

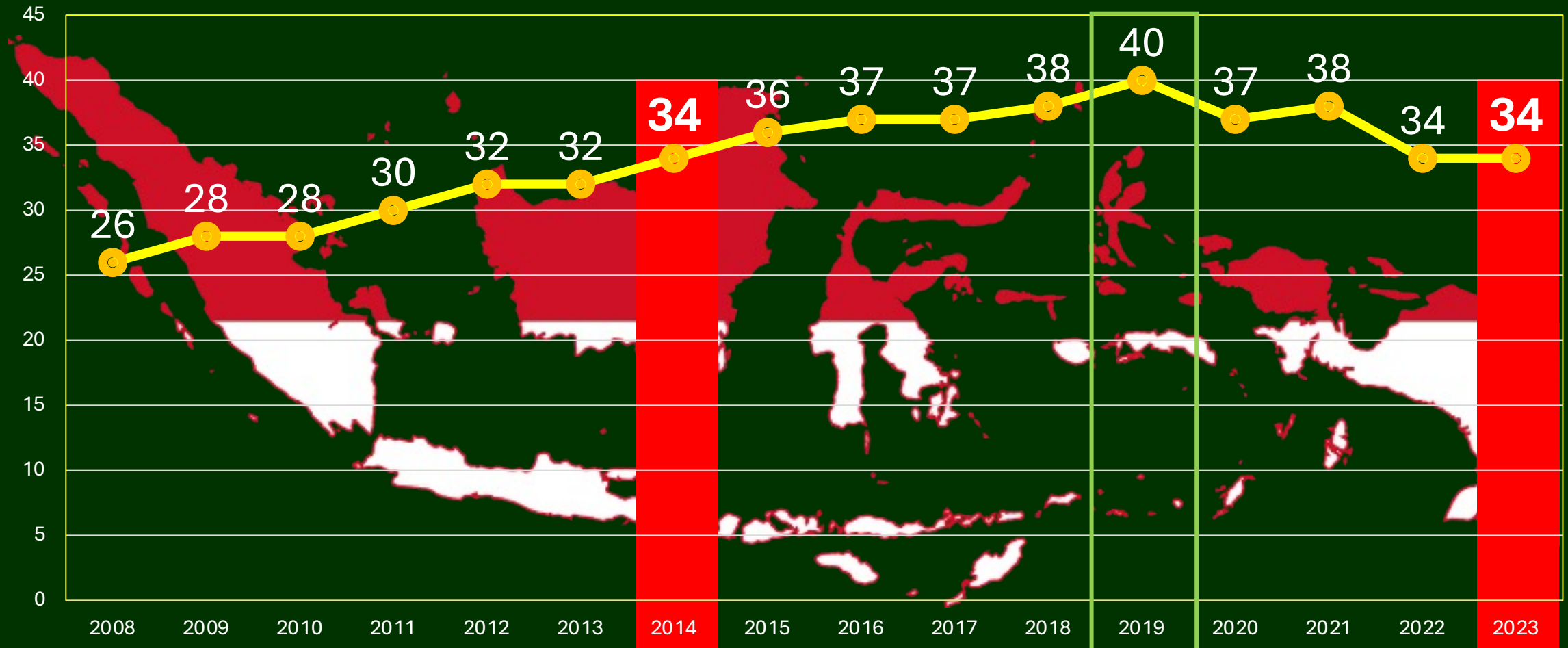
Pembangunan Kawasan **Nir** Pertimbangan Sains, Etika, dan Keberpihakan pada Lingkungan

Laode M. Syarif, Ph.D

Hasanuddin University, Faculty of Law



17 Years of Corruption Perception Index



CPI 2025: Back to 34 😞



**CPI
INDONESIA
2025**

2024



2025



Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2024 (Nasional)



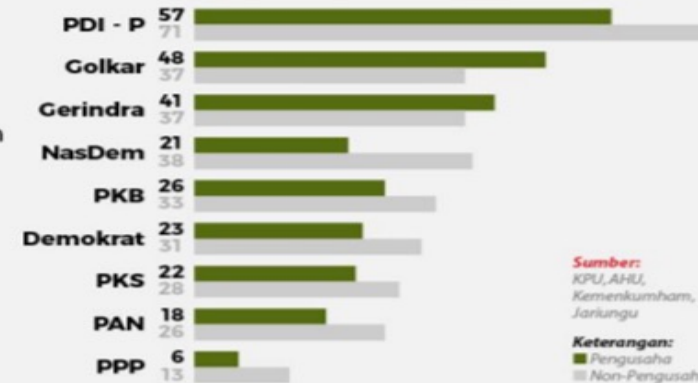
rumahpemilu.org

Reality of Political Landscape: *the Rich-the Bad-the Ugliest*

TEMPO.CO
2019-2024

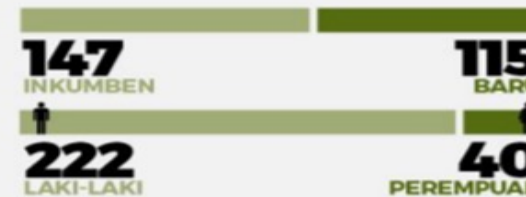
262 PEBISNIS MENJABAT ANGGOTA DPR

Penelusuran Tempo dan Auriga Nusantara menemukan sedikitnya 262 nama Anggota DPR berlatar belakang pengusaha. Mereka tercatat memiliki saham, menjabat komisaris, hingga menduduki kursi direksi di lebih dari seribu perusahaan. Bisnis mereka mencakup sektor penyiaran, perdagangan umum, hingga industri ekstraktif.



