



UNIVERSITAS  
**SANATA DHARMA**  
Y O G Y A K A R T A



**Conference Book**

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Literary Studies Conference

**THE 1965 COUP  
IN INDONESIA:  
QUESTIONS OF  
REPRESENTATION  
50 YEARS LATER**

21 – 22 October 2015

*Hosted by*  
English Letters Department,  
Graduate Program in English Language Studies,  
Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

*Co-hosted with*



Ateneo de Manila University,  
the Philippines

# The 3<sup>rd</sup> Literary Studies Conference

“The 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Questions of  
Representations 50 Years Later”

## Conference Book

Department of English Letters  
Graduate Program in English Language Studies  
Universitas Sanata Dharma

co-hosted with

Kritika Kultura  
RAFIL (Reading Asia, Forging Identities in Literature)  
Ateneo de Manila University, the Philippines

Yogyakarta, 21-22 October 2015

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## Rector's Address

I would like to extend my warmest regards to all speakers and participants of this conference. Let us ask for God's blessing upon this occasion so it can be an effective means to strengthen our role as researchers and writers. I do hope that the conference facilitates a fruitful sharing and exchange of ideas to respond one of the most difficult tragedies to understand, the 1965 coup in Indonesia.

We might agree to what, how and why the coup happened but it is unbelievable to realize that part of the event was thousand innocent citizens killed in a massive massacre. It has left us a painful scar for the victims as well as created a series of serious problems to all related victims up to now. The anxiety, frustration and resentment are still around and felt deeply by the family members of the victims.

It is really unbelievable and difficult to make sense of the event especially when we perceive ourselves as people of having dignified characters such as respecting others, keeping harmonious way of life, and believing in God. Some people understand that the event was a perfect contradiction: defending *Pancasila* (The Five State-Principles), yet at the same time violating those values and principles.

It has been 50 years now, the coup and its related events have been burdening us especially to those who critically understand and feel how bad the tragedy ruins the life of thousand innocent people. It is time for us to step forward by understanding the tragedy from a new and more humanistic perspective. No matter how difficult it is, because many live-witnesses are still around, understanding the event from the victims' perspectives might be appropriate and provide a scheme to heal the wound of the victims as well as the whole nation.

It is the responsibility of ours as academician to provide the context, framework and narrated presentation to better understand and make sense of the event. I do hope that such endeavor will shed light on us and especially to politicians and public leaders who have position and authority to propose reconciliation and solution. Therefore, *The 3<sup>rd</sup> Literary Studies Conference on The 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Questions of representation 50 Years Later* is really an appropriate and relevant call to all of us.

Have an enjoyable conference and may it bring a better conversation, understanding, and awareness to such important but painful tragedy. Thank you for visiting Sanata Dharma.

**Johanes Eka Priyatma, Ph.D.**  
Universitas Sanata Dharma, Rector

## Words from the Dean

Fifty years ago a terrible bloody coup took place in Indonesia. It has been a nightmare in the modern history of Indonesia for it has caused a great number of casualties and a variety of horrible and sad stories to be in circulation in the communities right after the event. Unfortunately, most of the public and official discussions on the incident have been confined merely to the party that masterminded the coup, to the one that benefited from it, or even to the one that was supposed to be blamed, which in a way sounds distorting, reductive, and impoverishing.

I guess the committee of the *Literary Studies Conference*, the international conference which is annually hosted by the English Letters Study Program of Universitas Sanata Dharma, make use of the fiftieth commemoration of the coup as a momentum to reflect upon the history of Indonesia as a nation and part of the global community by raising the issue of the representation of the event in cultural texts and practices, especially literature, which have been produced across the country as the theme of the conference of this year. The choice of the theme is undertaken on the basis of the belief that the production and reproduction of a national discourse of one country is implicated in the production and reproduction of its national cultural texts and practices. As contended by Fredric Jameson, the relationship between the two in the field of literature is particularly evident in the third world literature.

The questions to be answered at the conference are whether the representations of the 1965 coup in Indonesian cultural texts and practices only confirm “what is already known”, conforming to the political mainstream or whether they go beyond that, giving a voice to both those that possess no voice and those that have been silenced. Indonesian cultural texts and practices of the former kind situate themselves as an instrument for maintaining the prevailing structure of power. On the contrary, those of the latter kind serve the function of establishing one’s critical collective awareness.

Indeed, the establishment of one’s critical collective awareness in turn enables him to see the history of his nation with a proper perspective, locating the history as an opportunity to learn as both a human and a citizen. Only when one comes to this awareness, as Ignas Kleden puts it, would he not present himself as a romantic, treating history as a mere repertoire of human virtues, nor would he situate himself as a pathologist, treating it as a mere document of human follies.

**Dr. F.X. Siswadi, M.A.**  
Faculty of Letters, Dean

## A Welcome Note from the Chair

As stated in its Strategic Plan 2013 - 2017, one of the short-term goals of Universitas Sanata Dharma is the improvement of the productivity, quality, and scope of its academic contribution and community service. This goal is carried out through various activities such as developing the quality of the education system and improving the quality of the lecturers. Those are supported by the improvement of research quality and research publication. It is emphasized that the researches done by Universitas Sanata Dharma must be qualified and contextual.

The English Letters Department as one of the leading departments at Sanata Dharma University actively participates in reaching this goal by conducting the annual international conference “Literary Studies Conference’.

This year’s conference is different from the previous one because the 3<sup>rd</sup> Literary Studies Conference is hosted together not only with Ateneo de Manila University but also with Kritika Kultura, RAFIL Consortium, and the Graduate Program in English Language Studies Universitas Sanata Dharma.

Without neglecting the main focus of Literary Studies Conference which is to focus on the Asian Literature, the selected theme of the conference is “The 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Questions of Representation 50 Years Later”.

The theme is selected to commemorate a painful event that occurred in Indonesia 50 years ago. Another reason is because similar experience also occurred in other countries in South East Asia.

It is expected that this conference can give us a chance to see and to question the coup from literary and linguistic perspectives, and to share our ideas so that we can better understand and make sense of what happened 50 years ago.

Finally, have an enjoyable conference and may it bring enlightenment for us to contribute in creating more humane society for all of us.

**Anna Fitriati, S.Pd., M.Hum.**  
Conference Chair

## Literary Studies Conference 2015 Schedule

### Day 1: Wednesday, 21 October 2015

| Time        | Session          | Speaker                                     | Topic  | Room                               |
|-------------|------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 07.30-08.00 | Registration     |   |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor              |
| 08.00-08.30 | Opening Ceremony |   |  | Koendjono (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor)  |
| 08.30-10.00 | Plenary 1        | Barbara Hatley<br>Moderator: Paulus Sarwoto |  | Koendjono (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor)  |
| 10.00-10.30 | Coffee Break     |   |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor              |
| 10.30-12.00 | Parallel 1A      | Jeffrey Willever Jacobson                   | Menanam Terjemahan Semangat Priyayi: The Priyayi Habitus and State Violence in Umar Kayam's <i>Para Priyayi</i>  | Koendjono (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor)  |
|             |                  | M. Dirgantara                               | On Sympathizing and Ridiculing the Violent Past: Readers' Perspective on Linda Christanty's <i>Makan Malam</i> and Yusi Avianto Pareanom's <i>Laki-laki di Ujung Jalan</i> |                                    |
|             |                  | Novita Dewi                                 | Environmental Damage in the Indonesian 1965 Coup Literature  |                                    |
| 10.30-12.00 | Parallel 1B      | Dominic Paul C. Sy                          | Marx and Magic: the Appropriation of Millenarianism through Magical Realism in Reynaldo Munsayac's <i>Duguang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader</i>                              | Driyarkara (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor) |
|             |                  | Deri Sis Nanda                              | Rewriting History through Buru Quartet by Pramoedya Ananta Toer as a Form of Resistance in Soeharto's Era  |                                    |
|             |                  | Fiky Daulay                                 | Performing Present: Temporal Shock in <i>The Act of Killing</i>  |                                    |
| 10.30-12.00 | Parallel 1C      | Nudia Imarotul Husna                        | Depicting Political and Social Hegemony in Umar Kayam's Short Story  | Kadarman (3 <sup>rd</sup> Floor)   |
|             |                  | Anne Christine A. Ensomo                    | The Paradigmatic Disjuncture between the "Inland" and the "Islandic": A Critique of Suharto's Spatial Policy in Papua in Counterpoint with the Case of Southern Mindanao   |                                    |
|             |                  | Taufiq Hanafi                               | Wound Around the Wound: Narrating Trauma of Indonesia 1965 from the Perspectives of the Victims  |                                    |

