

JULY 2024

FIELD RESEARCH REPORT

GREEN LIES:

Capturing the Threats of Destructive Power,
Oligarchy, and People's Safety
on the Green Industrial Area Project Site (KIH)
in North Kalimantan



English Report Co-published by:

NUGAL Institute for Social and Ecological Studies and
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALKI	: Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes
ADB	: Asian Development Bank
PLN	: State Electricity Company
JETP	: Just Energy Transition Partnership
IUP	: Mining License
RTRW	: Regional Spatial Planning Policy
PERDA	: Regional Regulation
PDIP	: Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
KAI	: Kalimantan Aluminum Industry
CMI	: Citra Mineral Investindo
KHN	: Kayan Hydropower Nusantara
MW	: Mega Watt
BRI	: Belt and Road Initiatives
G20	: Group of Twenty
BUMN	: State-Owned Enterprises
KKP	: Marine Conservation Area
RUPTL	: National Electricity Supply Business Plan
GW	: Giga Watt
GIS	: Geographic Information System
KIPI	: Kalimantan Industrial Park Indonesia
PSN	: National Strategic Project
PERPRES	: Presidential Regulation
PLTA	: Hydroelectric Power Plant
PLTU	: Steam Electric Power Plant
KIHI	: Indonesian Green Industrial Area
KPU	: Public-Use Area

RZWP3K	: Spatial Planning for Coastal Areas and Small Islands
AMDAL	: Environmental Impact Analysis
SKKL	: Environmental Feasibility Decision Letter
RKL	: Environmental Management Plan
RPL	: Environmental Monitoring Plan
IPAL	: Wastewater Treatment Plant
HGU	: Cultivation Rights
BCAP	: Bulungan Citra Agro Persada
ISI	: Indonesia Strategic Industry
KPP	: Kayan Patria Propertindo
AHU	: General Legal Administration
ADMR	: Adaro Minerals Indonesia
GEB	: General Energy Bali
KHE	: Kayan Hydro Energy
MoU	: Memorandum of Understanding
KHN	: Kayan Hydropower Nusantara
FMG	: Fortescue Metals Group
KK	: Householder
RT	: Neighborhood Association
RPJPD	: Regional Long-Term Development Plan
BPN	: National Land Agency
DPRD	: Regional People's Representative Assembly
KIKI	: Indonesian Kalimantan Industrial Area
ESDM	: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources
BAPPEDA	: Regional Development Planning Board
DLH	: Environment Department
PAD	: Original Local Government Revenue
KBRI	: Republic of Indonesia News Agency

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Behind the glittery and grandiose promotions of the world's largest industrial area megaproject, touted as a green industrial zone, lies a narrative of forgery and concealment. This venture promises to host various industries and manufacturing facilities, producing technologies to support Indonesia's ambitions in driving the green economy and achieving energy transition targets in the name of climate change. It involves utilizing hydroelectric power plants, labeled as renewable energy sources, in North Kalimantan. However, the reality includes fabrication and camouflage of dark stories and issues.

This fabrication and suppression range from threats of economic devastation, forced displacement by operations of political and business oligarchies, to various heinous modes of land and sea space expropriation and eviction hidden from the public eye.

State actors were claiming that all industrial activities and tenants in this area will implement resource efficiency and effectiveness sustainably, drastically reducing carbon footprints through green technology and highest environmental standards, even claiming to be supplied by renewable energy sources, specifically hydroelectric power plants (PLTA), aligning with energy transition targets and net-zero emissions for the State Electricity Company (PLN) and the Indonesian Government by 2060.

However, this report reveals a different reality. There are manipulations and fabrications throughout the industrial narrative, driven not only by land hunger on a large scale but also by a tremendous appetite for water and energy. Significant amounts of water usage and wastewater discharge are anticipated, including concerning energy supply issues. This industry is projected to continue relying on Coal-Fired Power Plants (PLTU) unlike earlier claims that sell the green label by solely using non-fossil energy such as PLTA.

Post-G20 commitment appears hypocritical as Indonesia receives around USD610 million from the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) and the Energy Transition Mechanism of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for halting the construction of new Coal-Fired Power Plants (PLTU). Yet, simultaneously, the Indonesian government tolerates and exempts existing coal-fired PLTU projects within the Industrial Zone through Presidential Regulation No. 112 of 2022, including plans for short-term PLTU development in Bulungan and this industrial area.

This report further exposes an estimated total electricity consumption of 11,404 GWh annually relying on coal, particularly from Petrochemical and Steel industries, totaling a coal demand of 27.620.000 tons annually. This amount, equivalent to the production of 214 million tons of coal from 37 Coal Mining Business Licenses (IUP) across North Kalimantan Province.

For clean and raw water supply, this industrial area will seize water from Pindada River and Freshwater Mangkupadi River located within their domain up to Kayan River. The total water demand for this industrial area is estimated at 39,450,560 m³ annually, equivalent to the consumption of approximately 1.5 years by about 700,000 residents of North Kalimantan.

It is also estimated that 286,439.86 m³ of wastewater will be discharged and dumped into several local water bodies every four hours daily, including the Asin Mangkupadi River, Pindada River, Fresh Mangkupadi River, Big Kalaputan, and Kampung Baru River.

This report also finds drastic shrinkage in the fishing area, up to a fivefold reduction, coastal tourism areas, including those in Tanjung Palas Timur, which also shrank sevenfold from the original. There is also overlapping of Brackish Water Cultivation Areas, Agricultural Areas, Food Land Allocation Areas, Sustainable Agriculture Areas, and even Rural Settlement Areas as experienced by Kampung Baru in Mangkupadi Village, counting down the days to forced eviction.

Eight other modes were identified in facilitating land expropriation and the displacement of residents' living space, from significantly altering the Tax Object

Selling Value (NJOP) from IDR 50,000 to only IDR 6,000, various circulars unilaterally setting prices for buildings, land, and growing plants, creation of lobbyists at the village level, enlargement of areas during land transactions, and criminalization and intimidation of landowners in Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi.

This report outlines the threat of social and ecological destruction, examining twelve aspects that will be lost and damaged across the belt along the Tanah Kuning coast to Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi, ranging from the fate of forcibly dispossessed fishermen from the ocean. The disappearance of fisherwomen's livelihood source, the stories of women excluded from conversations and decision-making processes, fishing groups beginning to lose members, testimonies about Bagans that once teemed with anchovies but are now memories, concerns of traditional boat makers, the endangered economy of Swallow's Nest farming, pepper that remains a tale in Mangkupadi, the disappearance of identity and history, anxieties erupting surrounding the Beach Party, and the question on whether Mappanretasi is still meaningful when the industry arrives later, to threats to local tourism and culinary economies waiting for their fate to be close.

Moreover, along with large-scale land acquisition operations, water expropriation, water pollution, and coal still being burned through Captive PLTU in Tanah Kuning-Mangkupadi, threats are also posed to other living spaces sacrificed for the construction of the Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant project. This 184,270-hectare dam project, in addition to supplying electricity to the new capital in East Kalimantan, will also supply the electricity needs of the Green Industrial Zone in Tanah Kuning-Mangkupadi, North Kalimantan. This project will submerge six villages, including Long Lejuh Village, Long Peso Village, Long Bia, Long Peleban, ancient sites, sacred tombs, and the lives of indigenous Dayak communities in Long Pelban Village, Muara Pangiang, and Long Lian are also threatened.

Amidst all the operations triggering the people's suffering, there is a group of political and business actors profiting. This report traces the political-business oligarchy behind dozens of data and company profiles within this green industrial zone, from managers, tenant owners to energy and raw material suppliers suspected of having conflicts of interest.

Prominent names disclosed include Garibaldi Thohir, set to benefit most as 90 percent of the entire green industrial zone is his palm oil plantation concession. Individuals close to Luhut such as Ir Justarina Sinta Marisi Naiborhu, then other names such as local oligarchs, Lauw Juanda Lesmana and the emergence of names of former Mayor of Surakarta/Solo and former Vice Mayor of Joko Widodo before running for President in the period 2010-2012 namely FX Hadi Rudyatmo. The Chairman of the

Solo City (DPC) and Politician of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) appears in documents of one of the tenant companies in this Industrial Zone.

This includes the partnership of PT Kalimantan Aluminum Industry (KAI), whose share ownership is held by PT Adaro Indo Aluminum and PT Cita Mineral Investindo (CMI). Cita Mineral Investindo is a bauxite mining issuer majority-owned by PT Harita Jayaraya (Harita Group) at 60.64%. Harita Jayaraya is owned by Lim Hariyanto Wijaya Sarwono, aged 94, the 20th richest person in Indonesia according to Forbes. The Harita Group stands as the primary catalyst behind the plight of residents on Obi Island, North Maluku, and Wawonii Island, Southeast Sulawesi. These two small islands are currently being ravaged by the nickel mining operations and smelter factories under Harita Group's control.

Finally, this report also presents recommendations to be considered as part of efforts to conduct further investigative advocacy and collaborative recovery initiatives, given the increasingly urgent challenges faced by frontline communities.

The Author

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BACKGROUND

At the end of December 2021, President Jokowi carried out a groundbreaking ceremony for the construction project of a 'green industrial area' in Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi, Bulungan Regency, North Kalimantan.¹ Jokowi claimed that the 16,400 hectare industrial area, which will expand to 30,000 hectares, is the largest industrial area, not only in Asia but also in the world. Tenants in this industrial area are projected to produce downstream *minerals* and *metals*, starting from factories and smelters for aluminum, polysilicon, steel, Lithium-Ion batteries to *petrochemicals*². Coordinating Minister for Investment, Luhut Pandjaitan, said that the industrial area requires an investment of US\$132 billion, or the equivalent of Rp1,848 trillion. He also ensured that project funding was fully provided by the private sector without any guarantee from the government.³

¹ <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-groundbreaking-kawasan-industri-hijau-di-kaltara/>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

² <https://kaltara.tribunnews.com/2021/12/21/ketua-konsorsium-perusahaan-indonesia-dalam-kipi-beber-produk-kawasan-industri-hijau-di-kaltara?page=2>.

³ <https://diskominfo.kaltaraprov.go.id/kipi-tana-kuning-mangkupadi-disebut-kawasan-industri-terbesar-di-dunia/>.

This industrial area is considered to have a strategic location because it is located in the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route (ALKI) II, which is the international trade sea route in the Pacific Rim, where 70 percent of world trade is located⁴. Not only the size of the area that is glorified, but also the green industry label. Moeldoko, the Chief of Presidential Staff, asserts that the attractiveness of this industrial area lies in its electricity supply sourced from renewable energy, specifically the Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant (PLTA) in North Kalimantan. This hydroelectric power plant is claimed to be “clean” and “green” energy. According to Moeldoko, this will attract investors and industry who care about reducing carbon emissions, while also being in line with the energy transition and net zero emissions targets of the State Electricity Company (PLN) and the Indonesian government by 2060⁵.

There are at least two hydropower plants competing to build and supply electricity to this industrial area, those are the Mentarang Hydropower Plant and Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant. The Mentarang Hydroelectric Power Plant, managed by Kayan Hydropower Nusantara (KHN)—a joint venture between Kayan Patria Pratama Group and Malaysia’s Sarawak Energy—has a total capacity of 1,375 Mega Watts (MW). On the other hand, the Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant, overseen by Indonesia Strategis Industry (ISI) through PT Kayan Hydro Energy (KHE), plans to harness water from their dam project on the Kayan River to supply 9,000 MW to the industrial area as well.

However, on the other hand, this project becomes increasingly paradoxical, as following the recent G-20 meeting, the Indonesian government secured approximately \$610 million in funding. This funding came from both the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) scheme and the Energy Transition Mechanism of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which regulate the cessation of new coal-fired power plant (PLTU) projects⁶. However, at the same time, the Indonesian government continues to tolerate and provide exceptions for existing coal-fired power plant projects within industrial zones through Presidential Regulation Number 112 of 2022.⁷ This includes plans for short-term PLTU development in Bulungan and the Indonesian Green Industry Zone in Tanah Kuning.⁸

⁴ <https://kemenperin.go.id/artikel/17245/Kawasan-Industri-Tanah-Kuning-Diusulkan-Masuk-Proyek-Strategis-Nasional>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

⁵ <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/plta-kayan-cascade-akan-mulai-groundbreaking-bulan-depan>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

⁶ <https://infotambang.id/dapat-dana-transisi-energi-di-ktt-g20-bali-indonesia-diminta-prioritaskan-ebt/>, accessed on 15 December 2022.

⁷ <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Home/Details/225308/perpres-no-112-tahun-2022>, accessed on 15 December 2022.

⁸ <https://regionalinvestment.bkpm.go.id/pir/peluang-investasi/detail/?id=949>, accessed on 15 December 2022.

Regarding the investor configuration for this industrial and energy zone project, during the recent G20 meeting, the governments of Indonesia and China expressed increasing confidence in their involvement. This alignment stems from their participation in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).⁹ Apart from China, President Jokowi has also mentioned the United Arab Emirates, and most recently, the principal agreement signed for a hydroelectric power project by Sumitomo from Japan during the last G20 meeting in Bali.¹⁰ In addition to these investors, the name of Australia's tycoon-owned Fortescue Metal Group has also surfaced in previous meetings, especially following discussions between its owner, Andrew Forrest, and Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Investment, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, towards the end of 2020.

The intriguing aspect of the investors and actors "competing" in both projects is their longstanding involvement in the energy sector, particularly fossil fuels such as coal. At the end of 2021, the government even entrusted this project through a consortium of Tanah Kuning Indonesian Green Industrial Zone companies, led by Garibaldi Thohir, the brother of the Minister of BUMN Erick Thohir and owner of the PT Adaro Indonesia coal corporation. Ironically, the land slated for these projects also belongs to them.¹¹ Despite the grand claims of green industrial zones and clean energy associated with these massive projects encompassing industrial zones, ports, and power plants, the threats to environmental integrity and public safety are often obscured and unknown to the wider public.

This industrial zone project is being developed directly above the living space of residents, posing a threat to over 5,000 inhabitants in the two villages of Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi. Most of them are farmers, plantation workers, and fishermen, whose livelihoods are intricately linked to coastal and aquatic ecosystems. Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries statistics highlight how the productivity of fishermen had been steadily increasing before these projects arrived. From 2010 to 2014, fishing activities in the waters of Bulungan Regency saw an average increase of 4.89 times or approximately 388.65%.¹²

⁹ https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx_662805/202211/t20221117_10976784.html, accessed on 29 November 2022.

¹⁰ <https://indonesia.go.id/kategori/kabar-terkini-g20/6463/plta-kayan-mendukung-transisi-energi-di-indonesia?lang=1>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

¹¹ <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/lahan-kawasan-industri-hijau-kaltara-milik-boy-thohir-luhut-mungkin-rezeki-beliau>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

¹² <https://kkp.go.id/an-component/media/upload-gambar-pendukung/djprl/KKHL/Dokumen%20RP%20dan%20RZ/RZ%20KK%20Tanjung%20Palas%20Timur%20Kaltara.pdf>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

The village of Tanah Kuning is also designated as a marine conservation area due to its seagrass beds, mangroves, and coral reefs ecosystems. Additionally, statistics highlight the potential for underwater tourism due to the underwater beauty within the living spaces of residents in Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi. All of this will definitely be damaged and lost when the project arrives.

Similarly, other living spaces are also sacrificed for the construction of the Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant (PLTA) project. This dam project, spanning 184,270 hectares, outlined in the Electricity Supply Business Plan (RUPTL) of PT PLN for 2021-2030, is intended not only to supply electricity to the New Capital City in East Kalimantan but also to meet the power needs of the Green Industry Zone in Tanah Kuning-Mangkupadi, North Kalimantan. This project will drown 6 villages including Long Lejuh Village, Long Peso Village, Long Bia, ancient archaeological sites, sacred burial grounds, and the livelihoods of communities in Long Peleban Muara Pangiang and Long Lian Villages are also at risk.¹³

Therefore, by writing this report, the team intends to follow up on these initial findings and information by conducting field investigations and preliminary research into the project site of the industrial zone and living spaces along the coastal stretch of Tanjung Palas Timur, Tanah Kuning, and Mangkupadi. This includes examining the livelihoods of villages along the Kayan River and investigating the progress of plans for a 5 GW coal-fired power plant (PLTU) also located within this industrial zone. ■

¹³ <https://www.jatam.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Megaproyek-Ibukota-Baru-di-Indonesia-Final.pdf>, accessed 29 November 2022.

3

INITIAL FINDINGS

Before conducting a site search or field visit, the team conducted **desk research** as part of the initial research. One of the initial steps involves conducting a chronological exploration of the study area through delineation and overlay analysis, both of which are integral to visual operations aimed at generating *Geographic Information System* (GIS) analysis.

Regarding the delineation of the area to be studied, President Jokowi, during his visit at the groundbreaking ceremony in late 2021, claimed that the industrial zone covers an area of 16,400 hectares and is projected to increase by another 30,000 hectares.¹⁴ However, local government officials state that the current designated industrial area spans 10,100 hectares, as agreed upon in the delineation between the North Kalimantan Province (Kaltara) and Bulungan Regency governments. This area could still expand based on requests from the central government and will be incorporated into the spatial planning revision or amendment plan (RTRW) for Bulungan Regency.¹⁵

¹⁴ <https://kaltara.tribunnews.com/2021/12/21/ketua-konsorsium-perusahaan-indonesia-dalam-kipi-beber-produk-kawasan-industri-hijau-di-kaltara?page=2>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

¹⁵ <https://kaltara.tribunnews.com/2022/08/05/revisi-rtrw-kabupaten-pemkab-bulungan-sebut-lahan-kipi-tanah-kuning-mangkupadi-diperluas-380-ha>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

a. Repeated RTRW Revisions at the cost of “5 Billion” Rupiah

According to the regional government, the revision of the RTRW for Bulungan Regency must be carried out in accordance with the RTRW for North Kalimantan Province.¹⁶ The Regent of Bulungan stated that according to the Regional Regulation (Perda) on Spatial Planning (RTRW) of Bulungan in 2013, the existing industrial zone covers only 3,800 hectares. Meanwhile, KIPI’s own needs reaches 25,000 hectares, necessitating a readjustment. However, it is said that the most difficult challenge lies in the transition of land use, most of which are plantation areas.¹⁷

To speed up the process of revising the Bulungan RTRW, the North Kalimantan Provincial Government injected 5 billion rupiah into the Bulungan district government.¹⁸ *“Because, if the Bulungan RTRW is not changed, the Governor will not be able to determine the location of the Tanah Kuning International Port Industrial Area (KIPI) which has been designated as a National Strategic Project (PSN) based on Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 58 of 2017,”* said the Governor of North Kalimantan, Irianto Lambrie.

The rush to revise this Spatial Planning Regulation (RTRW) disregarded the Covid-19 pandemic, from late 2020 to early February 2021. The process of numbering this Spatial Planning Regulation was reportedly delayed because local officials in the government’s legal department were affected by Covid-19.¹⁹ Ultimately, the revision of the Bulungan Regency Spatial Planning Regulation occurred on April 1, 2021, aimed at facilitating this industrial zone mega-project. Regulation Number 4 of 2013, which governed the RTRW from 2012 to 2032, was officially amended to Regulation Number 1 of 2021 concerning RTRW from 2021 to 2041.²⁰

However, to accommodate President Jokowi’s and the central government’s desire to further expand this area by 30,000 hectares, the discourse on repeated revisions of this Spatial Planning Regulation (RTRW) has resurfaced. Therefore, the Bulungan local government will once again revise the recently established 1.5-year-old²¹ Spatial Planning Regulation to solely serve investment plans.