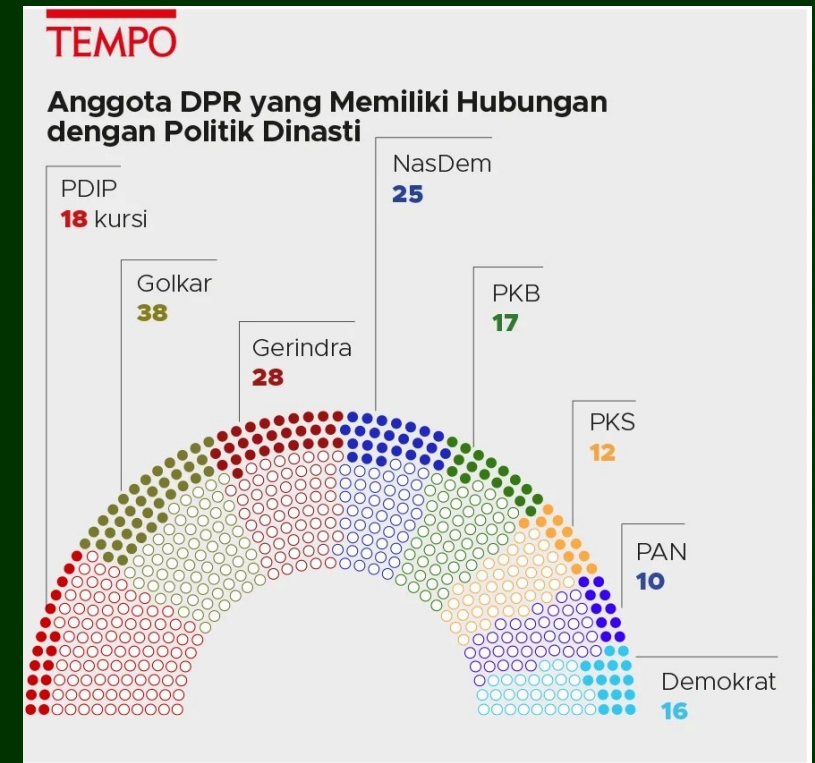
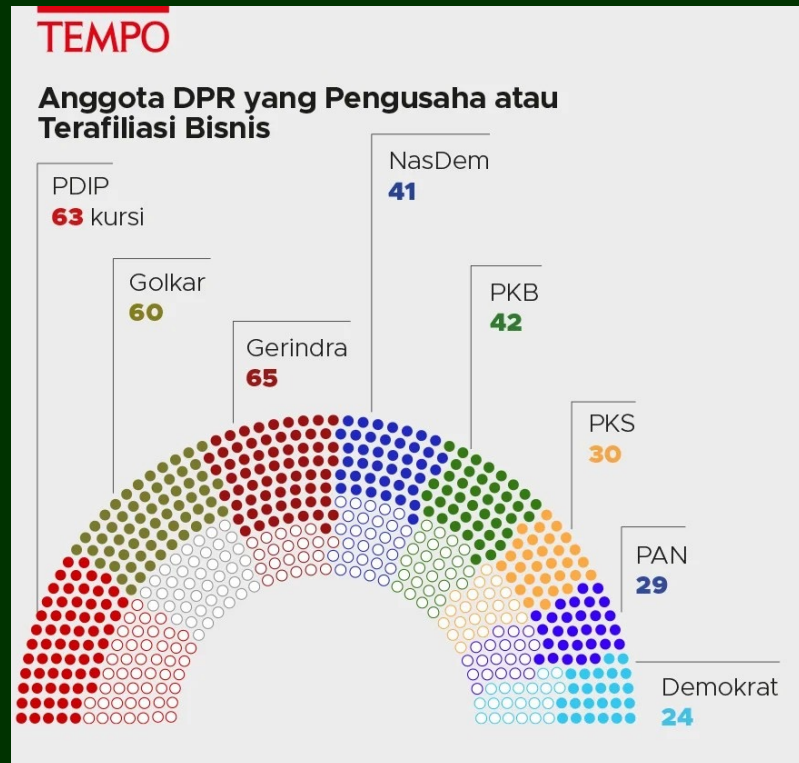
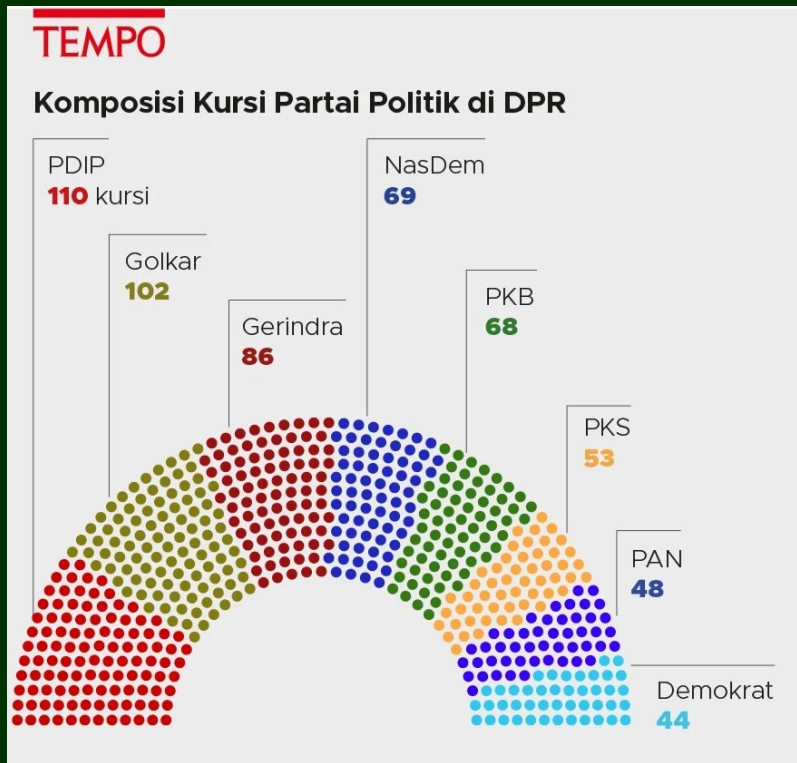
Sumber:
KPU, AHU,
Kemenkumham,
Jaringku

