

GOVERNMENT STRATEGY OF MUSI BANYUASIN REGENCY IN COMBATING ILLEGAL DRILLING

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the strategies implemented by the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government to address illegal drilling. The research method used in this study is a qualitative approach with an empirical juridical specification. This empirical juridical approach is based on primary legal materials, examining theories, concepts, principles of law, and statutory regulations relevant to the research, while also considering actual field conditions. The results of the study reveal that: (1) Musi Banyuasin Regency in South Sumatra Province possesses relatively enormous crude oil potential; (2) illegal oil wells discovered by the researcher, particularly in Bayung Lencir Subdistrict—Bayat Ulu Village (six sites) and Kali Berau (three sites)—pose significant risks to both the environment and the surrounding communities. The wells, with depths ranging from 120 to 150 meters, have become a source of livelihood for residents, yet they also endanger the environment and public safety. Illegal drilling remains a persistent challenge within Indonesia's oil and gas subsector. To address this issue, both the central and regional governments have collaborated to establish a Special Task Force to handle illegal oil and Gas Activities.

Keywords: Government Strategy, Illegal Drilling, Musi Banyuasin Regency

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui Strategi Pemerintah Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin Dalam Mengatasi Ilegal Drilling, Metode penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan spesifikasi pendekatan yuridis empiris. Spesialisasi pendekatan kualitatif berupa pendekatan yuridis empiris ini merupakan pendekatan yang dilakukan berdasarkan bahan utama dengan cara menelaah teori- teori, konsep- konsep, asas-asas hukum serta peraturan perundang- undangan yang berhubungan dengan penelitian, dengan melihat kenyataan yang ada di lapangan. Hasil Penelitian Ini Adalah: 1) Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin merupakan salah satu kabupaten di Sumatera Selatan mempunyai potensi minyak (crude oil) yang relatif besar. 2) Adapun Sumur Minyak ilegal yang peneliti temukan akan Menjadi Dampak bagi Lingkungan Dan Masyarakat untuk di Kecamatan Bayung Lencir Desa Bayat Ulu menuju buking ada 6 titik sumur dan di Kali berau ada 3 titik sumur, mempunyai kedalaman antara 120 – 150 m, Yang Kemudian Pengelolaan Sumur Minyak Ini Menjadi Mata Pencarian Masyarakat Setempat Dan Dapat Membahayakan Lingkungan dan Masyarakat Lainnya, Illegal Drilling merupakan salah satu permasalahan dalam sub sektor minyak dan gas bumi yang saat ini masih menjadi tantangan bagi Pemerintah. Untuk mengatasi illegal drilling ini, Pemerintah pusat dan pemerintah kabupaten bersinergi membentuk Tim Satgas Penanganan Kegiatan Ilegal Migas.

Kata Kunci : Strategi Pemerintah, Ilegal Drilling, Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin

Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelagic country endowed with abundant natural resources. These resources are intended to improve the living standards of the Indonesian people and realize a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Nur et al., 2020). Given its substantial mining potential compared to other nations, strict regulation is necessary to ensure the sustainable use and protection of mineral resources. Such regulation in the mining sector is crucial to preserving Indonesia's natural wealth, particularly given that mineral resources such as oil and coal are non-renewable (Gani & Wardani, 2021). Non-renewable resources are those that will eventually be depleted if exploited continuously, such as oil, coal, and mineral ores like gold, silver, tin, iron, and nickel (Serangmo et al., 2019).

In managing natural resources (SDA), the government must also assess potential social and environmental impacts arising from policy implementation (Akhmad Zulkifli, 2019). Throughout Indonesia's development history, oil and natural gas have played vital and strategic roles not only as sources of national energy but also as key contributors to state revenues. In the early stages of national development, the oil and gas sector accounted for a significant share of Indonesia's foreign-exchange earnings. Oil exploitation in Indonesia dates back to the Dutch colonial period. Historically, Indonesia's oil management is among the oldest in the world, with the first drilling conducted in Cibodas by Rerink in 1871, only 12 years after the world's first oil well was drilled in Pennsylvania (Elvis et al., 2023). Oil has long been one of the most essential commodities globally. Its use dates back 5,000 years BCE. During the 19th century, with the advent of industrialization, oil production became increasingly advanced (Maula, 2019). Oil serves as a critical energy source for transportation and industry, and consumer demand continues to rise annually. However, since oil is limited and unevenly distributed, its high demand drives prices higher. Countries are willing to pay substantial costs, as a shortage of oil could cripple both national and global economies (Agustina, 2019).

