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Land Dispute Between Farmers and Army in Urutsewu, Kebumen, Central Java

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Abstract

Land as a natural resource for the community has a vital role in life. Everything about land has been regulated in the 1945 Constitution Article 33 paragraph (3) and Law no. 5 of 1960 on Agrarian Affairs. One of the prolonged agrarian conflicts in Indonesia is the conflict between farmers and the army in Urutsewu, Kebumen Regency. This article will discuss the root causes of the Urutsewu conflict and the process of the Urutsewu conflict by dividing it into three periods, namely the beginning, the middle (the peak of the conflict), and the end (the resolution). The method used in this paper is descriptive qualitative, the data obtained through literature

study. The theory used in this article is the social class theory of Karl Marx which describes the vertical conflict between the proletariat (Low-class people) and the bourgeoisie (the upper class). The study's results found that the cause of the Urutsewu conflict was a dispute over land ownership, the resolution of which was through negotiation or deliberation involving the conflicting parties. The Urutsewu conflict has similarities with problems in other areas, such as the peasant conflict in Semarang, Kendal, and the Pagilaran peasant movement, which both involved farmers against the upper class.

Keywords: Agrarian Conflict, Urutsewu, Army, People's Resistance, Land Dispute

1. Introduction

The soil on the earth becomes a necessity of life closely related to the agricultural system. In Indonesia, most of the population does farming, depending on land (Idamatussilmi, 2021) ^[10]. The land is also an asset of people's lives to earn a living and can build a place to live as a house. For rural communities, the land is vital because it is used for agriculture to fulfill their lives. Land ownership can be used as a criterion of social status in a community because he depends on his land but must be taken forcibly without the land owner's permission. The function of land ownership is the right to own the goods in their possession so that they cannot be given to other people to be used, which can harm the local community.

Many areas have conflicts over land ownership, which causes the community and local officials to clash. In disputes that occur every day, the farmers must defend the land they already own in clashes with the authorities. Usually, conflicts arise because the people did not want to sell their land but did not have conditions, and other people instigated this land conflict. The land is also a life that often occurs in disputes, and then the Basic Law of Agraria (BLoA) is enacted, which states that the land is used for the prosperity of the people (Susanto, 2019) ^[37]. This law gives ownership rights to individuals who cultivate the ground.

The Urutsewu is the coastal area of the Kebumen Regency and has become famous for its agricultural productivity, which is closely related to history and regional law. The Urutsewu farmer has a long conflict with the army over land ownership rights. In the Urutsewu area, conflicts often occur because the land in the area is located on a fertile coast. In the case of land conflicts involving several sub-districts and villages that became victims of the army. The people of Urutsewu, mainly farmers, struggle to defend their land from being taken from annexation by the authorities. Conflicts over land struggles have continued for a dozen years which have become victims, especially farmers who own a lot of lands (Idamatussilmi, 2021) ^[10]. The fight over land has become a protracted conflict triggered by land claims since the start of land acquisition for the development of the southern route.

The conflict in Urutsewu manifests the differences in preferences and perceptions of the two parties to the conflict. The existence of land ownership claims that become a reference occurs with the perceptions of each side of the army and the community (Susanto, 2019) ^[37]. The Urutsewu area is also used as a place for defense and weapons testing in the freedom of community groups from land rights so that it has removed the sense of security in the lives of the residents of Urutsewu, who were initially peaceful. When it appeared, it was based on evidence that the land in Urutsewu was the Indonesian government's

land from the army as a place of defense. The farmers and the army are fighting over the boundaries of the land that will be used as military land and making crossing routes. Still, on the part of the local community, it can be used as a military defense area different from the army's primary goal. The Urutsewu community manages their lands registered in the state of various sizes until the BLoA is enacted. Various historical documents show that the claim to the land of the Urutsewu community is quite strong. The Urutsewu community has been occupying and caring for the land for decades, even before the Indonesian army used the land for military training. Based on the BLoA regarding the Right to Clear Land, in article 16f of the BLoA, the land acquisition rights are owned by residents in Urutsewu because they have cleared the land for the first time (Idamatussilmi, 2021)^[10]. After the government took over the land as a place of defense for the army, the people of Urutsewu struggled to push the government to give them the land right of ownership. The struggle is colored by the physical violence used by the military. The conflict's commotion has not yet been resolved until negotiations are carried out.

This study will address the research questions: (1) What is the root cause of the agrarian conflict in Urutsewu? (2) What is the process of the agrarian conflict in Urutsewu? (3) How was the resolution taken to resolve the agrarian conflict in Urutsewu?

