

# Desk Study



## **Economic Corridor in East Kalimantan** A tragedy among extreme social-ecological crises

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## Space Reorganization: Radical transformation from lived space to conceived space

Borneo Island is the third largest island in the world with 746,305 km<sup>2</sup> after Greenland and Papua New Guinea. This island has a rich biodiversity of Sunda islands. Consists of various type vegetations i.e. mangrove, peat swamp, freshwater swamp forest, heath forest, montane forest, lowland dipterocarp, forest on ultrabasic, and forest on limestone. Borneo has 3,000 species of trees including 267 species of dipterocarps which the most commercial tree for timber. For the fauna, Borneo has 222 mammals which 44 species are endemic. Also, Borneo has 420 species of resident birds which 37 species are endemic. More surprisingly, Borneo is the richest island of amphibians, reptiles, fishes, and invertebrates compared with Malay peninsula, Java, Sulawesi, and Sumatera. There are 100 species of amphibians, 166 species of snakes, 394 (149 endemics) species of freshwater fishes, and 40 species of swallowtails in Borneo (MacKinnon *et al.* 1996).<sup>1</sup>

Borneo is divided into three countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam. The greatest portion of the island is belonging to Indonesia which is 73% of the total Borneo landmass.<sup>2</sup> In Indonesia, part of the Borneo is named Kalimantan which is the second largest island in Indonesia. Kalimantan now is divided into 5 provinces: East Kalimantan; West Kalimantan; South Kalimantan; Central Kalimantan; and the youngest province, North Kalimantan. Kalimantan is also a home of indigenous people who live around Kalimantan forest: Dayak people. Dayak people adapted to Kalimantan forest and developed silviculture system with unique crop varieties.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, the beautifulness of Kalimantan drastically changed. Since The New Order, Kalimantan was the most targeted for plantations and minings i.e rubber; oil palm; iron ore; nickel; coal; bauxite; marble; oil; gas, etc. Consequently, since 1973 Kalimantan has systematically lost forest cover. Based on David Gaveau research, Kalimantan and Sabah had the highest record of forest loss with 30.7% and 39.5% of their total forest area becoming the non-forest area in 2010. David also listed the factors of the forest cover loss, inter alia, selective logging, fire, and conversion to plantations at unprecedented scales since industrial-scale extractive industries (Gaveau *et al.* 2014).<sup>4</sup> Not only on environmental damage, but industrial-scale extractive industries also affected to extreme land dispossession in local people.

The selective logging in Kalimantan had been started at the booming of *Banjir Kap* (Kap Flood) phenomenon. Many huge trees had been logged in late 1960 due to high demand of the Kalimantan woods. At that moment, the wooden logs had been delivered by utilizing flood. That is why the phenomenon named *Banjir Kap* (Kap Flood). This phenomenon was widespread over Kalimantan. But also sparked many critics from national until international level. International people are worried about the deforestation effect which was caused by logging activities (*Banjir Kap*). Moreover, international people condemned the *Banjir Kap* activity and urged the Indonesian Government to stop it. Later, in between 1970-1980, the *Banjir Kap* activity formally banned by Soeharto (Indonesia's President at the moment).

But, before Soeharto banned *Banjir Kap*, he also prepared "the substitute regulations" i.e. foreign investment law (Law no 1 of 1967), forestry law (Law no 5 of 1967), oil, gas and coal mining law. Those laws are investment-friendly. Without wait so long, numerous investors were investing in Indonesia for timber, plantations, and mining investments. Thousands of foreign and national corporations have exploited Kalimantan nature ruthlessly. Those corporations were legally supported by Soeharto administration. Extremely, military force and local mass organizations were used to back up the companies, thus, repression and violation actions to dispossess local people from their land were very common. For instance, in 2016, oil palm plantations contributed immense figure on the agrarian conflict in Indonesia.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> A concise note of a desk study titled 'Reorganisasi dan Valuasi Ruang Kalimantan Timur' in English 'Space Reorganization and Valuation of East Kalimantan', written by Ganies Oktaviana. A part of a research project on "Economic Corridor & Socio-ecological Crises in Contemporary Asia" with Sajogyo Institute (Indonesia), JASIL (Mongolia), NGO-F (Cambodia), Manushya Foundation (Thailand), and AFA (Philippines).

