

**‘Warring Words’:
Students and the state in
New Order Indonesia, 1966-1998**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
Australian National University.

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CERTIFICATION

I, Elisabeth Jackson, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. It has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the politics of identity of Indonesian university students (*mahasiswa*) under Suharto's New Order. It focuses on the period between 1973 and 1988 and on the period between 1989, when Indonesia entered a limited period of openness (*keterbukaan*), and the fall of Suharto in 1998.

The study is grounded in theories about the relationship between language and power and in a method of textual analysis based on critical discourse analysis. Through the application of critical discourse analysis to a number of key state and student texts, the study provides an insight into the linguistic techniques the New Order employed in producing particular ways of thinking and speaking (discourses) about students' roles and identities. These discourses aimed to regulate how students were able to act in their capacity as students. It is also concerned with the ways in which students challenged the discourses of the New Order state by producing their own, alternative ways of thinking and speaking about their roles and identities.

Two state texts form the basis for the analysis in chapters three and five. These are the New Order's 'official' national history, the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, and a magazine published by the Department of Education and Culture from the late 1970s to the 1980s. The student texts analysed in chapters four and six comprise influential student newspapers and magazines published on campuses in Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bandung during the mid to late 1970s and the 1990s.

As this study shows, the state employed strategies and techniques which aimed to incorporate students into the state itself by modifying their behaviour in ways which were consistent with its needs and interests. And while students' resistance was to some extent constrained by the limits set by the state, they also retained a significant capacity to exercise power on their own account. Indeed, students were only able to resist the state and its practices *because* they did so from within the parameters the state had defined for dissent.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures	ix
Preliminary notes	x
Abbreviations and Glossary	xi
Introduction	1
1. Discourse, opposition and the politics of student identity	14
Conceptualising discourse and power	15
Text, discourse and social structure	16
Constructing identity in discourse and text	23
Social structure: power	25
A framework for text analysis	28
State and society in New Order Indonesia	39
The ‘arts of resistance’	45
Language and the New Order state	47
Conclusion	58
2. <i>Mahasiswa</i> in New Order Indonesia	60
Origins: tracing <i>pemuda</i> and <i>mahasiswa</i>	61
From <i>pemuda</i> to <i>generasi muda</i> : New Order policy on youth	72
<i>Mahasiswa</i> in the New Order	78
<i>Tritura</i> to <i>reformasi</i> : student activism, 1966-1998	80
Conclusion	89
3. Making history, making <i>mahasiswa</i>	90
Idealists, patriots and pioneers: re-interpreting history	93
The founding of Budi Utomo: students and the <i>rakyat</i>	94
Pioneers of nationalism	97
The youth movement: unity and disunity	100
<i>Pemuda</i> as agents of history	105
Politics and radicalism	108
The Rengasdengklok Affair: <i>pemuda</i> and their <i>bapak</i>	113
Conflict, deliberation and consensus	115
<i>Pemuda</i> and politics	119
<i>Tritura</i> : legitimising the New Order	122
Representatives of the <i>rakyat</i> ’s demands	127

Students, politics and the state	130
Conclusion	132
4. Between silence and subversion: the student press, 1976-1980	133
Student newspapers of the 1970s	134
Negotiating identity, negotiating power	139
<i>Kontrol sosial</i> , social control	142
Practical politics	151
A moral force	156
The <i>rakyat</i>	159
Students as <i>intelektual</i>	165
Echoes of the past	171
Irony and identity	173
‘Speaking’ the language of students	179
Positioning readers	181
Conclusion	183
5. Depoliticisation and development: <i>mahasiswa</i> in the 1980s	185
Student magazine	188
<i>Pembangunan</i> : framing students for development	189
Self-censorship and dissent	196
‘Developing’ students	198
Service to society	204
People of analysis	210
<i>Politik</i> : concept, policy, arena	215
Intellectuals and politics: the student view	219
Voices of authority	222
Conclusion	223
6. Resist = <i>lawan</i>: the student media of the 1990s	225
The student press in the late 1980s and 1990s	228
Power and the politics of student identity	232
Change: contesting the New Order	236
<i>Reformasi</i>	241
Students and the <i>rakyat</i>	245
A movement for political change	252
From social control to resistance	254
Democracy and dissent	259