Article 1(2) of Law No. 22 of 2001 on Oil and Gas defines petroleum and natural gas as national assets managed under Article 33(3) of the 1945 Constitution, which states: "The land, waters, and natural resources contained therein shall be controlled by the State and utilized for the greatest prosperity of the people." This serves as the foundation for regulating natural resource management, including oil and gas (Dian Putri Wulandari et al., 2024).

The Oil and Gas Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Natural Gas defines petroleum as follows: "Petroleum is the result of natural processes in the form of hydrocarbons that, under atmospheric pressure and temperature conditions, exist in a liquid or solid phase, including asphalt, mineral wax or ozokerite, and bitumen obtained through mining activities, but excluding coal or other solid hydrocarbon deposits obtained from activities unrelated to oil and gas operations." Meanwhile, natural gas is defined as stated below: "Natural gas is the result of natural processes in the form of hydrocarbons that, under atmospheric pressure and temperature conditions, exist in a gaseous phase and are obtained from the extraction of oil and gas" (Subadi, 2023).

Illegal oil drilling constitutes one of the major problems in the oil and gas subsector and remains a significant challenge for the government. Under Law No. 22 of 2001 on Oil and Gas, any activity conducted without the necessary

licenses in the upstream or downstream oil and gas sectors, as stipulated by prevailing regulations, is classified as a criminal offense (Putera et al., 2022). The modus operandi of *illegal drilling* involves unauthorized oil extraction from abandoned or old wells or the creation of new wells without official permits. This practice occurs in several regions, including Musi Banyuasin Regency in South Sumatra Province. In this regency, illegal drilling activities have been identified at approximately 800 sites distributed across three subdistricts: Sanga Desa Subdistrict with about 400 wells located in Keban and Kemang Villages; Lawang Wetan Subdistrict with around 200 wells concentrated in Talang Pajering Village; and Babat Toman Subdistrict with about 200 wells centered in Sungai Angit Village. In addition, three other sites, Simpang Patin in Sukajaya Village, Berdikari Sukajaya, and Bayat Ilir Village, have been officially inspected (Mamahit, 2023).

Musi Banyuasin Regency has become a key focus due to the rising illegal oil drilling activities that threaten human lives. The Regional Regulation (Perda) of Musi Banyuasin Regency (MUBA) No. 26, Article 1, Paragraph 6, of 2007, on the management of old oil wells, has, in practice, led to increased exploitation of these wells. Additionally, oil from illegal drilling is often circulated through illicit trade networks operated by unscrupulous individuals who disguise it as oil from legally recognized old wells. The widespread unlawful drilling by irresponsible actors has caused numerous environmental and safety issues. Poor management of illegal oil extraction often leads to fires and explosions at poorly maintained wells.

Furthermore, oil theft occurs almost daily, mainly through three primary methods: illegal tapping, illegal drilling, and diverting subsidized fuels (BBM). The community-based oil well governance plan encompasses several key components, including institutional management and the mapping of community oil well clusters; occupational safety, health, and environmental management; service contracts and cooperation agreements; capacity building for community groups by the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government; and the regulation of upstream and downstream activities related to community oil well operations. Several factors contribute to and sustain the continuation of these illegal activities, such as high profit margins, weak law enforcement, the involvement of corrupt government officials, strong consumer demand, and the existence of thriving international black markets for illegal oil. The unlawful oil business is highly lucrative due to high selling prices and increasing consumer demand. The support provided by irresponsible actors further facilitates the operations of these oil theft syndicates. Moreover, the sanctions or sentences imposed on offenders have not been sufficient to deter them, leaving the government with an ongoing challenge in addressing oil theft.