Keterangan:
■ Pengusaha
□ Non-Pengusaha



Result of 'Political Corruption'

BRUTAL Reality of Indonesian Parliamentarians 2024-2029



With Such Composition... What Do YOU Expect in ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE?



Landscape of Corruption Actors

Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2024 (Nasional)



rumahpemilu.org

the Rich-the Bad-the Ugliest



“Kids of *REFORMASI*” ... Equally CORRUPT



M. Nazarudin (33)



Zumi Zola (38)



Wa Ode
Nurhayati (30)



Fahd El Fouz (29)



Eka Dharma
Putra (32)



M. Faizal Azwani
(31)



Agung Purno
Sarjono (35)



Adriatma Dwi Putra (28)



PKS-Demokrat-PPP-PDIP-Gerindra- Golkar-Nasdem-PAN-PKB-Hanura:
-Equally Represented-



CONVICTED Governor + Mayors



SUSPECTS

Portrait of Natural Resource Corruption

CONVICTED



Parliamentarians-Ministers-Head of Oil and Gas Agency

CONVICTED



Actors behind Bribe and Illegalities

~~~~~

~

## Nickel/Cobalt/ Forest/Coal/Oil



# The 5 Richest Governors: Natural Resources Money



- **Sherly Tjoanda**  
and
- **Andi Sumangerukka**  
are the concession holders of several Nickel Mining and Smelters in North Maluku and Southeast Sulawesi.



## Tambang Nikel Terafiliasi Gubernur Sultra Didenda Rp2,09 T



Satgas Penertiban Kawasan Hutan (PKH) dipimpin Jampidsus Kejaksaan Febrie Adriansyah menyegel kawasan tambang nikel PT Tonia Mitra Sejahtera (TMS) milik Gubernur Sultra Andi Sumangerukka di Pulau Kabaena, Kabupaten Bombana, Kamis (11/9/2025).

Illegal mining: Governor of **Southeast Sulawesi:**  
**IDR 2.09 Trillion** Fine



Denda Rp500 Miliar Bukan Solusi: JATAM Desak  
Pencabutan Izin dan Proses Pidana Tambang  
Nikel Ilegal Terafiliasi Gubernur Sherly Tjoanda  
dan PT Mineral Trobos

North Maluku: Illegal Mining: **IDR 500 Billion** Fine



## Ini Dia, 16 Tersangka Kasus Korupsi Timah, Sejumlah Harta Berharga Disita Dari Tersangka Utama



Serikat Nasional  
12 Apr 2024, 20:16 WIB



“Tin Mining and Medan Block” are Clear Examples of Mineral-related Corruption

## KPK tetapkan Abdul Ghani Kasuba tersangka TPPU

Rabu, 8 Mei 2024 20:08 WIB



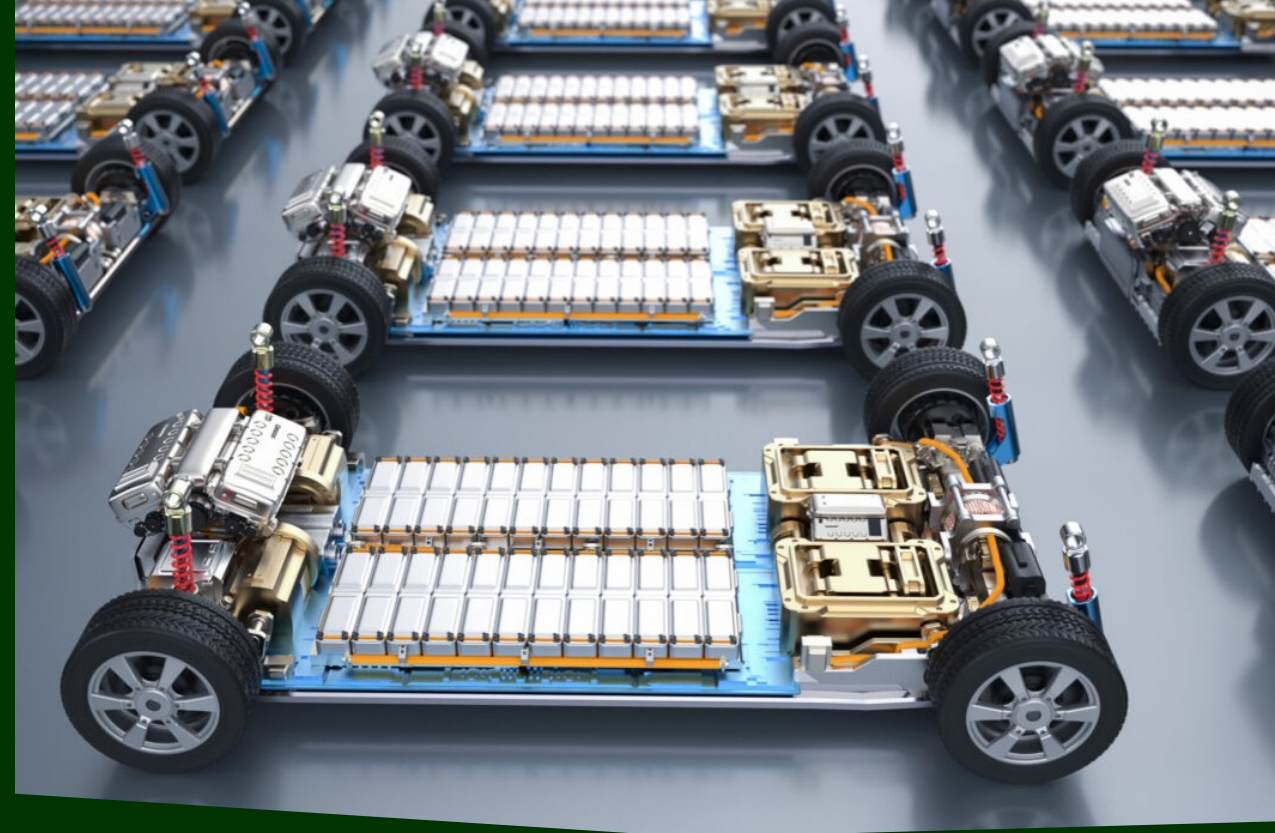
# Nickel Corruption

## Actors

- **Mr Nur Alam** (Governor of South East Sulawesi)
- PT **Anugrah Harisma Barakah** (AHB)
- PT Billy Indonesia
- **Mr Widdi Aswindi** (Director of AHB + Politician)
- **Richcorp International** Hong Kong







Nickel Mining for Energy Transition: On  
whose Expense ?



# Climate Justice

- **Climate justice** is a concept that addresses the **just division**, fair sharing, and **equitable distribution of the burdens** of climate change and its mitigation and responsibilities to deal with climate change.