¹⁶ <https://kaltara.tribunnews.com/2022/08/05/revisi-rtrw-kabupaten-pemkab-bulungan-sebut-lahan-kiptanah-kuning-mangkupadi-diperluas-380-ha>.

¹⁷ <https://amp.kaltara.prokal.co/read/news/19272-pemkab-pesimis-revisi-rtrw-selesai-tahun-ini>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

¹⁸ <https://amp.kaltara.prokal.co/read/news/15741-rp-5-m-untuk-revisi-rtrw-bulungan>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

¹⁹ <https://radartarakan.jawapos.com/daerah/bulungan/18/02/2021/revisi-rtrw-kota-ini-belum-disesuaikan/>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

²⁰ <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Home/Details/182082/perda-kab-bulungan-no-1-tahun-2021>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

²¹ <https://radartarakan.jawapos.com/daerah/bulungan/19/11/2022/lahan-kihi-diperluas-hingga-30-ribu-hektare/> dan <https://kaltara.tribunnews.com/2022/08/23/kawasan-industri-diperluas-30-ha-pemkab-bulungan-bakal-revisi-perda-rtrw-syarwani-arahan-presiden>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

b. The Loss of Functionally Vital Zones for Mega Project Construction?

One thing that has changed significantly, as previously mentioned, involves industrial zoning. In the 2012-2032,²² Spatial Planning (RTRW), the Industrial Zone covered only 4,294 hectares, with 3,832 hectares located in East Tanjung Palas, where the villages of Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi are situated. In the 2021-2041 RTRW, the industrial zoning allocation increased by 1.5 times to 11,549 hectares, with 10,100 hectares located in Tanjung Palas Timur, the district where this industrial zone complex is located.

Simultaneously, crucial functional areas for the community, such as fisheries zones, have drastically reduced from 216,215 hectares to just 40,361 hectares, experiencing a shrinkage up to fivefold. Similarly, coastal tourist areas, including those in East Tanjung Palas, also shrank from 618 hectares to only 79 hectares or 7 times smaller than before. When overlaid with the zoning map and spatial allocation under Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2013 on the Spatial Planning (RTRW) of Bulungan 2012-2032, the KIHl-KIPI Industrial Zone overlaps and intersects with brackish water aquaculture areas, agricultural and plantation zones, riverine conservation areas, land allocated for food production, sustainable agriculture zones, and even rural settlement areas.

Meanwhile, if the international port area is included in the entire part of the Indonesian Green Industrial Zone (KIHl), then there are 4 villages covered by this area, not only Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi, but also East Sajau Village and Binai Village. In Mangkupadi, one of the villages that will be evicted is Kampung Baru, which is predominantly inhabited by fishermen, with the remainder engaged in farming or plantation work.

In addition to repurposing vital mainland areas as outlined in Regional Regulation Number 64 on Spatial Planning of Bulungan Regency for 2012-2032, this industrial project also disregards Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2018 concerning the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands of North Kalimantan Province for 2018-2038. Article 13 states the direction for developing a tourism zone for natural beach/coastal tourism and small islands as stipulated in paragraph (1) letter a, covering the waters around Tanah Kuning Village, Mangkupadi Village, East Tanjung Palas District with a sub-zone code (KPU-W -P3K-01 to (KPU-W-P3K-03).

²² <https://docplayer.info/33622517-Bupati-bulungan-peraturan-daerah-kabupaten-bulungan-nomor-04-tahun-2013-tentang-rencana-tata-ruang-wilayah-kabupaten-bulungan-tahun.html>, accessed on 29 November 2022.

Figure 1. Overlay map of the KIH-KIPI Industrial Area with a map of the designation or allocation of space in Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2013 concerning RTRW Bulungan 2012-2032.

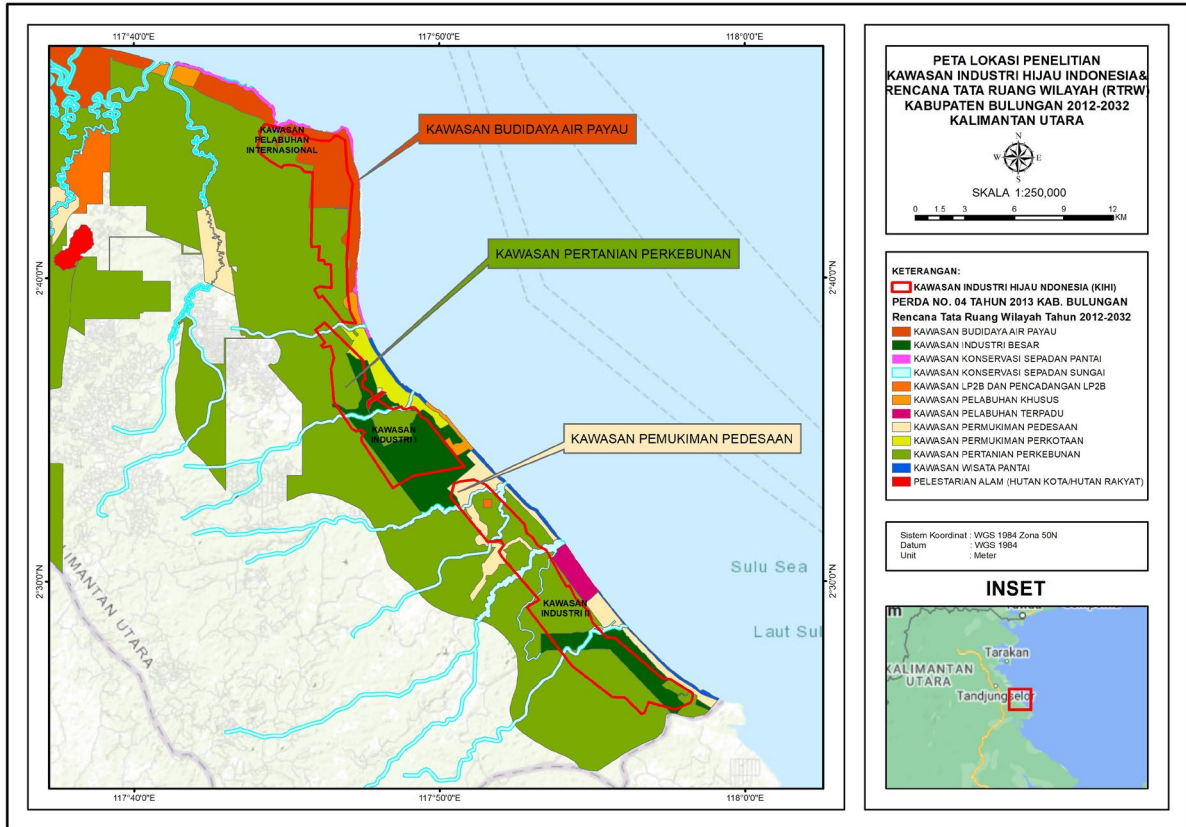
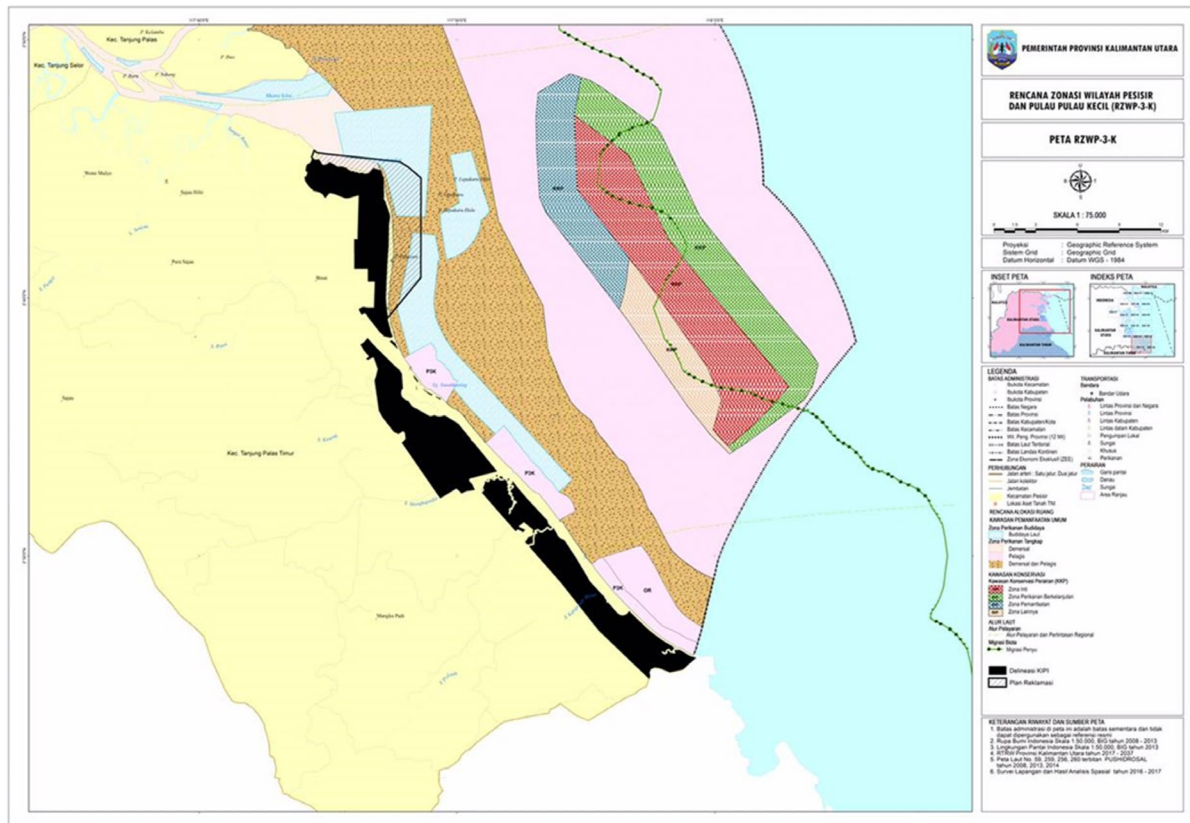


Figure 2. Aerial Portrait of Kampung Baru in Mangkupadi Village, one of the villages that will be evicted by the expansion of the PT KIPI - KIH industrial area.



Drone Image Source JATAM Kaltim 2023.

Figure 3. Coastal, Aquatic and Marine Space Allocation Map which allocates areas along East Tanjung Palas, Tanah Kuning to Mangkupadi for Nature Tourism, conservation and Capture Fisheries in the 2018-2038 North Kalimantan RZWP3K zoning plan which will be affected by the KIPI-KIHI Project (black).



The Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi water areas allocated as Public Utilization Areas (KPU) consisting of Aquaculture Zones, Capture Fisheries Zones (demersal and pelagic) will be impacted and violated. Similarly, the spatial allocation of the marine areas in Tanjung Palas Timur, designated as Conservation Areas, including core zones and sustainable fisheries zones, as well as migratory routes for marine biota such as sea turtle migration paths, will also be traversed. ■



4

TENANT PROFILE AND INDUSTRIAL AREA

Following the initial investigation mentioned earlier, the team accessed and examined crucial documents, including the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and its Supplementary Report on Environmental Management Efforts (RKL RPL), owned by PT KIPI. The Tanah Kuning Industrial Zone, labeled as a Green Industrial Zone (KIH) in Bulungan Regency, North Kalimantan, is part of the National Strategic Project (PSN) justified by Government Regulation Number 109 of 2020, which amends Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 on Accelerating the Implementation of National Strategic Projects. It is also supported by Government Regulation Number 42 of 2021 on the Facilitation of National Strategic Projects, which includes provisions for spatial planning ease, land acquisition, environmental studies, forest land use, sector master plans, and financing planning.

By the end of 2021, plans for developing this industrial area had completed the Environmental Impact Assessment (Amdal) documents and obtained the Environmental Feasibility Decision Letter (SKKL) numbered 503/004/KLH/DPMPTSP-IV issued by the Bulungan



Integrated Investment and One-Stop Service Office on December 13, 2021.²³ However, in 2022, one of the Industrial Zone operators or initiators, PT KIPI, is currently revising the master plan for the Tanah Kuning Industrial Zone and concurrently preparing an addendum study for the Environmental Impact Analysis (Andal) and its Supplementary Report on Environmental Management Efforts (RKL RPL)²⁴ for the development of approximately 366.36 hectares. After proposing an acquisition area of 380 hectares, this additional development will increase the total area of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Zone from its original 9,500 hectares to 9,866.36 hectares. Specifically, for land expansion, 366.36 hectares will be utilized for the development of the Blue Industrial Zone, and approximately 20 hectares will be allocated for additional facilities such as a helipad in the Northern Zone of the area, where the Wastewater Treatment Plant (IPAL) installation location will also be relocated.²⁵

²³ Page II-1, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

²⁴ Page II-1, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

²⁵ Page II-27, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

The process of land acquisition and transfer involving the initial 9,500 hectares is currently undergoing the legalization of status changes of PT Bulungan Citra Agro Persada (BCAP) Cultivation Rights Title (HGU), which comprises HGU Number 34 (957.24 ha), HGU Number 36 (534, 22 ha), HGU Number 37 (4,505.42 ha) and HGU Number 38 (1,820.49 ha). Similarly, the expansion of 366.36 hectares is also in the process of land transfer from the HGU of PT Kayan Patria Propertindo.²⁶

In the previous land use plan for 2021, there were 6 land uses ranging from industrial, residential, commercial, roads and canals, to supporting utilities and green open space, with a total area of over 9,500 hectares. Specifically for this industry, it will occupy an area of 6,100 hectares or 64 percent of the total land, divided into blue zone industry comprising Petrochemical Industry, Steel Industry, and Polycrystalline Manufacturing spanning 3,910 hectares, and green zone industry including Aluminum industry and other manufacturing industries covering 2,190 hectares. However, with the addition of approximately 366.36 hectares to the blue zone industry, changes as outlined in the following table will occur:

Table 1. Industrial Zones in the Tanah Kuning Industrial Zone Plan (Addendum 2022).

No.	Land Use	Area (Hectares)		Information
		Amdal 2021	Addendum 2022	
A	Blue Zone Industry			
1.	Petrochemical Industry	2.505,029	2.739,72	Increasing 9,37%
2.	Steel Industry	673,928	737,07	
3.	Manufacture Polycrystalline	731,449	799,98	
	Sub Total	3.910,41	4.276,77	
B	Green Zone Industry			
1.	Alumunium Industry	778,620	778,620	Constant
2.	Other manufacturing industries (expansion plan)	1.411,94	1.411,94	
	Sub Total	2.190,56	2.190,56	
	Grand Total	6.100,97	6.467,33	+366,36 ha

Source: PT KIPI, 2022

²⁶ Page II-34-35, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

a. Petrochemical Industry

The industry that will be developed in this area is based on petroleum industry products to meet chemical consumption. Industry in this area will produce upstream petrochemicals including Methanol, Ethylene, Propylene, Butadiene, Benzene, Toluene, Xylenes, Fuel coproducts, Pyrolysis Gasoline, Pyrolysis Fuel Oil, Raffinate and even Mixed C4. The industrial facilities that will be built include towers, reactors, compressors, pumps, coolers and furnaces. Due to its reliance on crude oil, this Petrochemical Industry complex will require significant quantities annually: 64 thousand tons of crude oil, 231 thousand tons of 1-butene, and 195 thousand tons of 1-hexene. Additionally, it will necessitate 9,920,000 tons of coal per year²⁷ including 4,320 GWh of electricity annually. Furthermore, the industry will import other chemicals such as 6 thousand tons of liquid alkali and 12.8 thousand tons of sulfuric acid annually. With a workforce of 10 thousand people, it will also consume 1,350,000 cubic meters of water per year.²⁸

b. Steel Industry

This industry is part of the basic metals industry and also includes upstream industries which will supply raw materials for infrastructure (buildings, roads, bridges, electricity and telecommunications networks), transportation equipment (ships, trains and automobiles), and weapons. This industry will bring in a number of raw materials such as Iron Bearing Fine Ore, Dolomite, Anthracite and Limestone. Specifically for Limestone, 6,966,700 tons are needed per year. This industry will also consume coal, including 14.9 million tons per year of coking coal and 2.8 million tons per year of coal injection. With an electricity demand of 3,628 GWh per year, it will require a workforce of 39 thousand people and will deplete 31,268,560 cubic meters of water annually.²⁹

c. Polycrystalline manufacturing industry (Solar Panels) and Aluminum Industry (Electric Car Material)

The Polycrystalline manufacturing industry is an industry that makes Polycrystalline Solar Panels, which are made from single crystal silicon seeds and liquid silicon. Silicon is poured, molded and allowed to cool, causing it to vary in temperature

²⁷ II-9, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

²⁸ II-9, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

²⁹ II-10, Addendum Andal dan RKL-RPL Pengembangan Kawasan Industri Tanah Kuning, 2022.

Figure 4. Warning banners around the planned construction area for the ADARO Minerals aluminum factory and PLTU project in Mangkupadi.



so that when it cools it produces different crystals, making the panel sparkling and colorful like crystals. This industrial operation is claimed to employ 46,000 workers. The industry will require a large amount of water, approximately 6,832,000 cubic meters per year, including generating a massive amount of wastewater totaling 214,820.85 cubic meters annually.³⁰

Meanwhile, the Aluminum industry is the Alumina Electronics Industry, which processes Bauxite into Alumina. Its derivative productions took the form of aircraft bodies, cables, copper wire, textiles and other electronic devices. Bauxite derivatives also become Copper, Nickel Ore and materials used in producing electric cars. The industry targets a production output of 5 million tons per year, claiming to employ 13,000 workers and requiring 3,456 GWh/year of electricity. It consumes a significant amount of water, approximately 17,191,500 cubic meters per year, including generating 14,191,500 cubic meters of wastewater annually.³¹ ■

³⁰ II-10, Addendum Andal dan RKL-RPL Pengembangan Kawasan Industri Tanah Kuning, 2022.

³¹ II-10, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

BOX I:

Still 'Hungry' for Coal and Water

From the profile of each industry in the blue zone and green zone above, the entire industry is not only 'hungry' for land or requires land on a large scale but also appears to be hungry for water and energy. The amount of water used and waste water left behind is humongous. Regarding energy supply, this industry remains heavily reliant on fossil fuels, unlike previous claims that sell green labels due to supposed full adoption of non-fossil energy sources. The total electrical energy that will be used is 11,404 GWh each year, this does not include the Polycrystalline Manufacturing industry, because the data is not yet available. Meanwhile, coal consumption data in the Addendum to the Environmental Impact Assessment (ANDAL RKL-RPL) document is available for only two types of industries: Petrochemical and Steel industries. The total coal requirement for these industries alone amounts to 27.62 million tons per year. This figure does not yet include the coal requirements for the polycrystalline manufacturing (solar panel) and aluminum industries (electronic alumina for electric vehicles). The 27.6 million tons of coal is equivalent to the production output of 37 coal mining permits (IUP) in North Kalimantan.³²

Apart from that, there is also large-scale use of limestone which is used as a mixture and material for refining and processing the iron and steel industry. Both industries will stimulate greater destruction in the upstream areas where these materials originate, more coal mine shafts will be dug, and more karst landscapes will be sacrificed for limestone removal. In addition to industrial activities as the primary focus, supporting activities and infrastructure will also be developed. Supporting activities include the construction of housing (dormitory and living areas) covering an area of 480 hectares for 115 thousand people in the form of house units and flats. Facilities for education and vocational training will span over 24,000 m² in Mangkupadi village, accommodating 1,000 individuals. A management office covering 4 hectares will be established for 250 personnel, along with facilities for religious worship and security, including the establishment of a local police station in collaboration with the Police Department. Healthcare facilities and

³² The calculation above is based on coal production from the 37 IUPs in 2019 amounting to 11,494,585 tons, please check <https://diskominfo.kaltaraprov.go.id/produksi-batu-bara-kaltara-capai-214-juta-ton/>.

other amenities will also be provided. As for supporting infrastructure, the electricity grid will primarily be supplied by a captive coal-fired power plant, while a larger portion is claimed to be fulfilled by power plants using renewable energy sources.³³

Figure 5. Alleged location of Captive PLTU A and PLTU B in Mangkupadi Village and new coal activity signs appearing in the vicinity.