2. Literature review

Conflict is a dynamic social problem. Conflict is a social system formed by actors with conflicting goals (Galtung, 1958), quoted from (Matondang, 2019)^[16]. Therefore, conflict theory has two main elements: actors and goals. These two elements determine the dynamics of the conflict. According to Myres (2010), conflict occurs because of errors between different plans and activities as expected. Meanwhile, Baron (2012), quoted from (Amri, and Alfirdaus, 2022)^[2], states that all conflicts occur because of the results of interactions that are felt empirically. The widespread distrust leads to anger and directs activities to torture others.

Intra-state conflicts include rebellions, separatism, civil wars, conflicts between communities, inter-ethnic conflicts, and conflicts between foreign people and organizations, such as foreign countries or non-governments (Paszkievicz, 2018)^[22] quoted from (Matondang, 2019)^[16]. The seizure of land, commonly called agrarian conflict, is an intra-conflict. Agrarian conflicts are agrarian disputes between individuals, groups, organizations, legal entities, or institutions that have a tendency or broad social, political, economic, defense, and cultural impacts. In other words, a condition called agrarian conflict can impact the social, political, economic, security, and cultural fields. Therefore, the discussion of handling agrarian conflicts is related to social, political, economic, defense, and cultural issues. When agrarian conflicts have resulted in physical clashes that have occurred for a certain period and have an impact on national stability and security, these conflicts are also referred to as social conflicts (Matondang, 2019)^[16].

State land can be divided into free state land and non-free state land. Free state land is land that a legal person or community has not owned, and free land has not been controlled, has not been occupied, and used by the people (Luthfi, 2014). The classification states the condition of the land before being cultivated by anyone.

The conflict that occurred in Urutsewu was a social conflict that involved three parties: farmers, the army, and mining companies. The conflict is located on the estuary of Luk Ulo River, Ayam Putih Village in the west to the mouth of the Wawar River in Wiromartan Village. In total, the entire conflict area is about 22.5 km and is 500 meters wide from the beach (Susanto, 2019)^[37].

According to Sumardjono (1982)^[36], land problems can be classified into five parts. First, the land management issue can be organized into five parts: First, the problem of people's control of forestry plantation land and the construction of abandoned houses. Second, issues related to violations of land reform agreements (land leases). Third, access to the land provision is only used for development. Fourth, land disputes. The five problems are related to customary law communities or are the authority of customary law owned by specific communities because the lives of their citizens use the natural resources of their environment (Ulayat Rights).

Urutsewu is an area located in Kebumen Regency in the southern coastal region. The Urutsewu district has three sub-districts: Ambal, Buluspesantren, and Mirit. Within the Urutsewu district are 22 villages in Mirit Subdistrict, 32 villages in Ambal, and 21 villages in Buluspesantren. The Urutsewu area has a length of 22.5 km from the west, which is directly adjacent to the Luk Ulo River, and to the east, it is bordered by the Warwar River (Susanto, 2019)^[37].

Indonesia is declared an agricultural country, and it is not surprising if it places land in an important position. Most people depend on land for their livelihood. Land ownership is a vertical assessment of social status that shows a person's height in the community (Qorni, 2016)^[25]. Thus, in the 20th century, there were many studies of (agrarian) land. Talking about agrarian conflicts, of course, later we will discuss the movement of the peasants against the owners of capital, which can be said to be a mass social movement.

According to Horton (1999)^[9], a social movement is a form of collective struggle that aims to resist changes that occur in society. There is a social movement because there is a sense of dissatisfaction with a situation. It started from a group of organizations that were not directed, disorganized and unplanned. In the end, the group will share their grievances and feelings of suffering. Thus, later leaders of the movement will emerge when social unrest is created. The organization formed later can be temporary, and the organization will disappear without a trace, quoted from (Kamaruddin 2012)^[11]. Social movements are not far from the struggle of certain social groups against groups of capital owners who exploit the economy, society, religion, politics, and culture (Kartodirdjo 1992^[12], 1978) quoted (Kamaruddin, 2012)^[11].

During the time of President Soekarno, implementing policies that benefited the population, Soekarno's agrarian politics overhauled the land ownership and control system—establishing the juridical basis in Law no. 5 of 1960 concerning the BLoA. Like, set a maximum area of 5 hectares and must be in the owner's residence, in the district area. It cannot be outside the district. If it is found that they own land within its boundaries, then the land will be taken by the government and handed over to farmers who do not own land to benefit people's food production income (Purwanta, 2022).

