

## **BETWEEN MILITARY AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEMOCRACY Looking at The Citarum Military Task Force through The Concept of Environmental Democracy**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The Citarum River Basin (DAS) is in critical condition, with pollution and damage levels that are gravely concerning. Reports indicate that the river's water quality has suffered significantly, and the surrounding ecosystem has been severely impacted. In the effort to accelerate and continue the control of the Citarum River Watershed, there are indications that the government does not involve the community and only relies on the role of the military. The objective of this study is to examine the role and position of military and civilian actors in the context of environmental democracy. The results of this study show that the existence of the military role in the Citarum Harum Task Force has yet to be well implemented by the ranks of the Citarum Harum task force. The military's dominance appears too strong throughout Citarum Harum's activities. There are indications of power imbalance in civil-military relations, which posed threats to civil rights. The involvement of the military dominates almost all aspects of the Citarum watershed policymaking. Therefore, for the sake of democracy, the military role should be reduced to make optimal public participation.

**Keywords:** Environmental Democracy, Military Involvement, Citarum Harum Project, Watershed

### **BACKGROUND**

Until now, the pollution and damage state in the Citarum River Basin is getting worse. The reason behind this is pollution and damage that still occur. For example, the Cikijing River, a tributary that empties directly into the Citarum River, contains paracetamol waste. And in the other areas such as Majalaya, Bandung Regency, Karawang, and Bekasi, those areas still produce a lot of factory waste every year. Approximately 20,000 tons of waste and 340,000 tons of wastewater were disposed of directly into the Citarum River Basin (Tarahita & Rakhmat, 2018). Citarum River Basin is a vital river for the life of the

surrounding community, there are around 25 million people who depend on the Citarum River Basin for agriculture, mineral consumption, and electricity (Fulazzaky, 2010). This sparked President Joko Widodo to release Presidential Regulation Number 15 of 2018.

Many attempts have been made, but past policies are still considered not successful because they rely more on the direct roles of the government. This ignited the Citarum Harum Program Task Force to be formulated: to focus on collaborative management strategies. The purpose of the collaborative strategy is to form a work team unit that aims to improve the management

of the Citarum Harum program. Ridwan Kamil (Governor of West Java), who directly led this strategy, applied the Penta helix model (recommended by the Ministry of Tourism in the Minister of Tourism Regulation Number 14 of 2016) concerning Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism Destinations which requires encouragement through the roles of academics, business actors, community members, government, and the media. Through these roles, it is hoped that the condition of the Citarum River Basin will recover quickly. In 2018, the Indonesian government implemented a policy to accelerate pollution control and destruction of the Citarum River Basin. This policy was enacted through Presidential Regulation Number 15 and involved several government departments such as ministries, agencies, local government, the National Police, and the Military<sup>1</sup>. For the Military in particular, through 23 departments, they go directly to the field to clean up rivers and plant trees in key areas. They also possessed the responsibility to communicate and educate residents on both sides of the Citarum River and its tributaries.

The involvement of the military in the Citarum Harum program can indeed be justified because the participation of numerous segments of society in managing cross-sectoral environmental issues can be surmounted by engaging the military. Given their capacity to carry out tasks systematically, the military can effectively address the issue at hand, while ensuring that they do not exceed their prescribed

responsibilities. (BrotoSusilo et al., 2019). BrotoSusilo stated that the civil-military coordination that occurred in the Citarum Harum program was the main alternative for implementing Citarum River Basin management policies.

Still, the Citarum Harum project was considered failed to address various problems including the amount of waste, flooding, industrial waste, restoration of tributaries, and restoration of critical land. The Citarum River Basin management policy signed by President Joko Widodo in 2018 was criticized for the domination of the military's role compared to the very minimal participation of the local community in the program. The main problem is that the Military does not significantly involve the local communities in the Citarum Harum project. A lot of residents think that the military is designed and trained to fight, and disassemble weapons, rather than being trained to go directly into the environment, such as taking care of trash, trees, and even cutting grass. Diana (2019) stated that the overall level of community involvement in the implementation of the Citarum Harum program was relatively low. Including all stages of participation, both in information, consultation, joint decision-making, joint action, and especially in supporting initiatives, the level of participation. Moreover, local communities should have the freedom to manage their living space and absorb more of the local customary values at the level of planning patterns, policies, and implementation.