Although the name of *Banjir Kap* formally had been erased, the spirit for extracting forest systematically and structurally continued. David Gaveau also reported, the primary logging roads as far as 151,101 km which were created in around 1973 have contributed to degradation and deforestation in Kalimantan. This is because the logging roads have made forests in Kalimantan was accessible. Moreover, the logging roads have expanded to surround and abut against the edges of highland protected forests – the last contiguous bastions of intact forest (Gaveau 2014). In the future, the logging roads were being regular roads for another activity of nature extraction, i.e plantations.

Early 1980 was a monumental period for Kalimantan. Because the first plantation of oil palm has been planted massively and firstly financed by World Bank under NES Programme. Not only funding from World Bank, but also other private sectors i.e. foreign and national corporations have come for investing in Kalimantan on oil palm plantations. Drastically, rather than be a home of tropical rainforest, Kalimantan was changed to be the second home of oil palm plantations after Sumatera Island. The oil palm plantations in Kalimantan growth rapidly in only a couple years later.

In 2015 there were 535 oil palm companies exploited Kalimantan nature which equals 34% of total oil palm companies in Indonesia. The total area of plantations in Kalimantan 4,177,368 hectares which is owned by government estates 91,339 hectares; private estates 3,137,253 hectares; and smallholders 948,776 hectares. The largest plantation area is owned by private sectors. The top oil palm companies in Kalimantan i.e Sinar Mas Golden Agri Resources Ltd (GAR) Group, Wilmar International Limited, and Cargill International Corp.<sup>6</sup> While data by 2017 reported, Central Kalimantan and East Kalimantan were the 5 top of palm oil producer in Indonesia.<sup>7</sup>

The exploitation and expansion of oil palm plantations were getting easier because the corporations of oil palm plantations used the old logging roads to trespass forest -literally uncovered land, because of the forest cover clearance- then planted oil palms. Besides, Soeharto also implemented several types of transmigration programme under his Five Years Indonesia Development (PELITA). At least 247,560 households had been transferred to 21 provinces in 1994 under the PELITA V project.<sup>8</sup> The locations for transmigration were Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua. But, Sumatera and Kalimantan were the most targeted for transmigration programme. The scheme of transmigrations was not only about resettlement but also creating labour force for oil palm plantations. Thus, most of the transmigration locations are located nearby the oil palm plantations.

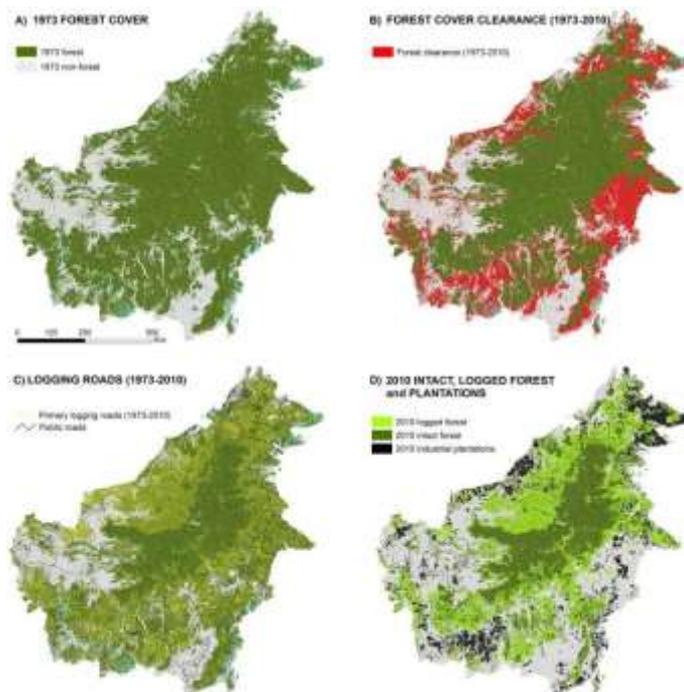
After the booming of oil palm plantations, the expansion of thousands of mining corporation start and contribute to Kalimantan environmental degradation. Oil, gas, and coal were the most targeted commodity at that time. Even so, oil and gas in Kalimantan already explored in the mid 19 century, but they became booming in the Soeharto regime. Besides them, coal has been exploited as well. Quickly, oil, gas, and coal became outstanding commodities. Statistic data by 2015, only in Central Kalimantan Province, there were 381 coal mining exploration licences with exploration area as wide as 1,831,009 hectares. Also, 160 exploration licences for zircon, iron ore, gold, copper, bauxite, galena, sand, quartz sand, diamond, metal, rock, and laterite. The exploration area is as wide as 804,648 hectares.<sup>9</sup>