There were differences in agricultural policies between President Soekarno (1945-1966) and President Suharto's

(1967-1998) administration; conditions increased relative to farmers. New policies of the BLoA began to emerge and deviate because Suharto implemented the capitalist system. During the Soeharto era, it was the opposite of the spirit applied during the Pak Karno era. President Suharto allowed anyone with money to invest anywhere. Suharto welcomed foreign investors, and some foreign corporations came to invest in Indonesia (Purwanta, 2022). The policy triggered agrarian conflict, which is prone to occur between farmers and the ruling elite or capital owners (Qorni, 2016)^[25].

3. Methodology

In the process of compiling this research, the method used is a descriptive qualitative research method with a literature study approach. Literature studies are used through the presentation of concepts, discoveries, and other research study materials that have previously gone through the process of reference material, which will be used as a reference in research activities in the future. The qualitative method is a research method in which the explanation is in the form of analysis and subjective. In the qualitative method, the point of view of the informant is used as a description that is prioritized in obtaining research results. This method uses several research techniques, which include experimentation, observation, and interviews.

Mahmud (2011)^[15] explained that a literature study is one of the forms of research carried out by reading relevant books, articles, journals, magazines, and thesis. Furthermore, analysis using a literature review does not require a researcher to meet directly with the source. The literature review is intended to expand the theoretical and practical aspects.

Generally, studying the literature is not always used in the early stages when designing the frame of mind. However, it can also use library sources to obtain valid data and by the discussion to be studied. In collecting data, an author will usually use the documentation method. The documentation describes perspectives and subjects contained in written media and other documents. This way, important conclusions about the topics discussed will be obtained.

In supporting research writing to obtain as valid data as possible, the data sources used were obtained through secondary sources. Secondary sources are information that came from secondhand, whether in copies, derivatives, writings or other data sources that do not belong to the first person. Secondary sources were collected from various books that correlate with the research object in the form of theses and relevant journals. In this case, the author uses Google Scholar, an online library at perpusnas.go.id and Garuda Ristekdikti to simplify the data search process. The main object of this research is the coastal area of Urutsewu, which was initially a local community's agricultural land and was used as a weapons testing area by the Indonesian army, which would later lead to a prolonged conflict between the two parties. Meanwhile, the subjects focused on were farmers, the Indonesian military, and the local government who served in Urutsewu.

This study uses the theory of Class Struggle, coined by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel. In their book *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels explain that class conflicts will always exist in the history of human life. Society will be divided into two classes that clash: the capitalist bourgeoisie as the oppressor class and the proletariat as the oppressed class. More clearly, the capitalist

bourgeoisie is described as a class consisting of a group of people with the capital and means of production to obtain the highest possible personal profit by exploiting the proletariat class. The position of the capitalist bourgeoisie is more dominant than the proletariat because it has power. Thus, the bourgeoisie can easily carry out arbitrary acts of oppression against the proletariat. This experimental condition that befell the proletariat encouraged the creation of a revolutionary class as a response from the proletariat, who wanted change and justice for the rights they deserved (Suhelmi, 2001)^[33].

If it is related to the theory of Class Struggle contained in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the correlation with the topic to be discussed by the author, namely the Agrarian Conflict in the Urutsewu area, is very close. In this case, the people of Urutsewu occupied the position of the proletariat, in which the people became the oppressed party in their land and suffered enormous losses. Urutsewu farmers fight for land ownership rights. Meanwhile, the army and MNC opposition have been given positions as the capitalist bourgeoisie. Because, in its development, the Indonesian military occupies land that was not theirs previously to serve as a weapons test site. The army has also often been repressed because its power is higher and more significant than the Urutsewu community. In addition, the military and MNC are also trying to reap economic benefits, as evidenced by the cooperation in the framework of iron sand mining in the Urutsewu area, which certainly has a significant impact on the lives of the people of Urutsewu.

4. Findings

The Roots of the Agrarian Conflict in Urutsewu

Initially, the army only borrowed space from the Urutsewu community to use as a training ground in Ambal District. After that, the Indonesian military carried out various heavy weapons training trials. Then, the army claimed the land unilaterally without the consent of the residents. The mapping is explained as a safe zone for training that leads to land ownership claims (Idamatussilmi, 2021)^[10]. The conflict started with the recognition of land in the southern coastal area of Kebumen. It began with the Southern Cross Road Network (JJLS) construction. Not only that, but when the Urutsewu location was used as a weapons and defense testing area for the benefit of the army, the freedom of the Urutsewu community group began to be abolished over land rights, and the community felt a sense of security loss (Amri & Alfirdaus, 2022)^[2].