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<sup>1</sup> Citarum Harum. "KILAS BALIK PERPRES 15/2018 DAN TIM PPK DAS CITARUM". Accessed at 14 Oktober 2023.

<https://citarumharum.jabarprov.go.id/kilas-balik-perpres-15-2018-dan-tim-ppk-das-citarum/>

Based on the stated explanation above, it can be interpreted that the community has not received the expected access to information related to the implementation of the Citarum Harum program. This shows that community involvement has not been optimal in planning, decision-making, and in joint action related to Citarum Harum activities. In addition, the government failed to adequately develop community initiatives for the Citarum watershed restoration despite a special unit the formation of a special unit, the Citarum Task Force (Diana, 2019). Therefore, efforts are needed to increase community participation in the implementation of the Citarum Harum program. Such efforts can be in the form of education that can ignite community awareness and actions towards the environment, The education provided should be able to become a solid foundation for the next stage to increase community participation through optimal utilization.

According to Article 9 Paragraph 2C of Presidential Regulation Number 15 of 2018, all activities within the Citarum River Basin must be reported to the Sector Commander (in Bahasa it is called Dansektor). This gives the military more power than any other stakeholder. The Citarum Harum program, aimed at improving the water quality of the Citarum River in Indonesia, is primarily influenced, and controlled by the military, with little participation or recognition given to other important stakeholders such as civil society. (Mustofa et al., 2021). Whereas based on the political dimension in "The Four Dimensions of Water Governance" UNDP-SIWI Water Governance, every stakeholder

should have equal rights and obligations in the decision-making process related to water management (UNDP Water Governance Facility at SIWI, 2016).

The imbalance of power relations between civilians and the military in the program is a problem for Indonesia's democracy. Environmental Democracy contributes to the belief that meaningful public participation is important in ensuring that decisions involving natural resources adequately and fairly represent the interests of citizens (Worker & Ratté, 2014). The World Research Institute (WRI) also stated that Environmental Democracy involves three strengthening rights (Worker & Ratté, 2014):

1. The right to freely access information about quality and environmental issues (information).
2. The right to participate significantly in decision-making (participation)
3. The right to seek environmental law enforcement or compensation for harm (justice)

Since ancient times, humans have understood how important it is to protect basic natural commodities (soil, air, plants, and animals) for long-term defense thus there is a need for sustainable regulations. The emergence of the state and government gives access for the state to have a major role in managing the environment. This happened because of the development of a welfare state, where the government must contribute to the general welfare of its citizens. Hardjasoemantri (1994) stated that environmental management is one of the main activities carried out by the government, therefore environmental law mostly contains government law

(bestuursrecht). Therefore, government administration can affect the quality of environmental management.

The form of government will have an impact on environmental management. For environmentalists, democracy is considered good for environmental quality. Democracy is considered capable of improving the quality of the environment because it provides an opportunity and access to learn the aspirations of the community so that it can be followed up in a policy. Indeed, it is not yet guaranteed that democracy can realize the desired results, especially in states where democracy is still weak. There are also arguments that environmental problems are global problems, while the function of democracy is national based so it cannot solve global environmental problems.

The effectiveness of the democratic system in environmental management must be further reviewed because not all forms of democracy may be suitable to be implemented. For example, some argue that participatory democracy is suitable for managing the environment. This democracy will give birth to a government that is more responsive to the needs and problems of its people, especially in environmental matters. In this democracy, the government provides an opportunity for the people to decide. So that the community can be involved in decision-making. In essence, democracy is indeed considered a form of government that can overcome environmental problems, but there is still a high possibility of failure if the concept of democracy itself is not implemented properly (Ivalerina, n.d., 60).