Meanwhile, for the provision of clean and raw water, this industrial zone will source water from the Pindada and Mangkupadi Tawar Rivers which are located within their delimited area. Additionally, they plan to utilize water from the Kayan River and assert their capability to treat seawater through sea water reverse osmosis, alongside using blended water from recycled wastewater processing.³⁴ The total water demand data for these three types of industry will consume 39,450,560 m³ each year, which is equivalent to 1 ½ years of use for around 700 thousand people in North Kalimantan.³⁵ This does not include the total need for clean and raw water outside the industrial area for supporting

³³ II-14, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

³⁴ II-14, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

³⁵ Page II-78, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

Figure 6. Pindada River in Mangkupadi Village in the KIPI Area.



activities and facilities such as housing or settlements. According to the daily water usage balance, the main industrial activities are reported to “mine” water from the Pindada and Mangkupadi Tawar rivers daily, amounting to 258,543.27 cubic meters per day, while supporting activities consume 28,030.62 cubic meters per day.³⁶ This implies that they will consume 95 percent of the daily flow and volume of the Pindada and Mangkupadi Tawar rivers, totaling 286,573.88 cubic meters per day.

Based on this, it is estimated that there will be 286,439.86 m³ of wastewater generated daily, which is claimed to be treated by a number of wastewater treatment plants (IPALs). However, all of it will still end up being thrown away every four hours. Each discharge of wastewater will be directed to several receiving water bodies: Sungai Mangkupadi Asin, Sungai Pindada, Mangkupadi Tawar, Kalaputan Besar, and Sungai Kampung Baru.³⁷ This does not yet include the piles of toxic and hazardous waste (*Bahan Beracun dan Berbahaya, B3*) produced by each area. ■

³⁶ If the population of North Kalimantan is around 700 thousand and using assumptions from the following data; <https://pu.go.id/berita/pemakaian-air-rumah-tangga-perkotaan-144-liter-perhari>.

³⁷ Page II-79, Addendum Andal and RKL-RPL Development of the Tanah Kuning Industrial Area, 2022.

5

THE OLIGARCHY BEHIND THE GUISE OF GREEN INDUSTRY

There are three companies³⁸ that manage this industrial area, namely PT Kalimantan Industrial Park Indonesia (KIPI), PT Indonesia Strategis Industri (ISI) and PT Kayan Patria Propertindo (KPP). President Jokowi then appointed Garibaldi Thohir or Boy Thohir as chairman of the Industrial Area Consortium in December 2021. Boy, the older brother of current BUMN Minister Erick Thohir, will control PT Kalimantan Industrial Park Indonesia (KIPI).

This coal business magnate and owner of ADARO Energy seemed to receive a windfall, specially after the government designated a vast stretch of land from Mangkupadi Village to Binai on the Bulungan Coast as the location for the Industrial and International Port Area (KIPI), now rebranded as the Indonesian Green Industry Zone (KIHI). As if

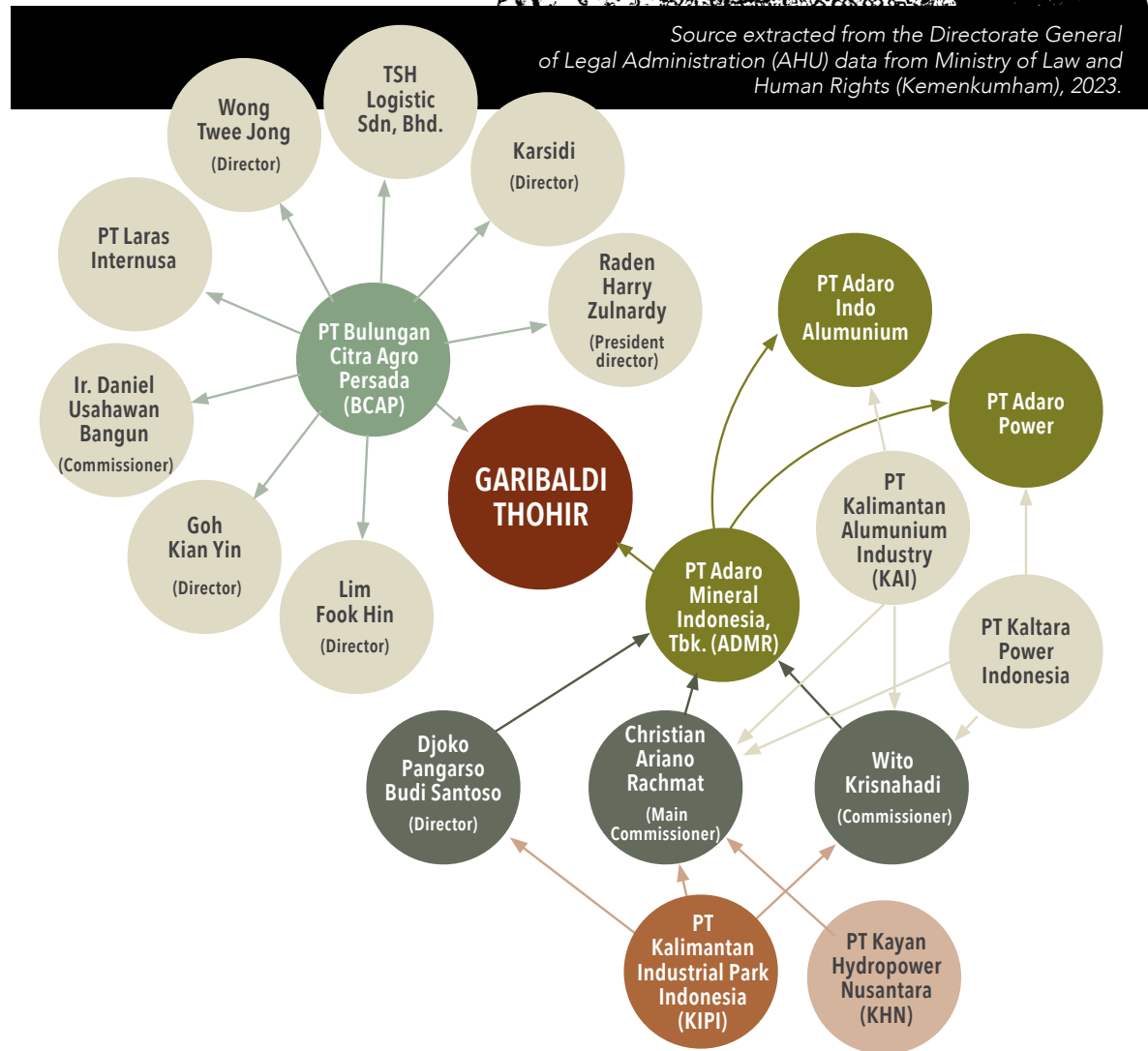
³⁸ <https://kilasdaerah.kompas.com/kalimantan-utara/read/2022/10/28/11450601/mengenal-lebih-dekat-perjalanan-kawasan-industri-raksasa-di-kaltara>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

by 'coincidence', 9,500 hectares of the 10,100 hectares of this soon-to-be Green Industrial Area are also located on Oil Palm Plantation Concession (HGU) owned by PT Bulungan Citra Agro Persada (BCAP), which also belongs to Boy Thohir. His shares are intertwined with a palm oil company, with the majority owned by Malaysia-based TSH Logistic Sdn Bhd, a part of TSH Resources Berhad Malaysia.³⁹

Figure 7. Garibaldi Thohir's ownership ties with ADARO and BCAP are also related to PT KIPI, PLTA Mentarang and PLTU in Bulungan.



Source extracted from the Directorate General of Legal Administration (AHU) data from Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), 2023.



³⁹ <https://newsletter.tempo.co/read/1553090/duet-maut-proyek-hijau>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

Based on the map of actors and ownership sourced from documents accessed through the Directorate General (Ditjen) of General Legal Administration (AHU) of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham) in 2023, a network can be seen connecting Boy Thohir with BCAP. He is listed in the documents as still being the President Commissioner of this palm oil company. Apart from that, Boy also has an indirect relationship with PT KIPI through three “people” or their representations which can be seen in a pattern that always appears, namely Wito Krisnahadi, Christian Ariano Rachmat and Djoko Pangarso Budi Santoso, all three of whom are connected to Boy Thohir. This is because the three of them sit as commissioners and directors at PT KIPI as well as commissioners and directors at ADARO group companies, for example Wito who is also the director of PT Adaro Minerals Indonesia (ADMR).

Regarding public inquiries about this, Coordinating Minister (Menko) for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Marves), Luhut Pandjaitan admitted that initially he did not know who owned the land. According to Luhut, the land was deemed suitable for developing a green industrial zone compared to other areas. *“...Honestly, at first we didn’t know who owned this land. After we surveyed the area and sent a team, we discovered that the land is owned by Pak (Mr) Boy Thohir...”* said Luhut.

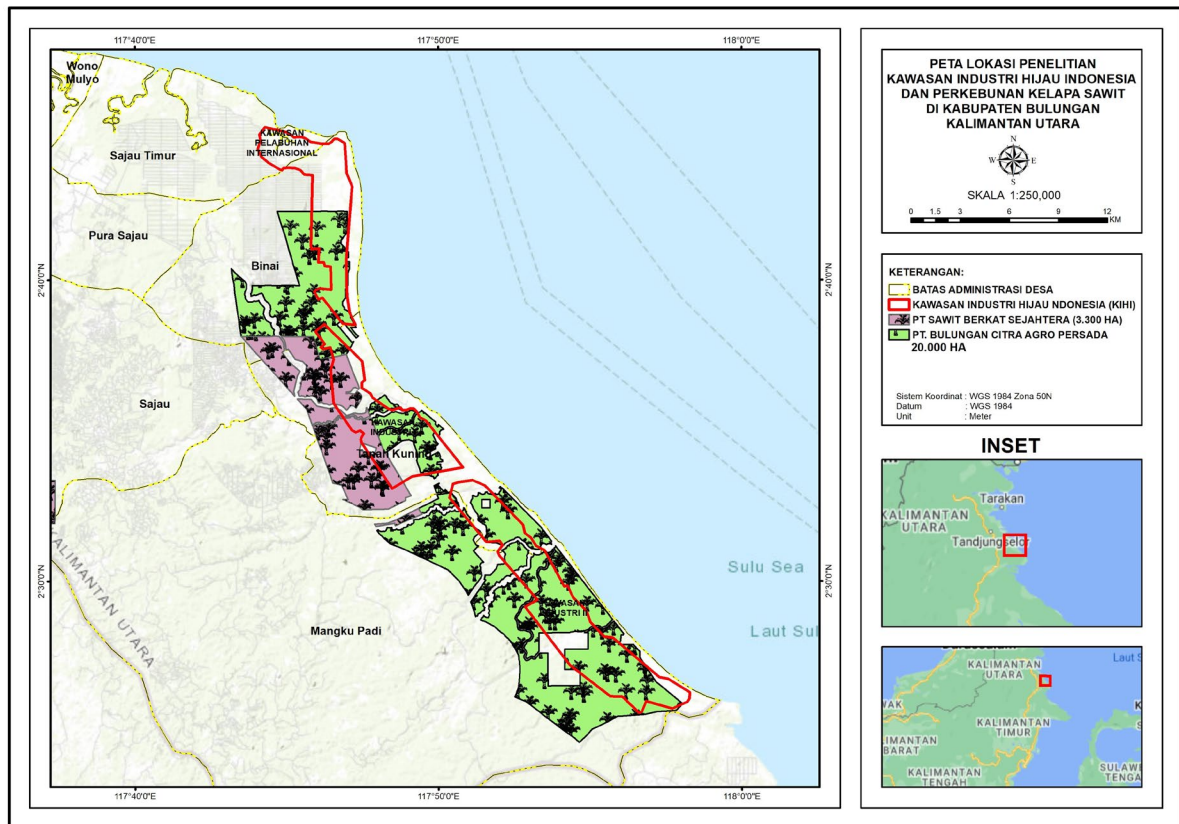
There is no other choice because of all the land in this area the most attractive to be developed is the one belonging to Boy Thohir. *“So perhaps it’s Mr. Boy Thohir’s good fortune,”* said Luhut.⁴⁰

From the overlay results with oil palm plantations, this industrial area not only overlaps with PT Bulungan Citra Agro Persada but also with PT Sawit Berkas Sejahtera (SBS) which has the IUP522.1/15/EK/IL-IV/2011521/24/IUP/DISTAN-III/VIII/2007 status.

In the KIPI area, ADARO Minerals Indonesia will manage the Aluminum Industry tenants. This industry is the electronic alumina industry, which processes bauxite into alumina. Its derivatives include aircraft bodies, cables, copper wire, textiles and other electronic devices. Bauxite derivatives also become copper, nickel ore and materials used for producing electric vehicles. All of this is expected to be organized by PT Kalimantan Aluminium Industri (KAI), whose shares are owned by PT Adaro Indo Aluminum and 10 other shareholders, commissioners, and directors, among which Cita Mineral Investindo (CMI) is noteworthy to observe.

⁴⁰ <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/lahan-kawasan-industri-hijau-kaltara-milik-boy-thohir-luhut-mungkin-rezeki-beliau>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

Figure 8. Overlay Map of the KIPI-KIHI Industrial Area with the PT BCAP Palm Oil Plantation HGU Concession and other palm oil plantations.



Cita Mineral Investindo is a bauxite mining issuer whose majority shares are held by PT Harita Jayaraya (Harita Group) amounting to 60.64%. Harita Jayaraya is a company owned by Lim Hariyanto Wijaya Sarwono, aged 94, who is the 20th richest person in Indonesia according to The Real-Time Billionaires Forbes, with a wealth of US\$ 1.1 billion.⁴¹ He is also said to be the richest grandfather in Indonesia. Harita Group is the primary cause behind the suffering of residents on Obi Island in North Maluku and Wawonii Island in Southeast Sulawesi. These two small islands are being ravaged by nickel mining operations and smelter factories owned by the conglomerate family of Lim Hariyanto Wijaya Sarwono.

Meanwhile, the second manager of KIHI is PT Indonesia Strategis Industri (ISI), owned by Tjandra Limanjaya, whose business is connected to the power generation sector. Through the company PT General Energy Bali (GEB), Tjandra worked on the controversial steam power plant in Celukan Bawang, Bali,⁴² where he was involved in

⁴¹ <https://katadata.co.id/lonaolavia/finansial/63a51e3103f5c/kakek-terkaya-di-ri-masuk-ke-smelter-aluminium-grup-adaro>, accessed on 27 Januari 2023.

⁴² <https://www.gatra.com/news-539496-nasional-pejabat-dan-pengusaha-berebut-pabrik-pembangkit-listrik-di-kalimantan.html>, accessed 27 January 2023.

Figure 9. Link map of the relationship between PT KIPI, PLTA, ADARO and the Harita Jayaraya Business Group (Harita Group) owned by Lim Hariyanto, one of the richest people in Indonesia according to Forbes.



a case of forgery of Bank Guarantees and money laundering related to the Celukan Bawang PLTU financing project.⁴³ However, upon examining the shareholding documents, the board of commissioners and directors listed in the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Ditjen AHU) data for the year 2023, PT ISI is linked to PT Kayan Hydro Energy (KHE), which is mentioned as one of the potential electricity suppliers to ISI and this industrial area. This connection is shown through the figure of Khaeroni who serves as a director at both PT ISI and PT KHE at the same time.

⁴³ <https://www.lensaindonesia.com/2015/08/25/divonis-7-tahun-direktur-pt-geb-tjandra-limanjaya-belum-ditahan.html>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

What is also interesting is the emergence of the connection between these two companies through the appearance of the name of the former Mayor of Surakarta/Solo and also Joko Widodo's former Vice Mayor before running for President in the 2010-2012 period, FX Hadi Rudyatmo. As the Chairman of the Solo City DPC and a politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), he serves as a Commissioner at PT ISI and PT KHE as well.

Figure 10. Link map of PT ISI's relationship with PT Kayan Hydro Energi (KHE) including the appearance of the names of elite PDIP politicians and former mayors and Jokowi's former partner when he was mayor in Solo, FX Hadi Rudyatmo.



The plan is that the electricity supply for the industrial area managed by PT ISI will come from the Kayan River Hydroelectric Power Plant.⁴⁴ The developer of this power plant, PT Kayan Hydro Energy (KHE), is also owned by Tjandra. Besides PT KHE, there is also PT Kayan Hydropower Nusantara (KHN), which is an affiliate of the Mentarang Hydroelectric Power Plant (PLTA) project. PLTA, with different planned supply capacity numbers, is located elsewhere, namely in the Mentarang River and Tubu River in Malinau Regency, both vying to supply electricity to KIHl.

However, since the location permit was obtained in 2012 until now, PT KHE's movement is considered slow, even though on October 6, 2022, PT KHE signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Sumitomo Corporation Japan with an investment value of 17.8 billion or 267 trillion rupiah.⁴⁵ The local government seems doubtful. This doubt emanates from the entry of PT Pembangkit Indonesia Epsilon in September - October 2022. According to a number of regional officials at Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Agency) North Kalimantan, this company's name, which is affiliated with PT KIPI, appeared after meetings held jointly with the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the third manager is PT Kayan Patria Propertindo. This company is affiliated with the PT Kayan Patria Pratama Group owned by the largest local political and business oligarch in North Kalimantan, Lauw Juanda Lesmana⁴⁷. Its business range stretches from coal mining, plantations, shipping to property and hotels. Lauw Juanda Lesmana has close connections with the former Governor of North Kalimantan, Irianto Lambrie⁴⁸ and other high-ranking regional officials in North Kalimantan.⁴⁹ Lauw Juanda Lesmana, through his company PT Kayan Patria Pratama Group, is also part of the joint venture involving PT Kayan Hydropower Nusantara, previously mentioned as a competitor to PT Kayan Hydro Energy in supplying electricity to KIHl. PT KPP holds shares in PT KHN alongside Sarawak Energy from Malaysia.⁵⁰ ■

44 <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3162509/bangun-plta-kayan-cascade-pt-kayan-hydro-energy-khe-gandeng-sumitomo-corp-jepang>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

45 <https://www.jawapos.com/ekonomi/energi/06/10/2022/kayan-hydro-energy-gandeng-sumitomo-corporation-bangun-plta-kayan/>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

46 <https://korankaltara.com/khe-dianggap-lambat-epsilon-masuk-garap-plta>, accessed on January 2023.