The agrarian conflict in Urutsewu led to the attachment of evidence from both parties. The Indonesian Armed Forces presented various pieces of evidence. First, the claim showed that the local government supported the military to use the lang for defense and shooting training. The evidence was included in the Central Cavalry Decree dated 28 March 1957. Second, the letter from the regional head of Kebumen Regent No. 590/1404 on 31 July 1985 discussed the Recommendation for the Addition of the Kebumen Ambal Trial Building Facility. Third, the Letter of the Human Rights Commission of the Republic of Indonesia No. 112/K/PMT/I/2011. Fourth, the Decree of the Head of the Office of Integrated Licensing and Investment Services of Kebumen Regency No. 590/4 KEP/2013.

On the other hand, the people continue to demand their land ownership rights through proof of ownership rights registered with the National Land Agency, and the Urutsewu

community has been managing the land for 20 years and over. They have petok D and petok C permits. Petok D is a land ownership certificate issued by the sub-district head and village head. Before the emergence of the 1960 Agrarian Law, the Petok D letter was always the main legal proof of land ownership and was strong as a land certificate. April 2011 became the starting point for the Urutsewu community's struggle to obtain land ownership rights. There has been a conflict between the army and the community. The conflict claimed 16 victims, the military carried out physical violence and shootings, and even the perpetrators were not publicly punished. When the confrontation occurred, the army closed access to land by building fences in Mirit Subdistrict to Buluspasantren. The wall construction is considered a status quo over the army land claims. It turned out that the army and the private sector were involved in the conflict. In the private sector, MNCs exploit iron sand mines and cause environmental damage (Cahyati, 2014)^[5], quoted from (Amri & Alfirdaus, 2022)^[2].

Both parties attach various evidence; it can be concluded that Urutsewu's land rights belong to the people. This right is stated in the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila as the philosophy of life. Legal protection of community rights and management of land resources in Article 28I of the 1945 Constitution, Article 28B of the 1945 Constitution (constitutional rights), and Law no. 39 of 1999 (human rights). Article 22 of the BLoA explains that one way to get land ownership rights can be by clearing land. Ownership for land clearing parties is also stated in the national agrarian law, as stated in Article 5 of the BLoA (Idamatussilmi, 2021)^[10].

The quarrel between the army and the people began. The community held demonstrations and demonstrations and broke into the gates of the Army Research and Development Agency and the entrance to the army training site. The people's disillusionment attitude was shown more broadly by holding demonstrations on the city streets by carrying banners that read about the rejection of the army's policy regarding the training area. The people who came down to demonstrate came from various walks of life in Urutsewu.

The land claim in Urutsewu encouraged the community to take action against the army and the government's ruling elite. In response, the army committed violence against residents using the pretext of the national interest. In 1997, the atmosphere became more extreme because there were five children were hit by a gun training Mortis explosion, and even a shooting at the Urutsewu community carried out by the Indonesian Army (Pandoyo *et al.*, 2015)^[21]. Intimidation and oppression by the government resulted in increasing public anxiety. The government deliberately accepted foreign offers to explore the natural resources in Urutsewu and made authoritarian policies toward the people.

Natural resources exploited by mining materials easily trigger conflicts. Natural resource usage often involves communities, local governments, non-governmental environmental organizations, and mining companies. Actors in managing natural resources have different desires, which often causes friction. Meanwhile, the community wants mining products only to be used for the economic welfare of the residents in earning income and as a livelihood (Cahyati, 2014)^[5]. The local community also wants natural resources management to be carried out correctly and not to be exploited because it will cause ecological damage due to

mining activities.

The Initial Process of the Urutsewu Conflict

The Urutsewu area is on the south coast from Cilacap, Kebumen, to Kulonprogo. The area included in the conflict area is Kebumen district which consists of three of the six sub-districts namely; Mirit sub-district (Mirit Petikusan, Tlogopragoto, Tlogodepok, Lembupurwo, and Wiromartan villages); Ambal (Ambalresmi, Entak, Kaibon Petangkuran, Sumberjati, and Kenoyojayan villages); Buluspasantren (Ayam Putih, Setrojenar, and Bercong villages). The area involved in the army land dispute is wide enough so that the Urutsewu conflict is prolonged and challenging to resolve.