Producing students	263
Cartoons and politics	264
Conclusion	271
Conclusion	273
Reference List	279

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1	Cartoon: Is this Pancasilaist?	147
Figure 4.2	Cartoon: National stability	177
Figure 4.3	Cartoon: The <i>rakyat</i> silenced	177
Figure 4.4	Cartoon: Students' petition	178
Figure 4.5	Cartoon: Breaking free	178
Figure 6.1	Cartoon: This is a demo!	265
Figure 6.2	Cartoon: The <i>rakyat</i> demands justice and equality	266
Figure 6.3	Cartoon: The acrobatic display of Indonesia's workers	267
Figure 6.4	Cartoon: 50 years of fear	268
Figure 6.5	Cartoon: 'Of course you can criticise...'	269

PRELIMINARY NOTES

Spelling and referencing of Indonesian names

Personal names in this thesis have been spelled using the pre-1972 spelling system where this is the individual's preference. The standard Indonesian spelling system (EYD) is used for all other names, including that of former president Suharto. Standard spelling is also used for the names of all organisations, including those which originally used the pre-1972 spelling system. For ease and consistency, Indonesian names appear in the reference list under the final element of the author's name. For example, Bonar Tigor Naipospos is located under Naipospos, Bonar Tigor.

Translations

All translations of Indonesian language material which appear in this thesis are my own. Readers are reminded that this thesis is not an exercise in translation. For the benefit of readers of Indonesian, the original Indonesian text appears in a footnote.

Primary sources

Material used in this thesis was sourced from collections held at the offices of *Balairung* and *Himmah*, the private collection of Dave McRae, and the collections of the National Library of Australia and the Menzies Library at the Australian National University. Additional material in microform format was purchased by the author from the Cornell University Library.

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, now TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia).
<i>angkatan</i>	generation.
<i>asrama</i>	dormitories.
<i>baik dan benar</i>	correct and proper, the slogan of the New Order's language standardisation program.
<i>bapak</i>	father.
BKK	<i>Badan Koordinasi Kampus</i> , Campus Coordination Body, the policy introduced in 1979 to reorganise student representative bodies after the closure of the student councils in 1978.
Budi Utomo	Noble Endeavour, Indonesia's first 'modern' organisation, founded on 20 May 1908 by students at Stovia.
CDA	critical discourse analysis, a theoretical and methodological approach to the analysis of language and its relationship to social and political power; combines linguistic methods of analysis with social and political theory.
CGMI	Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia, Concentration of Indonesian Student Movements, the communist party affiliated student organisation of the 1960s.
<i>cukong</i>	Chinese conglomerates.
<i>demokratisasi</i>	democratisation.
<i>dewan mahasiswa</i>	student council, the main student representative body prior to introduction of BKK policy.
discourse	an abstract system of 'rules' which determine what can be said about a particular topic and how, when, by whom and to whom it can be said; a way of speaking and thinking

about a particular domain of social experience; derived from the social structure and often, though not exclusively, realised in text.

DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, People's Representative Council.
<i>dwifungsi</i>	dual function, the military and political role of the Indonesian armed forces.
<i>ekstrim kanan</i>	extreme right, extremist Islam.
<i>ekstrim kiri</i>	extreme left, communism.
Forum Demokrasi	Democracy Forum, an organisation of dissident intellectuals formed in 1990 and headed by Abdurrahman Wahid.
Front Pancasila	Pancasila Front, the 1966 coalition of anti-PKI parties and mass organisations, including the action units.
G30S/PKI	Gerakan 30 September/PKI, the Thirtieth of September Movement/PKI, the term used under the New Order to refer to the abortive coup of 30 September -1 October 1965.
GBHN	<i>Garis Besar Haluan Negara</i> , Broad Outlines of State Policy.
<i>generasi muda</i>	young generation.
government	a specific form of power in which those in authority seek to modify the behaviour of the governed and to promote 'self-policing'.
Mahasiswa Menggugat	Gerakan Aksi Mahasiswa Menggugat, Action Movement for Student Demands, formed in 1970 to coordinate student protests against state corruption and economic mismanagement.
<i>gerakan</i>	movement.
Gerakan Penghematan	Austerity Movement, formed in December 1971 to protest against the building of <i>Taman Mini Indonesia Indah</i> .
GMKI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia, Indonesian Christian Student Movement, a member of the Kelompok Cipayung.

GMNI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Student Movement, the ‘nationalist’ student organisation and one of the five member organisations of the Kelompok Cipayung.
Golkar	Golongan Karya, Functional Groups, the New Order’s electoral vehicle.
Golput	Golongan Putih, White Group, a student movement formed in 1970 which encouraged voters to cast ineligible votes by marking the white section of the ballot paper in protest against the restrictions placed on the 1971 elections.
<i>gotong royong</i>	mutual assistance.
Guided Democracy	the period of Indonesian politics between 1959 and 1965 when President Sukarno presided over a government based on the 1945 Constitution, which he reintroduced by presidential decree in 1959.
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, Muslim Students Association, the modernist Islamic student movement associated with Masyumi before that party was banned in 1960, a dominant member of KAMI and one of the five member organisations of the Kelompok Cipayung.
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri, State Islamic Institute.
identity	the sense of self and the feelings and ideas that individuals or social groups have about themselves and their group; the multiple identities which individuals (and groups) possess reflect the various social domains they occupy.
IKIP	Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pengetahuan, Institute for Teaching and Education, teachers college.
Indonesia Muda	Young Indonesia, the first ‘national’ youth organisation, formed in 1930.
<i>intelektual</i>	intellectual.
intertextuality	the ‘networked’ nature of texts; the idea that texts interact with other contemporary texts, refer to past texts and anticipate future texts.

Jong Islamieten Bond	Young Muslims League, the organisation for Muslim youth founded in 1925.
Jong Sumatranen Bond	Young Sumatrans League, the Sumatran student association founded in 1917.
KAMI	Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia, Indonesian Student Action Front, the anti-Communist student organisation formed on 25 October 1965 which was the main organisational vehicle of the 1966 student demonstrations.
KAPPI	Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia, Indonesian Youth and Student Action Front, one of the action fronts formed in 1965. After KAMI was banned, KAPPI continued the work of its ‘older brothers and sisters’.
<i>kekuatan moral</i>	moral force.
Kelompok Cipayung	Cipayung Group, an association of five extra-university student organisations (GMNI, GMKI, HMI, PMII and PMKRI) formed in 1972.
<i>kekeluargaan</i>	the family spirit, one of the key values of the New Order organic state.
keyword	a word or phrase which articulates a significant area of meaning in a text; one of the key means by which experiential meaning is conveyed.
KKN	<i>Kuliah Kerja Nyata</i> , compulsory community service program for university students first trialed in 1971 and introduced on a wider basis in 1974.
KKN	<i>Korupsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme</i> , Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism.
KNPI	Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia, Indonesian National Youth Committee, the Golkar-sponsored corporatist organisation for youth formed in 1973.
<i>kontrol sosial</i>	social control.
Kopkamtib	Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban, Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order; founded in 1965 and dissolved in September 1988.
<i>koran dinding</i>	wall newspapers.
<i>koreksi</i>	correction.