Rocheleau in Parola (2013), the lack of democracy is the root of many

ecological problems. According to Gleditsch and Sverdløp in Parola (2013), democracies tend to value human life more than autocracies, and this is crucial for countries to become more environmentally friendly. Additionally, democracies are less likely to engage in wars, which means they tend to have a higher level of environmental quality because wars are destructive to the environment. This form of government has been identified as a viable solution to the ecological crisis, backed by both theoretical and empirical evidence. Despite this, several studies have shown that an increase in democratic governance can inadvertently lead to more environmental degradation during the initial stages of development, despite its potential for economic growth (Parola, 2013).

If a state wants to be more responsive to the environmental crisis, democracy should be a non-negotiable element. However, to achieve this, the process of collective decision-making should involve participation and deliberation as key elements. Even though these are distinct elements, the radical 'democratisation of democracy' can only be successful if both are considered. From an environmental perspective, these forms of democracy are more likely to achieve environmental goals and lead to the development of a new form of democracy known as environmental democracy (Parola, 2013).

Early environmental democracy studies focused on how decentralized governance, community participation, and grassroots movements can make significant changes to environmental issues (Meyer, 2006). The development of this study was

followed by a discussion of how by giving non-state actors voice, access, and institutionalized channels for their representation and participation, one can expect a stronger sense of ownership regarding environmental issues (Mason, 2008). Eckersley (2019) makes a spectrum that explains the characteristics of environmental democracy studies. Environmental democracy tends to be anthropocentric, in which human values are the focus. Environmental democracy also encourages reformist changes through environmental modernization. Actors and institutions that are the main players in this study include the state, the multilateral system, and civil society as active participants, in reconciling with reformed capitalism.

The World Resources Institute participates in contributing ideas to environmental democracy studies. According to this institution, environmental democracy begins with the fulfilment of three main rights, namely the right to information, the right to participate, and the right to justice. These three rights can provide a platform for citizens to participate significantly as stakeholders regarding environmental issues (Worker & Ratté, 2014). The right to information includes access to information designed and institutionalized through law. This information includes environmental impact assessments, development project plans, pollution disposal, etc., which are produced by the government and companies. With actual information, the public can participate more effectively in decision-making and hold them accountable if a government or company is found to be not in compliance

with the law (Worker & Ratté, 2014). Then, WRI explained that the right to participate includes regulations that provide information about opportunities to participate in decision-making processes on environmental issues, either through visits, meetings, etc. The last one, is the right to justice, where people should have the right to seek justice with an independent and impartial accountability mechanism and be able to make decisions that are enforceable and binding (Worker & Ratté, 2014). Examples of the intended form of justice include compensation for losses and the right to file an appeal on a project with consideration of environmental issues. In this context in Indonesia, this topic has been studied in depth by several scholars.

In Indonesia, military units have historically played a role in disaster relief efforts, canal maintenance, and reforestation initiatives. However, more recently, there has been a shift towards more comprehensive ecological revitalization projects that involve the military in long-term restoration initiatives. This represents a notable deviation from the military's traditional focus on defense and showcases their ability to adapt to non-defense activities. This shift has been spurred by the country's transition to a democratic government, which has encouraged institutions to address social and non-defense issues. Furthermore, this shift underscores the military's institutional flexibility and provides them with opportunities to access funding and promote economic interests. The military's involvement in these activities is a testament to their capacity and eagerness to contribute to environmental conservation and

sustainable development. Thus, this research seeks the role of the military in Citarum Harum through the lens of environmental democracy.

## **METHOD**

This study uses a qualitative approach with literature studies to explore literature and previous studies regarding the involvement of military actors in environmental governance, especially those related to the concept of Environmental Democracy. Sources of data used in this study include literature that empirically proves military involvement in environmental governance such as the Annual report of Citarum Harum which was published by Satgas Citarum under West Java Province and report from River Basin Center, or it called BBWS Citarum (Balai Besar Wilayah Sungai). Moreover, some literature from previous studies conceptually explains how actors such as the military, apart from civilian actors, should be involved in environmental governance.