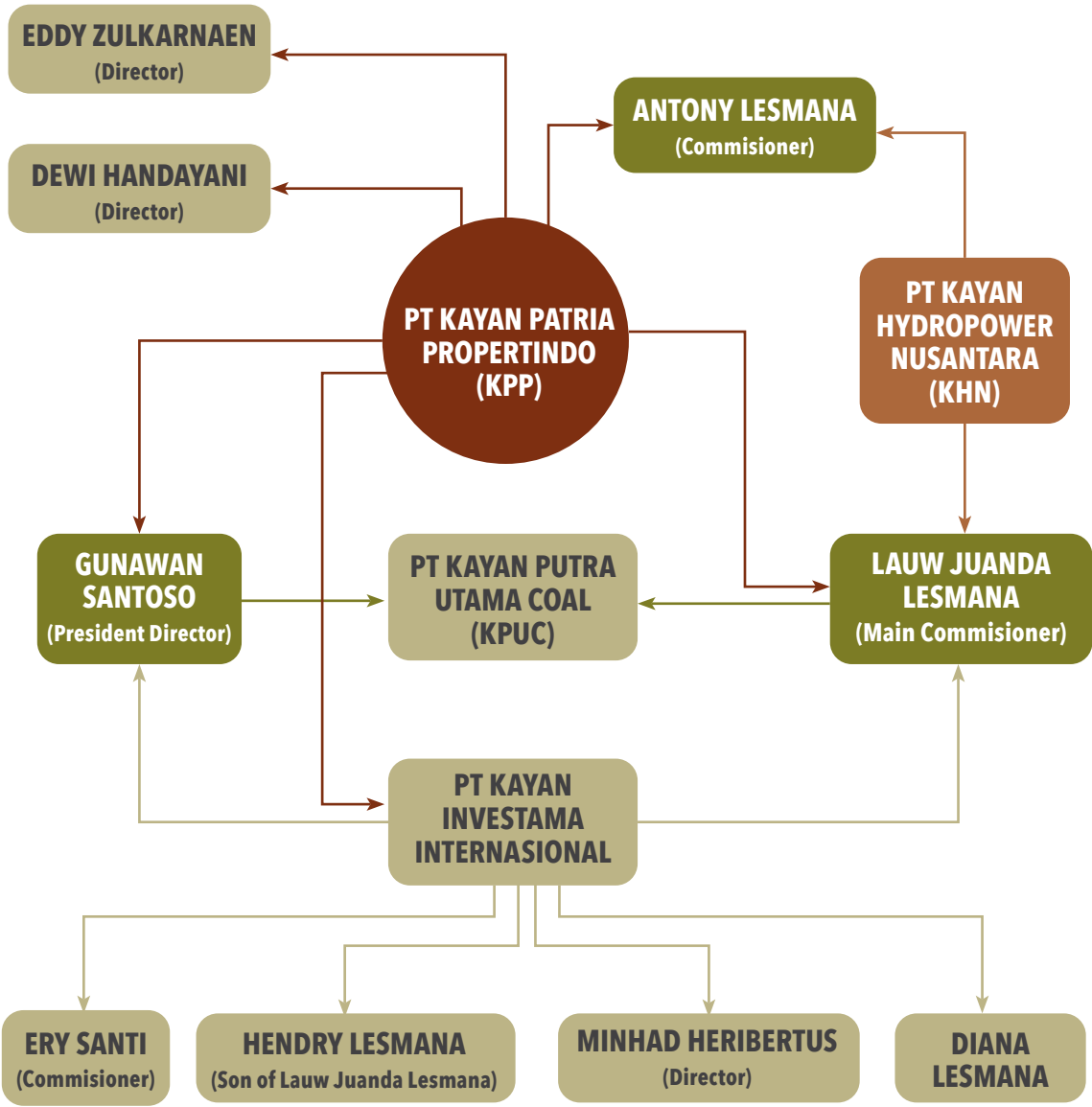
47 <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2019/12/08/nama-pengusaha-kaya-juanda-lesmana-mencuat-dampangi-irianto-lambrie-di-pilkada-kalimantan-utara-2020>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

48 <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2019/12/08/nama-pengusaha-kaya-juanda-lesmana-mencuat-dampangi-irianto-lambrie-di-pilkada-kalimantan-utara-2020>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

49 <https://betahita.id/news/detail/6929/di-balik-gelap-dan-berlikunya-informasi-pencemaran-pt-kpuc.html.html>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

50 <https://www.ptkhn.com/id/>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

Figure 11. Ownership map of PT KPP and its affiliates with various Lauw Juanda Lesmana companies.



BOX II:

LUHUT, THOHIR & JUANDA LESMANA MEETING IN ONE 'POT'

On October 12, 2022, the project holder of the Mentarang Hydro Electric Dam Project with a capacity of 1,375 megawatts changed its name and was taken over by PT Kayan Energy International, whose shares are controlled respectively by PT Mentarang Tirta Energy, Sarawak Energy Services Sdn Bhd and PT Kayan Investama International.⁵¹ Interestingly, PT Kayan Hydropower Nusantara will supply electricity to the management of PT Kayan Patria Propertindo through the Mentarang PLTA. This appears to be supported by other forces beyond just the local oligarch, Lauw Juanda Lesmana, but also connected to Boy Thohir's "people" through Christian Ariano Rachmat as well as Luhut's "people" through Ir. Justarina Sinta Marisi Naiborhu, both of whom are directors and commissioners of PT KIPI too.

KHN has a relationship or is the center of meetings between Luhut, Boy and Juanda, this makes the position of PT KHN and PLTA Mentarang superior to PT KHE and PLTA Kayan.

⁵¹ <https://www.ptkhn.com/id/>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

Figure 12. Map of share owners and relations of PT Kayan Hydropower Nusantara which brings together Adaro Minerals Indonesia (ADMR) with Luhut's people and local oligarch, Lauw Juanda Lesmana.

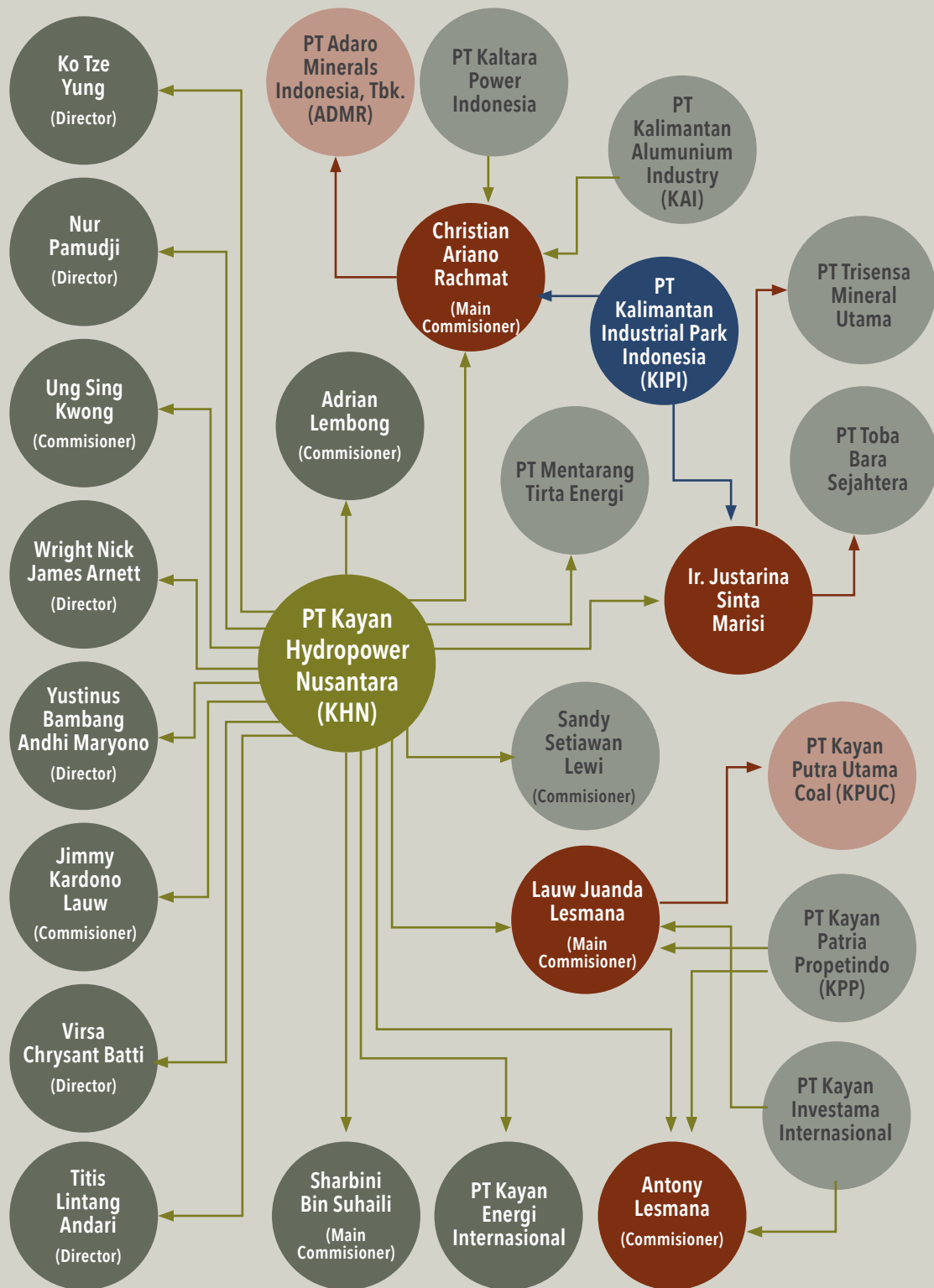


Figure 13. Groundbreaking ceremony for the Mentarang hydroelectric power plant in Malinau, this hydroelectric power plant also has PSN status and overtakes the Kayan hydroelectric power plant which has been under discussion for almost 12 years.



Image source:

<https://kaltara.antaranews.com/berita/500976/groundbreaking-plta-mentarang-presiden-dukung-transformasi-indonesia-menuju-ekonomi-hijau>.

Figure 14. Location Map of Mentarang Hydroelectric Power Plant.



Source: <https://www.ptkhn.com/id/>

Therefore, KHN serves as a nexus or convergence point between Luhut, Boy, and Juanda, positioning PT KHN and the Mentarang Hydroelectric Power Plant ahead of PT KHE and the Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant. This was evident in the subsequent designation of national strategic project status and the groundbreaking ceremony held on Wednesday, March 1, 2023, in Malinau, officiated by President Joko Widodo.

This also opens up the opportunity for PT KHN and PLTA Mentarang to not only support PT KPP's electricity needs, but also potentially to supply electricity to PT KIPI. Although, in reality, PT KIPI, which represents another facet of the interests of Boy and Luhut, will continue to be supplied by coal through several Captive Power Plant (PLTU Captive) projects and the Kaltara Power Plant project.

Besides those investors, in several previous meetings, the name of Fortescue Metal Group, owned by an Australian tycoon has also surfaced. The name appeared especially after discussions between Andrew Forrest and Coordinating Minister for Investment Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan at the end of the past year 2020. In December 2021, the North Kalimantan Provincial Government signed a cooperation agreement with Fortescue Future Industries and Fortescue Metals Group Ltd (FMG). Andrew Forrest stated his intention to make Indonesia an exporter of green hydrogen.

Fortescue Metals Group Ltd (FMG), as reported by the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, was poised to inject IDR180 trillion into North Kalimantan at that time. This investment is part of Fortescue's US\$10 billion investment plan in Papua and East Kalimantan provinces.⁵² ■

⁵² <https://investor.id/business/312821/fortescue-mari-jadikan-ri-eksportir-hidrogen-hijau-yang-hebat>, accessed on 27 January 2023.

6

THE LOST & THE DAMAGED; FIELD FINDINGS OF DAMAGE AND SAFETY HAZARDS FROM TANAH KUNING TO KAMPUNG BARU

After conducting field research, the team discovered that social metabolism is intricately linked to its surrounding ecosystem, particularly evident in the economic metabolism or life cycle of capture fisheries represented by fishermen of various types. This dependency underscores the reliance on the health of coral ecosystems, water quality, and coastal areas.

Similarly, the social and ecological changes that manifest as “smell” or “aroma” and “visual” in Kampung Baru and Pindada, as articulated by Wiwi, serve as indicators of what is referred to as Metabolic Rift or the rift in social

“Nowadays, there’s no longer the smell of salted fish or dried anchovies being sun-dried. When we walked along the road, we used to smell it throughout the journey. The green scenery that stretched from Kampung Baru to Pindada, has now been completely replaced by industries. What we breathe in is no longer the smell of sun-dried fish but the dust from large vehicles!”

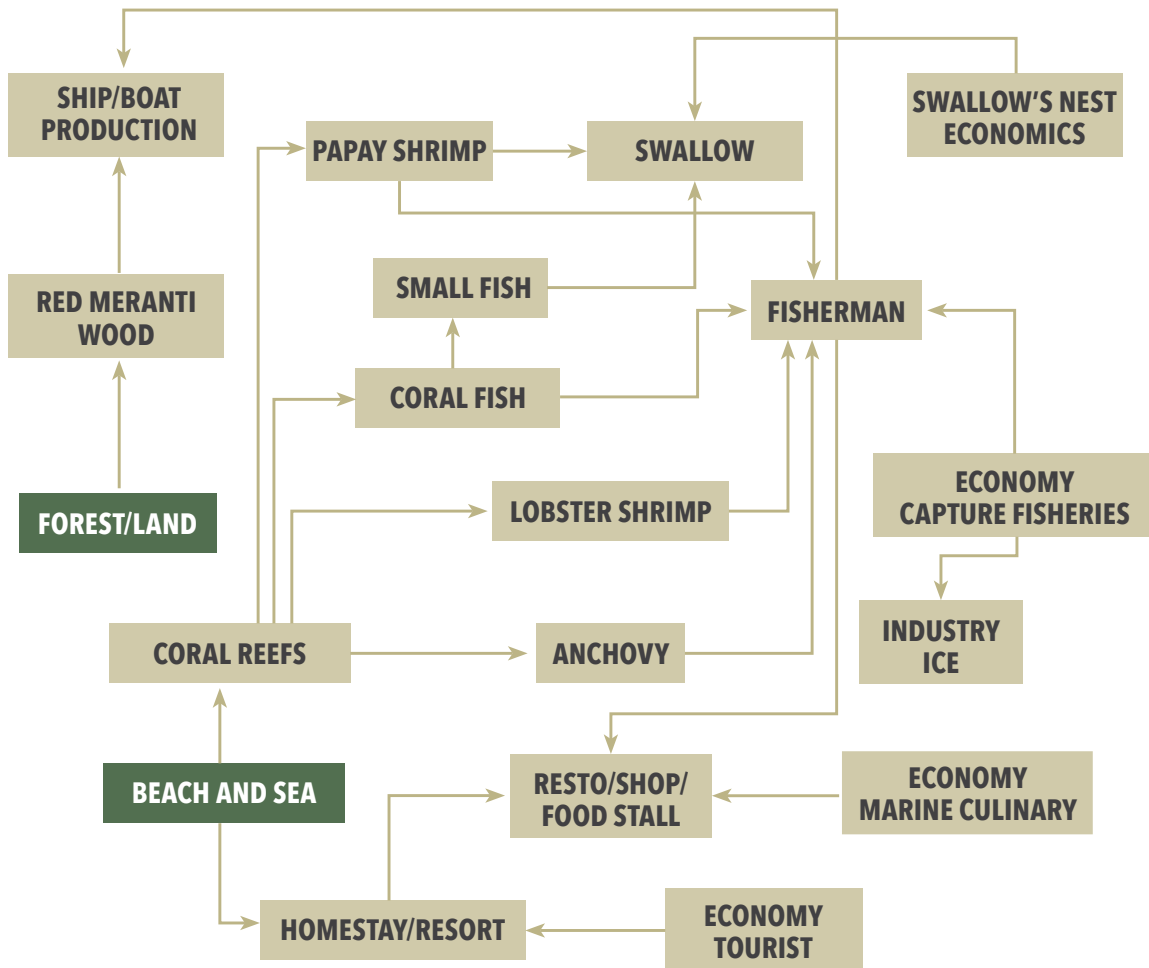
Wiwi – 45 years, Kampung Baru



Figure 15. Fishing Boat and Fishing Village in Tanah Kuning.

and ecological metabolism.⁵³ Changes in metabolism occur due to disruptions in interconnected socio-ecological chains. This can be illustrated in the analytical map of Tanah Kuning as follows;

Figure 16. Analysis map of the relationship between local ecosystem and the current economy.



From the analytical map above, it is evident how the health of the coastal areas (especially coral reefs), the sea, and the forests are integral parts of the socio-ecological chain for the social and economic activities of the residents there. The map also highlights what will be lost and damaged if industrial zone operations continue or expand.

⁵³ <https://arc.or.id/ringkasan-diskusi-metabolic-rift-dan-perubahan-sosio-ekologis-di-kawasan-gambut-kalimantan-tengah/>, accessed on 23 March 2023.

Figure 17. Aerial portrait of Tanah Kuning Village.



Source:: Drone JATAM Kaltim 2023.

The area of Tanah Kuning village is $\pm 20,000$ Ha, of which 65% is land with hilly topography and is connected to the coast and the sea of the Sulawesi Strait. Tanah Kuning village is a coastal village because the village's direct border to the east is the Sulawesi Sea. This affects the livelihood of residents in Tanah Kuning village. Apart from being farmers, most of the people in Tanah Kuning work as fishermen. Tanah Kuning has a population of 2,843 people, consisting of 1,540 men and 1,303 women, and 697 household.⁵⁴

The attraction of white sandy beaches and the beauty of the sea view are central to this location. Accessible by road, it takes approximately 4 hours from Tanjung Selor, or by sea using a speedboat departing from the same point. Along the beachfront, transactions for fish trading occur between villagers and *bagan tangkap* fishermen (fishermen who use small floating huts installed on the edge or middle of the sea for catching fish). During holidays, visitors from neighboring areas (Tanjung Selor, Sajau, Binai, etc.) flock to Tanah Kuning Village for leisure activities. Some arrive with their families for recreational purposes, while others come to fish near the beach docks to unwind over the weekend.

⁵⁴ Bulungan Dalam Angka, 2022.

Meanwhile, Mangkupadi is its neighboring village, still within the Tanjung Palas Timur District. According to several government sources, the name Mangkupadi originates from the Berau language, where “mangko” means bowl and “padi” refers to rice, thus Mangkupadi translates to a place of rice. Mangkupadi Village is inhabited by a diverse population of various ethnicities, including Bugis, Bajau, Javanese, and Banjar, due to its coastal location.

It consists of approximately 200 households, predominantly engaged in occupations such as capture and bagang fishermen, farmers, and a small number involved in trading.

a. Portrait of the Status of Water, Food and Energy Safety of Local Residents

In Tanah Kuning, a village predominantly inhabited by Bugis descendants with smaller populations of Javanese and Bajau from Mangkupadi, the residents purchase refill water gallons at the nearest drinking water depots for daily consumption. The primary source of water comes from bore wells operated by machinery. Previously, before opting for refillable water gallons, residents used to boil water sourced from local shallow wells in the vicinity of the village. Despite the proximity to the coast and the sea, they consider water from these shallow wells suitable for consumption. Additionally, there are several river streams in the area that remain underutilized. The water from these sources appears somewhat dark and reddish in color.

In the area of Tanah Kuning Village, specifically Tanjung, the terrain and geographical conditions differ significantly, as highlighted by local resident Erni in relation to their impact on the water supply for residents.

