

Parties and Environmental Issues: PDIP Action Programs in the Reformation Era, 2002-2014

Agustina Wilujeng Pramestusi^{1*}, Yety Rochwulaningsih¹, and Singgih Tri Sulistiyono¹

¹Doctoral Program of History, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia

Abstract. This paper examined programs implemented by a political party, in this case the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), during the 2002-2014 period. The reform era has brought environmental issues to the fore with worsening environmental degradation attributed to the implementation of Law Number 23 of 1997 concerning Environmental Management (UUPH), which was considered to be substantially, structurally, and culturally weak. The high level of conflict in the management of the environment and natural resources (SDA) has led to demands from environmental activists for political parties to raise environmental issues in their election campaigns (Election 2004). Reflecting on the 1999 election, as mentioned in the source, only four political parties were deemed to have paid attention to environmental issues - PDIP, the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the National Awakening Party (PKB). Basically, according to PDIP's perspective, having a great concern for environmental problems is a prerequisite to addressing environmental damage. In this regard, concrete steps taken by PDIP in overcoming environmental problems need to be explored. Using the historical method, it was found that PDIP, which won the 1999 general election and became the top three in the 2004 election, consistently paid attention to environmental issues. This concern was demonstrated not only by incorporating environmental issues into the content of the election campaign but also by implementing disaster prevention and management action programs. Prevention was carried out, among others, through regular tree planting activities and adapting to the natural conditions of each region. Meanwhile, the disaster emergency response program was carried out by PDIP through the PDIP Disaster Management Agency (Baguna).

1 Introduction

Indonesia has abundant natural resources, ranging from minerals to biodiversity. Naturally, with the wealth comes big challenges, including the design of environmental political construction. The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states that Indonesia's natural resources shall be used as much as possible for the prosperity of the people in a sustainable and environmentally friendly manner as stated in Article 33 paragraph (1), which reads: "Earth, water and natural resources shall be controlled by the State and used for the greatest prosperity of the people," and Article 34 paragraph (2) reads: "The national economy is

* Corresponding author : awpbening@students.undip.ac.id

organized based on economic democracy with the principles of togetherness, efficiency, justice, sustainability, environmental insight, independence, and by maintaining a balance of progress. and national economic unity.” These articles have become the basis for regulations and policies regarding the use of natural resources which should be accompanied by protection of the environment. However, laws, presidential regulations, ministerial regulations and regional regulations often fail to respond to environmental problems and damage [3].

In global politics, environmental issues have been at the forefront of many countries' agenda as climate change is increasingly affecting many sectors of life. According to Birchall (2014), Jensen and Spoon (2011), and Schulze (2014), political parties as important instruments in a democracy play a very significant role and determine whether government policies will pay full attention to environmental issues or not. Political parties have a very important role at least in shaping the views and attitudes of a country's government towards national and global issues [4].

This study seeks to present the policy preferences and action programs of political parties in the environmental field, both regarding climate change, response to environmental degradation, as well as mitigation and disaster management as the government's partner in implementing the constitution on environmental management and natural disaster management. This is because the existing studies of political parties focus more on the ideologies and strategies of political parties in winning elections. Studies on environmental commitments of political parties remain few and far between, with few exceptions including Supratiwi [3] who revealed that the platforms of various political parties did not reflect specific concerns for the environment. The platforms offered by most parties generally lack specifics, with phrases such as “to achieve justice and prosperity, welfare, enlighten the life of the nation or realizing a new Indonesia with various complementary attributes. The results of the study show that no single party has a clear platform in responding to environmental issues, such as overcoming floods and tidal waves in Semarang [1].

The other study was carried out by Rahmah [2] who tried to analyze the concern of the 'green party' for the environment with a case study on the National Awakening Party (PKB) of the Surabaya City Representative Council (DPC). PKB is a party that has styled itself to be a green party and expressed its concern for environmental issues. Its platform includes overseeing natural disaster management programs and policies as well as building public awareness to be more environmentally friendly through the Eco-pesantren, building public toilets or Jambanization, promoting biopores, and implementing plastic waste reduction programs. Rahmah [2] stated that despite professing a commitment to the environment, the PKB platform came without clear specifics on the implementation of the said programs. Furthermore, Susanto [5] states that disasters that have hit various parts of the country are often used by political parties both at the local and national levels to boost publicity by distributing aid to victims in campaign packages and political advertisements to influence the masses.

Based on a review of some of these articles, this study is intended to fill in the gaps in the literature related to environmental issues that have enjoyed scant attention from researchers. One indicator that a political party is committed to solving environmental problems is the existence of an action program that is carried out in a sustainable manner. A very interesting article appeared on 7 July 1999 criticizing the programs of political parties. Based on a study conducted by the Forum for the Environment (Walhi), only four political parties participating in the 1999 General Election made environmental issues a top priority both in their campaigns and programs of activity - PDIP, PAN, Justice Party, and PKB [6, 7]. However, this article only examines PDIP in response to environmental issues in Indonesia.

