

The Politics of History: Indonesian High School Textbooks during the New Order period (1966-1998)

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The Politics of History: Indonesian High School Textbooks during the New Order period (1966-1998)

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The Politics of History: Indonesian High School Textbooks during the New Order period (1966-1998)

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Abstract

This study traced historical footprints of national identity discourses production through high school history textbooks. The main question is, what did the New Order's politics look like to the national history of Indonesia? The method used was qualitative research that focused on analyzing the content of history textbooks. This research examined nine history textbooks from three national curriculums. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to analyze the content of the textbooks. The results show that New Order was discoursing Indonesian national identity as a nation that runs a modern and militaristic society. The discourse of modernity presents Western culture as the only source of Indonesian progression. As a result, national history exclusively narrates many of the Dutch colonial policies as a determinant factor for the development of the Indonesian people. In contrast, history textbooks negated indigenous culture as traditional that is inappropriate for modern life. On the other hand, militaristic discourse exposing the army's success in defending Indonesian independence. Instead, civil government and diplomatic negotiation were negated as the loser.

Keywords: history textbook, New Order, national identity, modernism, militarism

La Política de la Historia: Libros de Texto de la Escuela Secundaria de Indonesia durante el Período del Nuevo Orden (1967-1998)

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Resumen

Este estudio trazó huellas históricas de la producción de discursos de identidad nacional a través de los libros de texto de historia de la escuela secundaria. La pregunta principal es, ¿cómo se ve la política del Nuevo Orden en la historia nacional de Indonesia? El método utilizado fue la investigación cualitativa que se centró en analizar el contenido de los libros de texto de historia. Esta investigación examina nueve libros de texto de historia de cuatro planes de estudios nacionales. El Análisis Crítico del Discurso (CDA) se utiliza para analizar el contenido de los libros de texto. Los resultados muestran que New Order estaba disertando sobre la identidad nacional de Indonesia como una nación que dirige una sociedad moderna y militarista. El discurso de la modernidad presenta a la cultura occidental como la única fuente de progresión de Indonesia. Como resultado, la historia nacional narra exclusivamente muchas de las políticas coloniales holandesas como un factor determinante para el desarrollo del pueblo indonesio. Por el contrario, los libros de texto de historia rechazan la cultura indígena como tradicional que es inapropiada para la vida moderna. Por otro lado, el discurso militarista que expone el éxito del ejército en la defensa de la independencia de Indonesia. En cambio, el gobierno civil y las negociaciones diplomáticas fueron negativas como perdedoras.

Palabras clave: libro de texto de historia, nuevo orden, identidad nacional, modernismo, militarismo

New Order is the name of a regime in Indonesian politics led by General Suharto as President. The New Order policies constituted a fundamental change in Indonesia, and it is contrary to the policy of the previous Indonesian government under President Soekarno (1945-1965). Under the administration of President Sukarno, Indonesia was known as an anti-Western country (Budianta, 2007). Indonesia at that time was well known in Asia and Africa as the leader of the ex-colonial countries resisting Western pressure during the Cold War (Gerges, 2013). When the discourse developed in Indonesia, Western was viewed as countries that pursued neocolonialism (Nkrumah, 1965).

On the other hand, President Soeharto decided to take part in the Western block. The decision was shown up through eliminating leftist movements and developing close international relationships with western countries. The elimination was implemented in a decree of MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat/the People's Consultative Assembly) that banned PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia/Indonesian Communist Party) and prohibited the spreading of Communism, Marxism-Leninism, and Socialism (McGregor et al., 2018; Melvin, 2018). The change of international relations with western countries is represented through the opening investment of multinational corporations and the establishment of IGGI (the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia) in 1967 (Posthumus, 1972).

The New Order governed from 1966 to 1998. There are at least two prominent characteristics of the New Order period, i.e., militarism (Bhakti, 2001) and modernism (Wie, 2002). New Order was the military regime led by the army's general President Suharto. During his reign, the New Order used military leaders to occupy strategic positions in the civilian bureaucracy, such as the interior minister, governors, and regents. To legitimize the entry of the military into the civilian sphere, the New Order assumed that the military has two functions, called the military and socio-political forces. The assumption was widely known as the dual function of the army. The army's involvement in the civilian bureaucracy led to authoritarianism and the concentration of political power in the military. Various aspects of civilian life were tightly controlled by the government, such as the press, political parties, and even artistic disciplines (Hill, 2006).

The second character of the New Order is modernism (Dhakidae, 2003). Briefly, modernism can be understood as a belief that all nations would

develop into a modern industrial society in a sense as in Europe and North American countries. New Order formed a partnership with Western countries as guides, loan providers, and investors in Indonesian development programs (Hüsken et al., 1997).