In 2019, in East Kalimantan, there are 1,404 Mining Business Licenses (MBL) which 4,131,735 hectares mining area and 30 Mining Concession Work Agreements (MCWA) which 1,006,138 hectares mining area. Those mining licences were issued by the Central and Local Government.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, similar data of West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, and North Kalimantan Province are not available, the fact, there are hundreds of mining companies and large mine holes in those provinces. We can imagine just from the two provinces (Central Kalimantan and East Kalimantan Province) that Kalimantan now not only home of oil palm plantations, but also production space of assorted mining products. Ironically, mining investors have left their 264 uncovered coal voids (former mining holes)<sup>11</sup> in East Kalimantan. The saddest fact, 33 children drown to death in those voids.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, about forest fire cases in Kalimantan, Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI) and Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) reported that the fire hotspots detected in oil palm plantations and Industrial Timber Plantation (HTI) (AMAN 2015)<sup>13</sup>. In West Kalimantan, 529 fire hotspots mostly found in moratorium areas, i.e. PIPPIB (new license moratorium indicative map area); IUPHHK (Forest Plantation

Wood Production Permit) area; Plantation Business Permit area (Eyes On the Forest 2015).<sup>14</sup> These data show us that, besides the hot temperature and long drought, industrial activities also contributed on increasing the number of forest fire cases in Kalimantan. The high number of forest fire cases in Kalimantan caused polluted air. Consequently, many local people contracted respiratory diseases.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, endemic animals i.e. Orang Utan (*Pongo pygmaeus*), Proboscis Monkey (*Nasalis larvatus*), Bornean Slow Loris (*Nycticebus borneanus*), Pygmy Squirrel (*Exilisciurus exilis*), and Bornean Bay Cat (*Catopuma badia*)<sup>16</sup> are drastically lost their habitat as well. Ironically, some species are found dead in the forest fire i.e. Orang Utan.<sup>17</sup>

In the community, the lost forest affected local people. Particularly Dayak people who dwell around Kalimantan forests from generation to generation. The lost forest means the lost of Dayak people life sources. Moreover, many plantations are located in the forbidden forest of the Dayak people. The more forests damage, the more Dayak people's life threatened. Local people used to be consuming water from the rivers. But the majority of rivers are contaminated by industrial waste.<sup>18</sup> So, water in Kalimantan is harmful to consume. Consequently, local people difficult to fulfil their daily basis. The alternative way is relying on the rain by collecting the rainwater. Unluckily, the rain will not come when the long drought.<sup>19</sup> As a result, they have to buy clean water from water companies.



**Picture 1 Forest cover loss and logging roads between 1973 to 2010**

source: David Gaveau *et al*



**Picture 2 Burnt Orang Utan**

source: <https://greenerideal.com> (2012)



**Picture 3 Forest fire in Kalimantan**

source: <https://www.harianpost.co.id> (2016)

The extreme social-ecological crises in Kalimantan came under the spotlight of many parties. Particularly in NGO movements from local, national, to international level. Many NGOs took actions to save Kalimantan people and nature. Several NGOs in local and national level, i.e. Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM) reported the oligarchy and corruption of coal mining businesses in Kalimantan. JATAM also campaign the social-ecological crises around communities. Also, the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) works on the environment and human rights. While Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) focuses on indigenous people (Dayak ethnic) that affected the social-ecology crises. Then, POKJA 30 has a concern for monitoring mining and forestry assistance funding.<sup>20</sup> NGOs that concern on the forest, conservation, and biodiversity in Kalimantan such as Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI) and Sawit Watch (SW). While international NGO i.e. World Wild Foundation (WWF) and Greenpeace.