|             |                     |  |   |
|-------------|---------------------|--|---|
| 12.00-13.00 | <b>Lunch Break</b>  |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor   |
| 13.00-14.30 | <b>Parallel 2A</b>  | Nenden Rikma Dewi  | The Untold History of the 'Unfinished Nation' in History Schoolbooks  |
|             |                     | Nungki Heriyati  | Translating Pain: Women's Struggle in Their Everyday Life after G30S Tragedy as Represented in Putu Oka's <i>Istana Jiwa</i>                          |
|             |                     | Amado Anthony G. Mendoza III                             | Collating the Nation: The Disruption of the New Order and New Society's National Narratives in the Novels of Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Edel Garcellano |
| 13.00-14.30 | <b>Parallel 2B</b>  | Ma. Socorro Q. Perez                                     | The Politics of "Placing" in Selected GUMIL Hawaii's Short Fiction  |
|             |                     | FX Dono Sunardi  | Indonesian Bildungsroman in Pramoedya A. Toer's <i>Buru</i> Quarted   |
|             |                     | Gabriel Fajar Sasmita Aji                                | <i>30 September</i> by a Child: Modernity in Ideology   |
| 13.00-14.30 | <b>Parallel 2C</b>  | Siti Nuraishah Ahmad                                     | Laksmi Pamuntjak's <i>Amba</i> and the Re-Membering of Fractured Identities in Indonesia  |
|             |                     | A.B. Sri Mulyani   | Musing Class and Gender in Literature   |
|             |                     | Yerry Wiryawan   | Cerpen Berlatar Peristiwa 1965 dalam Koran <i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i> 2011-2015   |
|             |                     | Ursula Quera Nandadevi Bone                              | Joshua Oppenheimer's <i>The Act Killing</i> : A Closer Look on the Configuration of the Latent Communist Stigma among the Indonesians                 |
| 14.30-15.00 | <b>Coffee Break</b> |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor   |
| 15.00-16.30 | <b>Plenary 2</b>    | Mark Laurence D. Garcia<br><b>Moderator:</b> Sri Mulyani | Driyarkara (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor)  |

**Day 2: Thursday, 22 October 2015**

| Time        | Session         | Speaker                                 | Topic  | Room                               |
|-------------|-----------------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 07.30-08.00 | Re-Registration |   |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor              |
| 08.00-09.30 | Plenary 3       | Martin Suryajaya<br>Moderator: G. Fajar |  | Driyarkara (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor) |
| 09.30-10.00 | Coffee Break    |   |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor              |
| 10.00-11.30 | Parallel 3A     | Ricky Celeste Ornopia                   | Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Levy Balgos dela Cruz: A Comparative Analysis  | Koendjono (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor)  |
|             |                 | Sri Kusumo Habsari                      | Cultural Forms of Women's Submission and Resistance in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's <i>Gadis Pantai</i>               |                                    |
|             |                 | Heru Joni Putra                         | Politics of Aesthetics: The Strategy of Mochtar Lubis' <i>Kuli Kontrak</i> in Maintaining New Order's Propaganda |                                    |
| 10.00-11.30 | Parallel 3B     | Francis C. Sollano                      | A Strange Form of Life: Tracing Pramoedya's Revolutionary Realism in <i>Tales from Jakarta</i>                   | Driyarkara (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor) |
|             |                 | Fitrilya Anjarsari                      | New Order as the Plane of Immanence in the Romance Films in Indonesia: Deleuzian Cinema Critics                  |                                    |
|             |                 | Fransisca Kristanti                     | Social Actor Representation in Asmadji As Muchtar's <i>Bapakku Juga Hilang</i>                                   |                                    |
| 10.00-11.30 | Parallel 3C     | Lany Kristono                           | Cultural Trauma in the Works of Martin Aleida  | Kadarman (3 <sup>rd</sup> Floor)   |
|             |                 | Hassan Muthalib                         | Joshua Oppenheimer's <i>The Look of Silence</i> : A Cinematic Look at the Banality of Evil                       |                                    |
|             |                 | Ferdinal                                | Fictional Representation of Human Rights: Indonesian New Order Short Story                                       |                                    |
|             |                 | Kar Yen Leong                           | Within Unseen Realms: the Private Sphere, Private Memories and Representing 1965                                 |                                    |
| 11.30-12.30 | Lunch Break     |   |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor              |

|             |                        |  |  |                                    |
|-------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|
| 12.30-14.00 | Parallel 4A            | Yoseph Yapi Taum                         | Collective Indonesian Memories of the 1965 Tragedy During New Order Regime                               | Koendjono (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor)  |
|             |                        | Genevieve L. Asenjo                      | Narrating Hybridity and Resistance: Pramoedya Ananta Toer in <i>Bumi Manusia</i> (This Earth of Mankind) |                                    |
|             |                        | Fajar Purnomo Adi                        | The Ruling Ideology: Communism in the Life and Art of Pramoedya Ananta Toer                              |                                    |
| 12.30-14.00 | Parallel 4B            | Sylvie Meiliana                          | Fenomena Kekerasan Gender di Balik sebuah Karya Sastra: Tinjauan Strukturalisme Genetik dan Feminisme    | Driyarkara (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor) |
|             |                        | Ma. Luisa T. Reyes                       | Refunctioning the Documentary  |                                    |
|             |                        | Fr. B. Alip                              | Dominant Versus Resistant Reading  |                                    |
| 12.30-14.00 | Parallel 4C            | Firqo Amelia                             | Psychological Disorder Experienced by Drum in the Film <i>Novel Tanpa Huruf R</i>                        | Kadarman (3 <sup>rd</sup> Floor)   |
|             |                        | Rieta Anggraheni Sekartiyasa Kusumastuti | Ideology Media: Suharto's Collapse and International Perspective   |                                    |
|             |                        | Laura Artha Manofa Sianturi              | State Censorship: Government Defense Mechanism upon Printed Mass Media from Regime to Regime             |                                    |
|             |                        | Maria Amparo N. Warren                   | A Pilgrim's Story: Iwan Simatupang and Finding the Self in the Modern Indonesian Novel                   |                                    |
| 14.00-14.30 | <b>Closing</b>         |  |  | Driyarkara (4 <sup>th</sup> Floor) |
| 14.30-15.00 | <b>Coffee Farewell</b> |  |  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor              |

## Masalah 1965 dalam Representasi Artistik dan Ideologi Estetis

**Martin Suryajaya**

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Pembantaian orang-orang komunis menyusul kudeta militer G-30-S adalah peristiwa besar yang mengubah sejarah Indonesia secara radikal. Tak kurang dari 500.000 orang mati, menurut perhitungan konservatif. Bahkan kemungkinan juga mencapai angka antara satu hingga tiga juta nyawa, menurut film *The Act of Killing* yang disutradai oleh Joshua Oppenheimer. Selain itu, sekitar 1,5 juta orang yang dijejaskan ke penjara tanpa pengadilan (Roosa, Ratih & Farid 2004: 9). Dengan angka korban sebesar itu, sudah tentu terjadi perubahan besar dalam masyarakat Indonesia, begitu juga ekspresi kulturalnya. Melalui makalah ini, penulis akan mempelajari lebih lanjut bagaimana peristiwa kelas dengan skala sebesar itu tampil ke dalam karya seni, khususnya dalam sastra dan seni rupa. Setelah mengidentifikasi pola-pola representasi artistik atas pembantaian 1965, penulis akan mencoba memeriksa perubahan yang terjadi pada aras pandangan estetis menyusul peristiwa tersebut.