The consequence of the ideological shift of the New Order was a rearrangement in Indonesian national identity. The step was critical because national identity is the central pillar in supporting the existence of a nation. Borrowing an analogy from Kartodirdjo (2005), a nation will not recognize itself from the other nations without a national identity, so there will be a constant miscommunication. From a historical perspective, national identity has two main components, the sameness of fate or “a historical result brought about by a series of phenomena converging in the same direction” and the desire to unite (Renan, 1882).

The importance of the role of history in building a national identity makes New Order take great care in writing the National History of Indonesia. In 1970, the government-held Second National Seminar on History. In contrast to the atmosphere of the First National History Seminar in 1957, which was characterized by a heated debate between the ministers of education and intellectual figures like Soedjatmoko, the second seminars were much colder. Moreover, the committee could draft the national history books without much trouble and successfully published them in 1975 (Ali, 2005).

National History of Indonesia became the primary source of high school history textbooks. In the same year, high school textbooks of history were published and became compulsory textbooks for high school students. When the national curriculum was refurbished in 1984, the substance of the subject matter of history had not changed much. In 1994, the history curriculum changed, especially in putting together national history and world history. Nevertheless, national historical materials are essentially the same as before.

Methodology

The main question of this study is: what did the New Order's politics look like to the national history of Indonesia? This research examines nine textbooks published and used in learning processes throughout the implementation of the three national curriculums, 1975, 1984, and 1994.

Table 1
Textbooks used as data

Curriculum	Author (s)	Year	Title	Publisher
1975	Z.H. Idris & Tugiyono	1979	<i>Sejarah Untuk SMA [History for High School]</i>	Mutiara
	Supartono Widyosiswoyo	1979	<i>Sejarah Untuk SMA [History for High School]</i>	Intan
	Nugroho Notokusanto & Yusmar Basri (Editors)	1981	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Untuk SMA [The National History of Indonesia for Secondary School]</i>	Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan
	Ibnoe Soewarso	1986	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Dunia [The National History of Indonesia and The world]</i>	Widya Duta
1984	Nugroho Notokusanto & Yusmar Basri (Editors)	1992	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Untuk SMA [The National History of Indonesia for Secondary School]</i>	Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan
1994	Gregorius Moedjanto, Nani Sunarti, C. D.Kristanto, Anton Haryono, & A.A. Padi	1992	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia [National History of Indonesia for High School]</i>	Gramedia Widiasarana
	A.M. Sardiman, & Kusriyantinah	1996	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum untuk SMA [National history of Indonesia and the World for High School]</i>	Kendang Sari

Table 1
Textbooks used as data (continued)

Curriculum	Author (s)	Year	Title	Publisher
1994	I Wayan Badrika	1997	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum untuk SMA [National history of Indonesia and the World for High School]</i>	Erlangga
	Siti Q. Waridah, Sukardi, and Sunarto	2000	<i>Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum untuk SMA [National history of Indonesia and the World for High School]</i>	Bumi Aksara

The focus of the study is directed on chapters that discuss the national movement and the war of independence because the two topics were explored in a relatively prominent way by authors of national identity discourse production.

This study is qualitative research. Following Unesco's recommendation, the study of this history textbook uses a hermeneutic approach (Pingel, 2010). Following Heidegger's view that the narrative of a textbook is a representation of the presence of the authors with their thoughts and interests (Heidegger, 1996). From this point of view, high school history textbooks were viewed as historical documents containing "the expression of past subjective human beings about their lives as manifested through text or writing" and, in particular, the production and reproduction of discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2006). However, the textbooks can also be viewed as an ideological weapon of dominant groups to subjugate and hegemon people (White, 2008). By viewing explanation on school textbooks as "the subjective expression" of the dominant group who has power and interests, text analysis becomes possible to not only stop in grammatical meaning, but it could be more profound, i.e., contextual meaning in order to understand assumption, ideology, and messages that are discussed and presented in the textbooks and deliver to

students as the audience (Crawford, 2001). Assumptions, ideology, and discourse message comes in various forms, such as terms, sentences or phrases.

Discourse analysis in history textbooks uses the Critical Discourse Analysis approach developed by Teun A. van Dijk with three discourse structures, namely macro, super, and micro (Dijk, 1980). The macrostructure in the text in the form of topics, titles, and subtitles becomes a tool to represent the ideology brought by interest groups. Therefore, macrostructure can be seen as the core of discourse produced through superstructure and microstructure. The superstructure is the logical flow of a narrative. Munslow (1997) distinguishes between reconstruction and construction in a historical narrative. Reconstructionists compile historical narratives with an emphasis on the chronological depiction of the process of historical events (Forber & Griffith, 2011). On the other hand, constructionists emphasize narrative as a theory-based explanation of the social sciences (Munslow, 1997).