The land in Urutsewu is being contested because it has great potential. Regarding natural resources, Urutsewu soil produces high-quality iron sand (Devy, 2014). This iron sand natural resource factor will also cause conflicts between farmers and the MNCs. In addition, it has good agricultural potential. The soil in Urutsewu has a high fertility rate, so many agricultural businesses are developing, such as shallots, watermelons, chilies, melons, and papayas. The agricultural sector is the primary commodity of farmers' livelihoods, so it is not surprising that the army always contests farmland. Urutsewu also has potential in the field of tourism, especially in Wiromartan village, because it has the potential to be used as a mangrove forest area combined with fisheries business. Not only that, but this area is also a habitat for birds such as black storks and sea eagles. Then the Urutsewu area, usually a tourist area, is the Setrojenar beach. Urutsewu's land became a bone of contention between the army, who wanted to use the coastal site for military training, and farmers, who tried to use the ground to make ends meet.

In this Urutsewu conflict, many parties became actors in seeking support, including the government. In this case, there was an oddity because the government permitted the army to conduct military training. This is quite questionable because the community has legal evidence of land ownership documents. In addition, the community's losses due to the army military exercises have claimed victims because there are mortars left over from the activities that are still active so that they accidentally exploded; this happened in 1998 (Dhian, 2014). The second is Mitra Niaga Cemerlang (MNC) certainly complicates the problems in Urutsewu. MNC received permission from the Kebumen government in 2008 during the Regent of Nashiruddin Al Mansyur to carry out iron sand mining in the Urutsewu area; this sparked resistance from the community.

In addition, from the opposite party, some actors support the first people's struggle, namely the South Mirit Community Forum (FMMS). This Forum is a collection of people from six villages in the Mirit sub-district who reject the existence of iron sand mining by MNCs. FMMS functions as a channel for opinions or aspirations from the community. The second is the South Kebumen Farmers Association Forum. The Forum rejected the army's claim to the Urutsewu land because they felt disturbed by the army's military exercises. The third is Sereus, or the Urutsewu Youth Union. The union, which was filled with youth, held a cultural festival called "Gebyag Cah Angon Urutsewu," so they rejected the army's claim and the mining of MNCs. Fourth is USB or Urutsewu Bersatu. This institution was formed based on a shared destiny or interest in seeking justice for the military. USB serves as a community tool in

coordinating the struggle of the Urutsewu community.

The Urutsewu conflict began when the army's claim based on Urutsewu land being state land since 1937 was inherited from the Netherlands and passed down to Japan and then to the army. The Governor recognized the claim through letter No. 592.2/20317 of 2007, the Regent's letter No. 590/1404 of 1989, SK Executive Summary, and Final Report on Regional Spatial Planning. Meanwhile, the community also has letters and certificates for land ownership registered with National Land Agency (NLA).

In the 1960s, the army used the land for training until conflict arose in 1980 when the army built a research center by buying land from the village head, which belonged to the residents. In 1998 there were casualties because residents found mortars that had not been cleaned, remnants of army training, which were still active and exploded accidentally. The military exercise also caused other losses, namely destroying the residents' corn crops and not being compensated by Dislitbang. The conflict became more complicated when the army-built stakes on land owned by residents in 2007, resulting in residents' resistance. After that, in 2009, residents built a gate for the entrance to the Setrojenar beach; this caused a rejection from the army. The conflict was still ongoing when residents held various rallies at the Provincial Legislative Council (PLC) of the Kebumen Regency building.

The Path of Conflict

The agrarian conflict in Urutsewu strongly correlates with the unclear status of land ownership rights along the coast of Buluspesantren, Ambal, and Mirit sub-districts. As a result, it causes a struggle for land ownership from several parties, namely the community and the army. The local community depends on the agricultural sector for their lives, so the existing land is cultivated as agricultural land that produces various kinds of horticultural crops, such as eggplant, melon, papaya, and chili. On the other hand, the Indonesian army makes land a place for testing the main weapons system tools and training for war (Cahyati, 2014) ^[5].

