement for change has emerged. *Invisible power* is at work, to stifle peasants' voices, or subdue the consciousness of oppressed peasants, which it does by creating perceptions and interpretations that make people compliant, and accepting of the existing situation. A movement to fight for agrarian reform will not arise if peasants cannot free themselves from the domination of this '*invisible power*'.

Serikat Petani Indonesia's strategy to oppose this '*invisible power*' is to educate its members and the masses, as well as developing counter-concepts and alternative practices. This strategy is enacted from the national to the local level and is put into practice at the grassroots and by individuals in their everyday activities. Individuals are the main focus, whether they are peasants themselves or not. The aim is to build up consciousness amongst peasant communities, and reinforce peasants' abilities to speak out and take back their rights as citizens. As far as non-peasants are concerned, the strategy involves building up public awareness of the imbalanced agrarian situation and its wider impacts, as well as building up a base of support for peasant struggles.

Several alternative concepts have been developed through a dialectical process within SPI or in La Via Campesina. Together with hundreds of other peasant and small-scale farmers' organisations from every continent, different alternative ideas have been formulated and disseminated to grassroots members of La Via Campesina in faraway countries. Food Sovereignty,⁸ agro-ecology, seed sovereignty and family-scale farming are some of the concepts La Via Campesina has kindled. These concepts have not emerged from an elitist process, but have been sought out from the local wisdom of La Via Campesina's grassroots members. Which means that they are not foreign ideas to peasants, as there are similarities in peasant wisdom in different countries, even if the terms used are different.

A strategy to develop awareness and create autonomous space must be accompanied by follow-up steps to mobilise peasants to take direct action, claim their rights as peasants and voice their demands, in order to influence the policy arena. SPI has taken steps to encourage the state to implement agrarian reform by pushing for its inclusion

in the national political agenda. SPI's strategy to make agrarian reform a key political priority have been: an awareness-raising campaign and building wider public support; building strategic alliances to increase the pressure and push for change in various political forums; mobilisations and mass actions to put pressure on policy-makers; lobbying key political figures and policy-makers (both executive and legislative) to influence decision-making or to make proposals for the policy agenda; and to make use of '*invited space*' to make contributions and express opinions when policy is being formulated.

In 2006 SPI came up with the idea of a cross-sectoral alliance of people's movements, which was known as GERAK LAWAN (People's Movement to Fight Neocolonialism).⁹ GERAK LAWAN was formed because of a shared view that there was a common enemy, neocolonialism. This new form of domination is practised by international financial institutions such as the World Bank, ADB, WTO and IMF. One of GERAK LAWAN's missions is to challenge the World Bank's role in the liberalisation of Indonesia's agrarian resources.¹⁰

GERAK LAWAN's resistance actions have faced up to neocolonial power with increasing intensity as it threatens people's livelihood and national sovereignty. Mass actions have taken place, putting pressure on the trade ministry, the agriculture ministry, and Bappenas not to give in to these international and trade institutions. Apart from the mass actions, GERAK LAWAN has been involved in Judicial Reviews of various pieces of legislation which conflict with the 1945 constitution and violate peasants' rights.

At the global level, SPI has, together with other members of La Via Campesina, taken an active role in the campaign against land grabbing. An expression of opposition to land grabbing has been declared at the global level, with the launch of the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform (GCAR). This campaign aims to oppose land expropriation and push for developing countries to carry out agrarian reform. La Via Campesina is the driving force behind the GCAR,¹¹ alongside *Food First Information and Action Network* (FIAN).¹² (12) La Via Campesina's GCAR working committee has built links with various movement groupings and international NGOs with the aims of opposing land grabbing and promoting agrarian reform.

In La Via Campesina's third conference in 2000,¹³ four documents were published, outlining the struggles around *farmers rights, gender, biodiversity and genetic resources, and land reform*.¹⁴ In the position paper on land reform, it was stated that in the previous ten years, the expropriation of peasant lands had tended to increase in many developing countries. This land grabbing had taken place as a result of the World Bank, IMF, WTO and transnational corporations' attempts to create a market where land is treated as a commodity. This conclusion can be drawn from the reports of all La Via Campesina's members, the majority of which come from developing countries.¹⁵ One of the strategies for action against the World Bank's policy to liberalise land has been to promote La Via Campesina's demands in forums such as the FAO, IMF, WB, WTO, ILO and various international forums of the UN.¹⁶ Others include resisting privatisation and

the liberalisation of agriculture, educational activities, setting up fact-finding teams and documenting cases of violence against peasants, as well as solidarity actions for other members of La Via Campesina.¹⁷

As La Via Campesina's International Coordination Committee representative for the East and South-east Asia region, SPI has played an active role in consolidating the peasant movement at the regional level, putting on pressure at international events such as the ministerial-level WTO meeting in Qatar, where the aim was to urge the WTO to get out of the agricultural sector.¹⁸ SPI has also been active in protest actions at the World Social Forum, the FAO's High-Level Conference on World Food Security, the consolidation of the Asian labour movement, Earth Summit (Rio+10) and many other international activities.¹⁹ This series of actions at the global level is an effort to address forms of global dominance which threaten farming and agrarian resources in rural areas.