From the preceding review, this research becomes particularly compelling. The researcher's initial argument is that illegal oil drilling and refining activities are ongoing, a situation further complicated by weak law enforcement oversight of legitimate oil drilling. Furthermore, there are indications of covert authorization of drilling activities in Musi Banyuasin Regency. Therefore, the researcher is motivated to conduct a study entitled "The Strategy of the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government in Combating Illegal Drilling."

Method

This study employs a qualitative, descriptive research design. This approach was chosen because the research aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the strategies and policies implemented by the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government to address illegal drilling. Through a qualitative approach, the researcher can comprehensively describe the social phenomena observed in the field, based on factual conditions. (Sinergitas et al., 2025).

This research was conducted in Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra Province, an area characterized by a relatively high level of illegal drilling activities. The study was carried out from March to June 2025. The data sources in this research consist of both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with key informants, including officials from the Environmental Agency and the Department of Energy and Mineral Resources of Musi Banyuasin Regency, local law enforcement officers, community leaders, and residents affected by illegal drilling activities. Meanwhile, secondary data were gathered from various official government documents, reports from relevant agencies, regional regulations, publications, and news articles discussing the handling of illegal drilling issues in the region. Data collection techniques included in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document studies. Interviews were used to obtain detailed information on local government policies and strategic measures, while observations were conducted to understand better field conditions and the social impacts of illegal drilling. Document studies were employed to strengthen the data by examining supporting materials such as official reports, statistical data, and relevant regulations (Dzulfian Syafrian, 2025).

Data analysis in this study was carried out using the interactive analysis model developed by Miles and Huberman, which consists of three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction involved selecting and simplifying information relevant to the research focus. The data were then presented in descriptive narrative form to facilitate the researcher's understanding of the relationships among the observed phenomena. Finally, a conclusion was drawn to identify patterns, meanings, and the strategies implemented by the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government to address illegal drilling activities. (Suhady et al., 2006). To ensure data validity, this study employed both source and methodological triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing information from multiple informants, while methodological triangulation was achieved by cross-checking the results of interviews, observations, and document analyses. Through these procedures, the collected data could be verified and deemed credible in terms of accuracy and reliability. (Ihsan et al., 2024).

Result and Discussion

Illegal oil drilling remains a major problem in the oil and gas subsector and continues to pose a significant challenge for the government. Under Law No. 22 of 2001 on Oil and Gas, any activity conducted without a license in upstream or downstream oil and gas operations, as stipulated by prevailing legislation, is classified as a criminal act. The modus operandi of *illegal drilling* refers to the unlawful extraction and processing of oil from abandoned or old wells or the creation of new wells without official authorization. This practice is prevalent in South Sumatra Province, particularly within Musi Banyuasin Regency. Musi Banyuasin has drawn considerable attention due to the increasing number of illegal drilling activities that endanger human lives. In response, the Regional

Regulation (Perda) of Musi Banyuasin Regency (MUBA) No. 26, Article 1, Paragraph 6, of 2007, concerning the Management of Old Oil Wells, serves as a key regulatory framework for addressing this issue (Samekto & Purwanti, 2021).

The modus operandi of *illegal drilling* involves unauthorized oil extraction by processing crude oil from old wells or by creating new wells without proper permits. This practice has also been identified in South Sumatra Province, particularly within Musi Banyuasin Regency. The region has become a focal point of concern due to the increasing prevalence of illegal oil drilling activities that pose severe threats to human safety. To address this issue, the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government issued Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 26, Article 1, Paragraph 6, of 2007, concerning the Management of Old Oil Wells, which serves as the legal basis for regulating oil extraction activities within the region.

The widespread violations of oil-drilling regulations, driven by irresponsible individuals, have resulted in severe environmental consequences. Numerous negative impacts have emerged from the mismanagement of oil extraction, including frequent fires and explosions of wells that operators fail to properly handle.

To mitigate occupational accidents, well explosions, and environmental degradation, several technical recommendations have been formulated as follows:

1. Regulatory Compliance:

In accordance with Musi Banyuasin Regency Regional Regulation No. 26 of 2007 concerning the Utilization of Old Oil Wells and Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) Regulation No. 01 of 2008 on the Guidelines for Oil Mining in Old Wells, only designated old wells may be exploited under established Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs). Their management must be officially licensed by the government and conducted in partnership with contractors who provide capital and purchase the extracted oil.

