



Who Will Benefit?

Extractive Business and Renewable Energy
Behind Prabowo-Gibran



“Who Will Benefit? Extractive Business and Renewable Energy Behind Prabowo-Gibran”

Published by : Indonesia Corruption Watch (Juni 2024)

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Indonesia Corruption Watch 2024

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1. Introduction

Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka won the 2024 Presidential Election and will serve as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia from 2024 to 2029. That victory is viewed as a defeat for Indonesian democracy, and it is expected to exacerbate the democratic situation in the future. This is because democracy, which was supposed to provide public officials with a commitment to democratic values, instead allows people with a poor track record and ethical flaws to hold positions of power.

Prabowo has a poor human rights record, particularly in relation to the 1998 abduction of activists.¹ Gibran did not meet the age requirement to become Vice President until the Constitutional Court (MK) amended the provisions. Anwar Usman, Gibran's uncle and the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, is suspected of helping to manipulate the nomination requirements for President and Vice President candidates. The MK Honorary Council then stated that Anwar had violated ethics and should resign as Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court.²

Furthermore, Prabowo-Gibran's victory reflects a strong business influence. Prabowo-Gibran is said to be supported by groups or individuals from various business sectors.³ Reflecting on past experiences, such business support has the potential to dominantly influence Indonesia's democracy in the future. The influence of dominant business interests is commonly referred to as state capture, or systemic corruption that occurs when the interests of business groups take over institutions or public policy processes for their own benefit, distancing them from public interests.⁴

The Joko Widodo regime has shown that the dominance of business influence has worsened democracy. The Democracy Index published by Freedom House has categorized Indonesia as 'partially free' for 7 consecutive years.⁵ If traced further, it is found that civil rights violations surrounding the rejection of controversial laws contribute to that category. The controversial law includes the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law⁶ and the-

¹BBC, 'Prabowo Subianto'.

²Kompas.com, 'Anwar Usman Langgar Etik Berat, Pencalonan Gibran Dinilai Cacat Moral Halaman all'.

³JATAM, 'Pemilu Memilukan: Pemilu Dalam Cengkeraman Oligarki'.

⁴Dávid-Barrett, 'State Capture and Development'.

⁵Freedom House, 'Indonesia', 30 March 2022.

⁶Freedom House, 'Indonesia'.

Job Creation Law (Omnibus Law)⁷ which is rife with business interests. Moreover, the enactment of those laws disregarded the proper public participation process, which indicates a neglect of democratic principles.

Business actors hijack institutions or public policy processes with the main goal of wealth defense or wealth expansion.⁸ Their targets vary depending on each business's focus. They can target natural resource concession permits, infrastructure projects, and so on. However, what is important is that the effort to benefit the business is done by plundering the country's resources and burdening the masses.

In this report, Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) investigates the businesses in the extractive and renewable energy industries of individuals or groups connected to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair. The investigation was conducted to determine whether the two industries have any connection to the election. By uncovering that relationship, further investigation can be conducted. For example, how significant the contributions of the businessmen are to the election campaign, or how their businesses develop when Prabowo-Gibran holds power in the government.

The extractive and renewable energy industries are chosen with consideration of the relationship between the environment and corrupt practices. Sectors related to the environment, such as energy and natural resources, are vulnerable to corrupt practices and state capture. That corruption then leads to massive environmental damage.

On a more specific aspect of environmental issues, the extractive industry is currently under scrutiny due to the target of zero carbon emissions or Net Zero Emission (NZE) by 2060. The extractive industry, if continuously hijacked by private interests, has the potential to hinder energy transition efforts to achieve the NZE target. For example, fossil coal energy, if continuously used, can contribute to the amount of carbon. On the other hand, renewable energy can also be hijacked by private interests, hindering efforts to achieve a just energy transition. For example, policies to process fossil coal energy and wrap it with new renewable energy. Or, policies related to the renewable energy industry are directed solely to benefit private interests.

Some of the questions addressed in this report are:

⁷Freedom House, 'Indonesia'.

⁸Winters, *Oligarchy*.

*

Who are the individuals connected to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair and affiliated with the extractive industry and renewable energy business?

*

What are the companies affiliated with individuals connected to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair?

*

What concessions and/or projects are held by individuals connected to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair?

The findings in this report indicate the presence of concessions and projects in the extractive and renewable energy industries affiliated with individuals connected to Prabowo-Gibran. This report will consist of four sections. The first section discusses the background, section 2 discusses the methods, timing, and limitations, section 3 discusses the findings, and section 4 concludes with the existence of business connections between the extractive industry and renewable energy linked to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair, thus these businesses have the potential to benefit when Prabowo-Gibran takes office.