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## Catatan Kecil Dalam Gerakan Besar Bangsa Indonesia

**Putu Oka Sukanta,**

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Saya adalah korban Perang dingin, dalam rangka menjatuhkan kekuasaan Sukarno yang didukung penuh oleh Partai Komunis Indonesia. Maka PKI menjadi sasaran utama kaum OLDEFO (Old Establish Forces/ Kapitalis Dunia). Tanpa menghancurkan PKI terlebih dahulu, Sukarno tidak akan jatuh dari kekuasaannya. Kejatuhan Sukarno berarti terbuka kemungkinan bagi kapitalis dunia untuk menguasai akses dan aset ekonomi Indonesia. Untuk itu rakyat Indonesia yang berada di lingkaran Sukarno dan PKI, perlu dimusnahkan, dibunuh, dipenjarakan, dibuang, dan selama hidupnya didiskriminalisasi, dengan stigma bahaya latent komunis. Pelaksanaan strategi tersebut dilakukan oleh Orde Baru, Golkar, militerisme dan birokrat Indonesia.

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## **A Comparative Analysis of Systematic Political Strategy of Repression & Oppression during 1965-1966 of Suharto's Regime in Indonesia & in Mid-1980s of Aquino's Administration in the Philippines Presented in Two Films- Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* & Lino Brocka's *Orapronobis***

**Mark Laurence D. Garcia**

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University of the Philippines Diliman  
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### **Abstract**

This study looks at the two cases of repressive and oppressive situation in a sudden transition of government of two nations (1965 Indonesia & 1986 Philippines) presented in two films, Joshua Oppenheimer's 2012 documentary film *The Act of Killing* and Lino Brocka's 1989 political film *Orapronobis* (also known as *Fight for Us*). Specifically, it also tackles the political strategies used by the two regimes to suppress political dissidents such as the local leftist movements, the use of *preman* & the *Pemuda Pancasila* in Indonesia's New Order by Suharto & the *vigilantes* (represented in the film by the group *Orapronobis*) as part of Philippine counterinsurgency strategy of Aquino's administration in the Philippines. In addition to analyzing the films in accordance with their socio-historical context, the study traces the history why these groups were utilized during the oppressive years through related literature, historical accounts, and other essential sources. It also focuses on the similarities and differences of those two cases of Indonesia & the Philippines. Consequently, such similarities and differences were found that are essential to further discuss the question how was the 1965 Indonesia related to the 1986 Philippines. This study provides alternative perspectives on what and how to gaze at a historical chapter of a nation, specifically the events of 1965-1966 Indonesia & mid-1980s Philippines. It also contributes to the issue of interrelationship of Indonesia & the Philippines through history.

**Keywords:** *Suharto, New Order, preman, Pemuda Pancasila, Aquino, Philippine Counterinsurgency campaign, vigilantes, Orapronobis*

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## ***Menanam Terjemahan Semangat Priyayi: Habitus and State Violence in Para Priyayi***

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### **Abstract**

This paper analyzes the representation of the priyayi class in Umar Kayam's novel *Para Priyayi* in light of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. As set forth in *Distinction*, differences in habitus, defined as a "virtue made from necessity" which manifests as 'life-style', reflect a basic bipartite class division between those who live in material comfort and those who do not. In *Para Priyayi* this division is between priyayi and *wong cilik*. The priyayi characters in the novel live at a distance from material necessity which defines their self-identity as priyayi as well as their relations with both *wong cilik* and the broader national-historical context of the novel's setting. This distance is evident firstly in the regressive 'philanthropic' efforts of "priyayi maju" and secondly in the historical 'flatness' that characterizes Noegroho and enables his apparently untroubled participation in the killings of 1965-66. The text of the novel itself 'sides' with the priyayi via its portrayal of leftist and non-priyayi characters. Finally, conversations between Harimurti and Lantip are considered as a microcosm of the debate between Lekra and their 'universal humanist' opponents which in turn encompasses a broader ideological confrontation between radicalism and liberalism. Hari's 'loss' in this debate results not from the weakness of his argument but rather from his own traumatic encounter with state violence. His disavowal of leftism and repentant return to traditional 'priyayism' at the end of the novel reflect the death of the left, both spiritually and materially, which inaugurates the New Order era in Indonesian history.

**Keywords:** *Umar Kayam, Bourdieu, priyayi, aesthetics, violence, communism, 1965-66 Indonesian killings*

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## Within Unseen Realms: The Private Sphere, Private Memories and Representing 1965

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### Abstract

In the events of the 1965 coup, hundreds of thousands to millions of Indonesians were detained, incarcerated and/or 'disappeared'. Many of them were accused of being communists, left wing dissidents or simply disagreed with those in authority. The family members of these victims of the 1965 pogroms were also subjected to 'state violence'. Labeled as being 'unclean' (*tidak bersih lingkungan*) generations of Indonesians faced discrimination and institutionalised stigmatization, excluding them from their rights as citizens.

However, following the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, Indonesia's democratic transition has given rise to a burgeoning body of literature on the personal experiences during the New Order period. Efforts by academics and those in the field of memory studies have produced oral historical accounts, which reveal fascinating details into the dynamics of the New Order regime and how Indonesians navigate their place in it. Personal memoirs have also provided a much-needed facet into the 'private sphere' of individuals in the face of the New Order's omnipresence.

This paper, by analyzing these memoirs and oral historical accounts, aims to understand how Indonesians have used the private sphere to frame the extraordinary events of the 1965 pogroms as well as its aftermath. The paper also takes the position that these personal accounts should be incorporated into the corpus of Indonesian 'literature' as they provide extraordinary insights and raise very important questions in our understanding of the events but also of its historical impact.

How are these momentous events remembered? How are they then transmitted from one generation to another? As these stories and memories are told, how are they being used to deal with these events, which have such far-reaching consequences? More importantly, the paper asks how the family (as a private sphere) has been utilized as a 'site' to resist/define reality in light of the New Order regime's numerous attempts to regulate both the minds and bodies of its citizens.

This paper will utilize concepts such as Nancy Frasers' 'counter publics' as well as theories of the 'public/private spheres'. In doing so this paper attempts to understand the dynamics of the 'private' and the implications it has, not only in the understanding of how Indonesians 'deal' with the traumatic events of 1965, but also for other Southeast Asian states coming to terms with their 'dark pasts'.

**Keywords:** *human rights, memory, private sphere, family, Indonesia, 1965 event*

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## Environmental Damage in the Indonesian 1965 Coup Literature

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### Abstract

Violence, atrocity and human rights abuse in Indonesia have become part of the narratives of the 1965 Coup Literature. Not only has such body of writing enriched Indonesian literature, but it has also contributed to the history of Indonesia in a way inconceivable by the country's official history.

What has been scarcely documented, however, is the fact that environmental problems were also added to the dark past of the coup. Pollution, poverty, economic exploitation, land seizure are among the ecological injustice often surface in some Indonesian literary works using the 1965 coup as backdrops.

This paper, therefore, is to examine Indonesian contemporary fiction in the light of Ecocriticism. It will discuss the ways in which ecological issues in several literary works need to be politically and ideologically contested.