Several NGOs help local people by giving accompaniment and advocacy to get their rights. Others NGOs conduct researches and try to heal the damaged environment. The researches are important to find the real phenomenon in Kalimantan and to counter the government back. Ironically, The Indonesian Government does not have any cares about the extreme crises in Kalimantan. We can see from the agenda which is

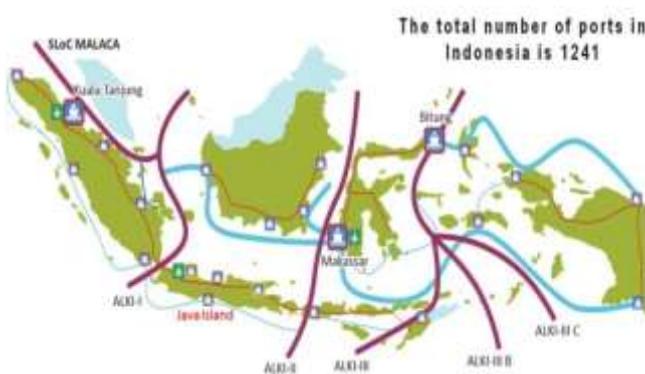
planned in Kalimantan. For an instance, The Indonesian Government is starting to build a central downstream industry in East Kalimantan, named Maloy Batuta Trans Kalimantan Special Economic Zone. With claiming „the integrated connectivity and innovation for the future” “The planners” planned bulk infrastructure projects in East Kalimantan such as toll roads, railways, bridges, and also dozens of industrial areas.

Explicitly, Kalimantan will be reorganized and reshaped again by "the planners" from the extractive industries (upstream industry) to be the centre of downstream industry. Soon or later, Kalimantan will not be a home for its local people and its endemic animals. Kalimantan is not space for living anymore. But space for “the planners” to create anything that they want. Finally, the only story left in Kalimantan is just about extraction, exploitation, waste, diseases, economic inequality, poverty which are caused by the advancement of the industrial activities to enhance global market and capital flow sustainability.

**Maloy Batuta Trans Kalimantan: The rise of downstream industry regime**

After the collapse of The New Order in 1998, Kalimantan was all the way targeted to be “a pond of gold” by The Indonesian Government. The year 2011 was phenomenal where Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono regime (SBY) launched the ambitious Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia’s Economic Development (MP3EI). MP3EI consists countless infrastructure development projects which scattered over Indonesia’s islands and divided into six economic corridors: Sumatera Economic Corridor, Kalimantan Economic Corridor, Jawa Economic Corridor, Sulawesi Economic Corridor, Bali-Nusa Tenggara Economic Corridor, and Papua-Kepulauan Maluku Economic Corridors. Kalimantan in MP3EI named Kalimantan Economic Corridor which was purposed to be the centre of production and processing of mining products and central of national energy resources and also oleochemical products. There were 58 infrastructure projects in Kalimantan which 23 projects were planned in East Kalimantan. But now, The MP3EI does not exist anymore due to the changed of Indonesian President. But, the development of infrastructure projects in Kalimantan remains continues.

There is no doubt why Kalimantan becomes special in the global market chain. The reason is, Kalimantan has abundant natural resources, such as coal, iron, marble, gold, oil, gas, and well-known agribusiness commodities, i.e. palm oil and rubber. Besides that, Kalimantan is located in strategic archipelagic sea lane II (ALKI II) which is predicted will be the centre of international trade sea lane for the future. This is because some issues came up around the ALKI I (Malacca Strait) i.e. the high traffic and siltation which make ALKI II is cheaper than ALKI I and ALKI III in cost. ALKI II acrosses over Sulawesi Sea, Makassar Strait, Lombok Strait, Lombok Sea then connects international trades from Africa to Southeast Asia and Japan. Then from Australia to Singapura, Tiongkok, and *vice versa*.<sup>21</sup>



**Picture 4 Archipelagic sea lane (ALKI)**  
source: Mongabay



**Picture 5 Selected representative infrastructure projects in The BIMP-EAGA+Subregion**  
source: ERIA CADP research team

Also, Kalimantan is part of Brunai Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines-East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA) which is subregional economic corridor under The Comprehensive Asia Development Plan (CADP) focuses to accelerate economic development with connectivity and innovation between the member countries. The advantages of Kalimantan have triggered the Indonesian Government to build more infrastructures over Kalimantan. One example of the infrastructure projects in BIMP-EAGA is the

development of Maloy Seaport which also known as KIPi Maloy. KIPi Maloy was an international seaport and industrial zone in Maloy, East Kalimantan.