2. Method, Time, and Limitations

This report uses qualitative methods with secondary data. Data was obtained from various sources including books, journals, news websites, company documents, company websites, legal documents, and government websites. Data collection and analysis were conducted over a period of 3 months, from March to May 2024. This report limits the scope to extractive businesses and renewable energy.

3. Findings

Bagian ini akan menjelaskan temuan yang dapat menunjukkan hubungan bisnis ekstraktif dan energi terbarukan dengan pasangan calon Prabowo-Gibran dalam Pemilu 2024.

A. Renewable Energy



● TOBA Group

TOBA Group used to focus on the coal business. Names affiliated with Toba include Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan and Pandu Patria Sjahrir. Luhut is the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenkomarves) from 2016-2024 and the beneficial owner of TOBA Group.⁹ Luhut openly stated his support for the Prabowo-Gibran pair through his Instagram account. Pandu Patria Sjahrir is Luhut's nephew and the Deputy President Director of PT TBS Energi Utama, who is listed as part of the Prabowo-Gibran National Campaign Team (TKN).¹⁰

TOBA Group has renewable energy-based power generation projects, such as the Floating Solar Power Plant (PLTS) Trembesi in Batam, and the Wind Power Plant (PLTB) in East Nusa Tenggara Province.¹¹ In addition, they also injected investment into the Singaporean company, Sun Energy, for the development of renewable energy projects.¹²

⁹Tempo.co, 'Hakim Sidang Haris Azhar Sebut Luhut Miliki 99 Persen Saham Di PT Toba Sejahtera'.

¹⁰Tempo.co, 'Profil Pandu Sjahrir, Keponakanan Luhut Pandjaitan Yang Jadi Wakil Bendahara TKN Prabowo - Gibran'.

¹¹PT TBS Energi Utama, 'Pacu Bisnis EBT, TBS Energi (TOBA) Targetkan Kapasitas PLTS Batam Naik 3 Kali Lipat'.

¹²BeritaSatu.com, 'Sejumlah Konglomerasi RI Danai SUN Energy Rp 360 Miliar'; PT TBS Energi Utama Tbk, '2021 Annual Report: PT TBS Energi Utama Tbk'.

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan 	PT TBS Energi Utama partners with PLN Batam and PLN Nusantara Power	Floating Solar Power Plant (PLTS) Trembesi in Batam with a capacity of 42 MwP	Power plant
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pandu Patria Sjahrir 	PT TBS Energi Utama	Wind Power Plant (PLTB) with a capacity of 22 MW in East Nusa Tenggara Province	Power plant
	PT TBS Energi Utama (TOBA Group) through an investment in the Singapore-based company, Solar United Network Pte. Ltd (Sun Energy)	Development of renewable energy projects (Solar energy for mobility, housing, and electric vehicles)	n/a

Table 1. Toba Group's Renewable Energy Businesses¹³

Adaro Group

Adaro Group is one of the companies that used to focus on the coal business. This group of companies is affiliated with several conglomerate families such as the Thohir family, the Soeryadjaja family, the Uno family, the Subianto family, and Theodore Permadi Rachmat.¹⁴ Erick Thohir, Minister of State-Owned Enterprises of the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024, is a supporter of Prabowo-Gibran.¹⁵ Garibaldi "Boy" Thohir, Erick's biological brother, once mentioned that one-third of Indonesia's economic powerhouses support Prabowo-Gibran.¹⁶

Other families affiliated with the Adaro Group are not all supporters of Prabowo-Gibran. Sandiaga Uno, for example, is a supporter of Prabowo-Gibran's rival, Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD.¹⁷ However, Boy Thohir has openly stated that Adaro would benefit from the victory of Prabowo-Gibran.¹⁸

¹³PT TBS Energi Utama, 'Pacu Bisnis EBT, TBS Energi (TOBA) Targetkan Kapasitas PLTS Batam Naik 3 Kali Lipat'; BeritaSatu.com, 'Sejumlah Konglomerasi RI Danai SUN Energy Rp 360 Miliar'; Mediatama, 'TBS Energi Utama (TOBA) Teken Perjanjian Jual Beli Listrik PLTS dengan PLN'.