**Keywords:** *ecocriticism, water pollution, economic injustice*

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## Indonesian *Bildungsroman* in Pramoedya A. Toer's Buru Quartet

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### Abstract

In *The Mute Soliloquy*, Pramoedya A. Toer (1925-2006) wrote that the aim of Buru Quartet is to "help correct the accepted colonial version of the history of Indonesian nationalism" (1999: 314). This suggests that Indonesian nationalism as being imagined and dreamt by its ideologues and founding fathers had, according to Pram, been betrayed by postcolonial regimes, particularly by Soeharto's New Order. In Indonesia New Order, nationalism was represented as something finished and stable. As such, nationalism fixes its gazes in the past, which was invented and maintained by the regime. Pram, on the other hands, believed that Indonesian nationalism is something that is dynamic, in the process of making, and act of imagining. This paper explores how Indonesian nationalism was invented and is developed through the observation to the main character of Pram's Buru Quartet, how his characterization could become a metonymy to Indonesian *bildungsroman*, and how, seen this way, Indonesian nationalism is more a result of an act of imagining than a solid reality.

**Keywords:** *Nationalism, representation, dynamic nationalism, metonymy*

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## Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba* and Re-membering Fractured Identities in Indonesia

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### Abstract

The events of 30 September 1965 and its aftermath are a catastrophic chapter in the history of post-colonial Indonesia. Metaphors of loss, rupture, and, to borrow Max Lane's term, "an unfinished nation" have since been used in writings about the systematic destruction of the left in Indonesia in 1965-66. These metaphors can also be extended to the identity construction of Indonesians, as portrayed in the novel *Amba* (2012) by Laksmi Pamuntjak. The novel's protagonists represent Indonesians whose identities are fractured by the violence, trauma and alienation brought about by the purge of the PKI— both those who were directly affected by the events (*Amba* and *Bhisma*) and those who came after (*Samuel* and *Srikandi*). Their fractured identities need to be pieced back together through acts of re-membering and the search for truth and closure, however fragmented and incomplete these processes may be. Using theoretical approaches from trauma and memory studies, this paper examines the said characters and the journeys they undertake to recover a sense of selfhood that was broken or lost in or because of the events of 1965-66.

**Keywords:** *Indonesian fiction, identity and memory, identity and trauma*

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## Performing Present: Temporal Shock in *The Act of Killing*

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### Abstract

This paper examines the current debate surrounding the documentary film, *The Act of Killing* (Oppenheimer, 2012). One interpretation in particular, that of Cribb (2014), suggests that the film presents a reconfirmation of the Orientalist notion that Indonesians do not value human life, as evidenced by the killers' ability to slaughter each other with casual self-indulgence. Cribb states this is caused by an absence of the army in the film. He continues that the presentation of the killers affirms their claims presenting the killings *without critique*. According to this interpretation, this is owed to the manipulation of the staging by the lack of any historical precision and an unclear film structure. Taking this starting point, I will address this analysis by recourse to Butler's (2011) theory of performativity to unveil the hidden construction of the 'heroic past'. Within the performative process, I will position *Gestus* as an aesthetic strategy that allows the spectators to deconstruct the temporal quality of the performance.

**Keywords:** *documentary, representation, performativity, gestus, temporality, deconstruction*

## Depicting Political and Social Hegemony in Umar Kayam's Short Stories

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### Abstract

The short story titled *Bawuk* by Umar Kayam, one of Indonesia's famous writers, underlines a number of subject matters about Indonesia's historical politics and sociocultures. Both, in the short story, are presented by the frame of hegemony that is rendered repressively. It depicts the idea of how the Indonesia's historical politics and social existed in the tragedy of 1965, in which terrorism tragically occurred and was identically described with repression. This is problematized further by the fact that it is translated into an English version. The translation method often removes the political and social value that the source text conveys. It is evidenced by the fact that the role of translation impacts to the depiction of political and social hegemony that is represented neutrally in the target text rather than repressively. It causes shift of the hegemony in which repression is more vaguely pictured and affects the type and the function of the hegemony in the target text.

**Keywords:** *hegemony, shift, short story, the tragedy of 1965, translation, Umar Kayam*

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## The Specter of 1965 in the Cultural Terrain of Present-day Surakarta

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### Abstract

A heterochronic space, Surakarta accommodates and encodes various strands of temporality--ranging from the time of the rival kraton or courts of Kasunanan and Mangkunegaran dating back to the 18th century to the modernity of Indonesian nationalism between the late 19th and early 20th centuries--in a dialogic fashion. It is the spatialization of time in Surakarta which casts in vivid relief the social contradictions as well as historic unconscious operative in Indonesia, providing a meta-referential frame within which unacknowledged yet well-entrenched ideologies pertaining to class and religion could be unravelled and interrogated. In this paper, I will examine the toponymic inscription of the specter of 1965 in the everyday, quotidian life of Surakarta. As a Filipina presently residing in Surakarta, I wish to engage the trauma of the 1965 coup from the lens of a self-reflexive observer, whose partial knowledge of this immemorial event in Indonesian history has been mediated and framed by particular encounters and experiences I have had during my stay in Surakarta. As a critical and conflictual space, Surakarta reflects the persistence of a pattern of anti-Communist feeling which is disguised or dissimulated by a largely polite ethos encoded in the category "sopan santun" retained by, and interiorized within, a place proud of its courtly origins. Moreover, this reflective account will delve into the way in which concealed suspicion, if not aversion, to Communist ideology, which remains pervasive albeit in the realm of the quotidian, reveals the inner workings of a chronic yet more insidious permutated of the Islamic ideology of Suharto's regime--which is not to be confused with qualitatively distinct traditions of Islam that are and remain outside of state co-optation--as it continues to operate in Surakarta up until the present. This critical reflection will thus look into the way in which these tendencies and forces permeate and in fact orchestrate the terrain of culture in Surakarta, particularly as they bring about material effects in the context of everyday, practical life. It will pay close attention to the way in which the polite and codified mores of this historic Javanese city in conjunction with the naturalization of the nationalized Islamism of the New Order continue to reproduce repressive and archiviolithic effects which not only foreclose the possibility of self-criticality in the enactment of memory; they also and do in fact contribute to the contemporaneous production and legitimation of class inequality in a setting which, while apparently becoming increasingly urbanized, remains internally riven, with a disempowered and dislocated peasant as well as proletarian class becoming entrenched in the periphery or in enclosed, balkanized spaces in and around the city. This exploratory essay hopes to pay paean to the fugitive and spectral presence of an ageing peasantry in Surakarta--from the viewpoint of a sympathetic observer--whose foiled quest for self-emergence in the '60s has been coded in terms of a non-event in Indonesian discourse and politics, and whose narrative of toil and struggle is gradually receding into obscurity in a society that is founded upon repression as its archontic principle.

## Wound around the Wound: Narrative, Trauma, and Indonesia 1965

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### **Abstract**

History's common association with science and objectivity makes it stand as the advocate of truth—shunning canards, rumors, and myths. What it tells is what truly and objectively happened in the past. However, history's close affiliation to collective authority often problematizes its position and even negates all historical facts that it presents. David W. Price in *History Made, History Imagined* (1992) argues that historical act emerges as a response to systems of values, many of which are opposed to one another. What history tells now is often a lopsided story, the very story that the authority wants it to tell. Accordingly, the voices of the personal and the un-authoritative, despite truthful contents, are frequently silenced. In this light, this paper that operates as a personal narrative aims to examine such situation by looking at how trauma resulted from the massacre of the 1965 is narrated from the perspective of the victims who have been falsely represented in the Indonesian national history. The victims, whom I have personally met, now stand as chroniclers/historiographers in spite of their close affinity to subjectivity, bias, and myth.

**Keywords:** authority, history, Indonesia, 1965 massacre, personal narrative

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## The Untold History of the ‘Unfinished Nation’ in History Schoolbooks

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### **Abstract**

Young generation will learn and try to understand their nation through history which is delivered by their teachers and parents or by reading books and watching movies. Yet, problems are occurred since history is always taking the winner side and seeking for truth about it is always devastating. Children have been taught, since their young age, that their nation is a great one and they shall respect the merit of Indonesia’s patriot by being a hard worker and a good citizen. Their national pride, however, will be scraped when they find out something was happened not as what they have been told at school. The most intriguing part of Indonesian history which is always delivered differently and makes them keep questioning is about Indonesia’s National Movement since the reign of New Order up to present time. It is important to discuss because this part is delivered in students’ history schoolbook so that it will give false or inadequate information towards them. Moreover, it is also because the history is created, delivered and strengthen not only by government but also by schools as ideological state apparatus. Regarding to that, this paper is discussing the untold history delivered differently in elementary until high school history schoolbook circulated by government. Several history schoolbooks, both paperback and ebooks, are used as main sources while several interviews with students are used as supported sources. The discussion will also involve Max Lane’s “Unfinished Nation” (2014) and John Rossa (2008) ideas. It is hoped that the discussion will make young generation aware and keep questioning the history of the nation without losing the pride being an Indonesian.