But, in 2011, KIPi Maloy status was upgraded to be Special Economic Zone (SEZ) as Maloy Batuta Trans Kalimantan Economic Zone (MBTKEZ) by SBY. However, The KIPi Maloy still part of MBTKEZ. Now during Jokowi's period, MBTKEZ is changed and well-known as Maloy Batuta Trans Kalimantan Special Economic Zone (MBTK SEZ). The changing of status was impacting to the development of KIPi Maloy. According to the Ministry of Transportations Law no 93 of 2011, the existing size of KIPi Maloy previously was only 28,5 ha onshore land. Then after MBTK SEZ, the size extremely expanded 1,150 times as big as 32,800 ha which covers three sub-districts in East Kutai: Sangkulirang, Bengalon, and Kaliorang.

MBTK SEZ consists of KIPi Maloy I & II, Mineral Industry Area Trans Kalimantan Economic Zone (TKEZ), and Batuta Coal Industrial Park (BCIP) which are targeted for the centre of palm oil and coal downstream industry in East Kalimantan. The products such as oleochemical, biodiesel, liquid coal, and gas coal. Currently, MBTK SEZ is appointed as one of the 12 priority SEZs under the Medium-term National Government Development Plan. It was clear that infrastructure projects in BIMP-EAGA were interpellated into Indonesia National Government Development Plan. For the finance mechanism of The MBTK SEZ, mostly financed by private sectors.

The first phase of the development of MBTK SEZ is KIPi Maloy which is 5,305 ha. As stated in *Green Growth Assessment of KIPi Maloy Development, East Kalimantan* document which launched in 2014, The Governor of East Kalimantan (Awang Faroek) declared The KIPi Maloy-MBTK SEZ as a green industrial zone which produces oleochemical, coal gas, automotive products, and chemical products. Throughout the "extended Cost-Benefit Analysis" (eCBA) technique, he strongly believed that the green growth method will give wider impacts within environmental and social costs and benefits. Not only do the wider impacts, but also several "green interventions" such as, cold-ironing (onshore power), gasification of coal for power generation, extension of the road to develop tourist resort, railway converted to accommodate CPO freight, substitution of coal for biomass in power generation will be built in KIPi Maloy-MBTKSEZ.

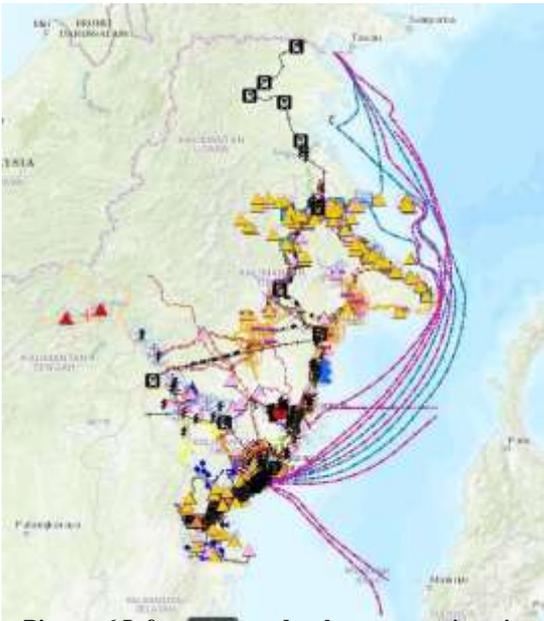
The first phase of toll roads already built as long as 99,35 km valued USD 713 million. The fundings are from Regional Government Budget USD 122 million, The Indonesian Budget USD 54 million, Tiongkok Government USD 67 million, Mandiri Bank USD 130 million, Rakyat Indonesia Bank (BRI) USD 15 million, Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) USD 30 million, Jatim Bank USD 36 million, Papua Bank USD 25 million, Kalimantan Selatan Bank USD 15 million, and Exim Bank USD 36 million. Also, Sharia Mandiri Bank (BSM) USD 36 million, Rakyat Indonesia Sharia Bank (BRI) USD 7 million, Negara Indonesia Sharia (BNI) Bank USD 21 million, Jabar Banten Sharia (BJB) Bank USD 7 million, Muamalat Bank USD 21 million, one from non-bank institution, Sarana Multi Infrastruktur LLC USD 14 million. The next toll roads construction already planned and now is waiting for the funding from private sectors.

