

**ACCELERATING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGRARIAN  
REFORM IN INDONESIA BASED ON THE THEORY OF  
DIGNIFIED JUSTICE**

***PERCEPATAN PELAKSANAAN REFORMA AGRARIA DI  
INDONESIA YANG BERLANDASKAN TEORI KEADILAN  
BERMARTABAT***

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Volume 3, Number 1, March 2024

Received: March 3, 2024 Accepted: March 17, 2024 Online Published: March 31, 2024.

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**ABSTRACT**

The agrarian reform being developed consists of asset reform and access reform. Agrarian reform is a national strategic program that has an important role in efforts to equalize the structure of control, ownership, use and utilization of land, as well as resolving agrarian conflicts, to create a just economy. The implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia is directed at making changes to the structure of control, ownership, use and exploitation of land to ensure the realization of justice and legal certainty in the control, ownership, use and exploitation of land. With the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning Accelerating the Implementation of Agrarian Reform, this Presidential Regulation is a supporting regulation to accelerate the implementation of the provision of TORA resources. From the background above, a problem formulation can be outlined regarding how to accelerate the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia which is based on the theory of dignified justice. In terms of providing TORA, it is necessary to have a strategy for implementing agrarian reform that is just, sustainable, participatory, transparent and accountable so that the ideals of the nation can be realized which is the goal of the formation of the Indonesian state based on the theory of dignified justice.

**Keywords : Provision of TORA, Agrarian Reform, Theory of Dignified Justice.**

**ABSTRAK**

*Reforma agraria yang dikembangkan terdiri atas asset reform dan access reform. Reforma agraria merupakan program strategis nasional yang memiliki peran penting dalam upaya pemerataan struktur penguasaan, pemilikan, penggunaan, dan pemanfaatan tanah, serta penyelesaian konflik agraria, untuk mewujudkan ekonomi berkeadilan. Pelaksanaan reformasi agraria di Indonesia diarahkan untuk melakukan perubahan struktur penguasaan, pemilikan, penggunaan dan pemanfaatan tanah untuk menjamin terwujudnya keadilan dan kepastian hukum dalam penguasaan, pemilikan, penggunaan dan pemanfaatan tanah. Dengan diterbitkannya Peraturan Presiden Nomor 62 Tahun 2023 tentang Percepatan Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria, yang mana Peraturan Presiden ini merupakan regulasi pendukung untuk mempercepat pelaksanaan penyediaan sumber TORA. Dari latar belakang di atas dapat diuraikan rumusan masalah mengenai bagaimana percepatan pelaksanaan reforma agraria di Indonesia yang berlandaskan teori keadilan bermartabat. Dalam hal penyediaan TORA perlu adanya strategi pelaksanaan reforma agraria yang berkeadilan, berkelanjutan, partisipatif, transparan, dan akuntabel sehingga terwujudnya cita-cita bangsa yang menjadi tujuan dari pembentukan negara Indonesia dengan berlandaskan pada teori keadilan bermartabat.*

**Kata Kunci : Penyediaan TORA, Reforma Agraria, Teori Keadilan Bermartabat.**

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**I. INTRODUCTION**

Historically, the policy of the Agrarian Reform program is the mandate of Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (hereinafter referred to as the 1945 Constitution) which explains that "Earth, water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used to the extent -largely for the prosperity of the people".

At the practice and policy level, the agrarian reform being developed consists of asset reform and access reform. Asset reform is interpreted as rights/permits given to the community (farmers) through a land redistribution scheme or confirmation of rights through legalization of assets, either through the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (hereinafter referred to as ATR/BPN) in the form of individual and communal rights and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (hereinafter referred to as KLHK) with permits for forest land use and recognition of customary forests. Meanwhile, access reform is the provision of

input in the form of access to capital, development assistance, mentoring, advice on agricultural production and marketing..<sup>1</sup>

Based on the provisions in Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Implementation of Agrarian Reform (hereinafter referred to as Presidential Decree 62/2023), it is explained that agrarian reform is a national strategic program that has an important role in efforts to equalize the structure of control, ownership, use and use of land, as well as resolving agrarian conflicts, to realize a just economy. In order to accelerate the fulfillment of targets for providing land for agrarian reform objects and implementing land redistribution, legalizing transmigration land assets, resolving agrarian conflicts, and empowering the economy of agrarian reform subjects, a strategy for implementing agrarian reform that is just, sustainable, participatory, transparent and accountable is needed.