¹⁴Forbes, 'Garibaldi Thohir & Family'; Forbes, 'Arini Subianto & Family'; Forbes, 'Edwin Soeryadjaya & Family'; Forbes, 'Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno'; Forbes, 'Theodore Rachmat'.

¹⁵Kompas.com, 'Resmi Dukung Prabowo-Gibran, Erick Thohir'.

¹⁶CNN Indonesia, 'Profil Boy Thohir yang Klaim 1/3 Penguasa Ekonomi RI Menangkan Prabowo'.

¹⁷antaranews.com, 'Sandiaga Uno optimistis Ganjar-Mahfud masuk putaran kedua pilpres'.

¹⁸Puspadini, 'Boy Thohir Sebut Adaro (ADRO) Akan Diuntungkan di Era Prabowo'.

Adaro Group has renewable energy-based power generation projects, including the Mentarang Induk Hydroelectric Power Plant (PLTA) in North Kalimantan, the Tanah Laut Wind Power Plant (PLTB) in South Kalimantan, and the Kelanis Solar Power Plant (PLTS) in Central Kalimantan.¹⁹ In addition, they have an aluminum smelter in the Green Industrial Estate area, North Kalimantan.²⁰

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Thohir Family (Boy Thohir, Erick Thohir, Edna Thohir, Rika Thohir) • The Soeryadjaja Family (Joyce Soeryadjaja, Michele J. Soeryadjaja, Edwin Soeryadjaja, Michael W.P. Soeryadjaja) • The Uno Family (Sandiaga Uno, Indra Cahya Uno) • The Subianto Family (Arini Subianto, Meity Subianto, Ardiani Subianto, Armeilia Subianto) • Theodore Permadi Rachmat 	Adaro Group	Mentarang Induk Hydroelectric Power Plant (PLTA) in North Kalimantan with a capacity of 1,375 MW	Power plant
		Tanah Laut Wind Power Plant (PLTB) in South Kalimantan with a capacity of 70 MW (including a 10 MW/10 MWh Battery Energy Storage System (BESS))	Power plant
		Solar Power Plant (PLTS) Kelanis in Central Kalimantan with a capacity of 468 kWp	Power plant
		Aluminum smelter with a capacity of 500 thousand tons in the Green industrial estate, North Kalimantan	Smelter

Table 2. Adaro Group's Renewable Energy Businesses²¹

¹⁹PT Adaro Energy Indonesia Tbk, '2023 Annual Report: PT Adaro Energy Indonesia Tbk'; Nasution, 'Genjot Energi Terbarukan, Adaro Tambah Kapasitas PLTS Kelanis Kalteng - Nasional Katadata.co.id'.

²⁰CNBC Indonesia, 'Debat Cawapres Singgung EBT, Ini Deretan Konglomerat Raja Energi Hijau'.

²¹CNBC Indonesia; PT Adaro Energy Indonesia Tbk, '2023 Annual Report: PT Adaro Energy Indonesia Tbk'; Bloomberg Technoz, 'Cek Gurita Bisnis Gibran Rakabuming, Cawapres Prabowo Subianto - Nasional'; Nasution, 'Genjot Energi Terbarukan, Adaro Tambah Kapasitas PLTS Kelanis Kalteng - Nasional Katadata.co.id'; Forbes, 'Garibaldi Thohir & Family'; Forbes, 'Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno'; Forbes, 'Arini Subianto & Family'; Forbes, 'Theodore Rachmat'.

● Astra Group

Astra Group is known as a major automotive company, which also ventures into heavy equipment, energy, and mining businesses. This group of companies is affiliated with the Soeryadjaja family, which has connections with Adaro Group. Their business partnership with the Thohir family in Adaro Group has the potential to benefit future business activities. Astra Group's renewable energy-based businesses include the Kalipelus Mini-Hydro Power Plant (PLTM) in Central Java and the Besai Kemu Mini-Hydro Power Plant (PLTMH) in Lampung Province.²²

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Soeryadjaja Family (Joyce Soeryadjaja, Michele J. Soeryadjaja, Edwin Soeryadjaja, Michael W.P. Soeryadjaja) 	PT United Tractors Tbk (UNTR) and its subsidiary PT Energia Prima Nusantara	Kalipelus mini-hydro power plant (PLTM) with a capacity of 0.5 MW in Central Java	Power plant
		PLTM Besai Kemu with a capacity of 7 MW in Lampung	Power plant

Table 3. Astra Group's Renewable Energy Businesses²³

● Bakrie Group

Bakrie Group, which once thrived in the coal business through BUMI, is now also venturing into the renewable energy business. This group of companies is a family business owned by the Bakrie family, with Aburizal Bakrie as a prominent figure. Ical, the nickname for Aburizal, is the former Chairman of the Golkar Party from 2009-2014, Coordinating Minister for the Economy from 2004-2005, and Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare from 2005-2009. Ical is a supporter of Prabowo-Gibran²⁴ and is recorded as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Prabowo-Gibran TKN. This group of companies has solar power plant projects in West Java and South Sulawesi.²⁵

²²CNBC Indonesia, 'Cek! 5 Emiten Batu Bara Mulai Migrasi ke Energi Terbarukan'.