The data is reduced and analysed which is then presented in a discussion regarding the empirical justification of the military in environmental governance, the question of military involvement in Citarum Wangi, the role of civilians in Citarum governance through an Environmental Democracy perspective, and civil-military relations in Citarum Harum.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Military Role in the Citarum Harum Task Force**

As stated in the Presidential Regulation Number 15 of 2018 concerning

Control of Pollution Damage to the Citarum River Watershed (DAS), under the pretext of accelerating the implementation and sustainability of Citarum River Watershed control policies, the Government formed a Citarum River Watershed Team consisting of a. Director; and b. Task Force (Satgas). In assisting the Citarum River Basin steering team, the government fills the position of the Task Force.

The role of the military in handling the Citarum River Watershed is as an executor of the directives from the Steering Committee in accelerating and sustaining the Control of the Citarum River Watershed through operations to deal with pollution and damage to the Citarum River Basin synergistically and sustainably by optimizing the use of operating personnel and equipment. As for what is meant, according to Presidential Decree Number 15 of 2018, the Task Force has the authority to:

1. Develop a plan of action to enforce policies established by the Steering Committee, aimed at identifying and halting sources of pollution and damage to the Citarum River.
2. Asking for information, data, and/or documents including entering and inspecting factories, business places, yards, warehouses, storage areas, and/or factory/business place waste disposal channels at any time if necessary.
3. Prevent and prohibit people from re-entering to establish settlements in areas that are protected and form a Sector Command led by an

- Indonesian National Armed Forces officer as a Sector Commander.
4. Dividing the working areas of the Citarum Watershed based on the Sector Command.
  5. Involve Ministries/Agencies, Regional Governments, and Communities in carrying out Sector Command duties, adjusted to the needs of carrying out countermeasures, prevention, and restoration of the Citarum Watershed ecosystem, as well as law enforcement.
  6. Ordered the Sector Command to carry out operations to deal with pollution and damage to the Citarum Watershed at locations determined by the Task Force.
  7. Carry out activities to control pollution and damage to the Citarum Watershed under the duties and authorities of the Task Force if the action plan as intended has not been determined.

Less than a year before Presidential Decree Number 15 of 2018 was issued, around 1,400 soldiers were stationed in the upper region (Dwijatmiko 2018:71). Military troops were grouped in designated areas and are called "sectors". Two hundred soldiers have been positioned in the hatchery situated near Situ Cisanti, which is responsible for holding water from seven sources and serves as the primary water source for the Citarum River. Additionally, one thousand troops have been deployed across five different sectors. They carry out various activities such as promoting environmental preservation, cleaning up river waste and its tributaries, planting trees

at Perhutani's Perumo 73 and developing areas to prepare them for the reforestation of nurseries. General Monardo stated that this effort was inspired by Brazil's experience in protecting the Amazon which involved the military. He wanted to show that the Indonesian military could go hand in hand with the people and have the same goals for protecting the environment (Side, 2017).

This operation is in line with Presidential Decree Number 15 of 2018 concerning the Development and Elimination of Pollution Control in the Citarum River Basin and has an impact on many ministries such as Ministries, Agencies, Local Government, Police, and the TNI. Through 23 TNI divisions, they went directly to the field to clean up the river and plant trees in key areas to communicate and educate residents on both sides of the Citarum River and its tributaries. The implementation of a Presidential Decree involved the collaboration of various state institutions, including the police, prosecutors, Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), Ministerial Secretariat, and State Inspector, along with regional apparatus. Each of these institutions played a vital role in the successful execution of the decree's mandates, which highlights the importance of inter-agency cooperation and coordination in achieving government objectives. (Perpres Number 15 of 2018, Article 5). The Citarum Watershed Pollution and Damage Control Team consists of a group of individuals who work together to tackle issues related to pollution and damage control in the Citarum watershed. The team is led by Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, a highly respected retired army

general who has served in the Army's special forces command ("Kopassus") for a significant period. Minister Panjaitan played a key role as the main project committee of the program, providing guidance and leadership to the team.