Efforts to accelerate the implementation of agrarian reform are carried out through strategy:

- 1) Legality of assets.
- 2) Land redistribution.
- 3) Economic empowerment of agrarian reform subjects.
- 4) Agrarian reform institutions.
- 5) Society participation.

The policy implemented by the Government through the stipulation of Presidential Decree 62/2023 is an effort to fulfill the community's rights to land control based on developments and national development needs. Therefore, in practice, both the government and society need to ensure carefully that achieving the goals of agrarian reform in Indonesia must be based on the theory of dignified justice. The importance of the theory of dignified justice in implementing the accelerated implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia, because the theory of dignified justice is a product of a process of fundamental or radical thinking activities and takes place over a long period of time continuously..<sup>2</sup>

Based on the views of Prof. Teguh Prasetyo, who delivered at the School of Democracy and Ownership (Serasian) event, explained that the theory of dignified justice is a legal theory based on the noble values contained in Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state.<sup>3</sup> As a legal theory, the theory of dignified justice also evaluates values. The theory of dignified justice also aims to understand and explain the coherence of values in the concept of Indonesian positive law. The rules and principles of law which in this case are

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<sup>1</sup> Salim, M. N., & Utami, W. (2020). *Reforma Agraria, Menyelesaikan Mandat Konstitusi: Kebijakan Reforma Agraria dan Perdebatan Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria*. STPN Press, hlm. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Teguh Prasetyo, S. H. (2019). *Keadilan Bermartabat: Perspektif Teori Hukum*. Nusamedia, hlm. 21.

<sup>3</sup> <https://dkpp.go.id/prof-teguh-paparkan-teori-keadilan-bermartabat-dalam-sekolah-kepemiluan-gamki/> , diakses pada 22 April 2024, pukul 14.08 WIB.

referred to as a legal system based on Pancasila, as well as the doctrines in the legal system are distilled to find value.<sup>4</sup>

Based on the background in writing this paper, there is a problem that needs to be studied, namely how to accelerate the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia which is based on the theory of dignified justice.

## **II. METHOD**

The research carried out is library research or document research aimed at or carried out only on laws and regulations that are relevant to the problem being studied. Apart from that, sociological and historical research is also carried out so that the research has comprehensive value, because the research carried out requires data support, so a social approach must be taken. The normative legal research method was chosen based on the consideration that the aim of the research is to describe the object being studied. As support, legal history and legal comparative approaches are used. This approach is used, considering that the provisions regarding the administration of regional government and culture cannot be separated from the historical background.

## **III. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **a. Dignified Justice Theory**

The theory of dignified justice is called dignified because the theory in question is a form of adequate (scientific) understanding and explanation regarding the coherence of legal concepts in the applicable legal rules and principles as well as doctrines which are actually the face, structure or arrangement and nisi and spirit or spirit (the spirit) of society and nation in a legal system based on Pancasila, which is explained by the theory of dignified justice itself.<sup>5</sup>

The theory of dignified justice identifies itself as a descriptive legal theory, considering that this legal theory explains what is meant by law, why the law must be understood in a certain sense, and also states the consequences of such an understanding of the law.<sup>6</sup>

Dignified justice is a legal theory or what is known in English language literature as the concept of legal theory, jurisprudence or philosophy of law and knowledge of the substantive law of a legal system.<sup>7</sup> The scope of the Theory of Dignified Justice is not only the expression of abstract dimensions of applicable legal principles.