**Keywords:** *education, government, history, schoolbooks*

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## **Translating Pain: Women's Struggle in Their Everyday Life after G30 S Tragedy as Represented in Putu Oka's *Istana Jiwa***

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### **Abstract**

The paper explores women's struggle in their everyday life after they face G 30 S portrayed in *Istana Jiwa*. The description of everyday life after G 30 S might be overlooked because it seems insignificant if it is compared to the massive of the event. The issue is addressed from cognitive literature perspective by drawing upon affective narrative offered by Patrick Colm Hogan in his discussion of the structure of emotion in the narrative.

The representation of everyday life in *Istana Jiwa* is not only a medium to understand survivor's emotion but an essential means of portraying the massive effect of the tragedy to those who get involved. Non normalcy situation caused by social and political turmoil after G 30 S has changed women's life and ruin their everyday life normalcy. Constructing the life after the tragedy seems a painful experience for women. This is what Sukanta tried to translate in order to make the readers feel the anguish, fear, and pain of the victims.

**Keywords:** *women's struggle, everyday life, and emotion*

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## Collating the Nation: The Disruption of the New Order and New Society's National Narratives in the Novels of Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Edel Garcellano

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### Abstract

Due to mounting political and economic pressure during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Soeharto Baru Orde regime was forced to declare an era of political openness (*keterbukaan*). Seno Gumira Ajidarma (1958-present) was one of the most critical and innovative writers of that era. Initially known for his fiction about Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, it is in his experimental novel *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* (1996) where he unleashes his critique against the Soeharto regime. Likewise can be said for Edel E. Garcellano, one of the Philippines' most outspoken writers during and after the Marcos regime. His novel *Ficción* (1978) remains as one of the most stylistically crafted indictment of Marcos' 'New Society' and Philippine history and society in general. Focusing on the two novels' deployment of various types of texts (from historical documents to advertising leaflets) within the narrative, this study will attempt to uncover marginal narratives of the nation undercut by the national narrative of order, development, and progress espoused by both authoritarian regimes.

**Keywords:** *New order, new society, literary criticism, Philippine novel, Indonesian novel*

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## **A Strange Form of Life: Tracing Pramoedya's Revolutionary Realism in *Tales from Djakarta***

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### **Abstract**

A decade before the 1965 coup, Pramoedya Ananta Toer wrote short stories that were later collected in *Tales from Djakarta: Caricatures of Circumstances and Their Human Beings*. The significance of the mid-1950s to Pramoedya's career can be discerned in his search for a new foundation for his literary corpus. Especially with his association with Lekra to support Sukarno's *konsepsi* of an Indonesian democracy, Pramoedya was progressively shaping his brand of realism present in his later works. This paper traces Pramoedya's realism with an "orientation towards the people" (*tendensi kerakyatan*) through selected stories (written in 1955-56) from *Tales from Djakarta*, namely "Creatures Behind Houses," "No Resolution," "The Mastermind," "Mrs. Veterinary Doctor Suharko," and "Ketjapi." This paper emphasizes Pramoedya's critical stance as a "teller of tales" (*Erzähler*) by deftly using perspective, memory, and community—the same critical stance that would lead to his imprisonment under the "New Order" regime and enduring literary legacy.

**Keywords:** *biographical criticism, Indonesian literature, literary history*

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## **The Politics of "Placing" in Selected GUMIL Hawaii Short Fiction**

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### **Abstract**

The Filipinos, particularly the Ilocano community in Hawaii come from a plantation labor history and origin. Prejudicial images of Filipino plantation labor as uneducated, unskilled, and unassimilable by White plantation owners were necessary to keep the former in the lowest rung of the occupation ladder. The Filipino labor were practically treated as indentured servants. Such racialized labor and discriminatory practices, however, were challenged, whether as mediated by the Workers' Union (International Longshoremen's Association) or as headed by audacious Filipino plantation leader-workers, that moved for fairness and better working conditions, resulting in a long history of plantation workers' strikes, threats to life and employment, violence, and scores of deaths among Filipino plantation workers. Such plantation labor history, the imperatives and vagaries of multi-ethnic Hawaii and broader US society contaminate GUMIL Hawaii's (a community-based association of Ilocano writers in Hawaii) vision, diasporic writing, and representative space, as illustrated in its selected short fiction.

**Keywords:** *GUMIL Hawaii, diasporic writing, prejudicial image, plantation*

## **Marx and Magic: The Appropriation of Millenarianism through Magical Realism in Jose Rey Munsayac's *Duguang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader***

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### **Abstract**

This paper looks into the assertion of unity and solidarity between millenarian movements and revolutionary Marxism in the Philippines as seen in Jose Rey Munsayac's *Duguang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader*. To do so, it proposes an understanding of magical realism as a metonymic gap, where resistance to meaning can open up space for non-hegemonic discourse, but can also lead to the appropriation of "magical" images via the accumulation of contextual meanings. By contrasting historical and anthropological studies of Tagalog millenarianism with a close-reading of Munsayac's novel, this paper argues that the novel creates a neater narrative of unity between millenarians and more secular movements of the Philippine Left by using magical realism to simultaneously foreground transformative collective action whilst removing the deeper spiritual-material worldview of the millenarians. This paper also argues, however, that this act of appropriation should not be immediately and uncritically condemned, but should instead be seen in light of the necessary conditions and contradictions of any attempt to establish historicity and push for collective action.

**Keywords:** *millenarianism, messianism, magical realism, Marxism, Tagalog literature*

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## **Ideology of Media: Suharto's Collapse and International Perspective**

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### **Abstract**

The collapse of Suharto has attracted not only Indonesian, but also international society. In this regard, mass media play an important role to spread the information and create a public opinion. As an international mainstream media, *The Economist* has provided related critical articles which are interesting to analyze. This research is present to unveil the ideology of two articles of *The Economist*, entitled *Suharto's End Game* (1997) and *Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant* (2008). In order to show the relation of ideologies shared by these two articles which refer to the forecast of Suharto's downfall and the moment of his demise, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) introduced by Fairclough (1995) is applied. The instruments used in this research are lexical choice and transitivity as parts of Systemic Functional Linguistic proposed by Halliday (2004). As the nature of CDA, this research also shows the imbalance of power in Indonesia under Suharto's regime. The similar ideology that the two articles might share can conceal the stance of *The Economist* upon the authoritative regime in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology of media, Suharto*

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## **Cultural Forms of Woman's Submission and Resistance in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *The Girl From The Coast***

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### **Abstract**

Spivak in her well-known essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak" concerns to the representation of Other, the colonial subject which is often constitutionalized by ideology and scientific production. In her opinion, the intellectuals seem to persist on produce Other as the Self's shadow. She objects Foucault and Deleuze's opinion that the Others or the oppressed "can speak and know their condition", if they are given chance. Rather, she questions the possibility of the subaltern to speak under strictly social strata which surround their lives. This article is developed from Spivak's argument to look at the construction of the Girl from the Coast, the main character of the novel which has the same title. This article scrutinizes the cultural forms of domination and the main female character's submission and resistance to the cultural forms of oppression. Further, it investigates how Pramoedya construct the woman as the Other and identify voice-consciousness of the Other under patriarchal colonialism.