At the global level, the struggle for agrarian reform is moving forward. In 2006, as a result of hard work by its Brazilian members,²⁰ La Via Campesina was successful in encouraging Brazil to launch an international forum on agrarian reform. The Brazilian government under President Lula,²¹ ensured the FAO's involvement as an organiser. This idea eventually became the '*Intenational Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development*' (ICARRD), which was attended by 93 countries. La Via Campesina and other international networks were actively involved from the preparation of the conference through to the conference process itself.

This conference was the second biggest international meeting about agrarian reform, after the *World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development* (WCARRD) 27 years previously, in Rome in 1979. The WCARRD meeting had produced the *Peasant Charter*, which affirmed the importance of agrarian reform for a just society. At the ICARRD each nation's government delegations were lead by ministers or government officials. According to Gunawan Wirandi, who was part of the Indonesian government delegation, it was very unfortunate that the resulting declaration did not produce binding commitments for participating countries. However, the 2006 Porto Alegre Declaration²² that came out of ICARRD was a new historical milestone that indicated a resurgence of energy to bring about pro-people agrarian reform.²³

La Via Campesina's success in initiating the ICARRD became the starting point for La Via Campesina and its allies' *Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform*. Apart from following up the 2006 Porto Alegre declaration, which many participating countries didn't manage to put in place, that effort did succeed in putting agrarian reform back on the international agenda.

Two SPI members were able to give speeches to all the international delegates at a session of the ICARRD forum. First of all Henry Saragih represented La Via Campesina, and then Wagimin²⁴ spoke to present testimony of victims of agrarian conflict. In his speech, Henry Saragih forcefully conveyed the threats of land expropriation and

impoverishment that rural peasants are facing around the world. Wagimin's presentation included testimony of human rights violations against peasants in agrarian conflicts. SPI chose to focus on the case of SPI members in Tanak Awu,²⁵ Lombok, who had experienced violence from security forces. The statements from these two Indonesians made the Indonesian Government delegation feel a little offended and shamed.²⁶

Peasant Rights as an Instrument of Struggle

In 2001, Serikat Petani Indonesia and other agrarian activists decided to hold a 'National Conference on Agrarian Reform to Protect and Implement the Rights of Peasants'²⁷ They brought this idea to the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) to ask if they would be willing to facilitate the conference's organisation. The conference took place from the 17th to 20th April 2001, in the Cibubur Youth Building, and was attended by 150 representatives of farming organisations and NGOs from Aceh to Papua. Two important decisions came out of the conference, a Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of Peasants (the conference added the word 'fundamental'), and designating 20th April each year as Peasants' Rights Day. The declaration consisted of eight chapters and 67 points.

The Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of Peasants was a new milestone in the peasant struggle. Previously the peasant struggle had always voiced practical demands as a response to problems faced by peasants. The new declaration signalled a shift in the issues, whereby the peasant struggle would now be defined as a struggle based on peoples rights as citizens and as peasants in particular. It was not unconnected to SPI's main concern, agrarian reform.²⁸ The most important aspect of the formulation of the declaration was how it was carried out - a bottom-up mechanism, by peasants themselves.

SPI's involvement in developing the concept of Fundamental Rights of Peasants from the beginning gave it the impulse to bring this campaign to a global stage. Through La Via Campesina a plan was conceived to hold a "Regional Conference on Peasants' Rights" in Jakarta, which would be attended by La Via Campesina members from around the South East Asia region. This conference recommended that the issue of peasants' rights should become a topic for discussion at La Via Campesina's fourth conference, as the organisation's highest decision-making forum. In that fourth conference, peasant's rights was one of the principal issues discussed. Towards the end of the conference La Via Campesina agreed to produce a resolution on the Rights of Peasants.