Moreover, the railways' construction is on progress and funded by JSC Russian Railways USD 2,2 billion, Gunung Bayan LLC USD 1 billion, and Ras Al-Khaimah Minerals and Metal Investment (UEA) USD 5 billion. According to Kalimantan Economic Corridor document, these railways are built to access the new coal reserves. Majority of the coal reserves are located in remote Kalimantan where the new economic transportations and electricity power are needed.<sup>22</sup> The railway routes are separated into 3 routes which will pass through coal mines and oil palm plantations. The first route is from Kutai Barat District to Buluminung PPU Industrial Zone 253 km long. This route will connect Buluminung Seaport, Banpu West Kutai concession, Gunung Bayan Utama concession, and Essar Energy.

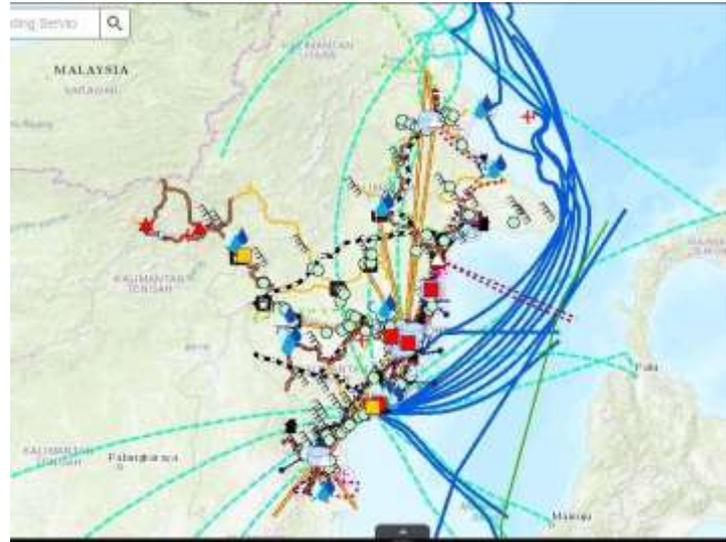
The second route is Tabang Kutai Kartanegara (Kukar) to MBTK SEZ with 195 km long which is intended to haul bulk coal from Bayan Resources coal mining area to coal sea terminal at MBTK SEZ. The third route is Muara Wahau to Lubuktutung as far as 150 km. MBTK SEZ and Buluminung Industry Area will be the arrival and departure points. Other infrastructures are targeted to build, i.e. coal-fired power plants and Water Treatment Plant (WPS). Those infrastructure projects are funded with the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) scheme.

Not only does MBTK SEZ, but also dozens priority infrastructure projects in East Kalimantan are planned to boost the economic expansion. Mostly are for industrial purposes. Just for mention a few, Buluminung Industry Area, Kariangau Industry Area, Oil, Gas, and Condesat Industry in Bontang, Agribusiness Industry Area in Paser, Penajam, Kutai Kartanegara, and Kutai Barat Sub-district, and Tourism Industry Area in Derawan Island. Also, Port of Palaran, upgrading The New Samarinda Airport (APT Pranoto Airport), Mahkota II Bridge, and economic border zone in Mahakam Ulu Sub-district.

Those infrastructure projects are targeted for interconnected downstream industries which are the next regime on the industry in East Kalimantan after nature extraction industry regime. Unfortunately, with all of the complicated problems and social-ecological crises in East Kalimantan arose before, i.e. poisoned water and air, economic inequality, land deforestation and degradation, the development of MBTK SEZ and others new downstream industries are just a catastrophe among the existing crises.



**Picture 6 Infrastructure development projects in East Kalimantan**  
source: The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning



**Picture 7 Infrastructure and industrial nexuses in East Kalimantan**  
source: The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning



**Picture 8 Infrastructure and industrial nexuses in East Kalimantan with surrounding islands**  
source: The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning

## The Capital Boosters

There are several factors drive the development of downstream industry in East Kalimantan. *First*, the low-level global price of palm oil causes over storage capacity of palm oil and will reduce Indonesia national income. This phenomenon sparked reactions between The Indonesian Government and palm oil investor association to discover the alternative solution to overcome the issue. *Second*, a competition of technology and politic interest in palm oil industry between Indonesia and Malaysia. As the two biggest producers of palm oil in the world, Malaysia is a forerunner on the oleochemical downstream industry. As a neighbouring country, Indonesia can not be stuck in the same way on managing the palm oil or Malaysia will dominate the palm oil global market. So, Indonesia considered to improving technology and innovation to catch up.