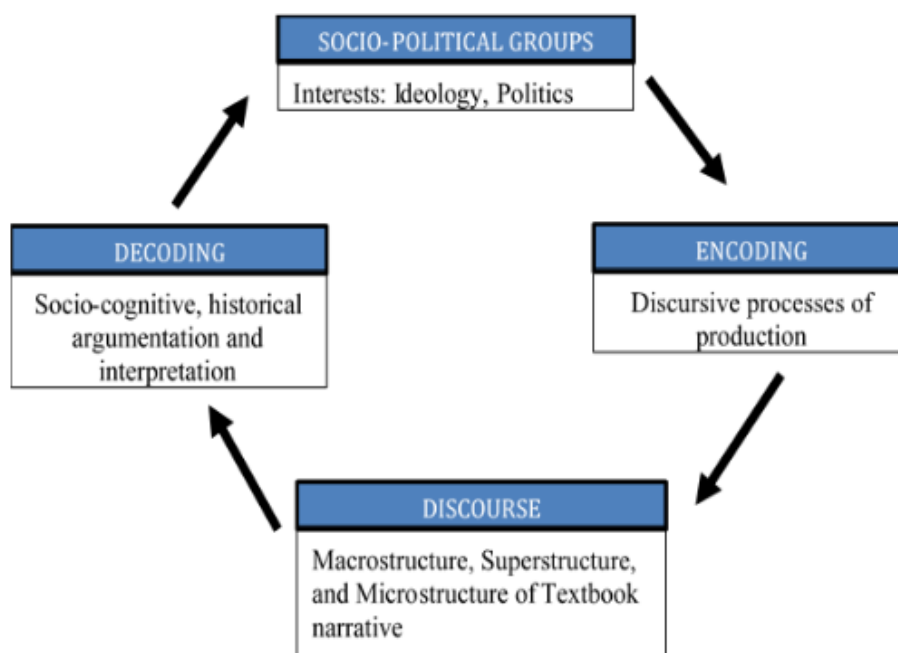


Figure 1. Linguistic Representation (Adapted from KhosraviNik, 2010)

The microstructure is an explanation and argumentation to support the ideology of interest groups in the form of words, phrases, sentences, and

paragraphs (KhosraviNik, 2010). Borrowing Derrida's view, explanations and arguments can be analyzed using the binary opposition method. Interest groups represent themselves in superior terms, such as playing an important role, defending the truth, being kind, and winning. The superior terms are "not only the object of a particular knowledge, but also the object of a vision" (Spivak, 1977), so it could be understood as a marker of the interest group's presence (Derrida, 1997). On the other hand, outsiders are portrayed as insignificant, misbehaving, lacking morals, traitors, and losers.

Discourses on Indonesian History Textbooks

The Background of Indonesian National Awakening

Generally speaking, all high school history textbooks from 1975 to 1998 outline the background of the emergence and development of the Indonesian national movement. In the 1975 curriculum, Idris & Tugiyono's (1979) textbooks describe a brief background of the Indonesian national movement in pointers. Idris & Tugiyono (1979, pp. 53-54) describes that the national movement was caused by oppression and exploitation of the Dutch colonialists and the emergence of national movements in various parts of Asia. Widyosiswoyo also uses short sentences in pointers to explain the national awakening background. The textbooks explain that the Pax Neerlandica carried out by the Dutch in Indonesia led to the colonization of all Indonesian territories. This policy created a sense of fate and shared responsibility as a colonized nation, creating a sense of nationality (Widyosiswoyo, 1979, p. 151).

Only Notosusanto and Basri's textbook (1981), which to be an official textbook, discuss in depth. The textbook explains the background and development of the national movement in two chapters. In a chapter entitled Indonesia Enters the Modern Age, the textbook demonstrates social structure changes, policies of the colonial government, and the growth of social communication (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981, pp. 13-52). The main idea of this chapter is the Ethical Policy implemented by the Dutch colonial government starting in 1901, with three main programs, namely education, irrigation, and transmigration. It was explained that the Ethical Policy was an associational politics that saw the need for close cooperation between European groups and

the indigenous people to advance the colonies (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981, p. 31). In the Indonesian chapter of Enters the Modern Age, the textbook uses the word education 29 times, teaching 20 times, and school 70 times. Two other programs: irrigation, were only mentioned four times and transmigration 16 times. From this point of view, the textbook places education as the most important program compared to irrigation and transmigration (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981).