**Keywords:** *New Historicism, Postcolonial, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Gadis Pantai (the Girl from the Coast)*

## **Politik Estetika: Strategi Mochtar Lubis dalam Mempertahankan Propaganda Orde Baru Melalui Buku *Kuli Kontrak***

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### **Abstract**

This paper shows Mochtar Lubis' *Kuli Kontrak* has the political relations with the New Order's negative stigma of communism; *Kuli Kontrak* was culturally part of spreading the stigma. Every element in the short stories collection has different functions, but interrelated, in maintaining the negative stigma. The elements discussed in this paper, first, the intrinsic elements, namely the narrative strategy is divided into three main parts. Second, extrinsic elements: namely the covers which contains a painting and endorsements from figures. Third, the political element: the year of publication of the book and political backgrounds in Indonesia at that time. Discussion of each element followed by politics of aesthetics analysis, namely analysis of the political impacts of the use of these elements to social conditions, either directly or indirectly, expected by the author or not.

**Keywords:** *New Order, Anti-Communist Propaganda, Literary Strategy, Politics of Aesthetics*

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## **Plane of Immanence of the Romance Films in Indonesia: Deleuzian Cinema Critics**

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### **Abstract**

This research is aimed to analyze how love is narrated in Indonesian movie industry during new order and after. By applying Gilles Deleuze's theory of cinema, researcher will be focusing on the development of movement-image and time-image from some selected movies. This is done in order to answer the question: does the concept growing in Indonesian romance films/movies belong to the same plane of immanence as Indonesian's political censorship concept? After finding out the answer of that question, the truth about the changes in Indonesia after the new order collapses will be revealed

**Keywords:** *Cinema critics, Deleuze, New Order, Plane of Immanence*

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## **Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Levy Balgos dela Cruz: A Comparative Analysis**

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### **Abstract**

Suharto became the president of Indonesia after the failed coup d'etat during Soekarno's term in 1965. In his political strategy dubbed as the "New Order", there has been a widespread arrest and extra-judicial killings of Left sympathizers and those suspected of being in connection with groups that desires social change. PramoedyaAnantaToer was one of the authors that witnessed and has been victimized in this particular period of Indonesia's history. This can be put in parallel to the experiences of one Filipino/Tagalog writer by the name of LevyBalgosdela Cruz who is also a politically engaged writer and was also a political prisoner during Ferdinand Marcos' "BagongLipunan" (New Society). This paper aims to analyze the chosen published works of both writers and put them in their socio-historical context. Only those works of PramoedyaAnantaToer that are translated into English and Filipino/Tagalog will be used as resource material in the scope of this analysis.

**Keywords:** *Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Levy Balgos dela Cruz, Fiction, Short story, New Order, New Society*

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## **Cultural Trauma in the Works of Martin Aleida**

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### **Abstract**

Being one of the most widely discussed turmoil, the 1965 tragedy must have left a cultural trauma to those involved, particularly the victims. As one victim of the event, Martin Aleida should know better how such a trauma represents itself. Therefore, this study would like to examine the author's works from the sociological perspective; i.e. the cultural trauma depicted in the works, who own it and how the characters respond to it. To answer the questions, this study would borrow mainly Jeffrey Alexander's theory on cultural trauma and Marxism.

**Keywords:** *cultural trauma, violence, repressive state apparatus*

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## Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Look Of Silence*: A Cinematic Look at the Banality of Evil

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### Abstract

Questions have been raised by many filmmakers over the years as to whether the 1965 coup in Indonesia was the handiwork of the Indonesian Communist Party. German documentary filmmaker, Joshua Oppenheimer, who has previously made *The Act of Killing* on the same subject, poses the question again with a new documentary. But this time, he takes a cinematic approach by fully utilising the language of film to create a solemn and meditative work. He focuses on the faces and the silence of the individuals involved, in an effort to probe their minds. The individuals are some of the surviving killers as well as the brother and family of one of those who were killed. Oppenheimer also places emphasis on landscape as character. In the area of the killings, the landscape stands as a silent witness to the horrors perpetrated there. The demonisation of the communists continues till today in Indonesia, as it does in Malaysia as well as Singapore. The millennium saw revisionist histories surfacing that explored the blatant demonisation and vilification of communists. Films with a creative approach began to be made by young people who explored what had transpired, in an effort to foreground the truth.

**Keywords:** *cinematic apparatus, creative treatment of actuality, language of film, cinematic approach, patterning and organization, binary opposites, camera position, shot size, camera angle, gestalt, stylistics, reenactment, formalist approach, gothic images, filmic construct, power of suggestion*

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## Fictional Representation of Human Rights: Indonesian New Order Short Story

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### Abstract

This writing investigates the roles of Indonesian fiction in representing human rights issues in Indonesia as found in the short stories published in the Indonesian New Order media. The examination deals with historical key issues related to oppression as a form of human rights violation committed by state related bodies, groups and individuals. The New Order regime was oppressive to anyone attempting to resist it. So when censorship was the problem, some writers took advantage of the short stories through various themes to resist. The three themes examined here - literary themes about politic, social marginalization of the poor and religious matters - represent and enact literary resistance against state violence perpetrated by the New Order regime and its apparatus in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *fictional representation, human rights, New Order, short story*

## Collective Indonesian Memories of the 1965 Tragedy during New Order Regime

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### Abstract

The 1965 tragedy in Indonesia led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people accused of communist associations. During the New Order regime, open discussion of these events was almost impossible. As a result, little is known about the horrors of 1965 and its aftermath. This paper attempts to describe the collective memory of the 1965 tragedy, and observe how Indonesian writers have attempted to put a voice to the suffering of their fellow countrymen. A parallel reading of literary texts and non-literary texts will be used to investigate this issue.

By closely examining several categories of significant cultural and political remembrance, this paper argues that the process of making and evoking memories of the 1965 tragedy has been highly political. Most forms of remembrance have been state-sponsored representations. These include (1) Student's text book of Indonesian National History composed by Nugroho Notosusanto in which PKI was labeled as Nation Traitors, (2) Lubang Buaya monument and Museum of the PKI Betrayal (inaugurated by Suharto in 1990), (3) Annual commemoration day of October 1<sup>st</sup> and always did the celebration day in *Lubang Buaya*; (4) A film praising Suharto entitled "*Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*" directed by Arifin C. Noer.

Literary works created during the New Order regime, however, opened a breathing space to discuss the tragedy at a human level. Indonesian writers have performed a negating role in refuting the official version of the events of 1965. They have attempted to come to terms with the violence to which individuals were subjected by Indonesian authorities including: 1) arrest and detention people without trial, 2) physical abuse, torture, and inhuman treatment of victims, and 3) army organized massacre. The most disconcerted things for them were that how the civil society can only witness these atrocities without doing anything to intervene. I conclude convincingly that Indonesian writers have performed as 'voice of the voiceless' of the victims, in spite of the fact that they received intense pressure from authorities of the repressive regime.

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## **A Pilgrim's Story: Iwan Simatupang and Finding the Self in the Modern Indonesian Novel**

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### **Abstract**

Some important discourse in Indonesian literature is brought to light by writer Iwan Simatupang in his novel *The Pilgrim* (orig. *Ziarah*, 1969), in the evolution of the modern novel as genre. This paper is a close reading of Harry Aveling's translation of the work, tracing its political and philosophical questions for a new Indonesian self in the context of globalization, shifts in state power, and the future of the nation after the New Order. Building a world through the absurdist mode of storytelling, Simatupang writes against old myth and traditional narrative structures in literature and politics, asserting that complexity, unpredictability, and destruction are most necessary in discovering a new self—a reader as an agent of resistance, and as an intellectual stakeholder in the nation's evolving history.

**Keywords:** *Iwan Simatupang, Indonesian novel, absurdism, modern novel traditional narrative*

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## **Narrating Hybridity and Resistance: Pramoedya Ananta Toer in *Bumi Manusia* (*This Earth of Mankind*)**

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### **Abstract**

In a postcolonial stance that literature, particularly the novel, narrates the "nation," this paper plots Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1925-2006) narration of Indonesia in his *Buru Quartet*, particularly the first in the series - *Bumi Manusia* (1980) - through narrative, gender and ethnicity.