The Theory of Dignified Justice is a product of a process of fundamental or radical thinking activities and takes place over a long period of time

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<sup>4</sup> Teguh Prasetyo, *Op Cit*, hlm. 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 62-63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 64.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 43.

continuously.<sup>8</sup> This theory has the dimension of transformation of thoughts from being shackled to the dominance of previous thoughts. One of the legal theories is the Theory of Dignified Justice as a development of legal philosophical thought. Legal philosophy has a characteristic, namely responsible thinking. The concept of responsibility is a juridical conception.<sup>9</sup>

The Theory of Dignified Justice is a legal theory, which is actually substantive legal theory or, more strictly speaking, can be seen as the law itself. The theory of Dignified Justice can also be equated with legal philosophy or equated with legal philosophy and legal science (jurisprudence) as well as substantive science. Legal science is only one area of law that is not identical to law, because not every result of research and development of legal science can become law.<sup>10</sup>

Dignified justice is not a type of justice concept as is very commonly understood so far, but it is good to briefly describe Dignified Justice, namely that it can be briefly described as follows, that Dignified Justice is a Grand Theory of Law, as a new legal theory, Dignified Justice functions to explain and provide justification for the applicable legal system. The theory of dignified justice explains and justifies the legal system, among other things, by assuming that law exists and grows in the soul of the nation or *Volksgeist*.<sup>11</sup> By reading and understanding the Theory of Dignified Justice, a person can best understand what is called law. By understanding the Theory of Dignified Justice, it can also be understood in relation to the social, cultural, moral and legal foundations of the law as well as constructing or systematizing accountability for the existence of the law and everything within the legal system.<sup>12</sup> The concept of "Dignity" in the Theory of Dignified Justice is relevant to the proposition that, a reflection is carried out or carried out fully consciously and actively from, by and for humans and/society itself.

## **b. Agrarian Reform Concept**

The historical journey of Lendreform or Agrarian Reform policy since the promulgation of Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Agrarian Principles (hereinafter referred to as UUPA) has experienced policy ups and downs.<sup>13</sup>

Agrarian reform is a constitutional mandate, the state must create prosperity for the people, which is then stated in Article 2 paragraph (3) of the UUPA in more detail, namely creating "the greatest prosperity of the people in

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Teguh Prasetyo, S. H. (2019). *Pemilu dan Etika Penyelenggara Pemilu Bermartabat*. Nusamedia, hlm. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Prasetyo, T., & Barkatullah, A. H. (2011). *Ilmu hukum dan Filsafat Hukum: Studi Pemikiran Ahli Hukum Sepanjang Zaman*, hlm. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Prasetyo, T. (2016). *Kejahatan Pertambangan Dalam Perspektif Keadilan Bermartabat. Perspektif*, 21(1), hlm. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Prasetyo, T. *Op Cit.*, hlm. 63.

<sup>13</sup> Salim, M. N., & Utami, W. *Op Cit*, hlm. 1.

the sense of nationality, prosperity and independence in society and the legal state of independent Indonesia, sovereign, just and prosperous". Therefore, it is the responsibility of the state from the central to regional levels to work together to make this happen.<sup>14</sup>

In its journey, the Indonesian Agrarian Reform includes:<sup>15</sup>

- 1) Prohibition of controlling agricultural land beyond the boundaries.
- 2) Prohibition of "absentee" land ownership.
- 3) Redistribution of land in excess of the maximum limit, land subject to the "absentee" provisions, former self-government land and other state land.
- 4) Regulations regarding the return and redemption of mortgaged agricultural land.
- 5) Rearrangement of agricultural land production sharing agreements.
- 6) Determination of the minimum limit for agricultural land ownership, accompanied by a prohibition on carrying out actions that result in splitting the ownership of agricultural land into too small parts.

In this period, Land Reform had very broad objectives, namely from socio-economic, social-political and mental-psychological aspects, including the following:<sup>16</sup>

- 1) Socioeconomic
  - a) Improving the socio-economic conditions of the people by strengthening rights and giving social functions to property rights.
  - b) Improving national production, especially the agricultural sector, in order to increase people's income and standard of living.
- 2) Social Politics
  - a) End the landlord system and abolish large land ownership.
  - b) Carrying out a fair distribution of the livelihood sources of the farming people in the form of land with the aim of ensuring a fair distribution of the results.
- 3) Mental Psychology
  - a) Increasing work enthusiasm for sharecroppers by providing certainty of rights regarding land ownership.
  - b) Improving working relationships between land owners and cultivators.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Tehupeior, A. (2023). *Reforma Agraria di Era Globalisasi*, hlm. 14-15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 15.