In the 1984 curriculum, Notosusanto and Basri's revision (1992) not much change from the earlier edition. Moedjanto's textbook (1992), published by a private publisher, also gave more attention to education as an essential factor in developing national consciousness. Moreover, the textbook analogizes the Ethical Policy as "digging his own grave" of the Dutch colonial government (Moedjanto et al., 1992, p. 5) because the development of students' insight is an inevitable result of the expansion of Western education. The textbook explained in the positive sense that Western education has also spawned vertical and horizontal mobility of indigenous people, integrating many ethnic groups and the impacts culminating in the born of national consciousness (Moedjanto et al., 1992). In contrast, Soewarso does not mention the causes of the Indonesian national awakening. The textbook only said that since 1908 the struggle of the Indonesian people against colonial rule has entered a new phase, namely the phase of the national movement (Soewarso, 1986, p. 25).

The textbooks for the 1994 curriculum still put Ethical Policy as an essential factor in Indonesian national awakening. The critical change of the textbook's narrative was the addition of a new chapter titled "New Ideologies that affect the movement of Asia, Africa and Indonesia's struggle for independence." In this chapter, the textbooks discuss democracy, nationalism, Liberalism, and Socialism and their impacts on Asia and Africa, including Indonesia. For example, when discussing nationalism, textbooks explain the definition of nationalism according to Ernest Renan, Otto Bauer, and Hans Kohn (Badrika, 1997, p. 85), Rudolf Kjellen, and Karl Haushofer (Sardiman & Kusriyantinah, 1996, pp. 143-144). In addition, textbooks also trace the origins of nationalism in France, England, Germany, and Italy (Badrika, 1997, pp. 86-88). One of the textbooks even discusses US nationalism (Waridah et al., 2000). Through the Ethical Policy, history textbooks narrated that various ideologies from Europe gave rise to a modern Indonesian elite with broad insight and national awareness (Sardiman & Kusriyantinah, 1996). From this

point of view, Indonesian nationalism is explained as the result of ideas originating from European culture.

West as a Determinant

The narrative of Ethical Policy has been discoursed as the most important factor that encourages the birth of a national movement in Indonesia, which is a historical policy made by the New Order. Compared to the previous period, textbooks viewed all the policies of the Dutch colonial government negatively (Pane, 1956). Even a textbook explains that the development of education by the colonial government was aimed at providing skilled labor for Dutch capitalist companies (Wirjosuparto, 1960). This explanation follows the calculation of Indonesia's colonial surplus, which experienced a very high increase in the period of implementation of the Ethical Policy (Gordon, 2018).

Borrowing Ali's categorization (2005), the placement of the West as the determinant factor for the born of the national movement is a foreign-center history (Xenocentrism). Like Ali, Sutherland (2008) called historians who put the West power as the determinant factor called Modern Professional Historians (MPH). Furthermore, he explains that characteristics of historical explanation of MPH are "to show history as progress that is culminating in the triumph of modernity of nation-state, which is a way of thinking or way of life of the West" (Sutherland, 2008). In other words, the construction of Indonesian national identity, which is delivered through history textbooks, is that Indonesia is a nation which "adopted Western culture." From this point of view, giving the critical role of the West as a determinant power in the historical phenomenon of Indonesian nationalism represents Indonesian modernist historians' discourse that national identity today is done by copying and following Western modernity as an ideal type.

Modernistic views are visible when they give a vital role to intellectuals who studied Western education systems as pioneers of the national movement because they are "the group absorbing a most Western way of thinking and acting." It was explained that the intelligentsia is a social group in Indonesian society which is described as educated, who work according to their expertise, have a broad overview, sensitivity enforces modern organizations with national consciousness, and promote the importance of unity. Therefore, the movement encompasses national wide, so this group was also called as national elite (Moedjanto et al., 1992; Notosusanto & Basri, 1981).

Besides showing groups already experiencing Westernization, the history textbooks also negate the old generation who still hold indigenous mindset and lifestyle considering them regionalist, traditional, or whose jobs were inherited. Moreover, Moedjanto's textbooks stamps this group as "architect of people's misery" (Moedjanto et al., 1992). Posing Indonesian and Western cultures in binary opposition is not a new insight because the history textbook in the colonial era written by Eykman and Stapel has already voiced it in 1941. The textbook explains that "the powers of Netherland (in Indonesia) mainly benefit the indigenous people. They were treated arbitrarily by regional heads (kings). However, now the Netherlands Government guarantees safety and considers people's interest" (quote in Ali, 2005).