“If the water comes from rainwater, we collect it for washing and showering, there are no wells here, because the water is salty, down there (beach, lower area) the water is white, that’s fresh. But when we drilled (the well) the other day, the water was mostly iron. The color is clear, but sticky, it’s rusty on the edge of the bucket,” said Erni. “We only accommodate it using large water tanks, around 7 in numbers. But it runs out quickly. When all the kids go home, they run out quickly, so I buy more.”

Erni also admitted to be using rainwater, but sometimes up to 2 months without rain causes the water to be unusable due to dust contamination. For the past 10 years, Erni and her family have relied on rainwater before resorting to purchasing bottled water in 2019, averaging up to 3 gallons per week. In addition to buying bottled water, they are also compelled to purchase water stored in tanks.

Figure 18. Tank profile for collecting rainwater behind Erni's house, resident of Tanjung, Tanah Kuning.



"If there is no rain, we buy tank water, 1,200 liters, usually 100 thousand. People usually take water from above or elsewhere, we only know how to buy it, especially when we run out of water."

According to Erni, residents in Tanjung cannot rely on drilled well water like residents below, Erni said the color and aroma have changed.

"People from lower areas can still use drilled wells. The water is not salty there, I don't know why, in Mangkupadi there is also a good drilled well, the water there is clear. Up here the water turns red."

"If the water comes from rainwater, we collect it for washing and washing. There are no wells here, because the water is salty. Down there (beach, lower area) the water is white, fresh. But we drilled yesterday and the water was mostly iron. The color is clear, but sticky, it rusts on the edge of the bucket."

Erni – 42 years, Kampung Tanjung resident

Another water issue is the non-functioning government-drilled wells. *“There used to be a water utility (PDAM) up there,”* Erni explained, pointing to a blue-colored large water tank across from her house. *“They installed something, but it got stuck. Perhaps the water pump couldn’t handle it.”*

The water issue faced by Erni is also experienced by residents in other neighborhood units (RTs). *“In Tanjung, there are about 4 RTs, all located in Tanjung. Here, it’s RT 6, 7, 11, and 8. RT 7 has the largest population, estimated to have more than 100 residents, while I’m less familiar with the others,”* she explained. *“For RT 7, we heavily rely on rainwater. In the other RTs, they have wells which can still be used for washing, so they are safer,”* she noted.

No conclusion has been drawn regarding water yet, but from the residents’ discussions, it has been identified that a freshwater crisis is the most imminent threat. If something happens to the wells around the coast, such as saline intrusion or air pollution leading to contaminated rainwater, the water security of hundreds of residents in RT 7, Tanjung, would be jeopardized.

Figure 19. The drilled well water facility built by the ESDM geological agency but stalled, is not functioning in the residential area of Tanjung, Tanah Kuning.



b. Portrait of Food Security

Through discussions about the state of food supply, Siti Hawa, a 47-year-old owner of a small eatery in Tanah Kuning, revealed that the availability of rice and vegetables in the area is heavily reliant on other regions. To meet the demands of her self-run food stall, she purchases an average of 20 kilograms of rice every three days. The rice that she purchases comes exclusively from two locations: Tanjung Selor, the capital of North Kalimantan and Berau, the neighboring district.

"I buy rice from Berau because it is cheaper than from Tanjung Selor. In Tanjung Selor it's 270 for 20 kilos, if you come from Berau it's better to get 13 and a half or you can get 14 if it's rice for a kilo. Tanjung Selor is 2 hours from here." "Well, if rice from Berau is thirteen thousand, there is a difference of one thousand, some are 500, 500 to one thousand. Berau is more or less far, around 2 hours and a half from here. It's a bit far but the price of rice is cheaper."

According to Siti, there is no local rice available. *"There is rice in Sajau, but they grow it for their own needs,"* she said. Sajau is a neighboring village, but its rice does not circulate in Tanah Kuning. Siti admitted that she has never bought it, resulting in the residents of Tanah Kuning nearly completely relying on external sources for their rice supply. Since 2015, Siti has been purchasing rice from outside the area to meet both her personal consumption needs and those of her food stall.

Meanwhile, for vegetable supplies, Siti explained that water spinach, eggplant, and carrots come from Tanjung Selor, whereas spinach and pumpkin are purchased from the neighboring village of Sajau. Siti, who only moved to Tanah Kuning in 2015 after living in Sulawesi, mentioned that the prices of vegetables are relatively high compared to those in her hometown in Sulawesi.



Figure 20. Siti (47 years) shows the rice packaging that she buys every week from outside Tanah Kuning.

"A pumpkin here costs ten thousand (rupiah), there (in Sulawesi), it's not even ten thousand (rupiah) if it is this big. Water spinach costs one thousand or two thousand (rupiah), here it costs five thousand (rupiah). Tomatoes from Berau are also seventeen thousand (rupiah) per kilo."

In addition, Siti recounted that the majority of residents now use 3-kilogram LPG gas stoves for cooking. *"The price is 50,000 rupiah from Berau,"* she said, referring to the seller, *"Sometimes we buy from Tarakan, and my husband delivers it using the Sadewa (a speedboat)."* To go shopping in Tarakan, residents need to spend both time and money, with a cost of 185,000 rupiah per person. *"We leave at 9 AM and return home by 2 PM,"* she added.

"As for electricity, it only recently started working in 2018, around the 9th month. Before, it was from the generator, so I bought oil first, there were vouchers, but there were also regular ones," said Erni.

The staple commodities of Tanah Kuning and Kampung Baru include various types of fish, shrimp, anchovies, pepper, and coconut. These commodities, aligned with the coastal and shoreline geography, have become a boon for the residents, who are both fishermen and farmers.

c. Fishermen Forcibly Divorced from the Seas

However, the destructive impact of development and the expansion of industrial areas, such as the Indonesian Green Industrial Zone in Tanah Kuning, will inevitably 'land' on the economy of fishermen and the capture fisheries sector. Various types of fishermen and their catch, including fish and shrimp, will be affected, and their livelihoods will be lost. The fishermen in Tanah Kuning, though not all, predominantly change their fishing gear according to the changing wind and wave seasons or the fish migration seasons.

Among these fishermen are *ketinting* (small traditional boat) fishermen, anglers, longline fishermen, and lift net fishermen. Lift net fishermen, in particular, use fishing gear constructed from several wooden poles forming a rectangular shape. They utilize nets and lights to attract and capture fish.

The production cycle for bagan fishermen spans from fifth month to the eleventh month, during which they primarily produce anchovies. After this period, fishermen switch to longline gear to target reef fish. In the second month, the season for catching papaya shrimp begins.

Figure 21. Ketinting fishermen, looking for fish and shrimp in the Tanah Kuning Sea.



"In bagan, the production lasts until the 11th month. As for the papai shrimp⁵⁵ (rebon shrimp; Acetes), it's only strong for 3 months, this month until the end of the 5th month, or the 4th month," said Mr. Anti, a fisherman in Tanah Kuning. Muhammad Nur, commonly known as Mr. Anti (60 years old), admitted to owning 70 ketinting boats, which he uses regularly to catch papai shrimp and reef fish.

From various accounts of fishermen, if the sequence of fishing seasons and the times when fishermen set sail are aligned with the Gregorian calendar, they can be simplified into the following calendar table:

Figure 22. Fisherman's fishing season calendar and types of marine commodities in Tanah Kuning - Mangkupadi throughout the year, excerpted from interviews with local fishermen.

MONTH	KETINTING	MERAWAI	BAGAN
JANUARY	Udang Besar, Udang Jelanjang, Udang Papai		Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
FEBRUARY	Udang Besar, Udang Jelanjang, Udang Papai		
MARCH	Udang Besar, Udang Jelanjang, Udang Papai		
APRIL	Udang Besar, Udang Jelanjang, Udang Papai		
MAY			
JUNE		Ikan merah, Ikan kerapu, Ikan besar berat > 1kg	Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
JULY		Ikan merah, Ikan kerapu, Ikan besar berat > 1kg	Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
AUGUST		Ikan merah, Ikan kerapu, Ikan besar berat > 1kg	Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
SEPTEMBER			Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
OCTOBER			Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
NOVEMBER			Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam
DECEMBER			Lure' (Teri), Teri Hitam

⁵⁵ Papai Shrimp is a local traditional term that refers to the Acetes shrimp genus that resemble krills that are native to the western and central Indo-Pacific region.



Figure 23. Anchovies.



Figure 24. Fisherwoman in Tanah Kuning separating small shrimp from medium sized shrimp.

Papai shrimp is one of the primary commodities along the coasts and seas of Tanah Kuning. Additionally, there are anchovies, locally known as ‘Lure’, which are another prominent commodity in Tanah Kuning, including black anchovies.

“Those small shrimp are called Rebon by the Javanese, Papai by the Banjar people, and Ambaring by the Bugis,” explained Mr. Anti, describing the various names for the main commodities of the fishermen there.

“There is also Teri (Anchovy) Nasi, it’s called Penja, it’s the smallest, that’s why it’s called anchovies. There are also those who call it Teri Medan because they are from Medan. There are also many sizes here, sir.” he added.

The calendar in the form of a table outlining fishermen’s catch seasons, yielding continuous results across various types of catches, highlights the richness of the coastal waters from Tanah Kuning to Mangkupadi. It also underscores the strong bond between fishermen and their seas—a bond that will be severed if their coasts and seas are overtaken by industrial zones in the future. Fishermen should not be “divorced” from the sea. The economic loss would not only affect small-scale fishermen but also their investors—the fish aggregators who play a pivotal role in the fishermen’s economic hierarchy. Their function includes providing initial capital assistance in the form of fuel, credit for vessel equipment, and even the vessels or boats themselves.

Figure 25. Papai shrimp being dried in the sun on a net.



Muhammad Nur, a veteran fisherman, has transformed into a fish and shrimp aggregator. He also finances over 70 other ketinting fishermen to catch shrimp and papai shrimp, and he owns and finances bagan fishermen as well.

He and his network of fishermen will also be affected by the expansion of the industrial zone and its economic impact. His longstanding relationships and extensive network of fishermen may disappear, despite their historical significance and broad reach.

"My initial step into the papai shrimp business here was very hands-on, about 15 years ago. When I first arrived here, there were only 17 houses, and I used to come and go. Later, I settled down and now have a wife here," he said.

"I'm originally from Laut Island, South Kalimantan, but here the residents are mostly coming from Kota Baru. Actually, everyone here is from Sulawesi, my father is from Bantaeng, and my mother is from Bone. I was the only Kalimantan-born in the family."

"Bagan consists of 18 people within the Bahtera Group (Mr. Anti's Fishermen's Group), and I have 4 of my own. My papai shrimp catch started earlier than bagan. It's been about 10 years for bagan," he said.

"If I own it, there are 4 of them. Only the ones I pay for are dozens of people, they can't get in if they don't help, like this too. This purchase should help so much."

Around Tanah Kuning, there are three main fish aggregators for fishermen. In addition to Muhamad Nur mentioned earlier, another pair is a husband and wife, Erni (42 years old) and her husband Darman.⁵⁶ They are not only collectors of fish but also shrimp. They have been collecting fish and shrimp since 2012, working with around 20 fishermen who are part of a group called Persada Biru.

"We also buy and sell wet fish, such as red fish, and also shrimp, taking them from fishermen. Each of us has members, we are responsible for the oil, bait included, but for the ship itself, we only help with the capital," explained Erni.

Erni also explained how to provide aid and capital to member fishermen, including allowances for calculating and deducting all profits.

"We can start counting if we already reach 5 times (going into the sea), because we are the ones turning over the money. We start counting at 20 new notes, usually it took you a month before everything's counted." "They also took ship equipment here, then they just had to cut up the results. There were 20 ships in total, in Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi. There are only few ships here and you can only buy them through three people, so each person has the same boss," she added.

The three mentioned bosses are three other fish or shrimp aggregators, namely Haji Asna, who also owns Café Sima on the coast of Tanah Kuning, and Haji Najib.

During abundant fishing and shrimp seasons, this business also drives other supporting businesses such as block ice suppliers from outside Tanah Kuning, such

"We take the ice cubes from outside, it goes into the car and covers it with a tarpaulin. Didn't use a box, it cost up to 700 thousand for one take. One car can hold 40 boxes. In this season, take it twice a week. It's better to use ice cubes. we guarantee all fishermen, they won't have to bother dealing with ice anymore."

Erni – 42 years, Kampung Tanjung resident

⁵⁶ Interview recordings and notes of Erni (Local Fish/Shrimp Collector Couple and Boat Equipment Shop Owner), Tanjung Nelayan in Tanah Kuning, 19 February 2023.

Figure 26. Atmosphere of the Tanjung Fisherman's Village, Tanah Kuning.



as Tanjung Selor. The majority of fish and shrimp aggregators in Tanah Kuning do not produce their own block ice; instead, they purchase it from external sources, primarily from Tanjung Selor.

"We took the ice cubes from outside, we took 26 to 30 of them ourselves using a tarp, we all went into the car and covered the tarp. Didn't use a box, it cost up to 700 thousand at most for one take. The units are 17 per box. One car can hold 40 boxes. In this season, take it twice a week." "It's better to use block ice, they come out with ice packs. If we guarantee all fishermen, fishermen won't have to bother dealing with ice anymore," concluded Erni.

d. The Vanishing of Livelihoods for Women of the Sea

The disappearance of fisherwoman jobs will also occur as a result of this project. The skills and knowledge of filleting, processing, and selling sea fish, particularly turning bycatch into salted fish, among women will disappear. If the fish and fisheries economy disappear, including in Kampung Tanjung, as described by Siti Hawa⁵⁷ her husband, formerly a shrimp and fisherman who also brought in bycatch like gulama

⁵⁷ Interview recordings and notes of Siti Hawa, female fisherman in Tanjung, Tanah Kuning, 19 February 2023.

fish will also be impacted. Siti Hawa processes these gulama fish into salted fish to supplement their family income. The gulama fish is elongated, mostly white-gray with black spots.

"When the fishes arrive, it's usually the women's work. They start in the afternoon, filleting the fishes if there are any to be filleted, then they dry them to make salted fish, from gulama fish, the women fillet them, then dry them," explained Siti Hawa, describing the process.

"There are many types of fish that fishermen catch, a wide variety. The most common are gulama fish, 'otek' fish, mayung fish; for snapper, they're not filleted, they're just sold. Pomfret fish, grouper fish, red snapper, they're (also) not filleted." "If there is fish, people buy it straight away, cut it themselves, dry it in the sun, sell it themselves in front of their house."



Figure 27. Gulama salted fish in Tanah Kuning.

When drying, the savory scent of salted fish permeates the village, filling the streets, as Wiwi (45 years old), wife of Samsu and Head of RT 12 in Kampung Baru, described.

"My job is to fillet 'Otek fish, to sell, it's 2,000 rupiah per kilogram. 'Otek is brought by traders, we split it in half because there are so many, there's no price. This 'Otek fish is dried from 8-9 until 2-3 in the afternoon, salted, and then taken to Tarakan. The smell during drying is all along this village road," she explained.

The smell of salted fish and dried anchovies throughout the village is the "social metabolism" of Kampung Baru's community. *"Now there is no longer the smell of salted fish or anchovies, in the past when we walked from Kampung Baru to Pindada, the green scenery has now been destroyed by industry, what we breathe is no longer the smell of fish being dried in the sun but the smell of dust from large vehicles,"* said Wiwi compared the times in her village before and after the industry arrived.

Figure 28. Fish ready to be split into salted fish, Demonstrated by residents in Tanjung Village.



In addition to Siti Hawa and Wiwi, there is also Kesi (32 years old)⁵⁸, whose husband is also a fisherman like Wiwi and Siti Hawa's. She also explains how they process salted fish in her village at RT 12, Kampung Baru - Mangkupadi.

"Usually we use ruma-ruma fish, sembulak fish, but what often comes up is the selar fish, you know that fish? That's a fish that has a long strip, like this, that strip," explained Kesi.

"So for salted fish, we first salt them overnight. If there's sunshine in the morning, we dry them; if not, we can wait up to 3 days until the sun comes out. Usually, we buy fish at Tanjung Batu, like mackerel, and we buy up to 700 kilograms. Besides mackerel, we also split them."

Now anxiety also weighs heavily on Kesi's heart when asked about her feelings regarding the industrial expansion plans in Kampung Baru. Given the choice, they prefer not to be displaced. Kampung Baru is planned to be entirely cleared for this industrial zone.

"The mood is mixed, we don't want to be evicted, right? We only know that they work as fishermen. Recently there was a plan to notify fishermen that they were prohibited from building Bagan, right?"

⁵⁸ Recordings and notes from interviews with Mrs. Kesi, female fisherman in Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi, 20 February 2023.

"The feeling is mixed, we don't want to be evicted, if we can, we don't have to, we just want to stay here, because what do we want to do, right? We only know that fishermen work, recently there has been a plan to notify fishermen that they are prohibited from building fishing poles."

Kesi – 32 years, Kampung Baru resident

"Yes, it's forbidden to build a Bagan, so we just scoop up crabs, shrimps, fish. It's also forbidden to build a Bagan by government that held a meeting yesterday, fisheries officers, last year, I think it was 5 months ago. We are prohibited from building Bagan. Coincidentally, we are also prohibited from taking wood from the forest, right?" she complained. "It is forbidden to enter the forest. You need a lot of wood to build the bagan, sometimes it took you up to 3 months to collect all the woods. What season is this, the north wind season, so we don't fish for 3 months or 4 months," added Kesi.

Kesi also explains that the work and knowledge of fisherwomen, including making salted fish, depend on the presence of fishermen and the fish themselves. Without them, there would be no more salted fish and no more work for them.

"We usually search for wood for 4 months to prepare for April, right, April is like when they start to stand (fishing huts; bagan), the anchovy season. But now there isn't any. In the past, the anchovy collectors here cooked them and sent them to Malaysia. My husband used to work then, right, the salted fish, too, without fishermen and fishing huts, we won't be making salted fish anymore," she said faintly.

e. Women Excluded from the Conversation, "We Can Only Gossip"

Not only will the knowledge and work of fisherwomen like Siti Hawa and Kesi disappear, but from the outset, women have been a marginalized or forgotten group in various decision-making processes regarding industrialization, trade, and land acquisition.

This is reflected in Arni's (35 years old) statement in Kampung Baru. When unilateral measurements started being conducted by KIP in residents' homes, questions were raised about whether they had ever been invited for discussions or negotiations regarding activities of state officials. For example, whenever the President plans to visit, women were never involved.

Figure 29. Female fishermen in Tanjung, Tanah Kuning and their villages.



"Never invited. But is it true that Jokowi wants to come here on the 27th? It really seems like he wanted to come here too but I'm not sure whether he will only visit Tanjung or also come here. But maybe because he's a President everything is confidential and cannot be publicly announced, right?" she asked. "Women or mothers are never invited, mostly mothers, we only gossip. However, we never really gossip about the project. There are people who don't really care, just follow whatever happens. Even though we have a high level of curiosity too," said Mrs. Arni, closing the conversation.

"Of course we are worried, the mind thinks again, for example, about the relocation site. Where to relocate, whether it will be comfortable there, how it will be later. Personally, I don't want to be relocated without land. If for example, the size of the relocation site is only 5 times 10 metres, what is it going to be like"

Arni – 35 years, residents of Kampung Baru

f. Beginning to Lose Member Fishermen

However, Erni's sudden anxiety was evident when asked about the impacts of various industrial project plans in Tanah Kuning and Kampung Baru, currently

"There must be an effect, like coal, it already has an impact on fishermen, their income is less. Maybe because the coal fell into the sea, there are less fish,"

Erni – 42 years,
Kampung Tanjung resident

bustling with activities, including mining operations and coal shipping around their area.⁵⁹

"There must be an effect, like coal, it already has an impact on fishermen, their income is now reduced. Maybe because the coal fell into the sea, there were less fish," said Erni.