The aim of the loan reform in Indonesia is to increase the income and standard of living of farmers as a basis or prerequisite for carrying out economic development towards a just and prosperous society.<sup>17</sup>

Agrarian Reform is used as a perspective towards justice and prosperity placed in the realm of policy as a way to achieve the ideals of implementing Agrarian Reform which in this case is divided into 4 (four) categories, including:<sup>18</sup>

- 1) Land legalized assets which are the object and at the same time an arena for conflicting claims between community groups, companies and government agencies, and land which is already owned (fully controlled) by the community but legal certainty has not yet been obtained by the holders of the rights.
- 2) Agrarian Reform Object Land (hereinafter referred to as TORA) to be redistributed to poor rural community groups.
- 3) State forests allocated to villages and village communities through customary forest and social forestry schemes include Community Forests (HKm), Village Forests (HD), Community Plantation Forests (HTR), and so on.
- 4) Management and procurement of village land assets to be cultivated by poor farming households together.

The efforts made by the Government in carrying out Agrarian Reform are based on the spirit of agrarian reform which is marked by the return to the role of UUPA in implementing restructuring and re-structuring of land ownership, control, use and use of land which is mandated to the Government through Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution. By Therefore, the Government has formed an agrarian reform policy product which regulates good land governance which consists of 4 (four) principles, namely: the principle of social justice, the principle of transparency (openness), the principle of ownership/people's rights, and the principle of legal protection.<sup>19</sup>

The aim of Agrarian Reform is to facilitate providing the broadest and fairest access to the Indonesian people as well as strengthening and protecting the assets received when such access has been granted by the Government, based also on good land governance based on definitions, important elements and the principles of Land Governance and the highest norms, namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Salim, M. N., & Utami, W. *Op Cit.*, hlm. 22-23.

<sup>19</sup> Sutadi, R. D., Luthfi, A. N., & Mujiburrohman, D. A. (2018). Kebijakan Reforma Agraria di Indonesia (Kajian Komparatif Tiga Periode Pelaksanaan: Orde Lama Orde Baru, dan Orde Reformasi). *Tunas Agraria*, 1(1), hlm. 215.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 215-216.

### **c. Accelerating the Implementation of Agrarian Reform in Indonesia Based on the Theory of Dignified Justice**

Etymologically, agrarian reform comes from Spanish, meaning efforts for social change or overhaul carried out to transform the agrarian structure in a direction that is more prosperous for society, especially for rural communities.<sup>21</sup> In Indonesia, initially the term agrarian renewal was formally used as stated in MPR Decree No. IX/MPR/2001, but in its development the term agrarian reform is better known. Agrarian reform and agrarian reform are closely related to the land reform program and are widely used to implement land-related agendas progressively.<sup>22</sup>

The implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia is directed at making changes to the structure of control, ownership, use and utilization of land to ensure the realization of justice and legal certainty in the control, ownership, use and use of land.<sup>23</sup> In 2014, it was made as one of the NAWACITA policies of the Government of Indonesian President Joko Widodo through the 2015 – 2019 National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN), then continued in the 2020 – 2024 RPJMN<sup>24</sup> followed by the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 88 of 2017 concerning Settlement of Land Tenure in Forest Areas (hereinafter referred to as Presidential Decree 88/2017) as well as Presidential Regulation Number 86 of 2018 concerning Agrarian Reform (hereinafter referred to as Presidential Decree 86/2018).