²³Forbes, 'Edwin Soeryadjaya & Family'; CNBC Indonesia, 'Cek! 5 Emiten Batu Bara Mulai Migrasi ke Energi Terbarukan'.

²⁴CNBC Indonesia, '9 Konglomerat Ini Bisa Cuan Besar Usai Prabowo Sah Jadi Presiden'.

²⁵Bisnis.com, 'Bakrie (BNBR) Resmikan PLTS Atap, Klaim Potensi 434 MWh'; Bisnis.com, 'Selain Bus Listrik, Bakrie & Brothers (BNBR) Garap Bisnis Energi Terbarukan (EBT)'.

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aburizal Bakrie 	PT Bakrie & Brothers through its subsidiary PT Braja Multi Cakra	Rooftop Solar Power Plant (PLTS) with a capacity of 317.7 kilowatt peak in Bekasi, West Java	Power plant
	PT Bakrie & Brothers through its subsidiary PT Bakrie Power	The procurement and installation project of a Hybrid Solar Power Plant (PLTS) in Parak Village, Bontomanai, Selayar, South Sulawesi	Power plant

Table 4: Bakrie Group's Renewable Energy Businesses²⁶

○ Indika Group

Indika Group used to rely on income from the coal business, affiliated with various companies and corporate groups such as Teladan Group, PT Kideco Jaya Agung, and PT Wahana Investindo Nusantara. Several affiliated individuals include Wishnu Wardhana, Arsjad Rasjid, Agus Lasmono, and the Basuki Family.

The victory of Prabowo-Gibran could specifically benefit Indika Group or Teladan Group. Wishnu Wardhana previously served as the President Director of PT Indika Energy Tbk and is the founder of PT Teladan Resources.²⁷ Meanwhile, Arsjad Rasjid is the President Director of PT Indika Energy Tbk. In the 2024 election, Wishnu is a supporter of Prabowo-Gibran and is recorded as the Deputy Chairman of the TKN.²⁸ Arsjad is a supporter of Ganjar-Mahfud and serves as the Head of the Winning Team.²⁹

Indika Group has several solar power plant projects such as in Mangole, North Maluku and in the area of its subsidiary PT Kideco Jaya Agung in Paser, East Kalimantan.³⁰ In addition, Indika has a hybrid solar power plant project with batteries that is part of PLN's Phase I de-dieselization program in Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, and Nusa Tenggara.³¹

²⁶Bakrie & Brothers, 'Inaugurates Rooftop solar PV, BNBR Realizes Green Industry'; Bisnis.com, 'Selain Bus Listrik, Bakrie & Brothers (BNBR) Garap Bisnis Energi Terbarukan (EBT)'; Bisnis.com, 'Bakrie (BNBR) Resmikan PLTS Atap, Klaim Potensi 434 MWh'.

²⁷JATAM, 'Wishnu Wardhana - #PemiluMemilukan'.

²⁸Merdeka.com, 'Profil Wishnu Wardhana, "Bos Besar" yang Masuk Timses Prabowo-Gibran'.

²⁹CNBC Indonesia, 'Jadi Ketua Pemenangan Ganjar, Ini Profil Arsjad Rasjid'.

³⁰BUMNINC.com, 'Indika Energi Bangun PLTS di Kalimantan Timur, Kembangkan Energi Terbarukan'; antaranews.com, 'Indika Energy akan bangun PLTS 12 MWp di Maluku Utara'.

³¹PT Indika Energy Tbk, '2023 Annual Report: PT Indika Energy Tbk'.