Similar to the views that highlight modernity as a way of thinking and living like the West, the narration of textbooks also heroifying *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (PI/ the Association of Indonesia), an organization of Indonesian students in the Netherlands, as the essential national movement organization in accelerating Indonesian independence (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017). The textbooks describe the prominent role of PI as an arranger of political manifesto in 1925, whose contents changed PI into a political organization. The manifesto consists of four foundations of movement: national unity, solidarity, non-cooperative, and self-help (Badrika, 1997). PI's manifesto is viewed as very important because it gives direction to national movements in Indonesia and the foundation of the independent Indonesian state. According to Sartono Kartodirdjo, the manifesto's position is more important than the Youth Pledge in 1928 (Adam, 2009).

Besides producing discourse that PI's political manifesto is essential, history textbooks are also trying to convey that members of PI have a prominent role at praxis, especially in directing the Indonesian national movement. The textbook explains that "the PI believes that the most crucial part of their job was to hold nationalist propaganda in Indonesia. In June 1925, the PI commissioned Budiarto, Sartono and Arnold Monomutu to prepare and disseminate propaganda PI in the Netherlands and Indonesia" (Badrika, 1997).

Historically the construction of national identity in textbooks can be traced from Western historians widely referred to by Indonesian historians, including the author of school textbooks. One of the Western historians' writing is the work of Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, published in 1960. The book was translated into the Indonesian language in 1984. The Niel thesis is that all modern Indonesian

elite result from Western education or have adopted Western culture. They are described as "the most Westernized in education and teaching and their conception of state and society" (Niel, 2009). Therefore, the colonial government's policy that triggered the emergence of the modern Indonesian elite is a logical consequence of the position taken. Furthermore, Achmad and Hossein Djajadiningrat, two sons of the regent of Serang, Djajawinata, whom Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje adopts, became icons of successful westernization projects for indigenous Indonesian youth (Niel, 2009).

To prove his thesis, Niel attempts to westernize all historical phenomena associated with the emergence and development of Indonesian nationalism. One of them is establishing the Islamic Trade Association, incidentally spirited by Islamic religion (not the West). Niel tries to westernize the historical phenomenon by inserting a figure, Raden Mas Tirtoadisuryo, who studied at the school of administrators (OSVIA) as the architect of some organizations, such Islamic Trade Association (Ricklefs, 2001). From this viewpoint, Niel's thesis, that all modern Indonesian elites are the result of a project of Westernization, could be defended. The same pattern is made in various movements based on Islam, including the Muhammadiyah (Niel, 2009).

Indonesian historians also produced this kind of discourse. One of them is Sartono Kartodirdjo. When discussing ethical politics as the central pillar of the Westernization program, he explained that "the next of colonial task is a cultural mission characterized by moral and politics for profit" has been abandoned. The ideal aspiration is "entering Indonesian people into the orbit of its ruler culture so that they have a Western culture" (Kartodirdjo, 1992).

The result of the ethical policy is a political formation of intellectuals who have a western way of thinking and life. They were very impressed by the "level of progress that has been achieved in the West" and "become aspirations to hold invasion or modernization with a Western model in general and the Dutch in particular" (Kartodirdjo, 1992). In addition, to accentuate the process of Westernization, the author negates the original culture as unworthy and deserves to be abandoned. Negation is done by explaining that "In facing social change caused by the penetration of the colonial system on the one hand, and the openness of indigenous communities to influences from the outside, on the other hand, the traditional system inevitably cracks and becomes a crisis."

The deterministic view of history makes the explanation far from objective reality (Purwanto, 2006) because it puts the historical phenomenon in Indonesia solely as a manifestation of Western culture absorption. The inability to find the objective reality is most visible when historians are discoursing Indonesian intellectuals due to Western education and put it as the only group that leads the national movement and establishes the nation-state. The discourse covers various historical phenomena of the Indonesian national movement, for example, the Jamiat Khier (Hasyim, 2020; Hasyim & Haryono, 2019), and Societies of Minahasa (Henley, 1996), where their founders went beyond Westernization or following Western education. Explanation of Robert van Niel that Islamic Trade Association composed by Tirtoadisuryo cannot hide the reality that the life of its founder is outside the circle of Westernization, including his thoughts.