*Three*, coal reserves in East Kalimantan are diminishing for 20-30 years later. Thus, the Governor of East Kalimantan promoted palm oil as "the green energy" to replace coal-based energy. Also, he campaigned "*One million hectare oil palm plantation in East Kalimantan*". Unfortunately, shifting energy source from coal to palm oil will only lead to other issues rather than solving the rooted and existing issues, i.e. land degradation, deforestation, contaminated water, air pollution, economic inequality, etc. *Fourth*, there are thousands of existing oil palm plantations and mines have produced varied commodities which ready to answer global demand through the advanced technology of downstream industries. Those oil palm plantations sparked another innovation on palm oil processing over the circle of oil palm investors. *Fifth*, the campaign of B20 energy is getting bigger since The Indonesian Government inaugurated to develop the central palm oil downstream industry i.e. MBTK SEZ. Due to the fact that, soon or later, palm oil is predicted as the alternative fuel for vehicles.

*Sixth*, the chemical products market is the Indonesian Government's target since 10 years ago. Thus, this period is the phase for developing related infrastructures. *Seventh*, the ALKI II is considered more profitable for the new downstream and chemical industry in East Kalimantan. *Eighth*, due to the development of MBTK SEZ and other infrastructure projects are almost fully funded by private sectors, The Indonesian Government facilitates investors with fiscal and non-fiscal incentive to give more convenience. Fiscal incentive encompasses Tax Holiday Primary Industry, Tax Allowance for Other Industries, Value Added Tax (VAT) and Sales Tax Exemption on Luxury Goods – 1) imported; 2) delivered among companies in SEZ, and 3) those delivered among companies in other SEZs.

Meanwhile, non-fiscal incentive includes Customs Exemption Incentive, Import Duties and Excise Incentive,<sup>23</sup> easy licensing and labour-related incentives (include low wages that keep production costs low, immigration facilities, and labour market flexibility). Immigration facilities include visa on arrival for 30 days, extendable five times; option to transfer visit visa into temporary stay permit; an option to transfer temporary stay permit into permanent stay permit for individuals working in SEZs and their families. Furthermore, foreign investors who invest in the SEZs are allowed to have the building right on land (Hak Guna Bangunan), which is extendable up to 80 years; own property in the SEZs; and those who own property have the option to apply for the permanent stay permit in Indonesia.

Not only the supports from The Indonesian Government, but the investor association and mass organizations are involved in boosting the development of infrastructures. The investor association like the Indonesian Palm Oil Association (GAPKI IPOA) has contributed to giving some advice to make the industry of palm oil sustain. Unfortunately, they only concern on the business but not the welfare of local people, and the ecological crises that they have made in their oil palm plantations. Ironically, The Indonesian Government gives more respect to the investors but less respect to the local people and the environment. Hundreds of laws, policies, and regulations in local to national level have been issued and changed by The Indonesian Government just to give convenience for the investors legally. Also to protect the investors from obstacles (geography, tax, etc.) when investing in Indonesia.

In the local level, mass organizations are backing up the corporations. They repressively intimidate and often put to death people who against the corporations. These mass organizations, like GEPAK and LPADKT. Ethnicity issue (mostly Dayak ethnicity) is always campaigned by those mass organizations as their power to intimidate local people. But, as it turns out, several members of those mass organizations are not even Dayak people. They are Bugis people, Batak people, etc. Others mass organizations campaign nationality issue as their power, i.e. Pemuda Pancasila/Pancasila Youth (PP). The members of such mass organizations act like

thug instead of the young local people with his nationality to save society and ecology from the damage. Moreover, some local officials in East Kalimantan are even the members of those mass organizations and they become high functionaries in the mass organizations.<sup>24</sup> Factually, many parties are backing up the investors, from national to the local level, from official to thug, from legal to illegal actions.

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- <sup>20</sup> <https://seknasfitra.org> accessed July 30th 2019
- <sup>21</sup> <http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/kolom/kolom-1/politik-internasional/413-menilik-alur-laut-kepulauanindonesia-ii> accessed April 29th 2019
- <sup>22</sup> Kalimantan Economic Corridor document
- <sup>23</sup> <https://invest-islands.com/regulations-incentives-and-facilities-for-investments-in-indonesias-regions/> accessed July 27th 2019
- <sup>24</sup> A discuss with Ika Bhota on July 28th 2019 by Whatsapp (She is a fellow researcher at Sajogyo Institute. She had done her research in Samarinda in 2015-2016).