- **Solutions must promote EQUITY**, assure access to basic resources, and ensure that young people can live, learn, play and work in healthy and clean environments.
- (Sound Like **Indonesian Constitution**, Article 28h(1):

*“Each person has the right to physical and spiritual welfare, to have a home, to have a good and healthy living environment and to obtain health services.”*





# Principles of Just Energy Transition



- Be guided by science and understand the urgency to reduce emissions.
- Be fair and uphold the rights, needs and values of everyone - no single group should be privileged over.
- Be sustainable, ambitious and consistent with wider, holistic strategies that needed to limit global temperature.
- Be comprehensive, transparent and inclusive at all level.
- Ensure clearly-defined, robust and meaningful stakeholder engagement and social dialogue.
- Be centred on climate justice so that the burdens of climate change are shared fairly; both internationally and inter-generationally.
- Recognize energy access as an essential contributor for social wellbeing, economic growth, enabler of sustainable.
- Ensure access to justice, decision-making and information
- <https://www.undp.org/energy/dialogues-and-alliances/alliance-just-energy-transformation>

# Existing Relevant National Legal Framework

- Environmental Protection and Management Act, No 32/2009
- **Spatial Planning Act, No 26/2007**
- Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands Act, No 7/2007
- Forestry Act, No 41/1999
- Minerals and Coal Mining Act, No 4/2009, revised with Law No 3/2020
- Job Creation Act (Omnibus Law), No 11/2020 and REINSTATED with Law No 6/2023.

## **SPECIAL NOTE:**

*Job Creation Law INVALIDATED Some Good Provisions of  
'Environment-Small Island-Mining Laws ☹️*





# Unfortunate Development Under the Job Creation Law

- No more obligation for 30 % forest cover in every province
- No Mandatory Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for “National Strategic Project”
- Introduction of ‘Administrative Fine’ (*Denda Administrasi*) or ‘legalization’ of ILLEGAL PALM OIL PLANTATIONS in natural/protected forest.
- *And many other bad articles*

## POLITICS

### Indonesians vent anger over job creation law: Five things to know

Jokowi refuses to backtrack, insisting 'millions can improve their lives'



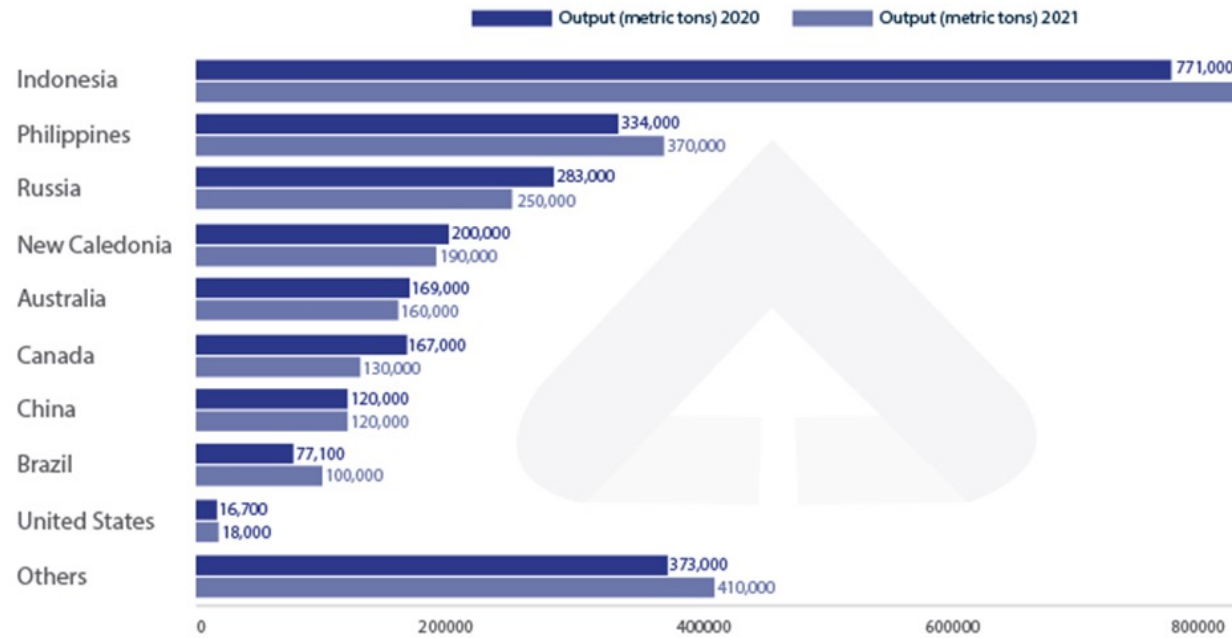
LIVE- Keterangan Dore Presiden RI Terkait Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja - Selasa, 10 Oktober 2020