The Urutsewu conflict began in 1982 when the Indonesian army requested permission to use part of the land in Urutsewu as a training ground and weapons test. The land loan was initially well received by the community because farmers were still able to cultivate 500 meters of land along 22.5 kilometers from the coastline. The claim made by the army for the 500-meter land was based on a statement that stated that the land had been used as a military training ground since the Dutch colonial period. The order of control and use are (1) Year 1937-1940 by the Dutch Army; (2) Years 1940-1949 by the Japanese army; and (3) Year 1949-present by the Indonesian Army (Cahyati, 2014) ^[5]. Meanwhile, the community stated that the army's training limit was only 250 meters from the beach, as evidenced by the presence of a stake that reads "Q 222," which the community calls PAL budge. Thus, it can be said that the army does not yet have official proof of ownership of the land (Idamatussilmi, 2021) ^[10].

At the same time, the army submitted an official "land loan" permit to the village head of Urutsewu. In the application, the community that is the owner of the land is not involved at all. So, of course, the village head does not have the slightest authority to allow or sell people's land (Amri, Yuwono, & Alfirdaus). The army carried out an independent area measurement in 1998. Through a map signed by

Sergeant Major Hartono, the military claimed that the land along the 450 m wide coast belonged to the army. Furthermore, the local village head was asked to sign the mapping results (Pandoyo, 2015) ^[21].

If it is based on the acknowledgment of the people of Urutsewu Village, the status of Urutsewu land is Yasan Land, namely land that individuals have deliberately made for all their descendants by opening new ground in the forest. Then, the real estate was converted into property rights when the BLoA was officially enacted, and it was written in the Village C book, which was as strong as the Hak Milik certificate. That way, it can be seen clearly that the community's claim to land in Urutsewu is solid (Idamatussilmi, 2021) ^[10].

The conflict escalated when the army showed an approval letter for mining iron sand in the disputed land area involving Mitra Niagatama Cemerlang (MNC) and Aneka Tambang companies and the local government. The activities organized by the military are considered a form of abuse of power (Amri, Yuwono, & Alfirdaus). In this case, the government permits production operations for mining businesses for ten years. Based on the permit, the land allowed for mining is 591.07 ha, of which 317.48 ha is being claimed as part of the Indonesian army. The areas permitted to be explored include the Tlogodepok, Mirit Petikusan, Tlogopragoto, Mirit, Lembupurwo, and Wiromartan areas (Idamatussilmi, 2021) ^[10]. Through an exploration permit, MNC has the right to survey the area and obtain five kilograms of iron sand samples at each collection point (Cahyati, 2014) ^[5].

In the trial process that discussed the socialization of the Environmental impact assessment for iron sand mining, many regional representatives strongly objected to the planned mining activity. Of the five regions, only one village head from the Winoratman area is pro-mining, with a record that this activity can still benefit the local community. There was also opposition from the members of the Kebumen PLC. According to them, the coast of Kebumen is a very suitable area for agricultural land, especially for producing melons and watermelons. If mining continues, it will likely cause erosion, negatively impacting people's livelihoods (Cahyati, 2014) ^[5]. Nevertheless, the mining process seems to be continuing with the arrival of heavy equipment to support mining activities from 8 May 2012–10 May 2012 in Winoratman Village. The appearance of these tools was met with strong protests from the Winoratman community by promoting demonstrations which were realized by displaying scarecrows on each side of the road, producing mine rejection banners, and making demands to the village head to revoke the memorandum of understanding.

The agrarian conflict in Urutsewu has the effect of fear for the local community to carry out their daily activities. The climax, on 16 April 2011, was the farmers' demonstration against the army by making a pilgrimage to the graves of the victims who died in a mortar explosion several years ago. They proceeded with the blockade of road access traversed by the army. The community also demolished the Gate, located next to the sub-district office, and destroyed the army's armory. People en masse pelted warehouse roof tiles and knocked down roofs using ropes. After that, the community moved to the control tower, which was located close by (Cahyati, 2014) ^[5].

In response, the army shot threw weapons, and beat

residents because they ignored verbal warnings and the increasingly uncontrollable mass tantrums, which ultimately resulted in many casualties (Idamatussilmi, 2021)^[10]. The losses suffered by the farmers include (1) Criminalization of six farmers with charges of Article 170 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code for acts of destruction and persecution; (2) Thirteen victims suffered gunshot wounds; (3) The destruction of twelve motorcycles belonging to residents; and (4) forcible confiscation of citizens' personal belongings, such as cellphones, cameras, and digital data (Cahyati, 2014)^[5]. After the tragedy on 16 April 2011, incidents of destruction, feelings of revenge, and shootings against civilians continued (Susanto, 2019)^[37]. In essence, the people of Urutsewu remain firm in their stance to make Urutsewu an agricultural land and tourism area (Amri, Yuwono, & Alfirdaus).