Although many government agencies are involved in this program, TNI forces appear to dominate the field. The community was educated on the importance of planting trees and seasonal crops, such as coffee, for reforestation efforts. In a bid to support this initiative, army groups were dispatched to four upstream villages, with a focus on Sector 1. Additionally, around 200 troops were deployed to the kindergarten sector for "special operations". The TNI's agenda for Bongkor encompasses the creation of agroforestry activities, residential settlements, tourism amenities, and a privately owned coffee factory (Safitri, et al, 2019).

However, residents believe that growing only coffee will lose all their income because they have to wait several years for the coffee to be harvested. In the end, the TNI and local people agreed to temporarily maintain a vegetable garden, but they had to plant coffee plants every four meters from their crops. The military calls this arrangement a mixed cropping system, which is usually done in forest areas. The agreement stipulates that TNI soldiers have been entrusted with the responsibility of conducting regular inspections of every community garden in the area. The purpose of these inspections is to ensure that the existing coffee plants and other perennials that have been planted are in good health and thriving. This task is part of a larger initiative aimed at planting 125 million

perennials, including coffee, in the Upper Citarum region. By conducting these inspections, TNI soldiers are contributing to the success of this ambitious project, which has the potential to benefit countless (Safitri, 2019).

This "coffee hunt" posed a big question to society; who has the right to administer the coffee corps when the time comes? The coffee trees that will be planted do not necessarily belong to the farmers because all village areas are forest areas and the coffee seeds do not belong to them. The position of the military unit is also not entirely clear: are they the owners of the coffee plantations? because they are not the institution that has the right to control the forest. More specifically, the program lacks a strong explanation of the status of local communities and the military as users of forest land, and in particular, the local people who are registered to live there. The Metsälaki forest area (UU No. 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry) is an instrument intended for Perhutani or forestry authorities to determine control and utilization of the Upper Citarum area. Following the law, the Ministry of Forestry, acting on behalf of the central government, is responsible for overseeing state forests. They have the authority to transfer ownership rights to third parties (Bachriadi & Lucas in Safitri, 2019). As a result, neither the military nor local communities enjoy any official administrative privileges concerning the Citarum Harum initiative.

### **Power Relations of Civil-Military in the Governance of Citarum Harum**

From the point of view of environmental democracy, in theory,



society must obtain the fulfilment of fundamental rights, one of which is the right to participation. However, research by Diana (2019) shows that in practice, community participation is still relatively low. The communities yet to be significantly involved in receiving information, judged from the public knowledge and presence in socialization regarding Citarum Harum, decision making (i.e. ideas coming from the community), and joint action regarding activities (i.e. activities designed by the community itself) in Citarum Harum project. In addition, the community also did not receive a consultation process or offers of activity options in the implementation of Citarum Harum. Diana (2019) also sees that the government, in this case, has not been able to foster self-help initiatives to increase public awareness regarding the restoration of the Citarum watershed. The self-initiative referred to in this case is the existence of a community that is formed or managed independently by the community. Instead of giving the community space to participate significantly, the government provided an opportunity for the military to perpetuate its power in the Citarum Harum Project.

The military has a dominant position in participating in the program, according to Presidential Regulation Number 15 of 2018 Chapter 9 Article 2C, To ensure the safety and security of the Citarum watershed, it is required by law to report any activities taking place in the area to the Commander of the related sector. This reporting allows the military to have greater oversight and authority over the area, as they are responsible for protecting and preserving the natural resources and environment of the watershed. Failure to comply with this

reporting requirement may result in penalties and consequences under the law. All activities carried out related to the Citarum watershed must also be approved beforehand by the Citarum Task Force (Safitri et al., 2019). TKPSDA BBWS Citarum believes that the military is a significant player in the Citarum Harum program, potentially overshadowing other stakeholders like civil society. (Mustofa et al., 2021).