<i>keterbukaan</i>	openness, the period of limited political liberalisation which began in 1989 and lasted until 1994.
<i>leerlingen</i>	pupil, the Dutch term used to describe secondary students in the Indies during the early 1900s.
lexical sets	sets of words which distinguish socially and institutionally significant areas of meaning.
LMND	Liga Mahasiswa Nasional untuk Demokrasi, National Students League for Democracy
<i>mahasiswa</i>	university student.
Malari	<i>Malapetaka Limabelas Januari</i> , the Fifteenth of January Disaster, the unrest of 1974 which began as a student protest against Japanese investment and ended in several days of mass rioting.
<i>manusia penganalisa</i>	people of analysis.
<i>marhaen</i>	Sukarno's term for Indonesia's rural masses, coined in the 1930s and associated with the PNI.
<i>massa mengambang</i>	floating mass, the policy under which the political parties (except Golkar) were prohibited from campaigning or establishing party branches below the district level.
<i>masyarakat</i>	society.
<i>media aksi</i>	action media, the student news bulletins which emerged on several university campuses at the height of the demonstrations of 1998.
<i>murid</i>	pupil, the Malay term used in the 1920s to describe secondary and vocational school students.
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, People's Consultative Assembly.
<i>musyawarah dan mufakat</i>	deliberation and consensus, promoted during the New Order as the authentically Indonesian mode of decision-making.
New Order	the period of Indonesian politics between 1966 and 1998 under the leadership of President Suharto.
NKK	<i>Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus</i> , Normalisation of Campus Life, the depoliticisation policy introduced after the student demonstrations of 1977 and 1978.

Old Order	the term coined in the late 1960s to describe the Sukarno regime.
<i>oposisi</i>	opposition.
order of discourse	the total set of discourses in a particular society or institution; describes the relationships between discourses, including specifying which discourses are privileged in which particular fields and how these discourses relate to less privileged alternatives.
overlexicalisation	the use of a large number of synonymous terms to describe a particular area of meaning; indicates a preoccupation with a particular topic (overwording or dense wording).
P4	<i>Pedoman Penhayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila</i> , Guidelines for the Understanding and Application of the Pancasila, the Pancasila indoctrination courses for civil servants introduced in 1978.
Pancasila	the five principles which form the basis of the Indonesian state: belief in the one true God, a just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations among representatives, social justice for all Indonesians.
parliamentary democracy	the period of Indonesian politics between 1950 and 1959 during which Indonesia was governed by a parliamentary based on a multi-party democracy.
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, Indonesian Democracy Party.
<i>pelajar</i>	student, the term used in the 1920s to describe students studying in institutions of higher education both within the Indies and outside it.
<i>pembangunan</i>	development.
<i>pembinaan</i>	improvement and development.
<i>pemilu</i>	<i>pemilihan umum</i> , general elections.
<i>pemuda</i>	youth.
<i>pengabdian</i>	service.

Perhimpunan Indonesia	Indonesia Association, founded in 1908 by students from the Indies studying in universities in the Netherlands.
<i>perlawanan</i>	resistance.
<i>persatuan</i>	unity.
<i>perubahan</i>	change.
Peta	Pembela Tanah Air, Homeland Defence Force, the volunteer army created by the Japanese in 1943.
<i>Petisi Limapuluh</i>	Petition of Fifty, formed in 1980 by a group of prominent public figures, including retired military officers and former politicians.
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party.
PMII	Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Muslim Students Movement, a member of the Kelompok Cipayung representing traditionalist Muslim students.
PMKRI	Persatuan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia, Catholic Students Association of the Republic of Indonesia, a member of the Kelompok Cipayung.
PMP	<i>Pendidikan Moral Pancasila</i> , Pancasila Moral Education, compulsory courses in the state ideology introduced in primary and secondary schools in 1975.
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party.
<i>pojok</i>	literally, corner column, a short segment in a newspaper containing satirical comment on current issues and events.
<i>politik</i>	politics.
power	a set of relations which ‘produces’ social subjects by incorporating them and shaping them to fit its needs.
PPKI	Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence.
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, United Development Party, the New Order ‘Islamic’ party formed in 1973.
PPPI	Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia, Indonesian Students Association, formed in 1926 by students at Stovia and the colonial-era college of law (Rechtschoogeschool). It had links to the PNI.
PRD	Partai Rakyat Demokratik, Indonesian Democratic Party.