2 Method

This article specifically examines the action programs of PDIP as the winner of the 1999 General Election, the top three in the 2004 and 2009 elections, and again being the winner in the last two elections in responding to environmental issues through action programs, using historical methods and environmental politics approaches. Environmental politics is the politics of natural resource management that emphasizes the government's design in dealing with environmental problems. In order to design the right policy, Kraft (2011) offers a policy process model consisting of six stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimacy, policy implementation, policy and program evaluation, and policy change. There are three perspectives in environmental politics: the scientific, economic, and scientific perspectives. In the perspective of science, environmental politics must adopt and adapt the truths agreed upon by the academic community. In this case, the government should invest heavily in the development of science and make it the main reference in decision making [1].

For example, Indonesia has the largest tropical peatlands in the world, in Kalimantan and Sumatra, which are vulnerable to fires during the dry season. Peatlands should be left in a watery state. However, in 1995, the Indonesian government issued a policy of peatland agriculture by draining peatlands in Kalimantan and Sumatra. Peatlands are prone to fires and were the main factor in the massive fires in 1997 and 1998. This was only one of the incidents that were classified as catastrophic as a result of policies that fail to address environmental damage. In this context, many criticisms are directed at political parties that have the power to influence government policies to pay more attention to environmental issues. Issues regarding the environment then emerged at the beginning of the Reformation. In revealing the historical background surrounding the attention of political parties in the environmental field, this study utilizes contemporary articles, one of which is published by Kompas. In addition, in order to analyze the development of regulations on environmental management, this article uses academic texts and minutes of the DPR RI meetings that discussed environmental and natural resource management, as well as handling natural disasters.

3 Result and Discussion

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world located between two continents and oceans, Asia and Australia and the Indian and Pacific Oceans. This means Indonesia is located on two plates of the earth that are home to hundreds of active volcanoes. These natural conditions have placed Indonesia as one of the areas prone to disasters ranging from earthquakes, tsunamis, floods, landslides, storms, to volcanic eruptions [8]. Various natural disasters have taken place in Indonesia and almost always claimed lives and have implications for moral and material losses. The worst disaster was the earthquake and tsunami in Aceh on December 26, 2004, followed by Nias Island, Simaleu, and its surroundings on March 25, 2005. These disasters prompted an outpouring of sympathy, assistance, services, funding and medical personnel in the name of humanity. Previously, natural disasters, both caused by natural factors and human negligence, were recorded from 1997-2004, including environmental pollution (number of incidents: 1), fires (number of incidents: 287), social conflicts (number of incidents: 30), epidemics (number of events: 22), technological failures (number of events: 3), smog/forest fires (number of events: 12), volcanic eruptions (number of events: 45), tsunamis (number of events: 23), earthquakes (the number of events: 52), hurricanes (number of events: 136), landslides (number of events: 219), and floods (number of events: 299).

3.1 Historical Background of Environmental Issues in Indonesia

Ahead of the 2004 elections, both academics and environmental activists appealed to political parties to carry the environmental theme in their campaigns, one of which was delivered by Transtoto Handadhari who is an expert in environmental and forestry economics from Lambung Mangkurat University, Banjarmasin. The absence of political power, especially in the legislature, who understood forestry and the environment at that time had led to a deadlock in the empowerment of the forestry sector. In the case of South Kalimantan, for example, deforestation has reached 3.7 per year or twice the national figure [7].

As far as Transtoto Handadhari observes, prior to the 2004 general election, only one party clearly stated its concern for environmental development, that is PDIP. One of the focuses of PDIP was the program to eradicate illegal logging and illegal coal mining. In its development, PDIP demonstrated concern for the environment not only through campaign programs but also concrete actions, ranging from preventive activities including simultaneous tree planting, environmental cleaning, to the establishment of a special agency dealing with natural disasters [9].

In the context of environmental management, criticism from academics and environmental activists is not without background. First of all, a review of the substance and implementation of regulations on natural resources and environmental management at that time was a must. Second, in the 1999 general election, it was known that only a few or almost no political parties paid explicit attention to environmental issues [6].