In addition, the military uses coercive means in carrying out its interests in the Citarum Harum project. The military put pressure on residents to plant coffee for the land preparation process for a coffee processing factory that would be given to a large coffee company. This can happen because there is involvement between the institution that is owned by General Doni Monardo and the access to plantation management (Mustofa et al., 2021). The military had issued a warning to the residents, stating that they would lose access to the land that was being used by the locals for their livelihood. This action was a consequence of the residents' non-compliance with the military's instructions. The threat of land closure was a severe one, and it would have devastating effects on the residents who were solely dependent on the land for their survival. The residents were torn between following the military's instructions and risking their only source of income or disobeying and facing the military's wrath. (Safitri et al., 2019). In addition to the coffee business, there are indications that the military has relations with industries around the Citarum watershed, in waste management and the

supply of raw materials for wastewater purification.

The residents of the community faced a multitude of challenges that significantly impacted their livelihoods. They were subjected to threats and pressure while also losing areas that were vital for planting vetiver and other erosion-resistant plants. The situation was made worse by the construction of a community culinary center on the river banks. This business was built and managed directly by the military, which resulted in the loss of land that could have been used for creating erosion-resistant embankments. The community was left with no choice but to adapt to these changes and find alternative means of sustaining their livelihoods. (Mustofa et al., 2021). Then, apart from the general public, academics also have challenges in participating in Citarum Harum, where the limited scope of research causes academic contributions to be sporadic and fragmented (Mustofa et al., 2021).

The military occupies the highest position in the role of Citarum Harum, exceeding the government, academics/environmentalists, and local communities (Mustofa et al., 2021). This position significantly decreases opportunities for the community and other stakeholders to play a significant role in the Harum Citarum Project. This happened because of Presidential Regulation Number 15 of 2018 concerning the Acceleration of Pollution Control and Destruction of the Citarum Watershed but was perpetuated by the coercive nature and pressure exerted by the military to determine its powers.

Some questions arise about whether democracy can save the environment. The

WFD Policy Notes (2020) give a straight answer to this. Liberal democracy provides a compromise between different values, world views, etc. The process will go slow as long as the participants get a deal. WFD also stated that in an authoritarian regime perhaps manage the environmental problem more efficiently but only in the short term and lack of social and technological invention in the long term. Even if authoritarian regimes were more efficient, would it be desirable to live in an 'eco-dictatorship?'. Active deliberative democracy deals with environmental issues with support from citizens and institutions that limit the influence of special interest (Symbiosis, 2020).

So far, the role of the military in Citarum Harum reflects the authoritarian regime based on Symbiosis. It is because, at the first stake, the military is involved in prosecuting any offenses in the citarum basin. Thus, for a short time, it is perhaps efficient to tackle the violation in the Catarum watershed. Sociologically and psychologically, people have a sense of reluctance and fear of the military, so they are willing to obey military orders in the watershed area. However, the military should not play the role of a guardian that scares for a long time. Environmental management should be returned to the community, especially in terms of decision-making about conservation programs and budget use. After law enforcement which is said to be quite successful by the military, that success should reduce the military's role and involve the community more to intervene in solving problems instead of extending military involvement with a significant role.

**Civil-Military Relations in Environmental Democracy in the Citarum Harum Program**

In the perspective of Environmental Democracy, civilians should have access to adequately and fairly represent their interests. Environmental democracy involves three basic rights that work together: the right to access environmental information, the right to participate in environmental decision-making, and the right to seek enforcement of environmental laws or compensation for harm. Everyone has the right to access information about the environment and its problems. People should be able to take part in decisions that affect the environment. If environmental laws are broken, people have the right to seek compensation. These rights are interrelated and help create a fair and safe environment for all.

The finding of this research shows that the access to the information provided by The Satgas Citarum Harum under the West Java Province government. But not as sufficient as it needs, especially when communities want to know which industries harm the river and how much they provide for the social corporate responsibilities.