PSPB	<i>Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa</i> , Education in the History of the National Struggle.
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia, Indonesian Socialist Party.
<i>rakyat</i>	the common people.
<i>reformasi</i>	reform.
relexicalisation	the process of creating new vocabulary items for existing concepts (rewording).
<i>remaja</i>	teenager, adolescent.
Repelita	Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun, Five-Year Development Plan.
<i>resi</i>	the reclusive Javanese sages whose role was to identify the signs of unrest within the kingdom.
resistant reading	an interpretation of a text which is (fully or partially) contradictory to the interpretation which the text producer intended.
role	the socially determined rights, obligations and duties that are associated with a particular social position or social status; individuals (and groups) occupy multiple roles in society.
SARA	<i>Suku, Agama, Ras, Antar-Golongan</i> , ethnic, religious, race and inter-group tensions.
Sarekat Islam	Islamic Union, the organisation originally founded in 1909 to support Indonesian Muslim traders and counter Chinese and Dutch dominance. It was one of the first mass-based organisations. In 1929 it became Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII).
<i>senat mahasiswa</i>	student senate.
SK028	<i>Surat Keputusan 028/U/1974</i> , the decision issued by Minister of Education and Culture Sjarif Thajeb in the aftermath of the Malari Affair which aimed to curtail student political activity.
SKS	<i>Sistem Kredit Semester</i> , Semester Credit System.
SMID	Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi, Indonesian Students' Solidarity for Democracy.

SMPT	<i>Senat Mahasiswa Perguruan Tinggi</i> , University Student Senate, the policy introduced by Minister of Education and Culture Fuad Hassan in 1990 in response to student protests against NKK/BKK policy and the name of the university-level student representative body under this policy.
state	an ‘amalgam of social, political, ideological and economic elements’ which has a concrete form in the state apparatus (the coercive, judicial and bureaucratic arms of the state).
Stovia	School Tot Opleiding van Inlandesche Artsen, the colonial-era medical college in Batavia.
STT	<i>Surat Tanda Terdaftar</i> , Certificate of Registration, the publication license required by all student publications.
<i>student</i>	the Dutch term used to describe those studying in universities and institutions of higher education outside of the Indies.
<i>Sumpah Pemuda</i>	the Youth Pledge made at the Second Youth Congress in 1928: one nation, one homeland, one language.
<i>Supersemar</i>	<i>Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret</i> , the Order of March Eleven, the directive issued by Sukarno in 1966 which gave General Suharto the authority to restore order.
text	a unit of meaning of varying length, which incorporates written and/or visual elements and which has social significance for those who see, read or hear it; a continuous process of meaning-making, defined by the choices that speakers and writers make from the overall linguistic system and the ways in which readers or listeners interpret these choices.
TMII	<i>Taman Mini Indonesia Indah</i> , Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park.
Tri Koro Dharmo	Three Noble Ideals, the association for Javanese students formed in Batavia in 1915, later renamed Jong Java.
<i>Tridharma Perguruan Tinggi</i>	Trifold Mission of Institutions of Higher Education: education, research and service to society.

<i>Tritura</i>	<i>Tri Tuntutan Rakyat</i> , Three People's Demands: dissolve the PKI, replace the cabinet and reduce prices.
<i>turun ke bawah</i>	going down among the masses, the PKI-sponsored program in which urban artists and activists were placed in rural areas during the 1950s and 1960s.
<i>Wawasan Alma Mater</i>	Alma Mater Vision, introduced by Minister of Education and Culture Nugroho Notosusanto in 1983.