2. Complexity of Illegal Wells:

The issue of illegal oil wells is highly complex and difficult to resolve due to their inherent characteristics—high risk, high capital requirements, advanced technology, and social sensitivity.

3. Community Expectations:

Local communities expect that marginal illegal wells will soon be legalized and provided with technical guidance covering both upstream and downstream operations.

4. Collaborative Oversight:

Central and regional governments are encouraged to cooperate with local communities in supervising the management of old and illegal wells through cooperatives (KUD) and regionally owned enterprises (BUMD).

5. Improvement of Management Systems:

Enhancements are needed in the handling and governance of illegal wells, including the development of SOPs for healthy preparation and drilling, crude oil storage, refining processes, and well closure procedures (cut-off).

6. Environmental Protection Measures:

To promote environmental sustainability, it is necessary to construct oil-catcher facilities—ground pits designed to collect liquid oil waste and prevent it from contaminating nearby rivers or ecosystems.

Given the increasing number of illegal drilling incidents that have resulted in well explosions and fatalities, synergy among government regulators, local communities, and security forces (the police and military) is essential to minimize economic losses and prevent casualties. The government is expected to provide technical guidance to illegal well operators, covering all stages — from reconnaissance, discovery, and extraction (drilling) to production (lifting)—and sound management. Standardized procedures and operational support (help desk systems) are needed to enable miners to monitor drilling and production activities effectively.

The management of oil wells by Village Unit Cooperatives (KUD) and/or Regional-Owned Enterprises (BUMD) has the potential to enhance the local economy. Currently, there are approximately 1,500 wells in Musi Banyuasin Regency; if 80% of them were legally operated, they could produce around 700 barrels of oil per day (BOPD), significantly increasing the region's local revenue (PAD). Under this model, KUDs and BUMDs would receive service fees for oil production and transportation costs up to the agreed delivery point, with compensation paid in cash rather than in-kind (crude oil).

One of the government's efforts to preserve national oil and gas reserves is increased exploration. In 2020, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) successfully conducted 2D seismic surveys covering 28,349.83 kilometers (including the 2D Open Area Survey in Jambi Merang spanning 25,150 kilometers), 3D seismic surveys covering 1,250.97 kilometers, 22 exploratory well drillings, and approved eight transfers of Participation Interests (PI) during the exploration phase (NA).

Factors Driving Illegal Drilling Activities in Musi Banyuasin Regency

Musi Banyuasin Regency is one of the regions in South Sumatra with relatively high crude oil production potential. Oil exploitation in this area has been ongoing since the Dutch colonial period, particularly in villages such as Babat Toman, Jirak Jaya, Keban, Sanga Desa, Keluang, Bayung Lencir, and Sungai Lilin. Over time, oil production in these areas has declined (cut-off), leaving behind numerous abandoned wells. These old wells are scattered sporadically across the region. Some locations are currently managed by the regional enterprise Petro MUBA, while others in Sungai Lilin and Bayung Lencir are operated by private companies such as Medco and ConocoPhillips. The leading causes of illegal oil drilling in Bayat Ulu, Kali Berau, and Buring Villages within Musi Banyuasin Regency are multifaceted. Oil and natural gas are strategic natural resources whose management is regulated by the state, as stipulated in Law No. 22 of 2001 on Oil and Natural Gas (Arief et al., 2023).

This emphasizes that any oil processing activity carried out without authorization from the government or the state is illegal, and those involved may face criminal sanctions. Article 52 of the Oil and Gas Law stipulates criminal penalties for any individual who conducts exploration and/or exploitation without a cooperation contract as required under Article 11 paragraph (1). The penalty includes imprisonment for up to six (6) years and a fine of up to sixty (60) billion rupiah.