# Indonesian Nickel Potential and The Pursuit of Just Energy Transition

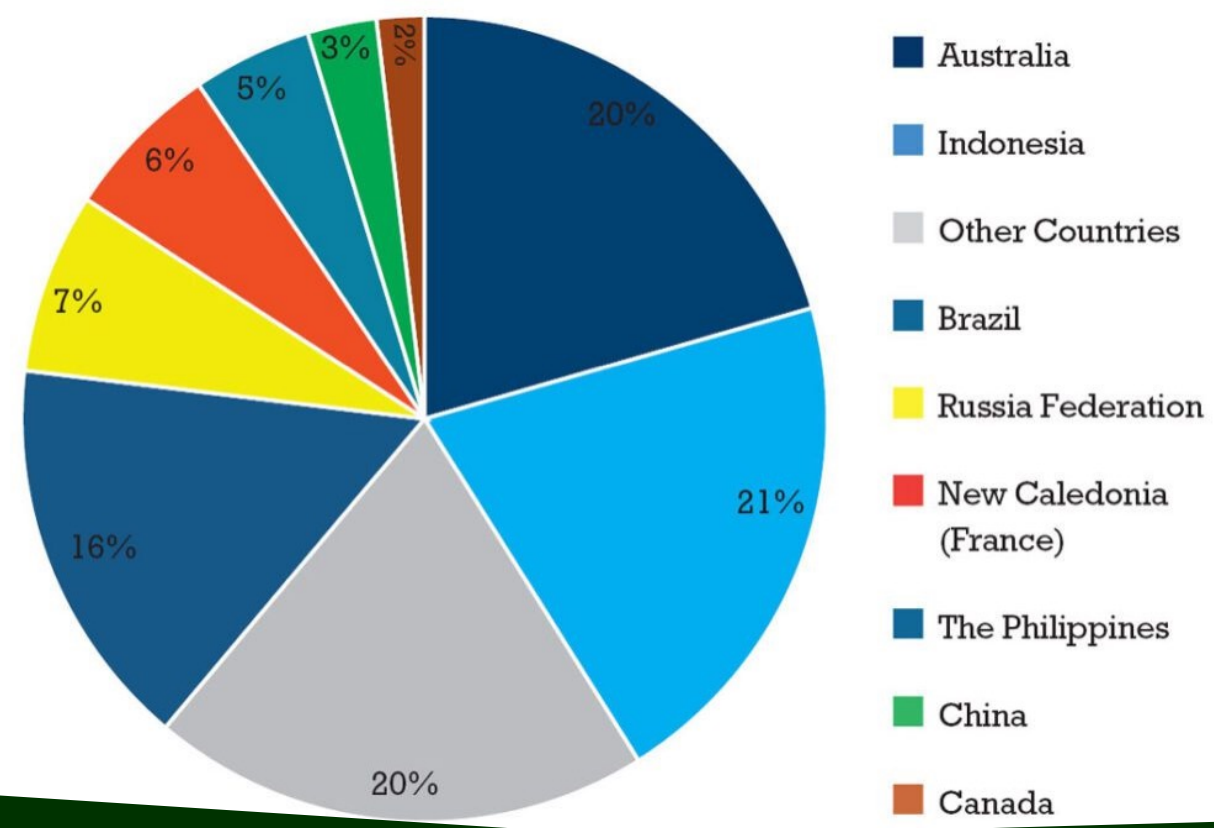




## Major Nickel Producers (Output in Metric Tons)



Source: Channel News Asia



# Indonesia is MAJOR Player in Nickel

# Indonesian Response to Just Energy Transition

## Indonesia's Jokowi meets Tesla's Musk after nickel talks

Reuters

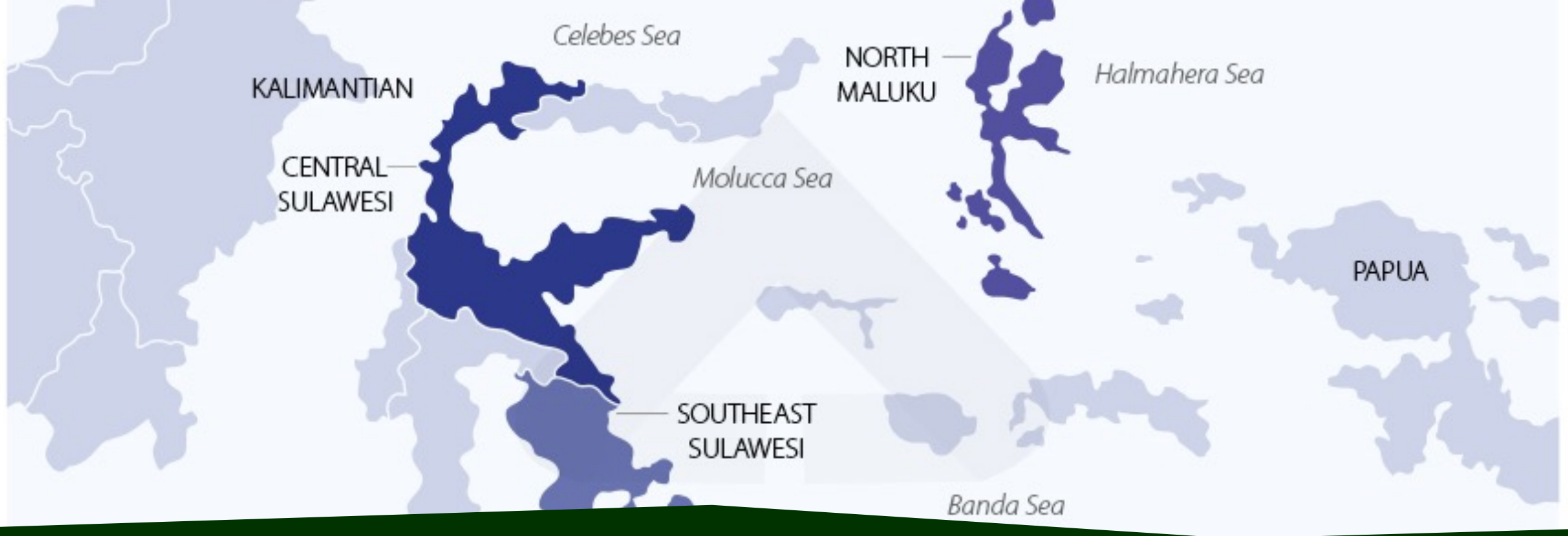
May 15, 2022 2:08 PM GMT+7 · Updated a year ago



Indonesian NDC Target:

*29% Emission Reduction or 41% with International Support in 2030*





**Unfortunately,** Most Nickel Deposits are in Relatively Small or Very Small Islands



The **Obi Islands** are a group of 42 islands in the Indonesian province of North Maluku, North of Buru and Seram, and South of Halmahera.

Total area of **2,542 km<sup>2</sup>**

Population: **52,588** (Mid 2022)

# Islands





The Only River in Small Island of Obi is HEAVILY DAMAGED



## Red seas and no fish: Nickel mining takes its toll on Indonesia's spice islands

by Rabul Sawal on 16 February 2022 | Translated by Basten Gokkon



***SPICE Island:***

Clove-Nutmeg-Cashew Plantation and People Fishing ground are Destroyed





# Wawonii Island

- **Wawonii** is an island in the Banda Sea, Indonesia, off the Southeast coast of Sulawesi.
- **ONLY 705.71 km<sup>2</sup> (by law: not allowed to be mined)**
- and has a **population of 37,050;**

# Indonesian Response to “Energy Transition”

The Tale of Small  
Island of WAWONII,  
SULTRA ☹️





# Impact of IRRESPONSIBLE NICKEL Mining



Southeast Sulawesi-Central  
Sulawesi-South Sulawesi-  
Maluku Nickel ONLY Enrich  
“Jakartans/Foreign  
Investors/Corrupt Politicians”  
and DESTROYING the future of  
the Island.

**Unfair Mining Revenue  
Sharing between Central and  
Regional Government:  
80 : 20**

## Warga Masih Hidup Miskin, Hilirisasi Sisakan Pekerjaan Rumah Besar

Hilirisasi nikel diakui belum cukup inklusif untuk menaikkan taraf hidup warga setempat. Masih banyak pekerjaan rumah yang perlu dikerjakan untuk menekan dampak negatif hilirisasi dan memaksimalkan manfaatnya.

Audio Berita 9 menit

tes theodora  
023 06:08 WIB - 5 menit baca

TEKS     



Muara Sungai Roko-roko di wilayah Wawonii Tenggara, Konawe Kepulauan, yang memerah akibat adanya penambangan terbuka seperti terlihat pada Rabu (31/5/2023). Penambangan nikel ini berkali-kali diprotes warga. Mulai dari persoalan lahan, hingga dianggap membuat mata air rusak dan berlumpur.



# Transparency & Accountability Problems in Nickel Mining



- Licensing process
- Beneficial owners of the companies
- The amount of reported shipment
- Tax, royalty, revenue sharing between Central, Provincial, Local Government, and Affected Communities.