Aided by the networks of La Via Campesina, FIAN and CETIM, two meetings with experts have taken place in 2004 and 2006 to discuss the initiative of a Convention on the Rights of Peasants. These discussions were successful in pushing the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food to take note of this initiative in his annual report, as a way to improve the situation of small-scale subsistence farmers who are the main victims of hunger, malnutrition and human rights violations.

On 21st October 2008 La Via Campesina launched its "Global Campaign on the Rights of Peasants" in front of around 700 of its delegates and allies. The aim of the campaign is to achieve an international convention within the United Nations' human rights framework. The campaign takes place at three levels; national, regional and international. Its strategy is to disseminate information on initiatives for peasants' rights, starting from the grassroots level, building alliances, consolidating the credibility of the rights of peasants as an issue so that others will take it up and promote it through affirmative action, and to lobby the national government to lend support to this issue in the UN. Also in 2008, La Via Campesina proposed the idea of Rights of Peasants to the UN Human Rights Council, suggesting that it should be a new human rights instrument. In September 2012, a session of the UN Human Rights Council passed a resolution on the Rights of Peasants in a ballot, with 23 countries in agreement, 15 abstaining and 9 against. By adopting this resolution the UN Human Rights Council agreed to form an inter-governmental working group, mandated to negotiate and finalise a draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas, based on plans drawn up by the UNHRC's advisory committee.

Conclusion

At the dawn of the 21st century agrarian reform appeared once again in regional and global agendas. But it is necessary to understand how those agendas were brought forward, and by whom. According to Gaventa, the agendas that arise in different spaces cannot be isolated from the power relations that produce them.²⁹ (29) Whilst social movements have been busy with the agrarian reform issue, land reform in particular has also been taken up by the World Bank, IMF, FAO and others. Those institutions may make land reform a priority, but do so in a way which social movements vehemently oppose. The World Bank's designs for agrarian reform include liberalising trade in land in various countries in the interests of the market.

The World Bank's land reform agenda is a form of 'invisible power' which attempts to manipulate the meaning of land reform to serve the interests of capital. Through this relationship of 'invisible power', the World Bank aims to influence public perceptions and divert the focus from agrarian reform itself. Facing up to this hegemonic power, SPI has identified its agenda of struggle as 'True Agrarian Reform'. This term is a symbol of opposition to the World Bank's concepts of land reform.³⁰ Without understanding how shifts in power relations take place within global economic and political dynamics, the struggle for agrarian reform can get ensnared in the traps set by powerful neoliberal agendas which we actually should be fighting against.

According to Gaventa, transformative, fundamental changes occur when social movements or social actors are able to work effectively across each dimension simultaneously, that is when they manage to link their demands through actions at the local, national and global level, challenging power at each level. Gaventa's arguments can be seen in SPI's strategy to fight for agrarian reform going beyond local

and national boundaries, right up to the global scale. SPI's struggle goes beyond the limits of horizontal space, and takes place at each level.

In an essay recording the growth of the peasant movement in North Africa and Asia after the Second World War, Alexandrov predicted that the modern peasant movement would develop to go beyond demands to cultivate land, but expand their practical demands to embrace a wider agenda for more complete change. According to him, this would be caused by the continuing emergence of new contradictions in the agricultural sector as it became increasingly commercial and capitalistic, piercing the heart of peasant's livelihoods. He concludes that in the future the peasant movement would progressively surpass the limitations of traditional societies and come to represent a strong new social movement bearing the characteristics of modern society.³¹ In years to come, agrarian reform is still an important topic for political debate, and also for social movements who stand up to the injustices of the dominant system.

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¹ See John Gaventa, Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis, in IDS Bulletin, Volume 37 No.6, November 2006. Institute of Development Studies, page. 30.

² See John Gaventa, Finding the Spaces for Change : A Power Analysis, in IDS Bulletin, Volume 37 No.6, November 2006. Institute of Development Studies, page 30.

³ Gaventa says it like this "Power serves to create power, powerlessness serves to re-enforce powerlessness". See in John Gaventa, Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980, page 256.

⁴ See John Gaventa, Finding the Spaces for Change : A Power Analysis, in IDS Bulletin, Volume 37 No.6, November 2006. Institute of Development Studies, pp 29-30.

⁵ John Gaventa, Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis, in IDS Bulletin, Volume 37 No.6, November 2006. Institute of Development Studies, page 26-27.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ A formal legal argumentation for reclaiming actions is explained by SPI in, Prinsip Kerja Umum Perjuangan Pembaruan Agraria, Jakarta : SPI, 2008.