Furthermore, Article 53(a) specifies that engaging in oil and gas processing without an official license is punishable by imprisonment for up to five (5) years and a fine of up to fifty (50) billion rupiah. Although these legal provisions were designed to deter or eliminate unlawful activities, their implementation has not

been fully effective. Field observations indicate that illegal oil exploitation continues to occur frequently. Such practices are often carried out by local communities, as seen in Bayat Ulu Village, Bayung Lencir Subdistrict, Musi Banyuasin Regency.

In this context, one of the oil well owners in Bayat Ulu Village explained: “The existence of oil wells in Bayat Ulu Village began when the community faced difficulties in obtaining clean water. At that time, the villagers drilled into the ground in search of fresh water. However, instead of finding water, they encountered oil that continuously spurted to the surface. Initially, the residents did not intend to exploit the discovery, as they did not know how to process the oil. The incident was reported to the local government, yet no official action was taken. Over time, the villagers learned on their own how to manage the oil and have continued to use traditional tools for extraction and processing to this day. At that point, many residents were still unaware that such activities were considered illegal and subject to legal sanctions.”

The community views illegal oil drilling activities as highly profitable, capable of improving their economic conditions and creating employment opportunities for others. Indeed, the monetary value derived from such activities is considerable, offering a promising source of income. Consequently, these practices are not limited to the residents of Bayat Ulu Village alone but have also attracted individuals from other villages—and even from outside South Sumatra Province—who seek to exploit the area's lucrative oil resources.

Moreover, illegal oil drilling has contributed to reduced unemployment in Bayat Ulu. Many individuals who previously worked as gardeners, livestock farmers, or laborers have shifted to becoming illegal oil entrepreneurs. However, this activity does not always yield profit. In some cases, wells drilled fail to produce oil, resulting in significant financial losses for miners who forfeit their investment capital. Given the substantial earnings at stake, it is understandable that many parties are drawn to engage in such operations. Despite government intervention and official declarations that these activities are illegal, the measures taken have had limited impact in halting illicit oil production.

In Bayat Ulu Village, a portion of the population works as illegal oil miners. Not only residents but also some government officials at the sub-district level have reportedly invested capital in illicit oil drilling operations. The extracted crude oil is typically transported from the extraction site to Belawan Tanjung Pura using pickup trucks or freight vehicles. However, miners frequently face raids by law enforcement during transportation, resulting in the confiscation of trucks and oil drums, and even the arrest of drivers involved in transporting illegal oil. The existing national legislation has not been sufficient to resolve the issue, as it has not been effectively translated into enforceable regional regulations. This situation requires the local government to adopt more effective measures to combat illegal drilling crimes. Field evidence indicates that various interrelated factors continue to perpetuate illegal drilling activities, particularly in Bayat Ulu Village, Bayung Lencir Subdistrict, Musi Banyuasin Regency (Marsoes et al., 2025).

Lack of Public Awareness

Initially, the community accidentally discovered oil while attempting to obtain water through digging or drilling. Instead of finding water, they encountered oil gushing from several excavated areas. The incident was reported to local

authorities; however, the government did not take any follow-up action. The community, confused by the situation and unfamiliar with how to handle the spouting oil, never received any guidance or socialization from the government on appropriate management measures.

Over time, residents began to learn independently how to extract and process the oil. In conducting these activities, they were unaware that such actions constituted violations of the law. This lack of awareness stemmed from the authorities' failure to socialize and educate the public on the proper and lawful management of natural resources, particularly petroleum, as a legitimate economic activity.

Economic Factors

Economic motivation is the primary factor sustaining illegal oil drilling. The highly lucrative profits from these activities have driven communities to compete to drill oil wells. Consequently, illegal drilling has become a primary source of livelihood for many residents, offering financial rewards that are difficult to resist despite the legal risks involved.

Impacts of Illegal Oil Mining on the Community and the Environment in Bayat Ulu Village

During field research, the author identified several impacts from illegal oil drilling activities, both positive and negative for the community and the surrounding environment. The following section presents an overview of these observed impacts. (Arief et al., 2023).

The Impact of Illegal Oil Mining on the Community. One of the most promising natural resource sectors for driving regional economic development is the oil mining sector (Maulana et al., 2023). If oil mining is appropriately managed and utilized, it can significantly enhance regional economic growth. Therefore, although these drilling activities are illegal, they have nonetheless encouraged local communities to engage in them to improve their economic conditions. The realization of economic development is a fundamental aspect of social welfare, as modern society no longer operates under a barter system but within a monetary economy, where currency serves as the medium of exchange in every nation's transactions. (Sefina et al., 2024).