Erni also told how she had lost 4 members of her fishermen, due to the decline in income from the sea.

"My fishermen have also decreased, some of my members have gone to the company. Yesterday there was somebody who resigned, recently he sold his boat in 2022, his name is Pak Aldi. The reason is that he can no longer go to sea. Maybe because there is less income, there are no fish due to pollution."

"Yes, reduced, reduced by 2 members. My members are now taking the Sadewa Transportation Boat to Tarakan." "So, his name is Muhammad Nur, before Aldi stopped, in 2022 everyone usually added members, now the number is decreasing. In 2022 alone there were 4 ships leaving, 2 of them left, the other 2 went to Tarakan."

"So, we lost 4 members, yes in 2022 we lost 4, previously there were 24 members here," she said, ending the explanation.

Concerns about the potential impact of upcoming industrial activities also surfaced in the expression and narrative of Muhamad Nur, another fisherman from Tanah Kuning. When asked about the comparison between 15 years ago when he was searching for anchovies to the current situation, he said that even before the major industries are operational, the ongoing coal mining activities are already threatening the area.

"Currently the anchovies plummeted, sir, because of this coal. They (coal ships) unload it (coal) here, the ship is still out there. That's what made it plummet." "I only saw this, the first step in their strategy was to employ fishermen, there are still fishermen but some of them are not used. That's the problem." "It's true that the plummet in production doesn't happen immediately, but it has a gradual impact."

⁵⁹ Interview recordings and notes of Erni (Local Fish/Shrimp Collector Couple and Boat Equipment Shop Owner), Tanjung Nelayan in Tanah Kuning, 19 February 2023.

Figure 30. Industrial Area Port development projects.



Source: JATAM Kaltim Drone 2023.

g. The Brimming Nets of Anchovies: Now a Distant Memory

Muhammad Nur compares those times with the heyday of anchovies that he once experienced, when anchovies were abundant to the point that bagan fishermen had to chase them away from their nets to prevent them from getting entangled and causing their nets to collapse.

"The peak years for anchovies and papai were in 2015, it seems like after that they have plummeted, since this (coal). Even though in the past there were so many, sir. There was this person who was already at 10 in the morning, swimming, chasing away anchovies. Until we swim to bagan, the anchovies don't want to come out from the bagan."

"Even in Mangkupadi there are cases where the nets collapse because there are so many anchovies inside. The fishermen must be careful. We normally pulled the net just a little, so the anchovies will live inside. Just let it go, there really were so many anchovies, now it's just a memory," he said, chuckling.

Figure 31. Bagan in Tanah Kuning (Left), Closer View (Right).



"I'm still here, sir, if I strolled out to the seas at night, I could get one roll of shrimps. Now the money doesn't come back, because of coal. The tax becomes bigger than the fishermen's income. Fishermen never pay taxes, that's up to the government."

Besides the environmental impact of coal loading and unloading activities around the fishermen's nets, there is also another threat from repeated waste disposal activities from plantations and palm oil processing. Residents have even staged demonstrations and protests in early 2022.

"They dumped them in the river near the base here. That's why pond workers complain, everyone complains. What can survive now? It's so hard just to survive," he said. "After being protested, the dumping area was dammed, but it just broke again, now that's why it's being protested again," concluded Muhamad Nur, ending his story.

h. The Exasperated Shipbuilders

Not only does Tanah Kuning host the block ice industry, but it also boasts a local boat-building industry crucial to the livelihoods of fishermen and the fisheries economy. The existence of local boat production is at risk if fishermen and the fisheries economy disappear. Amiruddin (46 years old), a traditional boat builder, has been in the trade for about 15 years since migrating from Sulawesi to Pagatan, South Kalimantan, and more recently residing in Tanah Kuning for the past 5 years. His shipbuilding workshop, which also serves as his home, is easy to find in Tanah Kuning. He can often be seen working on several boats, which he refers to as 17-meter-long fish traps or fish catchers. He acquired these skills through a decade of learning in Pagatan, South Kalimantan.

"Yes, I learned for almost 10 years in Pagatan, South Kalimantan. Initially, it was like this: from Pagatan, we would share the profits, but sometimes it wasn't equal, sometimes he would get 2 and we would get 1," he explained. "Yes, the wage is around 80 million rupiahs per boat, on a contract basis, with a time frame of up to 6 months, although it can be faster. The fastest completion time is 3 months," he explained.

"This is in 50% condition, a 4- or 6-cylinder capacity engine will be installed later, that's like 35 million rupiah for the engine alone, buy the materials yourself, the total total will be around 180 or not to 200 million rupiah, right?" "It can carry passengers or goods, around 10 tons and above. Usually people bring fish, up to 15 tons," he explained.

The main raw materials for these boats are hardwoods such as Meranti and Red Meranti. Previously, in Pagatan, he used other types of hardwood like Halaban wood, but Halaban wood has become increasingly scarce in South Kalimantan due to deforestation caused by coal mining. The availability of wood materials was another factor that influenced Amiruddin's decision to relocate and become a boat builder in Tanah Kuning.

Figure 32. Amiruddin (46 years) One of the traditional ship builders in Tanah Kuning with his homemade ship.



"Yes, coal mining has had an impact there because it has become difficult; the land is depleted and blocked off, so those woods can't be harvested anymore because the land has already been purchased by the companies. It's hard to find wood there, unlike here where there is still some available, like this Red Meranti wood. So, we depend on the forest as well," he added, explaining.

However, he also predicts that in the near future, with the expansion of industrial areas, the woods in Tanah Kuning and the surrounding forests will also become scarce and endangered, due to both coal mining and industrial expansion plans.

"Yes, my estimate will be less than 3 years. Now it has decreased. Now there is a lot of wood but you can't take it. About 30 kilometers from here has entered this industrial area. "Before that, there was pollution like coal, outside there was coal loading and unloading, you can see the pole here."

Amiruddin – 46 years
Tanah Kuning resident

"Yes, my prediction is less than 3 years. Now it has decreased. Now there is a lot of wood but you can't take it. About 30 kilometers from here is already the entrance to the industrial area," he complained "Before that, there was already coal pollution, outside there was coal loading and unloading, you can see the pole here," he said, pointing.

There are only two professional boatmakers in Tanah Kuning capable of constructing large vessels: Amiruddin and Iskandar, known in Kampung Tanjung as "the glasses craftsman" due to his habit of wearing glasses. Iskandar also hails from South Kalimantan, specifically from Kota Baru. These two boatmakers possess specialized skills and knowledge essential for boat construction, including the technique of "wood bending" to shape the wooden planks for the boat's walls.

"No, if it's too bent, heat it up, then burn it. It's just the heat. If you don't give it heat, you don't want it to bend, so there is a technique for painting the wood," said Amiruddin "If not, this large piece of wood is carved, the planks are turned, there's a kiln there, there's something like giving it a fire, so it doesn't get damaged, then it's painted," he explained again.

The specialized skills and knowledge of Amiruddin and Iskandar in boatmaking are also threatened with extinction as the forests that provide Red Meranti, the primary material for their boats, are pushed aside. This is evidenced by the rising price of

Figure 33. Pak Amiruddin's Ship Production Workshop.



Meranti wood and the decreasing number of fishermen going out to sea, a trend that will likely worsen if industrial pollution contaminates the waters.

"Yes, above that, it means that the Meranti forest is affected." "Now this meranti is one cubic, here it is still 3 million rupiah per 1 cubic, 25 pieces. It's starting to get expensive. It used to be 1.5 million rupiah per 1 cubic, an increase of 100%. I used to buy that 3 years ago, what makes it expensive is the route to reach the woods. If it's in the forest it's still easy."

"Yes, because it's hard to find fish anymore, maybe you can still do it here. But if the factory is hit, it's also difficult for fishermen. Who wants to be a fisherman, who wants to order another boat?" Amiruddin asked, ending the conversation angrily.

i. Supplying All the Way to the Tawau and China

The fish caught from the sea are sold not only domestically but also exported to countries like Malaysia. *"We'll deliver it, there's a boss in Tarakan, we'll take it to Tawau (Malaysia). If it's fish like red fish and pomfret, we'll send it to Tawau too,"* explained Erni.

Figure 34. The atmosphere around the Traditional Ship Workshop in Tanah Kuning.



"In this season (north wave season) there are only a few, we never send much because there are not enough fishermen (few fishermen dare to go out to sea). Sometimes they just sell out here when there's a wave."

"During the season it can get up to 50 kilos, sometimes it doesn't arrive, fishermen sometimes get it, sometimes they don't, but they have the season. Now it's shrimp season, later it's fish season. If shrimp are in season, they can reach 100 kilos, but the shrimp season only lasts for 3 months, from the first to the third month. If the fish reaches the fifth month, it will continue north again. It's just that there aren't many fish. At most 20 kilos."

"The price of shrimp, we also sell tiger shrimp which we send to Tarakan, but if the price for ordinary shrimp is at most (the highest) 130 thousand rupiah per kilogram, here it is 105 thousand rupiah per kilogram from fishermen. I sell there for 140 or 130, it can go down again to 125. For red fish, it's 35 thousand rupiah per kilo, up to Tarakan it's 50 thousand rupiah per kilo," said Erni again.

Not only fish are exported, but other marine commodities like anchovies are also sent to meet the domestic market demands in regions such as Java, Mataram, Kupang, Bali, and Jakarta. Additionally, anchovy shipments even reach as far as China.

Figure 35. Fisherman shows the fish he caught in Tanah Kuning.



"The production is 5:1 on average when it's dry, that's 5:1 meaning 5 piculs of fresh shrimp. It's even better when you get papai shrimp, like when they opened from China here, I weighed 40 tons per day, sometimes they bought it and then threw it away again because they objected."

"Previously, we had an agreement with buyers from China, all Tanah Kuning goods were not allowed to be rejected, that's why sometimes he threw away 15 tons, 10 tons, because we had an agreement with him," said Muhamad Nur.

"Previously, we had an agreement with buyers from China, that all Tanah Kuning goods were not allowed to be rejected, that's why sometimes he threw away 15 tonnes, 10 tonnes, because we had an agreement with him."

Muhammad Nur
– Tanah Kuning resident

"The information he doesn't open anymore is that between sending to China the goods must be swabbed and vaccinated. This is just information, whether it's true or not. Because for local people, local people can't afford it. Normally we get at least 5 tonnes of anchovies, during the season, Tanah Kuning is famous for its anchovies."

Figure 36. Shrimp is an export commodity for Tanah Kuning fishermen.



j. The Threatened Swallow Nest Economy

Erni said that there are so many swallow nest buildings in Tanjung, Tanah Kuning, that you can count those who don't have one with your fingers. *"The boom in building swallow nests started around 2014, previously there were already some but there were a lot of them after 2014,"* said Jayusman⁶⁰

Jayusman is one of the owners of a swallow nest building, continuing a business inherited from his parents. Initially, his parents were fishermen, briefly engaged in farming, and worked in the palm oil industry before venturing into swallow nest cultivation. *"I was born when my parents were still using purse seine and trolling as fishermen, around the late 1990s,"* he recalled.

Jayusman admitted that their family has 5 swallow nest buildings, *"Only 2 are productive, they are located near the house, on the opposite side, still in Tanah Kuning as well,"* His family's swallow nest building produces up to 3 kilograms, *"The price is 9 million rupiah now for a kilo, someone will come to sell it later, the container is like that, the market price is determined. In the beginning, the price of bird's nest was expensive, it used to be up to 15 million a kilo, in the beginning until before Covid, because of Covid, the route was difficult, prices fell."*

⁶⁰ Interview recordings and notes Jayusman (Owner of Swallow's Nest), Tanah Kuning, 17 February 2023.

"But that price is still good. I still earn profit. We don't know exactly the percentage, but the estimation is only around 50%, that's the profit," he explained.

Currently, the owner mentions that their harvest is stable, yielding results weekly, but these are accumulated and sold to collectors only after a complete month.

"The biggest profit ever was 26 million rupiah, the biggest profit was up to 5 kg a month. But you can't just buy 5 kg straight away, because there are sizes, for example corner, fraction, bowl, those are expensive bowl sizes," he said again.

"In terms of operations, the only costs are electricity, but cleaning inside the building is sometimes only once every three months," he added.

Jayusman expressed that although the industrial area's presence hasn't affected them yet due to the absence of developed industrial facilities, sooner or later the negative impacts will affect those involved in the swallow nest business economically. *"Let alone the industrial smokestacks, even burning trash beside your house will have an impact on the swallow nest", he remarked. "In addition, swallows are sensitive to odors, we can't even enter wearing perfume, so what will happen when industries start operating?"*

Muhamad Nur, another Tanah Kuning resident who also owns the Swallow's Nest building, also expressed his concern. *"I have 3 buildings, but it seems like they*

Figure 37. Swallow's nest, owned by Mrs. Arni in Kampung Tanjung.



"You can count those who don't have a swallow nest here with your fingers."

Erni – 42 years, owner of a boat shop and family owner of a swallow's nest in Kampung Tanjung, Tanah Kuning.

—

"This has such an impact (impacts on swallows), even if you burn a fire next to the house you will be scolded, especially if there is a fire or industrial chimney smoke"

Jayusman– 24 years, swallow nest owner, Tanah Kuning

are all in the Industrial Area area, there is one in Mangkupadi, there is one behind the house, there is also one in the Perumnas pond,” “So, I asked for my land to be exempted from the industrial area. But we haven’t reached a middle ground. Because they asked for 125 million rupiah, meanwhile there are several buildings here and a 2 hectares land. The price offer is a far cry,” he complained

The initial capital for building a swallow’s nest is not small. If successful, the profits will also double, as felt by Muhamad Nur and Jayusman. However, the compensation price for demolishing these swallow nest buildings is considered not commensurate with the value and income they have generated so far.

Maintaining swallow nest buildings feels increasingly precarious. Since swallows near the coast consume small fish and shrimp, pollution from industrial areas flowing into the coast and sea can disrupt the swiftlets’ food chain balance. Damage to coral reefs and marine pollution deplete fish and shrimp populations, which are crucial in the swiftlets’ food chain. If industries are established, the once lucrative economy of swallow nests could vanish into thin air.

k. Pepper, Now Just a Tale

Pepper is another key commodity beyond fisheries along the coastline, especially in Mangkupadi. There is no singular profession there; a pepper farmer typically doubles as a fisherman, with residents seamlessly transitioning between these roles with the changing seasons. During periods unsuitable for fishing due to adverse wind and wave conditions, they tend to their pepper gardens instead.

Among the stories behind pepper cultivation is the lifelong experience of Senong (84 years old)⁶¹ born in 1939 in Sulawesi and later migrated to Pindada, not far from Mangkupadi. After the 1970s, following Soeharto’s re-election as President, he vividly remembers this event as a milestone in his life journey. Before becoming a pepper farmer and a purse seine fisherman from 1982 to 2022, he had various other professions, including working during the flood of kap,⁶² and then working in several wood factories such as Kayu Mas during the booming wood era in the 1980s and 1990s. He then focused on pepper cultivation while still working as a purse seine fisherman in 2014.

⁶¹ Recordings and Notes of interview with Pak Senong, Mangkupadi Pepper Farmer, 22 February 2023.

⁶² Recordings and Notes of interview with Pak Senong, Mangkupadi Pepper Farmer, 22 February 2023.

In 2014, he recounted, there were only about 14 pepper farmers in Mangkupati. He himself, until the latest years of 2021-2022, still owned approximately 2 ½ hectares of land. Due to health factors and age, now in his 80s, he manages the pepper fields with the assistance of his family and adult children.

According to data from the Department of Agriculture of Bulungan Regency, pepper production was thriving before the industrial zone emerged. This is evidenced by statistical data on the cultivated area and pepper production in Tanjung Palas Timur, specifically in Mangkupati Village. In 2019, Mangkupati had pepper plantations covering 59 hectares, yielding 3.5 tons of pepper. By 2020, production increased to 4 tons, a rise of 500 kilograms. In 2021, the plantation area expanded significantly to 181 hectares, totaling 240 hectares, with a production output of 18 tons.⁶³

Senong reports that on his 2.5-hectare land, he cultivates 350 pepper plants. The harvest period occurs once a year, typically in July or August. He calculates an average yield of 150 kilograms of pepper per harvest. At a market price of 53,000 rupiah per kilogram, Senong's revenue per harvest amounts to approximately 7.9 million rupiah after sales.

In addition to pepper, Senong cultivates vegetables such as chilies and tomatoes to meet his household needs. Based on his calculations, he receives annual economic benefits from his pepper crops, excluding his income from fishing. Furthermore, the land remains a legacy that can be passed down to the next generation. However, this economic logic is disrupted by the calculations of land evictors from the KIPI company, who have been persuading Senong to relinquish his land for their industrial expansion since last year.

A representative from KIPI has offered only 240 million rupiah for the entire 2.5-hectare plot of Senong's productive pepper land. Alongside this offer, they present the

Figure 38. Senong, Pepper Farmers in Mangkupati.



⁶³ Analysis of factors influencing pepper production in Mangkupati village, Bulungan district, Bambang, Thesis, Faculty of Agriculture - Agribusiness Studies, University of Borneo Tarakan, 2022.

project as a part of the National Strategic Project (PSN), implying that landowners can no longer refuse since the land acquisition has become a state mandate beyond dispute. KIPI has also issued a circular containing their own valuation guidelines for land prices, which consider factors such as the land's location, whether it falls under a Cultivation Rights (HGU) area, and other land position evaluations. They have set their own prices for various crops, including palm trees, durian trees, and pepper plants.

For pepper, KIPI has set a compensation price of only 350,000 rupiah per plant, a figure Senong finds inadequate. He believes this price does not reflect the significant financial and labor investments he has made since 2014, including clearing the land,

Figure 39. Unilateral Land Price List prepared by KIPI and KIH.

DAFTAR HARGA TANAH DESA MANGKUPADI DAN DESA TANAH KUNING PT KAWASAN INDUSTRI KALIMANTAN INDONESIA (PT KIKI)		
NO	KATEGORI	KISARAN HARGA DAN PENJELASAN
1.	Tanah Kosong/Belukar/Tambak Tidak Aktif	Rp50.000.000 ,- per Ha (untuk Area Pesisir) Rp35.000.000 ,- per Ha (untuk area lain seperti sempadan jalan, sempadan sungai dan <i>enclave</i>)
2.	Tanah dengan Tumbuhan Sawit	
	➤ Sawit Produktif	➤ Rp120.000.000 ,- per Ha
	➤ Sawit Tidak Produktif	➤ Rp75.000.000 ,- per Ha
3.	Tanah dengan Tambak Aktif	Rp100.000.000 ,- per Ha
4.	Tegakan Rumah	Rp1.500.000 ,- sampai dengan Rp2.000.000 ,- per m2 sesuai dengan material bangunan.
5.	Tegakan Sarang Walet (di luar Kampung Baru)	
	➤ Beton	➤ Rp150.000.000 ,-
	➤ Kayu	➤ Rp70.000.000 ,-
	➤ Semi (Campuran Beton dan Kayu)	➤ Rp120.000.000 ,-
6.	Kampung Baru	➤ Relokasi lahan, dibangun rumah, fasilitas sosial dan fasilitas umum, serta infrastruktur dasar. ➤ Bagi warga yang tidak mau direlokasi, akan diberikan kompensasi yang sepadan. Implementasinya akan melibatkan konsultan.

planting, maintaining the crops with fertilizers, and the arduous care required over the years.