The tension was followed by the army's construction of a fence in the Urutsewu area in 2013. The first area to receive a wall was Tlogodepok Mirit Village to Mirit Petikusan Village by taking a distance of 500 meters calculated from the coastline. Fencing aims to maintain security during weapons testing exercises and minimize the occurrence of events that can harm the community. Once again, the community still strongly rejects the fencing, and clashes are repeated (Idamatussilmi, 2021)^[10].

From the chronology that has been explained, it can be concluded in general terms that no state-owned land is located on the coast of Urutsewu. The Indonesian army has conducted business activities that benefit themselves with cooperation in granting iron sand mining permits to MNCs that lead fencing without the community's permission and a strong enough foundation (Pandoyo & *et al.*, 2015)^[21].

Conflict Resolution

Resolutions made to resolve the Urutsewu Conflict are through several forms, including conciliation, Arbitration, compromise, stalemate, and mediation.

a. Conciliation

Conciliation is an attempt to bring together the wishes of the disputing parties to reach a mutual agreement. At this conciliation stage, a meeting was held at the Buluspesantren sub-district, led by the sub-district head of Buluspesantren. Those attending were military officials and farmers' representatives. The agenda discussed was the construction of the Gate, which was built without the permission of both parties (Pandoyo, 2015)^[21].

b. Arbitration

Arbitration is an effort to resolve problems outside the court. One or more persons who render the arbitration award will resolve disputes. The arbitration award is legally binding on both parties and is enforceable in court. The meeting was held again in the Kebumen Regent's Meeting Room on 18 April 2008. Fifty farmers and military officers attended it. This meeting was a follow-up meeting to discuss the case for the construction of the Gate.

c. Compromise

Compromise is an attempt to get an agreement between two parties who disagree with each other or parties who disagree. Compromise can also be said as a concept for reaching an agreement through communication. A friendly meeting was established between the army, the Kebumen

Regency Government, and Urutsewu farmers. This meeting resulted in the military and residents carrying out their respective activities as before the conflict. This means that the army can carry out shooting exercises, and residents can also carry out agricultural activities. Furthermore, a field review will be carried out by the military, local government, and farmers to discuss land boundaries. The army will not claim land used for weapons test training sites (Pandoyo, 2015)^[21].

d. Stalemate

According to Sahendra & Damanik (2021), a stalemate is a form of accommodation where the opposing parties have equal or balanced power. At this stage, a field survey was carried out on 24 March 2011 by the Regent of Kebumen with the Head of the Resort Police, the Chairman of the PLC, and the military office of Kebumen Regency. The Regent could not resolve the Urutsewu conflict alone because the provincial and central governments had permitted the Urutsewu land as an army training ground.

e. Mediation

Mediation is a conflict resolution process assisted by a neutral third party so that it does not help one of the parties in dispute. An audience was held by the South Kebumen Farmers Association Forum on 28 April 2011, attended by the Head of the Regional Office of the National Land Agency. The critical point of this hearing was that NLA did not have legal proof of land ownership. If the farmers have authentic evidence of land ownership, they should be shown to the Kebumen regional office of NLA. The last point is that NLA will service farmers' needs, but it must go through procedures and all existing rules.

In the Urutsewu case, the settlement effort was carried out by bringing together the two warring parties, the army and the residents. Several meetings have been held at the Buluspesantren District, the Regent's Meeting, and the provincial level. The government, in this case, acts as a facilitator and mediator. After the two parties held a friendly meeting, the army and farmers were allowed to carry out their respective activities. The military may carry out training activities while the farmers are also entitled to work on the agricultural lands they previously worked on (Muhajirin, 2008)^[18].

5. Discussion

Based on the analysis results, agrarian cases such as the Urutsewu land conflict also occurred in several places in Indonesia. We conducted a case study and compared the case of the Urutsewu Land Conflict with the peasant land conflict with the army in Aceh and North Sumatra, which was heating up due to contested land disputes. Based on the case studies that our group has conducted, we found some similarities and differences between these three agrarian conflicts (Pandoyo, 2015)^[21].

The similarities of the three agrarian conflicts are: first, the conflicts always involve the low people (farmers) or the proletariat versus the owners of capital/entrepreneurs or the bourgeoisie. In the case of the Urutsewu land dispute, MNC conducts iron sand mining in the Urutsewu area; as a result, the land becomes infertile and detrimental to farmers. In each land conflict with farmers, the army deployed various rented heavy equipment to evict farmers' land to leave the area. The land of the Acehnese people was previously

detained by the army apparatus, which was against the rules of agrarian law. In the area of North Sumatra, the village of Sei Tuan, the residents came into conflict with the army apparatus in the struggle for land for their descendants, and from the army, the land belonged to the Right to Cultivate (RtC) in 1994.