In terms of meaningfully participating is also questionable in Citarum Harum. Because not all citizens can participate fully in the decision-making process. Almost all pivotal decisions are made only by government institutions, the military and think tanks. Moreover, we barely found little information about the compensation for the people who get harmed or damaged in the Citarum Watershed. The community is often blamed

for the damage, even though the community is the most excluded entity and has no other economic options in the Citarum River Basin.

The involvement of the military as a stakeholder can potentially provide valuable access to community rights. Environmental Democracy also supports reformist changes, therefore, the military's position in it should be justified, as long as it does not exceed the authority that has been given. The position of the military should be as a "tool" to help civilians carry out civil interests. Because in truth, in a democracy, civil supremacy must always be upheld.

However, on the other hand, the presence of the military with legal protection from Presidential Regulations dominates too much. For instance, the military has access to use huge amount of river budgeting from BBWS Citarum. The military unit took responsibility for restoring the Citarum River and made other government agencies – such as the Citarum River Basin Centre (BBWSC), the Regional Environmental Agency and several regional forestry services. It appears that this action is conveying the message that only the military institution is adequately equipped to tackle various issues, while civilian institutions are deemed to be less capable. This could lead to a resurgence of the military's dominance in national affairs in Citarum.

In addition, the socio-economic interests of the local people have been sidelined and they are now forced to obey the army's orders. Currently, the economic potential of coffee factories which has grown massively in the Citarum River and is controlled by military units is the real

business that hides behind ecological reasons. Local farmers must surrender their sovereignty over the common property and land to military units. This results in local people's daily economic activities as farmers to decrease. In addition to limited access to land and water, farmers are also forced to cultivate coffee plants, similar to the Preangerstelsel system during the colonial period.

In a statement released in 2019, Safitri et al. drew attention to the Citarum Harum program and highlighted the military's tendency to behave as economic predators. The authors noted that military entrepreneurs can generate income and accumulate "khaki capital" by innovating and creating resources and means of production that primarily benefit themselves, thereby perpetuating their predatory behaviour. The idea of the "Citarum Harum" program was not clear from the start. The army took the initiative to carry out its mission in the Citarum, which then overlapped with the ongoing river restoration program; The Pangdam effectively utilized the military's "harvest spirit" to gain political support from the central government and the President, established a structure for military operations, and promoted the mobilization of state and extra-budgetary resources to support them.

The research shows that the assumptions made by them are consistent with the findings. The upper Citarum River was taken over by the military as part of an environmental protection and restoration project. Unfortunately, it has now turned into a "war zone" with active military operations taking place, and it's difficult to

determine who the enemy is (Mustofa, et al, 2021). The government should give a larger portion of the Citarum task force to the community and other civilian stakeholders. Giving the authority to use the budget to the military, shows that the military's dominance is very strong in the governance of the Citarum watershed. This show reinforces that democratic practices are eroded due to the presence of the military. It proves that environmental democracy can be a middle way to conserve and save the environment amid an undemocratic regime and political culture. Wangari Maathai, in the WFD Policy Notes 2020, stated that in a few decades, the relationship between the environment, resources and conflict may seem almost as obvious as the connection we see today between human rights, democracy and peace".

## CONCLUSION

The existence of the Military Role in the Citarum Harum Task Force has yet to be implemented properly by the Citarum Harum team in accelerating and sustaining Citarum River Basin Control. It appears that military domination is too strong throughout Citarum Harum's activities. Therefore, there is a need for policy transformation within Citarum Harum to reduce the threat of abuse of authority by the TNI. Ideally, it's like the Ministry of Agriculture or Forestry is responsible for handling the issue and programs and not the TNI to carry out these activities.

The dynamics of Civil-Military Relations have shown significant military domination, which resulted in the people becoming repressed. Therefore, a need for participation from civil parties and other

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ministries/institutions in carrying out programs to accelerate and sustain Citarum River Basin Control. Thus, if the solely TNI carried out these programs, this would result in an unequal settlement, because Citarum Harum relied too much on military agencies

alone. Since there are implications of power imbalance in civil-military relationships in the Citarum Harum Project, the existence of the military does not align with the concept of environmental democracy.

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