"I initially took care of the land, burned the land, every time I came here I clean the grass, I gave manure that had to be bought, not to mention the costs of eating, drinking and petrol for my motorbike to get to the plantation for years, it was not suitable, sir,"

Senong continued negotiating as KIPi representatives persistently visited and persuaded him to accept the 240 million rupiah offer. Running out of options, he countered with a request for 300 million rupiah. Ultimately, a week before the team met him at his child's house in Mangkupadi on February 14, 2023, he decided to sell his pepper farm. *"They said, Sir, you can still plant pepper and harvest it, unless it's until the PSN is ready to be worked on. By then, everything will actually be taken,"* he added.

"I have the money, DP (downpayment), 10 million for the plot of land, not far from the Mangkupadi Tawar bridge, there is a land for sale, 45 x 50 square meters in size,"

Senong's land holdings have undergone a drastic reduction. From owning a productive 2.5-hectare pepper farm since 2014, he received 300 million rupiah in compensation, resulting in a significantly reduced replacement land of just 45 by 50 square meters, valued at 280 million rupiah.

Senong and his son displayed a pamphlet for a land subdivision sale, believing the PSN KIPi project would not reach their new location. However, this belief may be misplaced. The 380-hectare expansion project, currently undergoing an environmental impact assessment (AMDAL), indicates otherwise. The expansion is directed towards Mangkupadi, and the AMDAL

Figure 40. Flyer for buying and selling plots of land in Mangkupadi.



documents suggest that the area around the Mangkupadi River, as mentioned by Senong, is slated to become an outlet for liquid waste from the KIPi industrial area. Even if they avoid further displacement, the new location may not escape pollution. Regardless, if displaced and forced to relocate, Senong would have to restart his economic activities from scratch. His situation is akin to escaping the tiger's mouth only to fall into the crocodile's jaws.

I. The Disappearance of Identity and History

"Yes, the houses have been measured. Then I said, I don't know this. This is my only keepsake house, because maybe a lot of people there are also measuring their houses, I said, don't. Selling your house is like selling your mothers' memories. More and more people measure their houses. There are increasingly reports that 85% of the people of Kampung Baru want to be evicted, if they want to be moved, they will receive disbursement, those of us who are staying, whether we like it or not, will be thrown out too."

Arni dan Andi Anti –
Kampung Baru Resident

What cannot be quantified or compensated with money is the erasure of history and the identity of the community and its living space. This is encapsulated in the memories of Jalaluddin, who also serves as the head of RT 07 in Kampung Baru. The Kampung Baru community was formed through the convergence of people from various backgrounds, primarily those born in Sulawesi who migrated to Tawau before coming to Kampung Baru. Additionally, residents from Sungai Nyamuk in Nunukan moved to Kampung Baru, along with a small number of early settlers, the Bajau people, from Mangkupadi and the adjacent coastal and marine areas connected to Kampung Baru.

Jalaluddin's most vivid memory is the hardship and joy he shared with his family when they moved from Tawau to Kalaputan Besar, culminating in the manual lifting of his house with the help of the community in 2000, after arriving from Tawau in 1993. This story holds great significance for him, as the disappearance of the village would also erase the bonds and history from their early days of starting a new life.

Figure 41. Land Expansion of the Tsingshan Smelter Project in Karang Tigau, not far from Kampung Baru.



"At that time, we lifted the wooden house, moved the house together, working together, at that time there were still not enough people, Sir, the year I moved it, at that time in 2000 there were still around 40 people. All the people came from one village, 40 people came, adults. It's far too, maybe more than 2 kilos (kilometers)."

"Why move from there to here? because here sir, the number of people is growing, there it isn't, so I came here near the crowds. Also, since I came from Tawau, I have been looking for the location of bagan."

"There it's called Karang Tigau, Kawaputang Besar, via the beach, and also across the river there. Then yes, rest, one night, then the next day continue to spend the night next to the river. Kawaputang River, Kawaputang Besar, there Kawaputang Kecil, at that time I was also married, I already had one child, now I have 6 children, all of them have moved now and are now residents here. There are 13 residents who stay here with me now, we all migrated from Tawau in '93."

Additionally, within the planned industrial area, there are several significant sites, including the sacred grave of Habib Adnan Al Idrus, a revered Islamic preacher in Tanjung Palas. This site attracts many visitors each week.

Figure 42. Habib Adnan Al Idrus Sacred Tomb in Mangkupadi Village.



m. Is the Beach Party, Mappanretasi, Still Ongoing?

The ritual that is part of the history and social identity of Tanah Kuning, which is also at risk of losing its meaning, is the sea festival. The event committee secretary, Hasbullah Rahman, known as Boy, describes how over the past 5 years, the sea festival has grown larger and attracted enthusiasm from various circles, including officials and members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) who participate and attend. Previously, for the past five years, the sea festival was held in a modest manner.

"In the past, it was just offerings in food stalls, we hung them on trees. I don't know exactly what year. As for the big ceremony, perhaps it's been ongoing for the last 5 years, there used to be something like a sports event, but it wasn't that big, last year was the first big event and was I was the secretary. Mr. Anti/Muhammad Nur was the chairman." "Mr Anti is a businessman, so we follow him. But I gave directions too. But he said it would also be included in the regional agenda."

Some activities within it include sports competitions related to coastal and beach cultures such as beach volleyball and fishing, with the remainder consisting of rituals and prayers.

"Yes, with prayers like that. Uncle Along leads the ritual, he always has. The Bugis people are also mixed. The highlight of the ceremony is the designed boat being filled with foods. Nothing more than that. You can search it on Youtube, Tanah Kuning Fishermen's Party."

Boy conveys that the essence to be absorbed and the message to be conveyed through this agenda is to express gratitude for the blessings from God through the beauty and goodness of the coastal, beach, and marine environments of Tanah Kuning to the surrounding residents all this time.

"The message or meaning is actually just to express gratitude for the abundant harvest in the sea. It is usually held in the 5th month, when the Ambaring Rose and Papai Shrimp season in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th month. Normally we held it after that."

"The message or meaning is actually just to express gratitude for the abundant harvest in the sea. Actually, usually it's the 5th month, the ambaring rose and the papai shrimp is the 2nd, 3rd, 4th month. After that usually."

Hasbullah Rahman
– Tanah Kuning resident

"Because it's famous for shrimp, anchovies, and seruyuk fish that are similar to anchovies, that's the seruyuk in the Kayan River, sir, but here it's in the sea. The Bugis People call it lure fish, yes, at first it was just a few houses involved in the thanksgiving ceremony, but after a while it started to get bigger and bigger."

The residents fund their activities through contributions, and only recently have they begun drafting proposals to submit to companies and government officials. "Next year, we will continue," he said. Even though it continues, will this ritual still hold meaning if the threats to the people's identity and rites of the sea festival is clearly visible? If the sea is disturbed by industry, what will there be left to be thankful for from the sea once everything is taken away? In such a scenario, can the sea festival continue to be meaningful?

n. The Local Tourism and Culinary Economy Reduced to a Mere Inch

In the 2005-2025 Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD), the Bulungan regional government highlights two natural tourist attractions they rely on: Nibung Beach on Bunyu Island and Tanah Kuning Beach in East Tanjung Palas. These tourist sites depend on the preservation of nature, both marine and terrestrial, including flora and fauna, as well as the natural environment's authenticity. However, this document seems like a daydream that will never come true because it contradicts the impact of the concurrent mega green industrial zone project.

Although in the past 3-5 years, many studies on tourism in Tanah Kuning have highlighted significant potential and progress, such as the proliferation of homestays, hotels, and other accommodations, none of these studies have considered or calculated the impact of the industrial zone. Even when the industrial zone is mentioned, the understanding is incomplete due to a lack of awareness of the threats and destructive power of the operations of various industries.⁶⁴

In the coastal stretch from Tanah Kuning to Mangkupadi, at least four beach segments have become focal points for tourism: Tanah Kuning Beach, Family Beach, Coconut Beach, and Pine Beach in Mangkupadi. These beach segments host numerous accommodations, from inns and homestays to food stalls and restaurants. Among them are Muddani Inn, Lima Putra, D'Bilzah Homestay, Bone Inn, and Nero Homestay, along with many others. Typically, each lodging is also connected to several nearby cafes and eateries. ■

BOX III

THE TALE OF THREE COMBATANTS: CITIZENS & WORKERS AGAINST CRIMINALIZATION

Aris (72), Samsu (45), and Maslan (26) were once ordinary farmer, fisherman, and laborer before the companies within the KIH industrial zone stripped them of their rights and subjected them to intimidation, terror, and even criminalization. Aris, a farmer, was defending his land when PT KIPI encroached with heavy machinery and excavators on December 16, 2022. He

"Whoever wants to take my life, even if a thousand people want to, if God, Allah SWT does not allow it, then my life will not be taken."

Samsu – 45 years,
Head of RT 12 Kampung Baru

⁶⁴ See: Ayu Astuti, Strategy for developing coastal tourism potential, case study of Tanah Kuning Village, Tanjung Palas, Bulungan, University of Borneo Tarakan, 2019 and Pratiwi Juniar Achmad Ghani, et al. in Development of Tanah Kuning and Mangkupadi Beach Tourism Areas in Bulungan Regency, North Kalimantan was published in the Journal of Architecture, Cities and Settlements, Indonesian Muslim University, 2017.

**Figure 43. Mr. Aris (72 years)
was arrested for defending his land.**



tried to protect his property by questioning the intrusion, an incident captured on a cellphone video. *"Father didn't say anything threatening; he just questioned what was happening. Look at the recording,"* said Imran, Aris' fourth son, when met at his home in Kampung Baru in mid-February.

According to Imran, they have also attempted mediation, but PT KIPI was unapproachable and deliberately reported Aris to the police. As a result, the legal process continued, and by the end of February 2023, Aris was accused of making threats and remained detained at Class II A Prison in Tarakan.⁶⁵ His rights, having been criminalized, are left undefended.

"We are currently thinking about steps to report back the encroachment of father's land. Because we have rights to the land, I think the reason why PT KIPI has extended its report to father is because it seems like it wants to create an effect of fear on other people."

Imran showed many irregularities when Aris was about to be arrested, *"Father was treated like a terrorist criminal, lots of police were deployed, even though it was his and our rightful land."*

Imran also explained how the arrest process was odd, including the fact that the date or time on the arrest warrant was not synchronized, *"That was only*

⁶⁵ <https://rakyatkaltara.prokal.co/read/news/28725-pria-72-tahun-ditangkap-tersangka-diduga-lakukan-pengancaman.htm>, accessed on 29 March 2023.

issued later, when they were arrested, they (the police) came without an arrest warrant, so we didn't understand," added Imran.

Not only Aris has faced threats, intimidation, and criminalization while fighting for his rights; Samsu has also experienced similar situations. Samsu, a fisherman and farmer who serves as the head of the neighborhood association (RT), is particularly disliked by the company and authorities for opposing the relocation or eviction plans for Kampung Baru to make way for the industrial zone. When met at his home in RT 12 Kampung Baru in mid-February, Samsu presented all his data and written documents, including information on his phone. He passionately pointed out numerous issues and irregularities perpetrated by the company and industrial zone managers.

One of the concerns he highlighted was the suspected collusion between BCAP and the local National Land Agency (BPN). Samsu mentioned that BCAP had interfered with the BPN, which had initially processed 5 out of 50 land documents for residents in 2015. However, the process abruptly halted, allegedly due to corrupt dealings between BCAP and BPN.

"This is the list, the processing of letters to BPN at that time, if 5 areas had already been exempted, it means that BPN at that time didn't know or didn't think that the processing of land title certificates was within the area of Cultivation Rights (HGU), right?" he said while handing over a number of documents.

Currently, Samsu reports that BCAP is handling several concession blocks of its HGU (Cultivation Rights Title) to convert them into HGB (Right to Build), thus disadvantaging residents who are claimed to reside on these lands. Samsu also points out that there are 31 houses within the area labeled and claimed by BCAP/KIPI as their HGU territory. *"All these houses will be evicted; where are we supposed to go?"* he asks.

Samsu's critical stance and advocacy for the residents have garnered their trust. He strives to seek assistance by reporting the issues to various authorities, ranging from the government to the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Residents also entrust him with their land documents because they do not want to sell their land at the prices offered

by the company. He is considered the “last bastion” for dozens of residents who collectively own approximately 2,000 hectares of land in Kampung Baru.

Samsu, along with several residents, refuses to have their land measured. He believes that measuring the land is the first step towards land seizure and eventual eviction. Samsu and the residents reject the eviction plan, which is politically framed as relocation. *“If we are to be moved, where will we be relocated? Will the new land and its location be equivalent to the Kampung Baru we currently inhabit?”* he questions.

Widespread news of Samsu’s resistance with the residents was heard in various distant places, thus inviting sympathy, but also at risk of inviting parties who wanted to take advantage.

“I was approached by many people or mass organizations, even LBH, who claimed to be from Jakarta, Bulungan, Tarakan and others, sir, there were also those who claimed to be Pak Luhut’s brother (Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan). They said they wanted to help. But many also suddenly change direction. A lot of them ‘catch colds’,⁶⁶ sir, that’s why I want to revoke this power of attorney,” he told of his encounter with a law firm that he had given a power of attorney for, but he considered acting inappropriately.

Samsu has faced intimidation and attempts of criminalization. He notes that since he began vocally opposing the eviction of Kampung Baru, there have been three efforts to criminalize him between 2021 and 2023. *“I have been reported to the Sector Police, sir, the second time I was reported to the Regional Police, until the last time I was reported to the Bulungan Police,”* he said, while showing evidence of his police summons.

“If we want to move, where do we move? “Will the size of the land and the position of the location be worth that of Kampung Baru which we previously lived in?”

Samsu – 45 years, Head of RT12
Kampung Baru

⁶⁶ This term often used to imply someone with a conflicting hidden interest.

Not only has he faced attempts at criminalization, but subtler and more cunning methods have also been employed to soften and subdue his resistance. Among these are temptations with promises of a salary and fees for his role as RT (neighborhood head), aimed at persuading him to support the company's activities in Kampung Baru.

"The RTs here, sir, were offered a salary of 4 million per month, at that time there was a lot of activity putting up PSN area banners," he said.

"I have also been promised and courted, recently sir, the KIPI Manager came, he wanted to give me a fee, I was once also asked for 7 million, this even applies to any resident who succeeds in persuading other residents to give up land, including to influence residents at the beginning of the measurements,"

Despite being surrounded by various threats, terror, and cunning schemes aimed at harming him, Samsu remains steadfast in his belief that his safety ultimately depends on God. *"Even if anyone wants to take my life, even if a thousand people want to, if God, Allah SWT doesn't allow it, then my life won't be possible. taken," he said firmly.*

Besides Aris and Samsu, another individual, Maslan, has also experienced challenges despite not being a protestor. Maslan, a laborer, bravely stood against oppression within one of the companies involved in the industrial zone megaproject. Previously employed as an excavator operator for one of the companies or prospective tenants in the same industrial area, namely

Figure 44. One of the many letters summoning the Police to Criminalize citizens.

KEPOLISIAN NEGARA REPUBLIK INDONESIA
DAERAH KALIMANTAN UTARA
RESOR BULUNGAN
"Pro Justitia"

SURAT PANGGILAN
Nomor : SP.G/09/I/2023/Reskrim

Pertimbangan : bahwa untuk kepentingan pemeriksaan dalam rangka Penyidikan tindak pidana, perlu dilakukan tindakan hukum berupa pemanggilan terhadap seseorang untuk di dengar keterangannya.

Dasar : 1. Pasal 7 ayat (1) huruf g, pasal 11, pasal 112 ayat (1) (2) dan Pasal 113 KUHP;
2. Undang-undang No. 2 tahun 2002 tentang Kepolisian Negara RI;
3. Laporan Polisi Nomor LPB/105/XII/2022/SPKT/POLRES BULUNGAN/POLDA KALTARA, tanggal 14 Desember 2022;
4. Surat Perintah Penyidikan Nomor : SP.Sidik/112/XII/2022/Reskrim, tanggal 14 Desember 2022.

Kepada : **MEMANGGIL**
Nama : SAMSU
Jenis Kelamin : Laki-laki
Agama : Islam
Pekerjaan : Ketua RT
Kewarganegaraan : Indonesia
Alamat : Kampung Baru Desa Mangkupati Kec. Tanjung Palas Timur Kab. Bulungan.

Untuk : Hadir menemui BRIGPOL TEGUH RIFAI di kantor Sat Reskrim Polres Bulungan Jl. Agathis No. 04 Tanjung Selor pada hari Senin tanggal 09 Januari 2023 Pukul 09.00 Wita, untuk didengar keterangannya sebagai saksi dalam perkara Tindak Pidana barang siapa secara melawan hukum memaksa orang lain supaya melakukan, tidak melakukan atau membiarkan sesuatu, dengan memakai kekerasan, baik terhadap orang itu sendiri maupun orang lain, Sebagaimana di maksud rumusan pasal 335 KUHPidana.

Selesai.

Tanjung Selor, 05 Januari 2023
a.n. KEPALA KEPOLISIAN RESOR BULUNGAN
PS. KASAT RESKRIM
Selaku Penyidik
MHD. KHOMAINI, S.T.K., S.I.K.
INSPEKTUR POLISI SATU NRP 92110877

Pada hari ini Kamis tanggal 05 Januari 2023, 1 (satu) lembar Surat Panggilan ini telah diterima oleh yang bersangkutan.

Yang Menerima : SAMSU
Yang menyerahkan : TEGUH RIFAI
BRIGPOL NRP 92100293

PERHATIAN : Barang siapa yang dengan melawan hukum tidak menghadap sesudah dipanggil menurut Undang-undang dapat di tuntut berdasarkan ketentuan pasal 224 KUHP.

CATATAN : Berhubung pemeriksaan belum selesai, agar datang kembali pada

No	Tanggal	Hari	Pukul	Tanda Tangan	
				Yang dipanggil	Penyidik Pembantu

Figure 45. One of many signs and banners prohibiting residents' activities because they are in the National Strategic Project area in Mangkupadi Village.



the Tsingshan Group from China, known elsewhere for managing a smelter. Maslan worked for 7 months before being terminated by Tsingshan. He was let go for allegedly defying the company's orders not to attend Friday prayers at a mosque outside Tsingshan's operational area. Maslan was dismissed without formal notice, only through a notification on WhatsApp group chat. Maslan was not alone; 10 of his colleagues faced similar treatment. They were deemed to be wasting work time by leaving for the mosque every Friday for prayers.

"If they say time is money, they use the excuse of reducing employees and because heavy equipment is broken," said Maslan.

Maslan became increasingly convinced that the reasons given for his termination were fabricated, especially since all 10 individuals dismissed without proper procedure were those who regularly attended Friday prayers at a mosque outside the company's designated area. Furthermore, prior to his dismissal, Chinese supervisors had expressed displeasure about this to him.

"They did provide a place for prayer at the location but the place was very narrow and didn't fit, a container was prepared, it was stuffy and cramped."