Putting the West in general and the Dutch colonial government in particular as the determinant factor make no single textbook trying to dig the indigenous culture as habitus for the birth of Indonesian nationalism. Local structures such as socio-cultural conditions were the perpetrators of the history of the national movement born and raised, ignoring it as an essential element in the reconstruction of Indonesian nationalism history. Consequently, the historical explanation could not establish a "linguistic connection" (Andersons, 1991) between high school students and the Indonesian national movement activists. The narration of school textbooks cannot be a suitable medium for high school students to understand the Indonesian national movement actors' thoughts, feelings, and dreams. The emergence and development of nationalism are not regarded as representing Indonesian historical actors with their mental construction but as an unexpected result of Western innovations. Putting the West as a determinant factor makes Indonesia's history narration "a history without people" because people feel that the narration is not about them. On the extreme side, the term 'history' became a synonym of "not us" (Nordholt, 2004).

As history school textbooks, deterministic narrations displayed will powerfully deliver messages to high school students that the West has various advantages which are absorbed by Indonesian national movement actors and lead to the progress of Indonesia. From this viewpoint, it is not a shock if Indonesian youth has no emotional bonding to their own country. A newspaper reportage shows that Indonesian youths have little sense of nationhood. Being Indonesian means nothing more than a "geographical fact"

-- because they were born and raised in the country: nothing more, nothing less" (Wulandari, 2002).

Following the view of Heidegger, the nationalism crisis in Indonesian youth is closely related to how students read the history textbook. The high school students interpret the text not only of an intended message delivered by the author. They interpret history textbooks with the enclosed interests in developing their potential to achieve their dreams by themselves (Heidegger, 1996). From this perspective, national movements topics discussed in those history textbooks teach students that they will make their dream come true when they become culturally Westernized.

War of Independence

All history textbooks for the 1975 curriculum open the narrative of the war of independence with debate among many groups of national movement activists about when and how the proclamation of Indonesia independence will be held (Widyosiswoyo, 1979, p. 189). Soekarno and other senior activists wanted a meeting with members of the Independence Committee first, but the youth group refused the idea because the Japanese formed the Independence Committee. The meeting can impress the Allied Forces that Indonesia's independence is a gift from Japan. Young activists wanted the proclamation of independence to be held on 16 August without the participation of movement activists in collaboration with Japan (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981). Finally, the idea of young activists was accepted as a joint decision. However, the youth failed, so the proclamation of Indonesian independence was held on 17 August 1945, led by senior activists Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta (Idris & Tugiyono, 1979).

The next part of the textbook tells about the physical struggle in defending the country against the dangers of foreign nations. Notosusanto & Basri (1981, 1992) describe war events between the population and foreign powers, such as the Japanese takeover of power and weapons (1992, p. 137), with the Allied Forces Netherlands East Indies (AFNEI), and with the Dutch troops. One of the events discussed in depth by textbooks was the battle of Surabaya on 10 November 1945, which was later commemorated as Hero's Day. Soewarso (1986, pp. 93-95) describes the battle on a date-based basis, from 27 October to early December. Notosusanto & Basri (1992, pp. 139-140)

compile the event in the form of a two-page narrative. On the other hand, Moedjanto (1992) only narrates less than one page.

It is explained that the Surabaya battle began with the violation of the AFNEI troops who freed the Dutch whom the Japanese occupation government detained. The Dutch were not returned to the Netherlands but were armed and used as troops in returning Indonesia as their colony. As a result, the youth Laskar fighters resisted, and a battle broke out at the end of October 1945, killing Brigadier Aubertin Walter Sothern Mallaby (Notosusanto & Basri, 1992, p. 139). The conflict escalated when British troops gave an ultimatum to the youths to surrender their weapons unconditionally by 9 November 1945, at 18.00. The ultimatum was ignored, and on 10 November, the most heroic battle in the history of Indonesia's war of independence took place.

In the textbook for the 1994 curriculum, the war narrative is told in more detail with a broader spatial scope. While Notosusanto and Basri (1992) only discuss the battle of Magelang in one paragraph, Badrika (1997) discusses it in two pages. Even Waridah et al. (2000, p. 238) also recounted that an American woman has known under the pseudonym Ketut Tantri always gave speeches through BPRI radio to ignite the spirit of the Surabaya people.

From a spatial scope perspective, the textbook for the 1984 curriculum only discusses the battles that occurred in Java, while the textbook for the 1994 curriculum expands the discussion by recounting the battles that occurred in Sumatra (Badrika, 1997). Even in textbooks written by Waridah et al. (2000) recounted the battles that took place in Aceh, North Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku and Papua.

Heroificating Military

On the topic of the independence revolution, all textbooks have a similar pattern of narration. The difference between one textbook and another is only in diction and data to support the explanation. The most popular characteristics are extraordinary attention to militaristic events, such as the seizure of weapons and war. As a result, among the various historical events during the Indonesian independence revolution, most prominently discussed is a physical conflict between Indonesia with foreign nations, especially Japan, the Allied (UK), and the Netherlands.