- Facilitation payments in many levels of government

# When you are playing **DOUBLE AGENTS**: Regulators + Players



Note: **THEY are NOT ALONE**. Some other ministers, governors, gerents, High-ranking military and police officers, regents/mayors, parliamentarians are also involved in natural resources exploitation.



# National Strategic Project: Morowali

## Explosion at Indonesia nickel plant kills 13 staff

24 December 2023

Ece Goksedef  
BBC News

Share Save Add as preferred on Google



An employee at work in a nickel plant in South Sulawesi, Indonesia (file photo)

An explosion at a nickel plant on Indonesia's Sulawesi Island has killed at least 13 workers and injured dozens of others, some seriously.



- Close to My HEART. His name **La Ode Abdul Mursalim**.
- It was his FIRST Job after graduation.
- The One and ONLY son with a university diploma.
- The company gave the family **USD 45.000** as compensation, and no company executives went to JAIL 😞

# Environmental Destruction & Deprivation of Local Communities in the name of “National Strategic Project”

BUSINESS • COMPANIES

## Govt to sanction Morowali industrial park for environmental violations

*The Environment Ministry is coming down hard on IMIP over multiple violations at its nickel hub in Central Sulawesi, following public outrage over exploitative activities in Papua's famed marine tourist hot spot Raja Ampat.*

Aditya Hadi (The Jakarta Post)

PREMIUM Jakarta • Fri, June 20, 2025



Nickel smelters spew emissions on Jan. 26, 2024, into the skies above Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park and a nearby settlement in Bahodopi district, Morowali regency, Central Sulawesi. (Antara Oheas Revianto)

## Company supplying critical EV metal 'did not disclose' Erin Brockovich pollutant in drinking water

Leaked documents indicate Harita, owner of key nickel mine in Indonesia, did not reveal water contamination



- Polluters continued to operate with **almost total impunity**.
- The Government at the central, provincial, and district levels is 'complicit.'

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/apr/30/environment-water-pollution-green-transition-indonesia-harita-nickel-metal-mining-electric-vehicles-erin-brockovich-chromium-cr6>



# Tentacle of Nickel and Indo-China Affairs

- Multatuli Project Report has a **COMPREHENSIVE** Report on Elite Captured Corruption on Nickel.
- Some Ministers, Governors, Military/Police Generals, Parliamentarians, even 'Mass/Religious Organizations'
- <https://projectmultatuli.org/en/beijing-tightens-its-stranglehold-on-indonesias-nickel-industry/>