The second similarity is that in the three institutional conflicts to adjudicate the disputed land, the land in Urutsewu uses police law enforcement to mediate the conflicts. However, the police cannot seem to be fair in this matter who defended the army so that the authorities could seize the land. The local community immediately heated up that the police could not be fair in carrying out justice, so conflicts occurred again with the authorities. Residents use legal aid agencies to deal with land problems in the Aceh area of land conflicts with the army. Legal aid agencies receive justice from the community by reporting cases of land conflicts in Aceh to the presidential secretariat so they can help not to evict land ownership. In the village of Sei Tuan, the police also used the police, but they could not mediate the conflict. The police did not do much in this regard because the army had the RtC certificate.

The third equation is that the resolutions offered are less effective and run not optimally from these three conflicts. The conflict that occurred also lasted for a very long time; this proves that the resolution offered by the government to the two conflicting parties was not effective and efficient.

While the difference between the three conflicts is in terms of the resolutions taken, the settlement of the Urutsewu land conflict is carried out by preventing conflicts with other interests. Efforts to resolve the Urutsewu conflict use deliberation and mediation. The court resolved the case in North Sumatra by hiring a lawyer to do justice for the residents. The issue of the agrarian conflict in Aceh with the army was determined by the military's approach to the residents. The army took the course to resolve conflicts with the Memorandums of Understanding.

In the resolution of the Urutsewu case, the army tried to make friends and approach the community, and the aim was to create a more conducive situation because both parties were hot then. The military and residents also held joint deliberation to resolve the escalating conflict. Several considerations have been carried out by the army and Urutsewu residents, including at the Buluspesantren led by the sub-district head, which was attended by the Kebumen PLC, the Regent, and Deputy Regent of Kebumen, and the Regional Secretary. The second meeting was held in the Kebumen Regent's office (Muhajirin, 2008)^[18].

6. Conclusion

Agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are also widely carried out in several areas, such as conflicts with farmers against plantation companies in Semarang, Kendal, and Batang. Conflicts also occurred because of the movement of farmers against investors to invest their capital using community land. The agrarian conflict also has similarities almost similar to the conflict in Urutsewu against other people using their land as a place of investment or forcibly selling it. Differences are also found in incidents of conflict with various businesses carried out by communities or people who impose coercion on land ownership.

The conflict in Urutsewu began with the recognition of land in the coastal area of the Kebumen Regency during the construction of the southern route. Many people are

demanding ownership of their land with the army, which causes the Urutsewu land area to be damaged due to the conflict. So, the problems in the Urutsewu area became a land dispute competition with substantial and procedural interests from the disputing parties between the community and the army (Qorni, 2016)^[25]. The conflict can be seen from the causal factors of the social and economic aspects of the needs of the Urutsewu community, who depend a lot on land as a source of income in terms of agriculture.

The Urutsewu area has very high fertility soil because it is located on the coast, which causes conflict. The Urutsewu area's land produces many iron sand mines, which makes mining investors exploit here. The conflict started with the army apparatus claiming the land of the Urutsewu community, which would be used as a military training ground. The resistance and resistance by the community continued to occur until they left the victims of the local population themselves due to gunfire and violence by the army.

The conflict arose because the army asked the Urutsewu community for permission to use their land as a military training ground that did not involve the residents directly but the local village head, which disappointed the community with their authority. The community continues to fight when the issuance of the approval letter to be used as a mining area which is the root of the conflict, continues. The conflict that was not resolved was finally resolved with the socialization of the Environmental impact assessment for iron mining, but not a few regional representatives opposed the plan to develop a mine in Urutsewu. People's concerns become fear of carrying out their daily activities by continuing to build military exercises by providing fences to maintain security.

In the end, the community and the army resolved the conflict by making peace through deliberation at the office of the apparatus and the relationship between the army and the local government with the Urutsewu community with satisfactory results. In the case of land in Urutsewu, many efforts were made to resolve this conflict by conducting mediation bringing together both parties from the community and the Indonesian army. From a third party, the government intervened as a decision maker to help parties who were in dispute over Urutsewu lands. Mediation with several conflict communities in Urutsewu finally subsided, and the community and the army made peace.

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