Maslan was unjustly terminated through a WhatsApp group message, highlighting Tsingshan's initial failure to recruit workers through proper employment contracts. This suggests Tsingshan may have violated recruitment procedures governed by legal regulations, thereby leaving laborers vulnerable to arbitrary dismissal and disregarding their basic labor rights. *"We weren't even given pay slips; just proof of payment via transfer photos,"* Maslan revealed.

Despite these challenges, Maslan holds no regrets, viewing his stance on fundamental principles such as the right to religious worship as non-negotiable, even against companies like Tsingshan. ■

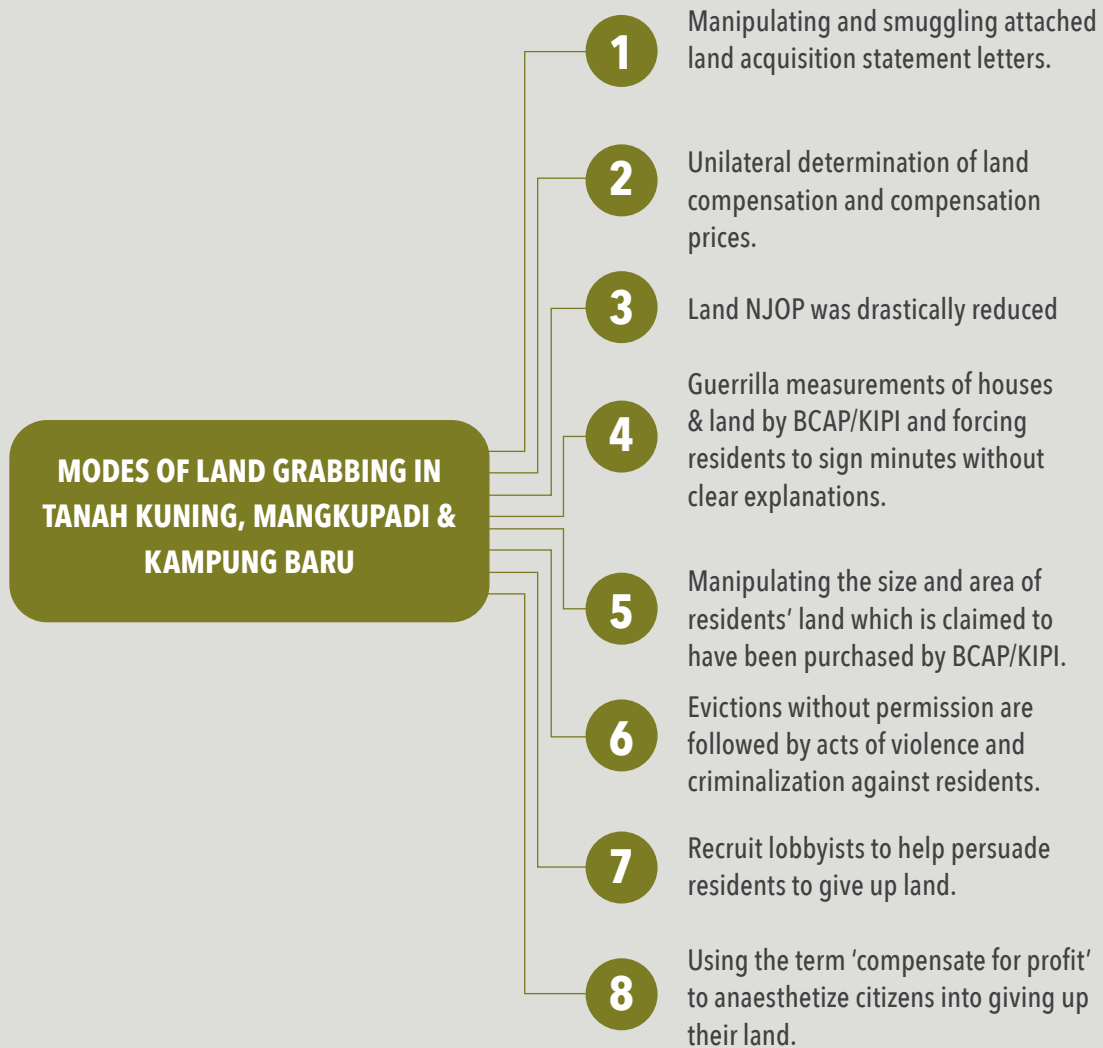
BOX IV

"THEY ARE EVICTING US", VARIOUS MODES OF LAND SEIZURE

From investigations and discussions with residents spanning from Tanah Kuning to Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi, at least eight methods have been uncovered to facilitate the expropriation of land and living spaces from residents. These methods range from exploiting village governments by sneaking in attachments such as statements that residents must voluntarily fill out to relinquish their land or property. These pre-filled statement forms were covertly included in official letters bearing the village government's letterhead on September 30, 2021, and signed by the Village Head of Mangkupadi, Muhammad Halid.

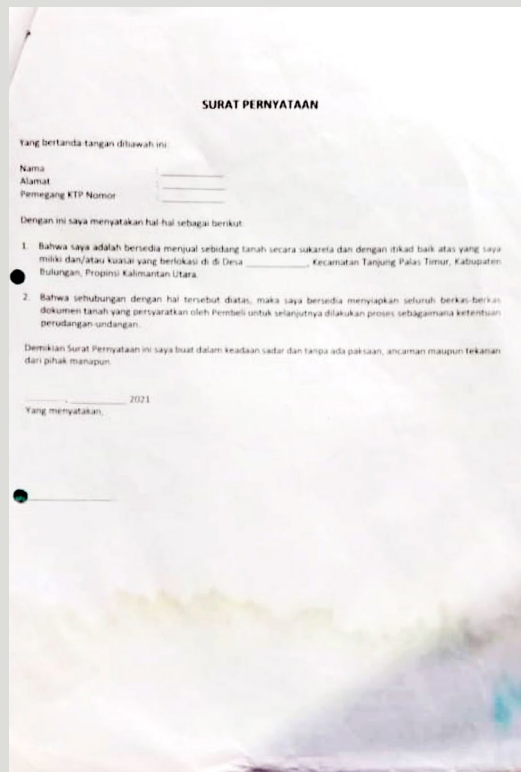
These actions clearly violate the law and infringe upon the rights of the community to refuse or delay their consent, as they coerce residents into immediate compliance.

**Figure 46. Eight Modes of Land Grabbing
in Tanah Kuning to Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi.**



The next method involves circulating circulars that unilaterally determine compensation prices and damages for land based on its location, crops grown, or materials built on it. The team found a photo copy of such a circular, distributed among neighborhood heads (RTs), citing Kalimantan Indonesia Industrial Zone as the issuing party. The basis for these set prices is not specified by any legal foundation, thus this unilateral determination strips residents of their right to determine the value of their land and even their right to refuse the transactions.

Figure 47. Socialization Letter but also contains an attached statement regarding the release of land to residents.



The third method involves drastically altering the Tax Object Selling Value (NJOP) by the local government. In 2020, the NJOP in the vicinity was still 56,000 rupiahs per square meter, but suddenly plummeted to 6,000 rupiahs per square meter in 2022.⁶⁷

The fourth method involves guerrilla-style house and land measurements conducted by BCAP/KIPI through door-to-door visits. Residents are also asked to sign documents resembling

Figure 48. Circular Letter of unilateral land price list designed by PT KIPI/KIKI.

DAFTAR HARGA TANAH DESA MANGKUPADI DAN DESA TANAH KUNING PT KAWASAN INDUSTRI KALIMANTAN INDONESIA (PT KIKI)		
NO	KATEGORI	KISARAN HARGA DAN PENJELASAN
1.	Tanah Kosong/Bekas/Tambak Tidak Aktif	Rp50.000.000,- per Ha (untuk Area Pesisir) Rp35.000.000,- per Ha (untuk area lain seperti sempadan jalan, sempadan sungai dan <i>enclosure</i>)
2.	Tanah dengan Tumbuhan Sawit	
	➢ Sawit Produktif	➢ Rp120.000.000,- per Ha
	➢ Sawit Tidak Produktif	➢ Rp75.000.000,- per Ha
3.	Tanah dengan Tambak Aktif	Rp100.000.000,- per Ha
4.	Tegakan Rumah	Rp1.500.000,- sampai dengan Rp2.000.000,- per m ² sesuai dengan material bangunan.
5.	Tegakan Sarang Walet (di luar Kampung Baru)	
	➢ Beton	➢ Rp150.000.000,-
	➢ Kayu	➢ Rp70.000.000,-
	➢ Semi (Campuran Beton dan Kayu)	➢ Rp120.000.000,-
6.	Kampung Baru	➢ Relokasi lahan, dibangunkan rumah, fasilitas sosial dan fasilitas umum, serta infrastruktur dasar. ➢ Bagi warga yang tidak mau direlokasi, akan diberikan kompensasi yang sepadan.

⁶⁷ <https://korankaltara.com/njop-tanah-di-kawasan-kihi-merosot-drastis>, accessed on 19 March 2023.

minutes of meeting without a full explanation that these measurements should not automatically be construed as consent. This was revealed in discussions with Agung and Sumiyati from Kampung Baru, who mentioned not receiving a copy of the minutes they had signed, making them vulnerable to manipulation by surveyors as a form of consent. Similar concerns were raised by Samsu, the Head of RT 11.

The fifth method involves manipulation through “Forgery of Documents,” where the size and area of residents’ land claimed to be purchased by BCAP/KIPI are inflated. This case was experienced by Husria, a resident of Kampung Baru who protested the sale of her 1.5-hectare land. However, when KIPi issued the sales deed, the size was “inflated” to 2 hectares, causing another portion of her land to be sold without her knowledge or consent.

The sixth method is unauthorized or unpermitted eviction of landowners and their crops, often accompanied by violence and criminalization of residents. Aris, for instance, was charged with threats involving a sharp weapon and detained without strong evidence by the North Kalimantan Regional Police (Polda Kaltara).

The seventh method involves recruiting lobbyists from residents to assist in measurements, persuade residents to sell their land, and assist in installing PSN markers. This is done by recruiting local neighborhood heads (RTs) who receive a consultancy fee for assisting in land relinquishment. They are offered a salary of 4 million rupiahs per month plus fees for installing PSN markers. This practice is not limited to Kampung Baru or Mangkupadi; similar tactics are used in Tanah Kuning, where a team known as “Tim 9” persuades and lobbies residents to sell or relinquish coastal lands.

The final method uses the term “profit compensation” (*ganti untung*) to manipulate awareness and slowly persuade residents to give up their land. According to Imran, son of Aris from Kampung Baru, the term “profit compensation” is used by officials from the Agrarian and Spatial Planning Agency (ATR-BPN), the Police Department (Polres), and the Regent of Bulungan. ■

7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Behind the glittery and grandiose promotions of the world's largest industrial area megaproject, touted as a green industrial zone, lies a narrative of forgery and concealment. This venture promises to host various industries and manufacturing facilities, producing technologies to support Indonesia's ambitions in driving the green economy and achieving energy transition targets in the name of climate change. It involves utilizing hydroelectric power plants, labeled as renewable energy sources, in North Kalimantan. However, the reality includes fabrication and camouflage of dark stories and issues.

This fabrication and suppression range from threats of economic devastation, forced displacement by operations of political and business oligarchies, to various heinous modes of land and sea space expropriation and eviction hidden from the public eye.

State actors were claiming that all industrial activities and tenants in this area will implement resource efficiency and effectiveness sustainably, drastically reducing carbon footprints through green technology and highest environmental standards, even claiming to be supplied by renewable energy sources, specifically hydroelectric power plants

(PLTA), aligning with energy transition targets and net-zero emissions for the State Electricity Company (PLN) and the Indonesian Government by 2060.

However, this report reveals a different reality. There are manipulations and fabrications throughout the industrial narrative, driven not only by land hunger on a large scale but also by a tremendous appetite for water and energy. Significant amounts of water usage and wastewater discharge are anticipated, including concerning energy supply issues. This industry is projected to continue relying on Coal-Fired Power Plants (PLTU) unlike earlier claims that sell the green label by solely using non-fossil energy such as PLTA.

Post-G20 commitment appears hypocritical as Indonesia receives around USD610 million from the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) and the Energy Transition Mechanism of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for halting the construction of new Coal-Fired Power Plants (PLTU). Yet, simultaneously, the Indonesian government tolerates and exempts existing coal-fired PLTU projects within the Industrial Zone through Presidential Regulation No. 112 of 2022, including plans for short-term PLTU development in Bulungan and this industrial area.

This report further exposes an estimated total electricity consumption of 11,404 GWh annually relying on coal, particularly from Petrochemical and Steel industries, totaling a coal demand of 27.620.000 tons annually. This amount, equivalent to the production of 214 million tons of coal from 37 Coal Mining Business Licenses (IUP) across North Kalimantan Province.

For clean and raw water supply, this industrial area will seize water from Pindada River and Freshwater Mangkupadi River located within their domain up to Kayan River. The total water demand for this industrial area is estimated at 39,450,560 m³ annually, equivalent to the consumption of approximately 1.5 years by about 700,000 residents of North Kalimantan.

It is also estimated that 286,439.86 m³ of wastewater will be discharged and dumped into several local water bodies every four hours daily, including the Asin Mangkupadi River, Pindada River, Fresh Mangkupadi River, Big Kalaputan, and Kampung Baru River.

This report exposes how political, legal, and business operations facilitate this ambitious mega-project through a series of political and legal maneuvers in the region, altering various important area statuses through the third revision of spatial planning starting from the 2013 Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 4 concerning RTRW

2012-2032, subsequently amended to Perda No. 1 of 2021 concerning RTRW 2021-2041, and a third revision plan to accommodate subsequent expansion plans.

This report also finds drastic shrinkage in the fishing area, up to a fivefold reduction, coastal tourism areas, including those in Tanjung Palas Timur, which also shrank sevenfold from the original. There is also overlapping of Brackish Water Cultivation Areas, Agricultural Areas, Food Land Allocation Areas, Sustainable Agriculture Areas, and even Rural Settlement Areas as experienced by Kampung Baru in Mangkupadi Village, counting down the days to forced eviction.

Eight other modes were identified in facilitating land expropriation and the displacement of residents' living space, from significantly altering the Tax Object Selling Value (NJOP) from IDR 50,000 to only IDR 6,000, various circulars unilaterally setting prices for buildings, land, and growing plants, creation of lobbyists at the village level, enlargement of areas during land transactions, and criminalization and intimidation of landowners in Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi.

This report outlines the threat of social and ecological destruction, examining twelve aspects that will be lost and damaged across the belt along the Tanah Kuning coast to Kampung Baru, Mangkupadi, ranging from the fate of forcibly dispossessed fishermen from the ocean. The disappearance of fisherwomen's livelihood source, the stories of women excluded from conversations and decision-making processes, fishing groups beginning to lose members, testimonies about Bagans that once teemed with anchovies but are now memories, concerns of traditional boat makers, the endangered economy of Swallow's Nest farming, pepper that remains a tale in Mangkupadi, the disappearance of identity and history, anxieties erupting surrounding the Beach Party, and the question on whether Mappanretasi is still meaningful when the industry arrives later, to threats to local tourism and culinary economies waiting for their fate to be close.

Moreover, along with large-scale land acquisition operations, water expropriation, water pollution, and coal still being burned through Captive PLTU in Tanah Kuning-Mangkupadi, threats are also posed to other living spaces sacrificed for the construction of the Kayan Hydroelectric Power Plant project. This 184,270-hectare dam project, in addition to supplying electricity to the new capital in East Kalimantan, will also supply the electricity needs of the Green Industrial Zone in Tanah Kuning-Mangkupadi, North Kalimantan. This project will submerge six villages, including Long Lejuh Village, Long Peso Village, Long Bia, Long Peleban, ancient sites, sacred tombs, and the lives of indigenous Dayak communities in Long Pelban Village, Muara Pangiang, and Long Lian are also threatened.

Amidst all the operations triggering the people's suffering, there is a group of political and business actors profiting. This report traces the political-business oligarchy behind dozens of data and company profiles within this green industrial zone, from managers, tenant owners to energy and raw material suppliers suspected of having conflicts of interest.

Prominent names disclosed include Garibaldi Thohir, set to benefit most as 90 percent of the entire green industrial zone is his palm oil plantation concession. Individuals close to Luhut such as Ir Justarina Sinta Marisi Naiborhu, then other names such as local oligarchs, Lauw Juanda Lesmana and the emergence of names of former Mayor of Surakarta/Solo and former Vice Mayor of Joko Widodo before running for President in the period 2010-2012 namely FX. Hadi Rudyatmo. The Chairman of the Solo City DPC and Politician of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) appears in documents of one of the tenant companies in this Industrial Zone.

This includes the partnership of PT Kalimantan Aluminum Industry (KAI), whose share ownership is held by PT Adaro Indo Aluminum and PT Cita Mineral Investindo (CMI). Cita Mineral Investindo is a bauxite mining issuer majority-owned by PT Harita Jayaraya (Harita Group) at 60.64%. Harita Jayaraya is owned by Lim Hariyanto Wijaya Sarwono, aged 94, the 20th richest person in Indonesia according to Forbes. The Harita Group stands as the primary catalyst behind the plight of residents on Obi Island, North Maluku, and Wawonii Island, Southeast Sulawesi. These two small islands are currently being ravaged by the nickel mining operations and smelter factories under Harita Group's control.

In conclusion, framing the issues and findings above, the Team recommends several urgent and essential actions.

1. Circulating simple and ready-to-use guidelines on how to face intimidation, terror, and criminalization amongst frontline communities who are defending their lands and rights.
2. Initiating a joint learning session with Paralegal, that also specifically discusses on fundamental citizens' rights in dealing with intimidation, terror, and criminalization.
3. Discussing together the key and urgent findings in this preliminary research and investigation report with frontline communities who are fighting against the mega-project construction.
4. Campaigning and amplifying this camouflage of issues and falsification of climate crisis narratives exploited by the Indonesian government to simply profit,

facilitate political and business oligarchy, and cause deeper crises and more extensive destruction through the Green Industrial Zone Megaproject in North Kalimantan, all of which pose threats and suffering at the grassroots level.

5. Showing that post-G20 commitments through a flood of funds exceeding USD610 million, from the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) and the Energy Transition Mechanism from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for halting the construction of new Coal-Fired Power Plants (PLTU), are actually violated through the construction of coal-fired steam power plants that are still being continued in the industrial zones hidden from the public and packaged as green industrial zones in North Kalimantan, as a **Global Green Lie by the Indonesian Government.** ■



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

NUGAL Institute for Social and Ecological Studies is an organization aspiring to sow the seeds of new knowledge and aims to decolonize knowledge about communities, social sciences, and the environment to build earnestly rooted social and ecological knowledge. This initiative departs from grassroots community paradigms and perspectives, with a commitment to present and future safety.

NUGAL believes that as long as the practices and values in “Menugal” remain part of the social-ecological metabolism in the lives of grassroots farming communities, there remains hope for reversing the crises created by Extractive Capitalism.

To reach out to NUGAL, please contact us via email:

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The East Kalimantan Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM Kalimantan Timur) is part of a network of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community organizations concerned with human rights, gender issues, environmental rights, indigenous communities, and social justice issues within the mining and oil and gas industries.

JATAM East Kalimantan works with communities affected by the ravages of extractivism. Its position and demands stem from concerns over massive environmental destruction and the socio-economic impact on local communities.

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Field Research Report

GREEN LIES:

Capturing the Threats of Destructive Power,
Oligarchy, and People's Safety
on the Green Industrial Area Project Site (KIHI)
in North Kalimantan

English Report Co-published by:

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