Government Efforts to Address the Existence of Illegal Drilling

The Musi Banyuasin Regency Government's efforts to address illegal drilling are implemented through short-, medium-, and long-term strategies. In the short term, an integrated joint command post (*posko terpadu*) can be established to coordinate monitoring and enforcement efforts. In the medium term, the government conducts evaluations of overlapping or conflicting regulations to improve policy coherence. In the long term, the government seeks to resolve more specific and structural issues related to the sustainability of oil well management.

It is difficult for the government to eliminate illegal drilling activities, particularly those involving old oil wells, because such practices have become a primary source of livelihood for many residents. Recognizing this, the Musi Banyuasin Regency Government—designated as an area vulnerable to illegal drilling—decided to grant conditional operating permits under specific provisions outlined in Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 26 of 2007 concerning the Utilization of Old Oil Wells. This regulation is further supported by Ministerial Regulation of Energy

and Mineral Resources (ESDM) No. 01 of 2008 on the Guidelines for Oil Mining in Old Wells.

Although these regional regulations partially contradict Law No. 20 of 2001 on Oil and Natural Gas, the government seeks to avoid creating a dichotomy between legality and community welfare. The issuance of these regulations is expected to reduce illegal drilling practices and ensure that production results are ultimately returned to PT Pertamina EP, the state-owned oil company (Erlangga, 2019).

Both the ministerial and regional regulations include specific provisions defining which old oil wells are permitted for management and operation.

1. Ministerial Regulation of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) No. 01 of 2008

Old oil wells are defined as those drilled before 1970, previously produced, and located within oil fields that are no longer being developed within a contractual working area by an existing contractor (Article 1, Paragraph 1). Under this regulation, Village Unit Cooperatives (KUD) or Regional-Owned Enterprises (BUMD) may collaborate with contractors. The contractor's role is to provide financial capital and to purchase the crude oil produced by the cooperative (KUD) (Gunanto, 2017)

2. Regional Regulation (Perda) of Musi Banyuasin Regency No. 26 of 2007

3. This regulation defines old oil wells as those drilled before 1960 that are no longer operated or used by contractors due to economic or other considerations (Article 1, Paragraph 6). Under this framework, Village Unit Cooperatives (KUD) are permitted to collaborate with contractors, with the contractors serving as financiers and purchasers of crude oil produced by the cooperatives.

Based on these two regulations, mining activities categorized as illegal drilling include the following:

- a. Mining operations are conducted without valid legal documents, such as a Mining Business License (IUP), Spatial Utilization License (IPR), or Special Mining Business License (IUPK).
- b. Operators who falsify data or fail to provide accurate and complete documentation.
- c. Holders of IUP or IUPK who also engage in the collection, processing, distribution, or sale of oil that does not originate from their licensed operations.
- d. Mining conducted in forest areas without authorization from the Ministry of Forestry (Criminal Investigation Agency Report, Indonesian National Police, 2013).

In 2012, only five Village Unit Cooperatives (KUDs) in Wonocolo were officially recognized, managing a total of 280 old oil wells—an insignificant number compared to the 13,824 old wells across the region. However, the implementation of these regulations has been largely ineffective in several areas and has sparked controversy among policymakers. The regulations have generated both support and opposition. Some argue that they may inadvertently create loopholes for other illegal activities, such as *illegal tapping*. Critics contend that the government appears weak for failing to enforce the law strictly and for

legitimizing the management of old wells.

On the other hand, the operation of old oil wells has long been a primary source of livelihood for local communities. This makes it difficult for the government to regulate or terminate these activities, as they are closely linked to residents' economic well-being. Currently, regulation has also overwhelmed SKK Migas and PT Pertamina EP, as many community-managed oil wells operate without formal Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) or in violation of legal frameworks. If these conditions continue, they could ultimately harm the state by decreasing national oil reserves (Subadi, 2023).

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