⁸ The concept of food sovereignty is an alternative concept which arose from the failure of the idea of Food Security which has been used worldwide by the UN. La Via Campesina came up with the idea of food

sovereignty in 1996, and now it has been adopted by many states and international institutions. Alongside agrarian reform, food sovereignty is one of La Via Campesina and its member's central issues. The concept promotes peasant sovereignty in food production by giving importance to peasants' rights to land and seeds. Aside from this the concept of food sovereignty makes clear that food is the right of all humanity, and cannot be taken over by agribusiness corporations for their own interests.

⁹ Gerak Lawan has members from peasant, workers, fisherfolk, students and youth organisations, as well as NGOs that share similar viewpoints about the dangers of Neo-colonialism.

¹⁰ See, Tabloid Pembaruan Tani, Edition 31, September 2006, pp. 8-9.

¹¹ See Alana Mann, Spaces for Talk: Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and Genuine Dialogue in an International Advocacy Movement, in Asian Social Science Vol. 4, No. 10, October 2008.

¹² FIAN is an international human rights NGO, focussed on advocacy work for the right to food. For full details see www.fian.org

¹³ Before that conference SPI was already chosen to represent International Coordination Committee of La Via Campesina - for the East and South-East Asia region. In this role, SPI was given the task to consolidate the agrarian movement at the regional level.

¹⁴ La Via Campesina's Third Conference took place in Bangalore, India and was attended by hundreds of representatives of peasant organisations from more than 40 countries.

¹⁵ See La Via Campesina Third Conference Declaration, The struggle for agrarian reform and social changes in the rural areas, October 2000.

¹⁶ La Via Campesina Declaration, TLAXCALA, 1996.

¹⁷ Interview with Henry Saragih

¹⁸ In the ministerial level WTO meeting in Qatar, agriculture was an important subject for debate, intended to lead towards an Agreement on Agriculture (AoA). SPI and other members of La Via Campesina were pushing to remove discussions of the liberalisation of agriculture from the WTO forum. The campaign slogan that was used 'WTO out of agriculture' was a symbolic statement that the WTO was a coloniser that had come to threaten peasant livelihoods.

¹⁹ See Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Badan Pelaksana Federasi (BPF) FSPI Periode 1999-2002, pp. 22-26.

²⁰ MST (Landless Peasants' Movement) is a member of La Via Campesina in Brazil which is well-known for pushing for land reform through land occupations.

²¹ MST Brazil had a strong influence on the Labour Party candidate Lula Da Silva's victory in the presidential elections, because of the support from MST members votes.

²² The contents of the ICARRD declaration in Indonesian can be read in Yusuf Nafiri et al, "Pembaruan Agraria: Kepastian Yang Harus Dijaga", Bogor, KRKP 2006, page.84.

²³ Information about the results of ICARRD and how its organisation developed can be read on the ICARRD website <http://www.icarrd.org/sito.html>.

²⁴ Wagimin, an SPI member from North Sumatra, who is currently the Chair of the SPI North Sumatra management board.

²⁵ SPI members in Tanak Awu were subjected to police violence while they were fighting to defend their land which was being forcibly expropriated to build an airport. The clashes in September 2005 made headlines in print and electronic media. See <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,dinamic-s,detail-ids,1-id,3543-lang,id-c,warta-t,FSPI+Minta+Polri+Bertanggung+Jawab-.php> , accessed on 17th June 2012.

²⁶ Interview with Henry Saragih

²⁷ The National Conference on Agrarian Reform was organised by Serikat Petani Indonesia together with Komnas HAM, KPS (Consortium for Agrarian Reform, Bina Desa, ELSPAT (Lembaga Studi Pedesaan dan Pertanian Terpadu) Jaringan Advokasi Petani Indonesia, IPPHT (Ikatan Petani untuk Pemberantasan Hama Terpadu) CAPS (Center for Agricultural Policy Studies), CNDS (Center for National Democratic Studies), TRK (Tim Relawan Kemanusiaan), Yayasan Akatiga and INFID (International NGO's Forum for Indonesian Development).

²⁸ SPSU (one of SPI's founding organisations) had already been discussing peasants' rights with its members since 1996, but it had been limited to formulating its key points. An interview with M. Harris Putra (ex-General Secretary of SPSU) revealed that SPSU had already discussed 7 Fundamental Rights of Peasants back in 1996. Those seven points were often published in SPSU's leaflets by its members.

²⁹ John Gaventa, Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis, in IDS Bulletin, Volume 37 No.6, November 2006. Institute of Development Studies.

³⁰ Interview with Henry Saragih

³¹ See YU.G. Alexandrov, Pergolakan Petani dan Perubahan Sosial. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1984.