## China in the Downstream: Beijing Tightens its Stranglehold on Indonesia's Nickel Industry



# The Role of Chinese Investment in Nickel Processing in Indonesia

## China's investment in Indonesia is its global critical-minerals template

29 Jan 2026 | Kuma Yung, Elizabeth Frost and Yun-Ling Ko



To understand how China will seek to extend its critical-minerals dominance, look at how it has moved into Indonesia's nickel industry. Over the past decade, Chinese companies, backed by state-owned banks, have been able to adapt to local policy developments, including Indonesian bans on the export of nickel ore. They have embedded themselves in industrial parks, vertically integrating the entire electric-vehicle battery supply chain from refining to recycling.

Over the past decade, Chinese firms have invested **over \$65 billion into Indonesia's nickel**, smelter, and EV battery processing industries. While exact 2025 single-year figures for mining alone are bundled into broader metal-processing foreign direct investment, **Chinese companies currently control about 75% of Indonesia's nickel refining capacity.**

<https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/chinas-investment-in-indonesia-is-its-global-critical-minerals-template/>



# Tentacles of Nickel Mining: PT. Indonesia Tsingshan Stainless Steel, *PT. Bintang Delapan*, and Others

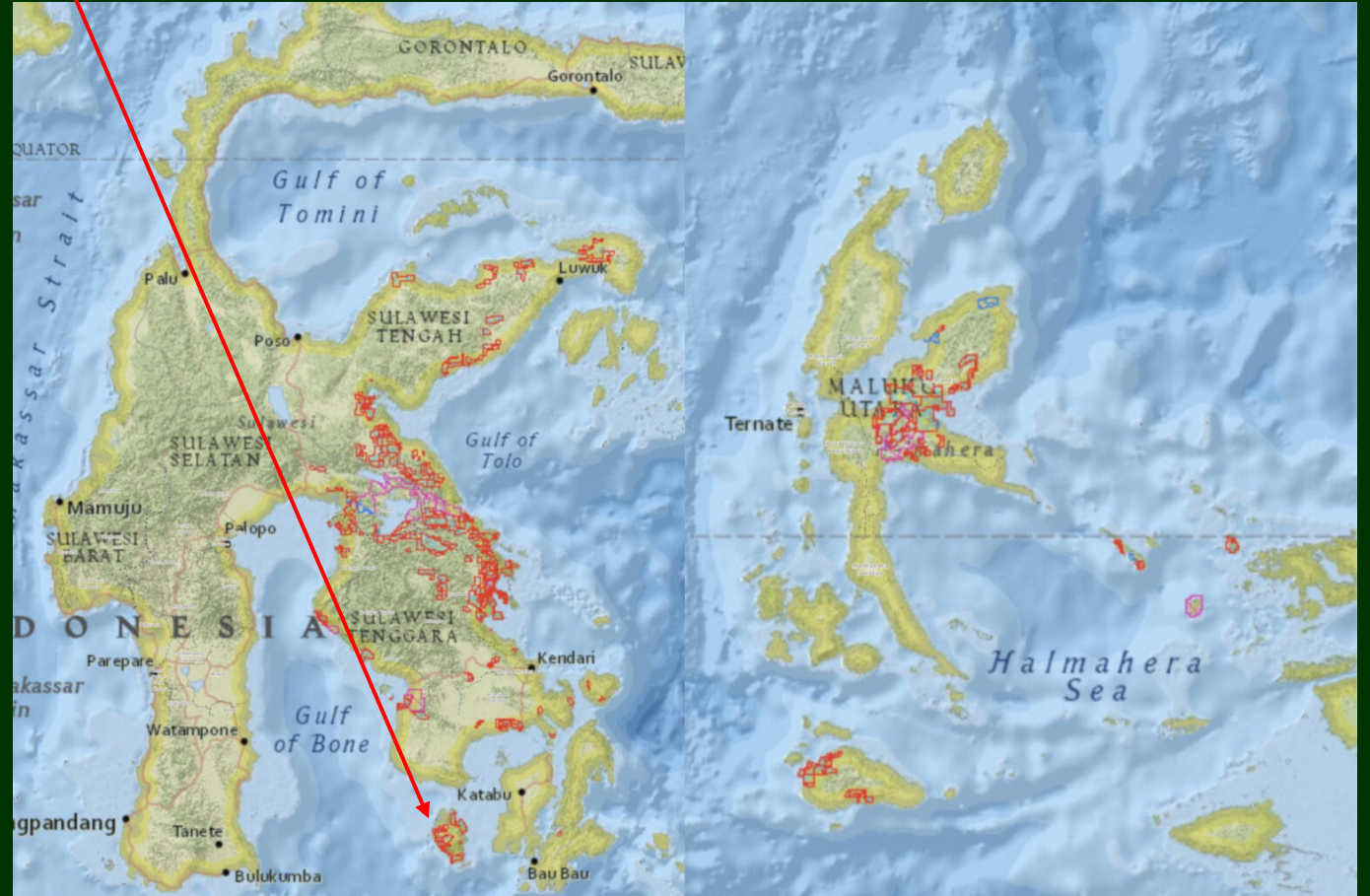
## Organization [\[edit\]](#)

Bintang is one of the largest mining companies in Indonesia.<sup>[1]</sup> Bobby Tejakusuma is the Chief Executive Officer.<sup>[2]</sup>

The company has close connections to the [Indonesian National Armed Forces](#).<sup>[3]</sup>

- <https://projectmultatuli.org/cina-di-hilir-gurita-oligarki-nikel-indonesia/>
- PT Bintang Delapan is closely linked to the Indonesian Military.
- **Lieutenant General (Ret) Sintong Panjaitan**, reported as the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners.

# Morowali is NOT Alone: Baliara Village-Kabaena Island: 22 May 2026



<https://hijauku.com/2026/05/22/a-tale-of-the-fragile-small-island-of-kabaena/>



# New Measures to STOP “**Under Invoicing-Tax Evasion**” and other Export –Related Crimes

- Some powers of **Customs and Excise** will be transferred to the new body (PT Danantara Sumberdaya Indonesia (DSI)).
- This will affect all natural resources-based commodities: **palm oil, coal, nickel, gold, copper, tin, and others.**
- **Corruption RISKS:** The New Body will be managed under PT. DANANTARA (sovereign wealth fund) with ‘limited anti-corruption safeguards’.