The physical conflict protrusion on history textbooks occurs, especially when discussing the presence of Allied forces in Indonesia. All textbooks

were discussed at length about the aggressive actions that occurred during the revolution. It is even claimed that "an armed clash occurred in Indonesia" (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981, p. 105). The reasons for war compiled by history textbooks are that "the government and people of Indonesia accept the arrival of Allied troops with a note that they would not let Dutch colonial rule back. However, when it is known that they let themselves hitchhiked by the Dutch who intend to restore the colonial government, the Indonesian people are forced to make resistance" (Notosusanto & Basri, 1992, p. 139). The resistance happened when they armed Dutch soldiers whom Allied Forces freed from Japanese captivity. The battle of the Indonesian people against the Allied forces spread out at various places. One of the most famous Indonesian wars is the battle of Surabaya (Andersons, 1972). McGregor (2008, p. 120) points out the importance of the Surabaya battle as the heaviest of any Republican offensives, including those against the Dutch, and represented the climax of attack upon allied British soldiers: by both Republican soldiers and Youth paramilitary. The heroic battle is commemorated as Hero Day and celebrated every 10 November.

The narration of physical conflict in war is always accompanied by the emergence of figures depicted as heroes. One of the figures who is certificated by textbooks is Sudirman. He is described as a leader who provided grip and inner strength to the people and the soldiers who fought vigorously for the country's survival (Notosusanto & Basri, 1992). Heroificating is also conducted to Lieutenant Colonel Suharto, who became President of the Republic of Indonesia in 1966-1998. Suharto, who served as Commander of Wehrkreise III, is described as a hero, especially in a historical event known as the General Offensive on 1 March 1949. It is said that Suharto was an actor who "launched the General Offensive at daylight" and "lead his battle on the morning, dated 1 March 1949, by carrying on his shoulder an automatic rifle Owen gun MK 143" (Waridah et al., 2000).

To further highlight the role of physical struggle, textbooks distort and negate non-physical historical events, such as diplomacy. Distortion allegation could be found in the narration of Notosusanto's textbook (1992). When describing the Linggarjati Agreement, the textbook describes the agreement as "a tool to allow them (the Dutch) to bring more troops from their country. Once they felt strong enough, they switched into their original intent, which was destroying the Republic of Indonesia by the force of arms". The statement denying the historical reality shows that since the Dutch signed the

Linggarjati Agreement, they formally recognized the independence of Indonesia. After the agreement was signed, many countries followed the Dutch and admitted the existence of Indonesia as an independent state (Idris & Tugiyono, 1979). In addition, besides Indonesia earning international recognition, Linggarjati Agreement also allowed the United Nations to get involved in trying to resolve the conflict between Indonesia and the Dutch. In other words, the Dutch recognition of the existence of the Republic of Indonesia through Linggarjati is a prerequisite for the involvement of the United Nations. From this viewpoint, the recognition of Indonesian independence as the primary purpose of the struggle waged by national leaders becomes more understandable, while understanding that the result of the Linggarjati Agreement is an outstanding achievement carved during Sjahrir as Prime Minister.

Distortion and negation also occurred when the textbooks described Renville negotiations. Moedjanto (1992) illustrates that the Indonesian government is under "insistence of Committee of Good Offices (CGO)," so willing to sign the Renville Agreement although "very favorable to the Dutch" and "extremely harmful for Republic Indonesia." Even with a very firm author states that the Renville Agreement "represents the biggest defeat of Indonesian diplomatic effort on an agreement."

Judgment as the "biggest defeat of an agreement" is more an attempt to negate the decision of Indonesian diplomats than an academic exploration to find and convey the truth. In diplomacy, the decision of the Indonesian delegation could be seen as a form of granting concessions to the Dutch to achieve a final political settlement immediately. As a result of the concession, since the Renville Agreement was signed, international powers pressured the Dutch to reach an established settlement immediately. Van Beel, a member of CGO, declared that Indonesia has already provided 10% of Dutch craving. Therefore, the Netherlands must immediately take a more rational attitude (Agung, 1983).

Patterns of narration that highlight the military effort and heroification to relevant figures and distortion and negation of civil roles conducted by history textbooks do not walk alone. That pattern is part of a significant "movement" that the New Order government sponsors. One of the crucial milestones of the movement was the Army Seminar 1972, where the results were, among other things, the military instructed to circulate the military version of the history of Indonesian society in general. Spreading is done through writing memoirs,

making movies, building museums, monuments, and writing history textbooks. The deployment target is mainly directed to the young generations so that they appreciate what has been done by the Generation of 1945 (McGregor, 2008). From this standpoint, it can be understood that high school history textbooks from the curriculum in 1975 have already become one of the media in infusing values of the spirit of 1945. The values of 1945's spirit are willing to sacrifice, unity and integrity, cooperation, mutual respect, and love for the homeland (Badrika, 1997).