The paper shows that Toer's 1) telegenic plotting of history, exemplified by his narrator-protagonist Minke who acts as witness, participant, storyteller; 2) complex and hybrid representation of men and women, native and foreign, and other binaries; 3) utilization of memoirs, letters, court testimonies, newspaper reports; 4) references to historical figures and events, and 5) criticism of *kampung* culture, etc. reveal that 1) the fragmented storytelling illustrates the past as dynamic and ever changing, and 2) the external source of the narrative, the history of Indonesia, is now an internal component of the self, and therefore open to recreation as individual claims authority, not over truth, but against myth.

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## **The Ruling Ideology: Communism in the Life and Art of Pramoedya Ananta Toer**

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### **Abstract**

Talking about 1965 coup is talking about two strong opposing power, Government and people, and communism as the fuel that keep the fire burns. Driven by the thought of righteousness in their mind and believing that they are on the good side, they charge against each other. For those whose weapon is strength, they charge forward through demonstration. For those whose weapon is rank and solid governing power, they point their finger. For those whose weapon is deep thought and strong mind, they write. Mostly they attack ideology and believe. Writers like Pramoedya Ananta Toer is one among many writer whom victimized by the circumstances because of nothing but paper and an old typing machine. Thus, this paper will try to give reasoning on why Pram was victimized by exploring the amount of Communist's values on Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Tetralogi Buru and how they are represented throughout the story if any. Also, noticing the circumstance in which the books were written, which was on exile in Buru Island, this paper will also explore and discuss how it affects Pram's way of writing the books. Looking through each book, this paper found that there is no communist's value to be found in the book. Furthermore, this paper discovers that Pram's involvement in PKI itself is yet to be proven. LEKRA itself, an organization of artist that Pram once a member, is not proven to be PKI affiliated. Thus, Pram's imprisonment in Buru Island by The government is only based on a suspicion. This paper argues that Pram's imprisonment is not because of his involvement in PKI but because of his writing would result in people's awareness towards the corrupted government.

**Keywords:** *1965 Coup, Communism, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Tetralogi Buru, LEKRA, PKI*

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## Rewriting History through *Buru Quartet* by Pramoedy Ananta Toer as a Form of Resistance in Soeharto's Era

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### Abstract

Faced with the fact that the history of Indonesia was distorted by the leader of the New Order, Pramoedy rewrites the historical background to national awakening in Indonesia through his *Buru Quartet* (Nanda, 2013). His apparent aim is "to confront young Indonesian readers with the historical forces which had shaped their present" (Foulcher, 2009: 1). For Pramoedy, the Indonesian younger generations know nothing about their history because during Suharto's era, those in power had negated the real history of the nation. Then, he challenges the Indonesian youth because he knows rather well that only the young could play a role in changing the situation in Indonesia. Therefore, the paper focuses on Pramoedy's thoughts as a form of resistance through his *Buru Quartet: This Earth of Mankind, Child of All Nations, Footsteps, and House of Glass* (Toer, 1997).

**Keywords:** *History, awakening, resistance, new order*

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## Fenomena Kekerasan Gender di Balik sebuah Karya Sastra: Tinjauan Strukturalisme Genetik dan Feminisme

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### Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan peran karya sastra dalam mengungkap peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 yang terjadi di Indonesia. Dalam peristiwa yang sangat sarat dengan kekerasan, tentunya mencakup fenomena kekerasan gender. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Sumber data penelitian adalah beberapa karya sastra Indonesia dengan latar sosial kekerasan, terutama kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang terjadi pada peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian sebagai berikut. Pertama, dalam peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 di Indonesia telah terjadi kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Kedua, Kekerasan gender mencakup kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual. Ketiga, dalam mengungkapkan pandangan dunianya tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan, pengarang yang merupakan warga negara Indonesia berperan sebagai juru bicara kelompok perempuan korban kekerasan gender tersebut. Keempat, sastra mampu merefleksikan atau menggambarkan kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang terjadi dalam peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** *peristiwa tahun 1965-1966, kekerasan gender, kekerasan fisik, psikis, dan seksual, pandangan dunia pengarang, peran karya sastra*

## Refunctioning the Documentary

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### Abstract

*The Act of Killing* is referred to as a “2012 documentary film directed by Joshua Oppenheimer” about “the individuals who participated in the Indonesian killings of 1965-66.” However, if a documentary is a “nonfictional motion picture intended to document some aspect of reality,” then, *The Act of Killing* may be said to be just as “fictional” in its intention to depict “reality.” Its fictionality lies in how the film refunctions the documentary genre through the intervention of techniques, transforming in the process its very content and form, and the audience’s understanding of the “reality” it documents. In the tradition of Brecht, Benjamin and Piscator, what is traditionally referred to as “documentary” transfigures into “documentary-effect,” in which the use of aesthetic techniques melds into its political project, refunctioning form as well as content.

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## Psychological Disorder Experienced by Drum in the Film *Novel Tanpa Huruf R* (A Study of Psychoanalysis and Literature)

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### Abstract

Film as one literary works can be a tool to gain an understanding of human behavior. Moreover, the characters of a film reflect the attitudes of human being in a reality and daily life. In order to understand psychoanalysis and the attitudes of Indonesian, this paper discuss a psychological disorder experienced by the main character, namely Drum. Drum experienced some tragic tragedies in his life. He and his parents had been evicted from their village for unclear reason, when he was a child. At the same time, His mother fell into the sea and died. In his adolescent, he lost his father because of crashed by a car. Thereafter, when he reached adulthood, his girlfriend who is a Chinese was killed in a monastery. These experiences affected his psyche. By that, he suffers mentally ill or psychological disorder. This paper attempts to reveal the psychological disorder experienced by Drum. The data is in the form of audio visual. By discussing the scenes supported by dialogues shown in the film, it concludes that Drum experiences one of anxiety disorders classes, that is posttraumatic stress disorder.

**Keywords:** *psychoanalysis, psychological disorder, anxiety disorder, Novel Tanpa Huruf R*

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## On Sympathizing and Ridiculing Victims of the Violent Past: Readers' Perspective on Linda Christanty's *Makan Malam* and Yusi Avianto Pareanom's *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*

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### Abstract

The aftermath from the alleged Indonesia Communist Party killings in 1965 to 1966 has been used in numerous cultural products including short stories. The tragedy in the massacre is told in different ways, using a contradictive approach, in Linda Christanty's *Makan Malam* and Yusi Avianto Pareanom's *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*. The comedic approach in the later story arouses questions whether the mockery towards the subject of the story would establish a mockery toward the theme it carries. Having the same sense, both of the stories are analysed based on the *Sense* and *Intention* using Richard's theory of *Total Meaning*. The tragedy in the first short story and the comedy in the second short story are both used to highlight the same intention. Whether the subject of the stories was sympathized or ridiculed, both the tragedy and the comedy elevate the theme carried by the two short stories.

**Keywords:** *Makan Malam*, *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*, *tragedy*, *comedy*, *sense*, *intention*

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## Cerpen Berlatar Peristiwa 1965 dalam Koran *Kedaulatan Rakyat* 2012-2015

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### Abstrak

Saya akan membahas tentang cerpen yang berlatar Peristiwa 1965 yang terbit dalam koran *Kedaulatan Rakyat* dalam periode 2012-2015. Terdapat sekurangnya tujuh cerpen yang saya kumpulkan yang ditulis oleh 4 pengarang. Cerpen-cerpen ini dapat memberi gambaran tentang konstruksi Peristiwa 1965 di harian yang terbesar dan tertua di Yogyakarta sekarang ini.