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wishnu Wardhana • Arsjad Rasjid • Agus Lasmono • The Basuki Family (Nurchaya Basuki, Wiwoho Basuki, Kartini Basuki) 	Indika Group, through its subsidiary PT Empat Mitra Indika Tenaga Surya (EMITS), collaborates with PT Mangole Timber Producer, part of the Sampoerna Kayoe group	Ground-mounted Solar Power Plant (PLTS) with a capacity of 12 MWp and a battery system of 3 MWh in Mangole, North Maluku.	Power plant
	Indika Group	A 409 Kilowatt Solar Power Plant (PLTS) in the area of its subsidiary, PT Kideco Jaya Agung (Kideco), in Paser, East Kalimantan.	Power plant
	Indika Group in the Consortium InfraCo Asia Development Pte Ltd. (InfraCo Asia)	The construction of a hybrid solar power plant (PLTS) with batteries for PLN's Phase I De-dieselization Program with a total power plant capacity of 102MWp and a power storage battery of 252MWh in Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, and Nusa Tenggara (Cluster II).	Power plant

Table 5. Indika Group's Renewable Energy Businesses³²

☉ Sinar Mas Group

Sinar Mas Group is a company affiliated with the Widjaja Family. The group of companies has various business units, including property, pulp and paper, palm oil, coal mining, healthcare, and banking.

Sinar Mas does not openly appear to support the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair. However, one of the former high-ranking officials of Sinar Mas was found to have business ties with President Joko Widodo's family. PT Harapan Bangsa Kita, also known as GK Hebat, is the parent company of a culinary business affiliated with two of Joko Widodo's children, Gibran Rakabuming and Kaesang Pangarep. Founded in 2019,-

³²PT Indika Energy Tbk; BUMNINC.com, 'Indika Energi Bangun PLTS di Kalimantan Timur, Kembangkan Energi Terbarukan'; antaranews.com, 'Indika Energy akan bangun PLTS 12 MWp di Maluku Utara'. nual Report: PT Indika Energy Tbk'.

the company is connected to the family of former Sinar Mas President Director Gandhi Sulistiyanto.³³

Gandi's son, Anthony Pradiptya, serves as the President Director at PT Wadah Masa Depan, a company that is a partner in GK Hebat. In PT Wadah Masa Depan, Kaesang serves as the director and Gibran as the main commissioner.³⁴ A few years after GK Hebat was established, Gandhi was appointed as the Indonesian Ambassador to South Korea in November 2021 and a member of the Presidential Advisory Council in July 2023.³⁵

Sinar Mas Group is also connected to the development of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN). Former Managing Director of the President Office at Sinar Mas Land, Dhony Rahajoe, was appointed as the Deputy Head of the IKN Authority.³⁶ In January 2022, the government conducted a comparative study for the development of IKN by visiting BSD City, a property business owned by Sinar Mas. The visit was conducted close to the enactment of the IKN Law. Dhony, who at that time still represented Sinar Mas, and Gandhi, who had already served as the Indonesian Ambassador to South Korea, were present at the event.³⁷

Sinar Mas's renewable energy businesses include the construction of the first and largest integrated solar cell and panel factory in Indonesia in the Kendal Industrial Estate, Kendal Regency, Central Java.³⁸ The area is designated as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ). In addition, Sinar Mas is also building a rooftop solar power plant over an area of 11.4 hectares with a capacity of 9.8 megawatt peak (MWp). Sinar Mas collaborated with Sun Energy for the construction.³⁹

³⁵Adam et al., *Dinasti Politik Keluarga Presiden Jokowi*.

³⁶Adam et al.

³⁷Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Seoul, 'Duta Besar RI Seoul Gandhi Sulistiyanto Dilantik Sebagai Anggota Dewan Pertimbangan Presiden'.

³⁸Liputan6.com, 'Profil Dhony Rahajoe, Wakil Otorita IKN yang Jadi Komut PT PP'.

³⁷Investor.id, 'Bangun Ibu Kota Baru, Mensesneg & PUPR Kunjungi BSD City'.

³⁸Infobisnis.id, 'Sinar Mas Kini Masuk Ke Binis Pabrik Sel Dan Panel Surya'.

³⁹Bisnis.com, 'Grup Sinarmas (TKIM) Gandeng SUN Energy Operasikan PLTS Atap 9,8 MWp'.