## Indonesia to bring commodity exports under centralised control, president says

The country is the world's largest exporter of thermal coal and palm oil

Summarise

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Published Wed, May 20, 2026 - 01:49 PM





Position Paper



# Network of Forestry-Related Corruption



U4 Issue | Natural resources and energy

## Corrupt networks in the Indonesian forestry sector

Politics and pulp in Pelalawan, Riau

By Jacqui Baker  
Series editor: Sofie Arjon Schütte  
U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute (U4 Issue 2020:12)

Also available in [Indonesian](#)

This U4 Issue is one of several publications resulting from the 'C-files project'. The project is funded by German International Cooperation's Assistance in Preventing and Combating Corruption in Indonesia, and in close collaboration with the Indonesian Corruption Eradication Commission. The project provides research and analysis on forestry sector corruption.

[READ OUR SHORT VERSION](#) →

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<https://www.u4.no/publications/corrupt-networks-in-the-indonesian-forestry-sector.pdf>



<https://www.u4.no/publications/tackling-forestry-corruption-in-indonesia.pdf>



U4 Issue | [Natural resources and energy](#)

## Tackling forestry corruption in Indonesia

Lessons from KPK prosecutions

By [Sofie Arjon Schütte](#) and Laode M. Syarif

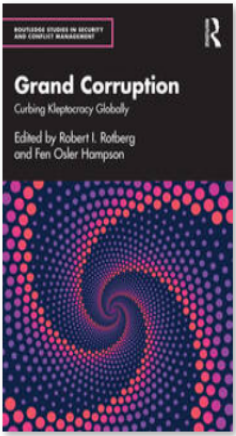
U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute (U4 Issue 2020:15)

Also available in [Indonesian](#)



Just in Case: YOU are Interested to READ more about the  
Interaction Between Forestry & Mining in **Nur Alam Case**





Chapter

# Political Corruption and Natural Resources Management in Indonesia

By [Laode M. Syarif](#)

Book [Grand Corruption](#)

|                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| Edition         | 1st Edition |
| First Published | 2024        |
| Imprint         | Routledge   |
| Pages           | 16          |

OPINION • ACADEMIA

## When referee becomes player: Conflicts of interest in Indonesia's nickel rush

Several ministers, provincial leaders and political elites are known to have deep financial ties to nickel mining interests.

Laode M. Syarif and Ahmad Novindri Aji Sukma (The Jakarta Post)  
Jakarta/Cambridge, United Kingdom  
• Thu, June 26, 2025

Gift Full Article



BASEL INSTITUTE ON  
GOVERNANCE

Laode M. Syarif, Corruption Risks in the Nickel Value Chain, in the process of publication

These pieces could be used as an Inspiration

The Next  
Episode.

I'm  
**PRAYING**  
for the  
**BEST.**







*Terima kasih*