The movement of promoting the military role in history does not stop by compiling history textbooks that suit the tastes of rulers. In the 1984 curriculum, the government gave rise to a new school subject, known as the Historical Education of National Struggle (*Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa/PSPB*). PSPB focuses on the physical struggle in a long Indonesian history. The difference with History, physical struggle on PSPB has a broader historical period, starting from Cultivation Era to the New Order. For the period of the revolution, the contents of both are relatively the same. However, regarding the style of language and historical interpretation, PSPB textbooks look more provocative, so Darmiasti (2002) concludes that the PSPB are ideological textbooks.

The dominance of militaristic stories would indirectly explain to the students that representing the best national identity uses physical force to fight for the truth. The rise of physical struggle in demonstrations, fights, or terror could not be released from their understanding of his nation's past. Militaristic discourse produced by history textbooks will develop the character of the Indonesian younger generation that glorified violence as a way to get the truth. They will not be interested in finding the truth through critical discourse discussion, such as examining truth's rational and moral foundation (McCarthy, 2009).

Discussion

The change in the government's ideology from Socialism to Capitalism during the New Order government resulted in the rewriting of historical narratives in history textbooks. The history of Indonesia tells of Dutch colonialism in a more positive light. Various colonial political policies were seen as an attempt by the Dutch to develop indigenous peoples to become modern in Western culture. In addition, the New Order also compiled a history that favored the

military in maintaining independence from the Dutch desire to re-colonize Indonesia in 1945-1950.

The use of history to support the “national interest” is a common phenomenon. However, it is scarce to use historical narratives to portray foreign cultures as Indonesian historical narratives. To develop a national identity, history is usually used to protagonism the indigenous culture. One country that uses history for “national interests” is Japan. Japanese history textbooks eliminate narratives about the atrocities of Japanese soldiers during World War II in various East Asian and Southeast Asian countries (Nozaki, 2008). The move received protests from China due to the historical fact that thousands of people died due to the Shanghai massacre by the Japanese army (Tan, 2009). Protests also came from Korea, which suffered because many Korean women were forced to serve as comfort women for Japanese soldiers (Guex, 2015). However, the Ministry of Education was adamant that because of the atrocities that were told, Japanese history would become masochistic and would cause the young Japanese generation to feel inferior (Nozaki, 2008).

In Singapore, historical narrative renewal is also used to build a national identity, especially in narrating the atrocities of the Japanese occupation troops during World War II. At first, the textbooks told only the suffering experienced by Chinese migrants who made up the majority of Singapore's population (Chee, 2018). In the latest edition, the textbook includes other Singaporean ethnicities, telling that Malays and migrants also experienced the suffering during the Japanese occupation from Indian ethnicities (Blackburn, 2010).

The historical narrative pattern that is similar to those in Indonesia is found in the history of Ghana. Western education gave birth to an educated elite class in Ghanaian society who was seen as having been “detrribalized and even denationalized” (Gocking, 2005). In 1898 some of them formed an indigenous rights protection organization to oppose the Agrarian Law, which threatened customary land ownership (History of Ghana, 2009). The organization became the embryo of the birth of Ghana's national movement for independence. One of the figures in history narrated as a hero is Kwame Nkrumah. He is seen as a prominent intellectual figure who contributed significantly to the decolonization of Ghana and Africa in general (Boadu, 2018).

Conclusion

From the historical retracement that has been done in the content of history textbooks can be concluded that in New Order's national identity discourse, Indonesia was imagined to become a modern nation similar to Western standards. The discourse was narrated on high school history textbooks by putting colonizers (West) as the determinant in doing various innovations in Indonesia. In contrast, the Indonesian people were placed as an object of Westernization. From this perspective, the development of the Indonesian national movement is narrated as a result of Western education, initiated by the Dutch colonialists through Ethical Policy.

New Order also produces a national identity that puts the military, especially the army, as a group that defended Indonesian independence. The discourse narrates the military fighting against the Dutch who wanted to re-colonize Indonesia. From this perspective, through history textbooks, the New Order wanted to deliver the message that Indonesia's independence can be defended only because of military sacrifice. Therefore, from the discourse viewpoint, it is proper that New Order represents Indonesia's military ruling from 1966 to 1998.

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