Based on Government Regulation Number 23 of 2021 concerning Forestry Implementation (hereinafter referred to as PP 23/2021) that the arrangement of forest areas in the context of gazetting forest areas is a series of activities in order to resolve community problems in forest areas. Settlement of third party rights in forest areas is resolved through the arrangement of forest areas in the context of gazetting forest areas. In 2023, Presidential Regulation Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of Implementation of Agrarian Reform (hereinafter referred to as Presidential Decree 62/2023) was issued, which Presidential Regulation is a supporting regulation to accelerate the implementation of the provision of TORA resources. Based on the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Number 7 of 2021 concerning Forestry Planning, Changes in the

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<sup>21</sup> Wiradi, G. (2009). *Reformasi Agraria Perjalanan Yang Belum Berakhir (edisi revisi)*. Insist press, KPA dan Pustaka Belajar (p. 205). Retrieved from <http://sajogyo-institute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/GWR.-2009.-Reforma-Agraria-Perjalanan-belum-Berakhir.pdf>. Lihat Ida Nurlinda. (2018). *Perolehan Tanah Obyek Reforma Agraria (TORA) yang Berasal dari Kawasan Hutan: Permasalahan dan Pengaturannya*. Veriatas Et Justitia Vol. 4 No. 2, hlm. 254.

<sup>22</sup> Neilson, Jeff, *Agrarian Transformations and Landreform in Indonesia*, in John F. Mc. Carthy and Kathryn Robinson (editors), *Land and Development in Indonesia: Searching for the People's Sovereignty*, ISEAS Publishing, Singapore, 2016, hlm. 246.

<sup>23</sup> Ida Nurlinda, *Prinsip-prinsip Pembaruan Agraria: Perspektif Hukum*, RajaGrafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2009, hlm. 81.

<sup>24</sup> Salim, M. N., & Utami, W. *Op Cit*, hlm. 50.



Allocation of Forest Areas and Changes in the Function of Forest Areas and Use of Forest Areas (hereinafter referred to as Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation 7/2021) it is explained that Settlement of Land Tenure in State Forest Areas is carried out by Arranging Forest.

Settlement of Land Tenure in State Forest Areas is carried out by Arranging Forest Areas in the context of Confirming Forest Areas through activities:<sup>25</sup>

- 1) TORA Procurement.
- 2) Social Forestry Management.
- 3) Changes in the Designation of Forest Areas and Changes in the Function of Forest Areas.
- 4) Use of Forest Areas.

The target for providing TORA resources according to the 2015 - 2019 RPJMN is then continued in the 2020 - 2024 RPJMN covering an area of ±4.1 million hectares. The 2020-2024 RPJMN is divided into 5 (five) years of activities with a predetermined composition. The revision of the Strategic Plan (Renstra) of the Directorate for Confirmation and Management of Forest Areas was implemented as strategic steps in achieving the Strategic Plan of the Directorate General of Forestry Planning and Environmental Management for 2020 – 2024. The direction and objectives of the Directorate for Confirmation and Management of Forest Areas for 2020 – 2024 are the Social Pillar of Utilization Forests for a Just Society.<sup>26</sup>

Planning for Agrarian Reform as regulated in Article 2 of Presidential Decree 62/2023 explains that accelerating the implementation of Agrarian Reform is carried out through strategies: Legalization of assets, Redistribution of Land, Economic Empowerment of Agrarian Reform subjects, Institutional Agrarian Reform, and Community Participation. Agrarian Reform planning is outlined in the action plan to accelerate the implementation of Agrarian Reform.

The acceleration of Agrarian Reform is regulated in the action plan to accelerate the implementation of Agrarian Reform which is regulated in the Attachment to Presidential Decree 62/2023 consisting of:

- 1) Asset Structuring

The target that the Government wants to realize in terms of asset management is accelerating the fulfillment of the legalization and asset redistribution targets as directed by the President and the RPJMN, by implementing strategies in the form of:

- a) Community land registration through Complete Systematic Land Registration (PTSL).
- b) Acceleration of land transmigration settlement.