**Keywords:** *sastra*, *sejarah*, *cerpen*, *Peristiwa 1965*

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### ***30 September* by a Child: Modernity in Ideology**

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#### **Abstract**

Modernity in fact covers not only physical things, which are clearly able to be seen, but also ideological ones, which are hidden. *30 September*, written by Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo, is one of the examples or models of those of the second option. It is just a short story, published by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* in Yogyakarta, but behind it readers could uplift insights, especially regarding with the idea of modernity in ideology. Since modernity is understood as the newer step after that of traditional behavior/ attitude/culture, *30 September* identifies itself as the evidence or proof in developing the traditional way of thought, dealing with the communism ideology, to the modern way. As a matter of fact the story simply tells readers about the events of murdering and being murdered around the years of the prominent historical fact about the tragedy of 30 September 1965 in Jakarta. Despite the arguments concerned with its political background, *30 September* provokes the readers to stand on their own judgement about the tragedy. Some literary devices are used to emphasize the phenomenon, such as the existence of a 4 year child in confronting the event of murdering and being murdered, the position of Jakarta as the start place to trigger any other events happening in remote areas, and also the traditional tone of the text in dealing with the people of *PKI*. In short, the text of *30 September* opens a new paradigm about the wicked acts caused by the event of 30 September 1965.

**Keywords:** *ideology, modernity, tragedy, PKI*

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## Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing*: a Closer Look to the Lasting Communist Stigma among Indonesians

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### Abstract

What happened in 1965 massacre where millions of people stigmatized as communists due to their involvement in *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) were slaughtered remorselessly remains unsettled. The propaganda which stigmatized communism has rooted deeply among the Indonesians. The massive violation of human rights was concealed under the communist stigma put upon the victims, causing havoc throughout Indonesia. The anti-communist dogma held by some Indonesians has intensified the intricacy of the efforts to reveal the truth. Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing*, a controversial documentary film released in 2012, triumphantly reveals Suharto's military-dominant regime after years. The brutality of the massacre is portrayed from the killers' point of view. This paper dissects *Pemuda Pancasila* (PP, the Pancasila Youth) based on their portrayal and power which successfully preserved the communist stigma among the Indonesians. The free man portrayals of PP and the sociopathy of the leader is elaborated from the scene in the film. 'The Act of Killing' remains as a controversial documentary film, yet the elaboration is expected to change the Indonesians' mindset about PKI and the ruling government.

**Keywords:** *The Act of Killing*, communist, stigma, *Pemuda Pancasila*

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## **State Censorship: Government Defense Mechanism upon Printed Mass Media from Regime to Regime**

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### **Abstract**

Indonesia has applied censorship upon printed mass media since the Old Order. Censorship has always been meant to maintain social order without oppressing the people. Yet, censorship has been used as the government defense mechanism for years. The practices of censorship from regime to regime take the side of the government high officials by protecting their interests. The Old Order practiced state censorship by putting the responsibility under the military. Slightly different in the execution, the New Order practiced censorship by dismissing the people's freedom of speech. The dismissal was done as a cover-up of Soeharto's involvement in the 1965-1966 massacre. The censorship practices in the New Order reflect a paranoid, patrimonial government. Most decision in the state censorship area during this period was done to protect the government interests. State censorship becomes less controlling in the Reformation era. The government seems to be more open towards criticisms. However, the leniency of the state censorship policy in this era is compensated by a strong civilian control which sometimes leads to the violation of freedom of press.

**Keywords:** *state censorship, defense mechanism, printed mass media, Indonesia*

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## Dominant versus Resistant Reading

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### Abstract

The proliferation of postcolonialism both in literature interpretation and in linguistics goes hand in hand with the development of feminist stylistics. In postcolonialism people believe that the world reality does not depend on the perspective of the dominant Western perception but can be viewed through different perspectives, which used to be considered inferior, such as those belonging to the nations of lesser cultures. Similarly, feminist stylistics aims at providing 'readers with analytic and critical tools to identify and resist gender bias in texts (Verdonk, 2002: 118). The two literary spirits have nurtured the growth of resistant reading, which tends to deny the most obvious interpretation of a literary work and which searches for an alternative interpretation. Competence in resistant reading is necessary to be developed among students of English literature because of the abundance of various literature guide book publications. In those publications, not only the formal elements of literature, such as the plots, characters, and settings, are presented but also the themes and other interpretative elements, such as tones and voices. The ready-made interpretation can dangerously rob the readers' creative process of uncovering the literary worth of certain works and produce individuals who are good at regurgitating what they have read without their own interpretive process. This paper aims at highlighting the prospect and possibility of enhancing literature students' skills in developing alternative interpretations of literary works through resistant reading without ignoring the traditional interpretation generated from the more dominant reading. It is strongly argued that resistant reading, including the one practiced in feminist stylistics, will enhance literature students' skills in interpreting literary works from different angles. Such is in line with the belief that the world must be viewed with multiple perspectives, which should lead to the respect of diversity, a must in this complex and complicated modern world.

**Keywords:** *resistant versus dominant reading, postcolonialism, feminist stylistics*

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## **A Plea for Reconciliation in Asmadji As Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang*: Social Actor Representation Analysis**

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### **Abstract**

In the New Order regime, the facts about the 1965-1966 massacre was covered up by the government. Most of the cultural products referring to the incident were banned. Yet, the hope for access to information regarding this incident began to flourish in the Reformation era. People were hopeful towards the government to carry out the reconciliation process for the survivors and their family. However, the lack of government's actions to address this issue leads to numerous creation of cultural products raising awareness towards the problem. Asmadji As Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang*, a short story, is one of the example of these attempts. Using the 1965 massacre as the underlying narrative, the short story brought up the psychological impact of the victims' family members due to the absence of information about the incident. The paper discusses the social actor representations in the short story in order to present the conveyed message of the story. The analysis was done mainly by semantically analyzing the choice of words use to represent the social actors. The result of the analysis portrays the existence of ten human right violations which highlights the urgency for reconciliation by the state.

**Keywords:** *social actor representation, massacre, short story, human right violation, reconciliation*

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## Musing Class and Gender in Literature

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### **Abstract**

In the West, Marxist perspective traced the root of woman's oppression not from her biological deficiency or sex; accordingly, "women were not always the oppressed or 'second' sex" (Reed in Jaggar and Rotthenberg, 1984: 132). In Marxist view, women's subordination and oppression were one of the consequences and outcomes of the social and economic dynamics and revolution that also subjugated the (working) men under the power of capitalism. In the East, Mao Zedong proudly announced that communist China has liberated women from the Confucian patriarchal oppression, declaring that "History has changed; men and women are now equal." However, decades after China's communist revolution, the reality shows that the Chinese women are not truly "liberated" from both communist and Confucian patriarchal gender discourse. This research argues that revolutionary social changes, be it capitalist, socialist, or religious, connote a hierarchy, and women ultimately always fall under the lowest rank of those socio-economic-religious changes. Women suffered from multiple oppressions under many different forms of diverse patriarchal power relations. This research unveils the portrayal and representation of women as the ideologically and culturally oppressed members of the society in the selected women writers' fiction in their attempt to give voice to these very "second sex, second caste, second class" human beings.

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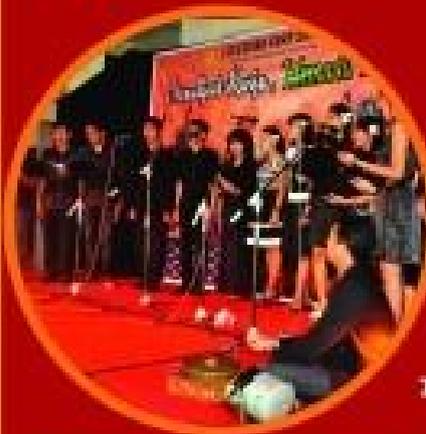
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- b. **Formulir pendaftaran** tersedia di sekretariat EEC. Lt 1 Kampus Timur Universitas Sanata Dharma, Jl Affandi (Gejayan), Mrican Tromol Pos 29 Yogyakarta 55002.
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