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Widjaja Family • Gandi Sulistiyanto • Dhony Rahajoe 	Sinar Mas Group, through its subsidiary PT Dian Swastatika Sentosa Tbk., collaborated with PT Agra Surya Energy and Trina Solar to form PT Agra Surya Energy. The company partnered with PLN Indonesia Power Renewables and launched PT Trina Mas Agra Indonesia.	The construction of the first and largest integrated solar cell and panel factory in Indonesia in the Kendal Industrial Area, Central Java. Targeted to operate in 2024 with an initial production capacity of 1 gigawatt per year, and 3 gigawatts in the following 2-3 years.	Manufacturing of solar cells and panels
		Rooftop solar power plants on an area of 11.4 hectares with a capacity of 9.8 megawatt peak (MWp) in Mojokerto, East Java	Power plant

Table 6. Renewable Energy Businesses of Sinar Mas Group⁴⁰

● **Bosowa Group**

Bosowa Group focuses on the energy, automotive, and property businesses. Individuals affiliated with this corporate group are the founder of Bosowa, H.M Aksa Mahmud, and his son Erwin Aksa. Aksa Mahmud's wife is Ramlah Kalla,⁴¹ the younger sister of former Indonesian Vice President Jusuf Kalla. Aksa Mahmud and Erwin Aksa are politicians from the Golkar Party. In the 2024 elections, Erwin served as the Deputy Chairperson of the Prabowo-Gibran TKN and successfully secured a seat as a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2024-2029 term.⁴²

Bosowa, which has various mining businesses, plans to expand into the renewable energy sector. In November 2023, Bosowa Group met with the Japanese company, Kanden Power-Tech Corporation, to develop the renewable energy business. However, there is no more specific information regarding the business yet.⁴³

⁴⁰Infobisnis.id, 'Sinar Mas Kini Masuk Ke Binis Pabrik Sel Dan Panel Surya'; Sinar Mas, 'Bangun Manufaktur Panel Surya, Sinar Mas Gandeng Mitra Dari China'; Bisnis.com, 'Grup Sinarmas (TKIM) Gandeng SUN Energy Operasikan PLTS Atap 9,8 MWp'.

⁴¹Tirto.id, 'Profil Muhammad Aksa Mahmud'.

⁴²Tempo.co, 'Sosok Erwin Aksa, Keponakan Jusuf Kalla Yang Isi Posisi Wakil Ketua TKN Prabowo - Gibran'.

⁴³Bosowa, 'Dilirik Perusahaan Jepang, Bosowa Akan Kembangkan Energi Baru Terbarukan'.

B. Extractive Industry



◉ Bosowa Group

Bosowa has several mining companies such as PT Bosowa Mining, PT Bosowa Tambang Indonesia, PT Madani Citra Mandiri, and PT Semen Bosowa Maros. These companies extract coal, stone, nickel, and clay.⁴⁴

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • H.M Aksa Mahmud • Erwin Aksa 	Bosowa Corporation through its subsidiary PT Bosowa Mining	Nickel Mining in North Konawe (IUP 89/2011 covering 1,500 hectares expiring in 2031)	Mining
	Bosowa Corporation through its subsidiary PT Bosowa Tambang Indonesia	Mountain Stone Quarry Mining in Donggala Regency (540/084/IUP-OP/DPMPSTSP/2020 covering an area of 22 hectares, ending in 2025)	Mining
	Bosowa Corporation through its subsidiary PT Madani Citra Mandiri	Coal (IUP 540/1543/IUP-OP/PMB-PBAT/XI/2009 covering an area of 5,000 hectares valid until 2029)	Mining
	Bosowa Corporation through its subsidiary PT Semen Bosowa Maros	Limestone in Maros Regency (IUP 0027/P2T-BKPMD/9.29.P/VII/04/2015 covering an area of 694 hectares, expiring in 2024)	Mining
	Bosowa Corporation through its subsidiary PT Semen Bosowa Maros	Clay in Maros Regency (IUP 0026/P2T-BKPMD/9.29.P/VII/05 2015 covering an area of 269 hectares, expiring in 2024)	Mining

Table 7. Extractive Businesses of Bosowa Group⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, 'Minerba One Data Indonesia (MODI)'.

⁴⁵ Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

● Tiran Group

Tiran Group focuses on mining and agriculture businesses. This group of companies is affiliated with Amran Sulaiman as the founder. Amran was the Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia during the first term of Joko Widodo's administration, and he resumed his position in October 2023.⁴⁶

In the 2024 Presidential Election, Amran is known to support Prabowo-Gibran. He openly invited the people of South Sulawesi to vote for that pair of candidates during the campaign.⁴⁷ Long before that, he was indeed rumored to be joining the winning team.⁴⁸ After the quick count results showed the Prabowo-Gibran pair winning, Prabowo's brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, stated that Prabowo was impressed with Amran and he is a strong candidate for Minister of Agriculture in his administration.⁴⁹