Legal instruments that clearly regulate the environment have indeed been made, at least since the issuance of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 1982 concerning Basic Provisions for Environmental Management. The regulation has regulated the maximum utilization of natural resources for the prosperity of the people, the participation of non-governmental organizations in environmental conservation, the risk of development to environmental pollution, as well as threats of punishments to anyone who carries out activities that cause environmental damage [10]. Although environmental problems have been regulated in such a way, the implementation has not been optimal, especially regarding activities that have an impact on forest fires and pollute the air in neighboring countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei. Based on these problems, the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 1997 concerning Environmental Management was subsequently issued which is substantially an improvement from the previous law by taking into account the needs of future generations, as well as paying attention to public awareness and the global environment [11]. Subsequent regulations are Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 27 of 1999 concerning Analysis of Environmental Impacts, Government Regulation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 2001 concerning Control of Damage to and or by Forest and Land Fires [12, 13]. The existence of these regulations has not been enough to reduce environmental degradation, which continues to increase due to substantial, structural, and cultural weaknesses, eventually leading to criticism and pressure from environmental activists for political parties to be responsive to environmental issues. These weaknesses then forced the cadres of political parties who sit in the legislative seats to continue to perfect the laws and regulations regarding the environment that put more emphasis on environmental protection and management, such as the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management. As a political party that is included in the top three elections, PDIP certainly has quite a lot of influence and contribution in drafting the law.

Even though legal instruments in the environmental field have been issued to achieve environmental compliance, in various regions in Indonesia environmental problems still occur such as waste and pollution that damage environmental quality (water, soil, and air), damage to ecosystems (beaches, areas rivers, forests, imbalances in water resources (floods and droughts, land conversion and degradation resulting in decreased agricultural production,

decreased biodiversity, and overexploitation of natural resources. Conditions are exacerbated by climate change (potential disasters) and energy shortages emerges and is felt by the communities. In such a situation, according to Stephen Trudgill, environmental leadership is needed. Commitment to the environment is one of the best assets in environmental leadership which must also be accompanied by an example (Waiting for Environmental Leadership) [14].

3.2 Establishment of Buildings and Action Programs in the Environmental Sector

PDIP's action programs in the environmental sector is clearly stated in the Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART) with the Chairperson of the People's Division whose responsibilities involve issues of food, agriculture, forestry, and the environment. In addition, awareness of the environment has also been formed since the cadre school period containing the aim of forming party members who have awareness, ideology, organization, and environmental awareness as well as an understanding of the socio-economic aspects of society. There, since undergoing cadre education, members have been instilled with love for the environment. In the fields of industry, labor, and social security, it is also emphasized that investment policies to accelerate equitable national economic growth must be environmentally friendly as stated in the party's strategic political policy (AD/ART PDIP) [15].

One of PDIP's real actions in tackling environmental problems is the establishment of the Disaster Management Agency (Baguna). Baguna was formed by Megawati when she was assigned by President Abdurrahman Wahid to deal with disasters in various regions in Indonesia in 2002-2003. According to Megawati, at that time there was a delay in disaster management due to bureaucratic problems where disaster issues were only handled by the sub-directorates of the Ministry of Transportation and the Ministry of Social Affairs. This condition resulted in the delay in disaster response at the location. In fact, according to Megawati, emergency response in disaster areas must be carried out quickly. Reflecting on this incident, Megawati then turned the Meteorology and Geophysics Agency (BMKG) which was originally under the Ministry of Transportation into a non-departmental government agency (LPDND). Not only in government, Megawati also made a breakthrough at PDIP by forming Baguna. Baguna is an example of Megawati's contributions as a member of the government and also as the general chairwoman of the party. Megawati realized that her ideas must continue to be realized even though she was no longer serving as vice president [16].

In developing the skills of party members who belonged to Baguna, PDIP periodically held training sessions in collaboration with the National Search and Rescue Agency (Basarnas). The materials taught include medical responders and water rescue as well as providing ideological material. When a disaster hit, Baguna deployed with enthusiasm, grounded in the spirit of gotong royong 'the strong help the weak'. In addition to the spirit of mutual cooperation, Baguna was also established with the consideration that geographically it is in the ring of fire route so that the potential for natural disasters is very high, both wet and dry disasters, ranging from environmental, ecological damage, floods, landslides, and so on [16].

Environmental issues have long been a concern of PDIP, as evidenced by the intensity of echoing green politics to encourage environmental protection even though they often collide at the policy level. At the level of political party policy, Megawati has given strict instructions and published a special book to build awareness of growing plants, especially edible plants [17].

The importance of caring for plants and protecting the environment was conveyed by the general chairman of PDIP at the end of 2013 in the Ciliwung River area, East Jakarta. At that time, Megawati reviewed the Ciliwung River conservation program with Joko Widodo, who was still the governor of Jakarta. Megawati's commitment to environmental issues was also emphasized at the announcement of the pair of candidates for governor and deputy governor who would take part in the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in which all candidates were required to have strong commitments to the environment. In the context of responding to environmental issues, PDIP places itself not only as an electoral party but also as a state party. This was emphasized by Megawati so that PDIP would always be present to work among the people, not only during elections but as long as the party still exists. For example, reforestation activities are carried out regularly to maintain environmental health. Every anniversary since 2013, PDIP has always held the planting of thousands of tree seedlings simultaneously in various regions. Uniquely, activities based on love for the environment are carried out in accordance with the natural conditions of each region. For example, in Pekanbaru, on the banks of the Sail River, tree planting was carried out to prevent silting and reduce the risk of smog due to forest fires. This step has received appreciation from political observers because it is considered very strategic and relevant at the national, regional, and global levels [18].