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<sup>25</sup> <https://kukuh.menlhk.go.id/tora> , diakses pada 22 April 2024, pukul 19.31 WIB.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

- c) Optimizing TORA potential from forest areas.
  - d) Optimizing TORA potential from non-forest areas.
  - e) Accelerate the determination of potential land redistribution objects.
  - f) Accelerate the granting of land rights, registration and certification in the context of land redistribution.
  - g) Joint survey to accelerate land redistribution.
- 2) Conflict Resolution

The target that the Government wants to realize in terms of conflict resolution is the resolution of agrarian conflicts in a just, sustainable, participatory, transparent and accountable manner, by implementing strategies in the form of:

- a) Strengthening agrarian conflict databases and information.
- b) Settlement of agrarian conflicts.

3) Economic Empowerment of Agrarian Reform Subjects

The target that the Government wants to realize in terms of economic empowerment of agrarian reform subjects is increasing the economic power of agrarian reform subjects, by implementing a strategy in the form of implementing integrated empowerment in locations that have been redistributed and legalized.

4) Society participation

The target that the Government wants to realize in terms of community participation is the creation of dynamic community communication and participation in the implementation of agrarian reform, by implementing strategies in the form of strengthening communication strategies to increase participation and involvement of the parties..

Accelerating the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia, especially with regard to providing TORA resources in order to realize a national strategic program which has an important role in efforts to equalize the structure of control, ownership, use and use of land, as well as resolving agrarian conflicts aimed at realizing a just economy. As a form of the Government's seriousness in implementing the acceleration of agrarian reform in Indonesia, it needs to be based on the ideals of the nation which is the goal of establishing the Indonesian state, therefore the Government in implementing the acceleration of agrarian reform needs to be based on the theory of dignified justice..

The theory of dignified justice is needed as a reference in explaining the laws that apply in Indonesia which includes legal search, creation, construction, reconstruction and legal explanation. Efforts to apply the theory of dignified justice in the process of accelerating the implementation of agrarian reform are considered appropriate. This thinking is in line with the principles of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, where the development of

a national legal system must contain the objectives, foundations, legal ideals and foundations of the Indonesian state..

The theory of dignified justice is an attempt to understand or approach God's mind. Where this thinking is in line with the thinking in Pancasila as stated in the Second Principle, according to Pancasila thinking, universal human values originating from God's law, natural law, and human social characteristics (which are horizontal) are considered important as ethical-political fundamentals. national life in world society. The broad national principles that lead to world brotherhood were developed through externalization and internalization. Out, the Indonesian people use all the resources and treasures they have to freely and actively "participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice". Inwardly, the Indonesian nation recognizes and honors the basic rights of the country's citizens and residents. The ethical foundation as a prerequisite for universal brotherhood is "fair" and "civilized" ...<sup>27</sup>

Then, according to the Pancasila thought set out in the Fifth Principle, divine values, human values, national values and ideals, as well as deliberative democracy gain their full meaning insofar as they can realize social justice. In the vision of social justice according to Pancasila, what is desired is a balance between humans as individual creatures (which are institutionalized in the market) and the role of humans as social creatures (institutionalized in the state), as well as a balance between fulfilling civil and political rights with economic, social and social rights. culture.<sup>28</sup>

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

Accelerating the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia carried out by the Government as an effort to resolve the problem of land control claimed by the community for their land rights to be provided as a source of TORA. And in order to accelerate the fulfillment of the TORA provision target, it is necessary to have a strategy for implementing agrarian reform that is just, sustainable, participatory, transparent and accountable so that the national ideals which are the goal of the formation of the Indonesian state are realized. Therefore, the Government needs to align the regulation and implementation to accelerate the implementation of agrarian reform in Indonesia based on the theory of dignified justice..

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<sup>27</sup> Yudi Latif. (2011). *Negara Paripurna: Historisitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila*, Cetakan Kedua, Gramedia Pustaka Utama: Jakarta, h. 42. Lihat I.D.G. Palguna. (2019). *Welfare State vs Globalisasi: Gagasan Negara Kesejahteraan di Indonesia*, Cetakan Ke-1, RajaGrafindo Persada: Depok, hlm. 144.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, hlm. 145.

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