The Tiran Group's business in mining includes nickel ore mining.⁵⁰ Tiran Group, through PT Tiran Mineral, is also building a smelter in North Konawe Regency⁵¹ and entering into a power purchase agreement with PLN for the nickel downstream smelter.⁵² In addition, Tiran Group, through its subsidiary PT Kawasan Industri Tiran, is investing in the Takalar Industrial Area,⁵³ an area focused on the downstream processing of raw materials in the region and included in the National Strategic Project (PSN).⁵⁴

⁴⁶BBC Indonesia, 'Amran Sulaiman kembali menjabat sebagai Menteri Pertanian, El Nino jadi tantangan terbesar'.

⁴⁷Kompas.com, 'Amran Sulaiman Ajak Warga Sulsel Pilih Prabowo'.

⁴⁸KOMPAS.com, 'Mentan Amran Tertawa Saat Ditanya Soal Masuk Tim Pemenangan Prabowo-Gibran'.

⁴⁹Detik.com, 'Alasan Prabowo Ingin Amran Sulaiman Tetap Jadi Mentan Jika Jadi Presiden'.

⁵⁰Kementerian ESDM, 'Minerba One Data Indonesia (MODI)'.

⁵¹Lentera Sultra, 'Izin Smelter Lengkap, PT. Tiran Mineral Teken Kontrak Rp4,9 T dengan Tonghua'.

⁵²PT PLN, 'Dukung Industri Smelter, PLN Siap Pasok Listrik 50 MVA ke Tiran Mineral'.

⁵³Tribun-timur.com, 'Kawasan Industri Takalar Siap Menampung Ribuan Tenaga Kerja'.

⁵⁴Tempo.co, 'Kemenperin Akselerasi Pembangunan Kawasan Industri Takalar'.

Affiliated Individuals	Company	Project/Concession	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amran Sulaiman 	PT Tiran Indonesia	IUP Number 155/2013 Area 1,411.35 hectares until 2033	Mining
	PT Kawasan Industri Tiran	The development of the Takalar Industrial Area is classified as a National Strategic Project (Presidential Regulation 109/2020) - continuing the development process from PT. Kawasan Berikat Nusantara	Downstreaming
	PT Tiran Mineral	The construction of a smelter in North Konawe Regency	Processing and refining of minerals (Smelter)

Table 8. Tiran Group Businesses⁵⁵

☉ Sinar Mas Group

Sinar Mas's businesses in coal mining are primarily run through PT Golden Energy Mines. Concessions in the form of Coal Mining Business Agreements (PKP2B) and Mining Business Licenses (IUP) are spread across various locations such as Tanah Bumbu Regency, South Kalimantan, East Barito Regency, Central Kalimantan, Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra, Dharmasraya Regency, West Sumatra, and Bungo Regency, Jambi Province.⁵⁶

Sinar Mas was also found to be running a property business in IKN, such as the construction of Hotel Nusantara,⁵⁷ property complex Nordville,⁵⁸ and properties for the housing of Civil Servants (ASN).⁵⁹ In March 2024, one month after the presidential election was held, BSD received the status of a National Strategic Project (PSN).⁶⁰

⁵⁵Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, 'Minerba One Data Indonesia (MODI)'; Tribun-timur.com, 'Kawasan Industri Takalar Siap Menampung Ribuan Tenaga Kerja'; Tempo.co, 'Kemenperin Akselerasi Pembangunan Kawasan Industri Takalar'; Lentera Sultra, 'Izin Smelter Lengkap, PT. Tiran Mineral Teken Kontrak Rp4,9 T dengan Tonghua'; PT PLN, 'Dukung Industri Smelter, PLN Siap Pasok Listrik 50 MVA ke Tiran Mineral'; RRI.co.id, 'PT Tiran Jadi Investor Baru Kawasan Industri Takalar'.

⁵⁶Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, 'Minerba One Data Indonesia (MODI)'.

⁵⁷Sinar Mas Land, 'CEO Sinar Mas Land Sebut Hotel Nusantara IKN Rampung Agustus 2024'.

⁵⁸Sinar Mas Land, 'Nordville - Contemporary Home with Strategic Location at IKN | Sinar Mas Land'.

⁵⁹BeritaSatu.com, 'Sinarmas Land Siapkan Perumahan ASN di IKN Nusantara, Harganya Rp 1,6 M'.

⁶⁰CNN Indonesia, 'Alasan Pemerintah Tetapkan PIK dan BSD Jadi PSN'.