In Kediri Regency, all elements of society, environmentalists and volunteers joined the Kediri Environmental Care Alliance (ARPL) in this activity. At least 300 tree seedlings were planted around the location of the reservoir, which functions to store rainwater and to irrigate rice fields during the dry season. The urgency of the activities in Kediri is to keep the soil fertile so that it can produce food crops optimally. The activity apparently continues not only during the anniversary but throughout the rainy season to accommodate water supplies [19]

In Tanggamus Regency, precisely in Pematang Sawa District, which has tourism potential, mangrove planting was carried out to protect the beach from abrasion and also as an alternative tourist attraction. Mangrove seedlings were planted to resist abrasion and keep the coast in a better, cool, clean, and beautiful atmosphere to pamper tourists [20]

In the activities carried out, PDIP also always instills the values of gotong royong (mutual help) as expressed by the Regent of Subang H. Ruhimat or often called Kang Jimat. When opening the tree planting event which in 2022 was centered at SMKN 1 Dawuhan, Kang Jimat expressed his appreciation for the organization of activities that truly instill the nature of mutual cooperation. He said if one person planted three trees simultaneously then all the way in front of SMKN 1 Dawuhan would be truly green and fresh. Tree planting activities that are routinely organized by PDIP have also created optimism regarding the reforestation program in Subang [21]

The activity, which is centered in secondary schools, also instills in the younger generation to love the environment more, which is also routinely carried out by I Nyoman Parta, Member of Commission VI DPR RI. Since 2007, I Nyoman Parta, who represents the chosen area of Bali, has invited youths to care about the environment. He invited the children from the Tangguh Children Foundation he had fostered to do a clean-up action at Saba Beach, Gianyar. In this activity, children from various communities that care about the environment were also present to clean up trash, especially plastic waste in the beach area. The Tangguh Children Foundation was founded in 2007 which means that it has been more than 10 years since I Nyoman Parta instilled a high spirit and sense of responsibility to protect and preserve nature. Beach clean-up activities usually ended with the release of hatchlings and turtles as a form of human awareness of the preservation of endangered animals [22].

Meanwhile, in highland areas, activities have been focused on planting trees that can withstand landslides and floods, as has been done by hundreds of PDIP DPC cadres of Balikpapan City. In this activity, as many as 300 tree seedlings were planted in an area of one hectare involving 120 PDIP cadres in Balikpapan. Besides being planted on vacant land,

the tree seedlings are also planted in the homes of each cadre as an effort to preserve the environment [23]

These activities have actually been carried out for a long time, but were not covered by the media considering the social media scene was not as vibrant as it is today and they were suspended due to the Covid pandemic, which required people to stay at home. In 2022, simultaneous tree planting activities will be held again. In 2022, tree planting activities will be opened and centered in Bali to be followed by all regions according to their respective schedules as a form of the party's commitment to preserving nature and protecting the environment. Quoting a statement from one of the cadres published in the official PDIP news story, the environmental-themed activities, apart from showing the party's commitment, were also inspired by Megawati Soekarnoputri's love for plants and nature. With regular training and activities, environmental conservation and management has become a PDIP culture [24].

In order to further demonstrate the party's commitment to the environment and to respond to climate change issues to the national, regional and global community, press releases regarding tree planting activities for the PDIP Anniversary were expressed in seven languages: English, German, French, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, and Spanish. In Bali alone in January 2022, approximately 15 thousand mangrove tree seedlings have been planted in Banyuwedang, three thousand in Jembrana Regency, two thousand in Nusa Penida, one thousand in Tanjoeng Benoa, and in Denpasar as many as 500 five hundred shrimp pine tree seedlings.

4 Conclusion

PDIP's commitment to environmental issues has been shown, among others, by the drafting of Law on the Environment, such as the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management. In addition, it can also be seen from the formation of Baguna as a manifestation of a commitment to environmental issues and having environmental actions programs that are preventive and systemic. The gap between the substance and the implementation of the set of rules has been slowly answered by PDIP through preventive actions programs and disaster management to maintain environmental balance. In the context of environmental issues, PDIP is present as extension of policy makers as well as carrying the mandate of a law that requires all levels of society to be responsible for environmental managements for the sake of future generations. The programs carried out by the PDIP are always adapted to the natural conditions of their respective regions, which further strengthens the existence of periodic coaching within the PDIP, both from party's leadership, members and sympathizers in order to produce leadership that is committed to the environment.

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