Affiliated Individuals	Perusahaan	Proyek/Konsesi	Type of Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Widjaja Family • Gandi Sulistiyanto • Dhony Rahajoe 	PT. Golden Energy Mines Tbk through its subsidiary PT. Borneo Indobara	Coal mining in Tanah Bumbu Regency, South Kalimantan (PKP2B 2006 - 2036 with an area of 24,100 hectares)	Mining
	PT. Golden Energy Mines Tbk through its subsidiary PT Trisula Kencana Sakti	Coal mining in North Batiro District, East Barito, Central Kalimantan (IUP 2009 - 2028 with an area of 11,455 hectares)	Mining
	PT. Golden Energy Mines Tbk through its subsidiary PT. Wahana Rimba Lestari	Coal mining in Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra and Dharmasraya Regency, West Sumatra (IUP 2008 - 2027 with an area of 4,739 hectares)	Mining
	PT. Golden Energy Mines Tbk through its subsidiary PT. Kuansing Inti Makmur	Coal mining in Bungo Regency, Jambi Province (IUP 2017 - 2023 with an area of 199 hectares)	Mining
	PT. Sinar Mas Land	The construction of Hotel Nusantara in IKN Nusantara	Property
	PT. Sinar Mas Land	The construction of the Nordland Property complex on the border between the IKN and Balikpapan City (Grand City Balikpapan) & the ASN (Civil Servant) housing	Property
	PT. Sinar Mas Land through its subsidiary PT Bumi Serpong Damai	Education, health, and digital industry development center in BSD City designated as a National Strategic Project (PSN) with an investment absorption projection of 16.54 trillion	Property

Table 9. Sinar Mas Group Businesses⁶¹

⁶¹antaranews.com, 'IESR sarankan modifikasi PLTU batu bara agar fleksibel memasok energi'; CNN Indonesia, 'Alasan Pemerintah Tetapkan PIK dan BSD Jadi PSN'; BeritaSatu.com, 'Sinarmas Land Siapkan Perumahan ASN di IKN Nusantara, Harganya Rp 1,6 M'; Sinar Mas Land, 'CEO Sinar Mas Land Sebut Hotel Nusantara IKN Rampung Agustus 2024'; Sinar Mas Land, 'Nordville - Contemporary Home with Strategic Location at IKN | Sinar Mas Land'; 'BSD City Ditetapkan Jadi PSN Baru Oleh Presiden Jokowi'.

4. Conclusion and Discussion

This report has shown the business networks of individuals connected to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair in the 2024 election. Their extractive businesses generally include mining concessions, while renewable energy involves power generation. Nevertheless, downstream and manufacturing businesses related to extractive or renewable energy sectors were also found.

Some of the individuals referred to are part of the winning team for the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair, or have previously expressed their support. There are also several individuals who are not officially recorded as supporters, but have business connections long before the election stages. In addition, there are individuals who sit together as directors/commissioners/shareholders in companies connected to the Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair.

The relationship described in this report opens a discourse regarding the potential benefits that these individuals' businesses might gain when Prabowo-Gibran are in power. In relation to wealth preservation, a relationship with the authorities ensures that business interests are not disrupted, and it is even possible for expansion. Laws and policies have the potential to be enacted to benefit them.⁶²

The findings in this report show that the potential for renewable energy business is dominated by extractive entrepreneurs. Extractive entrepreneurs have begun developing business units in renewable energy. The relationship with the elected authorities then has the potential to benefit their efforts in developing their business line. Laws and policies regarding the renewable energy industry have the potential to be directed to facilitate those businessmen. In the end, it could hinder efforts for a just energy transition.

This report, with its limitations, cannot delve deeply into other businesses outside the extractive industry and renewable energy. The group of companies mentioned in this report has a variety of business wings and has not been further explored. Even in the extractive industry, the number of mining concessions related to the businesses of this corporate group is potentially much larger. There are also other-

⁶²Winters, *Oligarchy*; Winters, 'Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia'.

businesses such as steam power plants (PLTU). However, due to the limitations of scope and time, that business was not explored further.

The results in this report can open up further studies and investigations into how significantly the extractive industry contributes to elections. For example, tracing the forms of support and the extent of that support. In addition, a study on the benefits obtained by extractive businesses connected with the candidates in the election, including the extent of state budget allocations that have been and will be disbursed. Finally, an investigation into how their businesses developed while Prabowo-Gibran held executive control is important to conduct.

