

THE PAST GHOST: THE EXPRESSION OF NARRATIVE IDEOLOGY IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS DURING THE NEW ORDER AND *REFORMASI* IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Narrative in history textbooks usually refers to the history of Indonesia itself. The written experiences are the stories which are considered as proud for the history of their nation and the government in power. Thus, no wonder if the government changes, the materials which are not in line with the present government will vanish or be eliminated. However, for various topics, this cannot be vanished and changed even though the government changes. This situation looks like a ghost and sometimes can cause fear and anxiety because it comes with a strong figure. The aim of this study is to investigate the narrative expression in the history learning textbooks for Senior High School published in the New Order and *Reformasi* (reformation) era as ideology. Hence, in order to examine the problem, the researcher used critical discourse analysis method in which its main study was texts. Texts are created in the political and social contexts in which there are social power and domination. The results show that the materials which had vanished and appeared in a different version in the history school textbooks cannot be separated from the influence of the government's interests or we call it as ideologization in history textbooks. The government in power has an authority with his policy to limit, to add and to eliminate the previous history materials and then interprets himself for an event in the past.

Keyword: past ghost, ideologization, history textbooks

ABSTRAK

Narasi dalam buku pelajaran sejarah biasanya mengacu pada sejarah Indonesia itu sendiri. Pengalaman tertulis adalah kisah-kisah yang dianggap membanggakan sejarah bangsa mereka dan pemerintah yang berkuasa. Dengan demikian, tidak heran jika pemerintah berubah, bahan-bahan yang tidak sejalan dengan pemerintahan sekarang akan lenyap atau dihilangkan. Namun, untuk berbagai topik, ini tidak dapat dihilangkan dan diubah meskipun pemerintah berubah. Keadaan ini terlihat seperti hantu dan terkadang bisa menimbulkan rasa takut dan kecemasan karena muncul dengan sosok yang kuat. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menyelidiki ekspresi naratif dalam buku teks pembelajaran sejarah untuk Sekolah Menengah Atas yang diterbitkan pada era Orde Baru dan Reformasi sebagai ideologi. Oleh karena itu, untuk menguji masalah, peneliti menggunakan metode analisis wacana kritis di mana studi utamanya adalah teks. Teks dibuat dalam konteks politik dan sosial di mana ada kekuatan dan dominasi sosial. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa materi yang telah lenyap dan muncul dalam versi yang berbeda dalam buku pelajaran sekolah sejarah tidak dapat dipisahkan dari pengaruh kepentingan pemerintah atau kita menyebutnya sebagai ideologi dalam buku teks sejarah. Pemerintah yang berkuasa memiliki otoritas dengan kebijakannya untuk membatasi, menambah dan menghilangkan materi sejarah sebelumnya dan kemudian menafsirkan dirinya sendiri untuk suatu peristiwa di masa lalu.

Kata kunci: hantu masa lalu, ideologisasi, buku teks sejarah

INTRODUCTION

Writing history textbooks in school can be assumed that it follows the development of writing history or the historiography of Indonesia history development. One of the most significant characteristics in writing history is inseparable from the soul of the era. According to Purwanto (2005: 2), an era can create a different style of historiography as well. Historiography is influenced by its era, or in other words, it is related to the socio-cultural life of its proponent. Thus, no wonder if the past vision has an important role in searching the national identity as stated by Klooster (1985: 28) "*Bij de speurtocht naar de nationale identiteit spelt de visie op het verleden een belangrijke rol*". This means that the national identity is derived from the historical experiences of its nation. Kartodirdjo (1993: 50) emphasised that there is a relationship among the historical experiences as collective experiences and the construction of national identity.

History has recorded the development of the historiography identity in Indonesia. We can see how the direction of the writing textbooks used *neerlandosentris* approach created in the Dutch colonial era. Similarly, when the Japan occupied Indonesia, the influence of *neerlandosentris* was eliminated and replaced based on the *nippocentrisme* propaganda which was developed into the nationalism scheme succeeded in encouraging nationalism (Kurasawa. 2015: xlviii). Entering the independence of Indonesia, writing textbooks developed under the name of "Sejarah Nasional Indonesia" (Indonesian National History) which was *indonesiasentris* had bucked up the awareness of strong nationalism in writing Indonesian history. In addition, this also emphasised that history textbooks were inseparable from the necessity of government's ideology. This is in line with what van Zoest (1991: 70) assumed that a text cannot be separated from ideology and it has an ability to manipulate the readers towards certain ideology. Hence, Santoso (2009) stated that a text does not only expose the elements of sentence by containing subject, verbs, ob-

jects, adverbs and other complements, but also the hidden ideology in it. Ideology is constructed by a dominant group in order to recreate and to legitimise the domination of meaning.

Discourse is assumed as medium for the dominant group to persuade and to communicate their power creation and domination, so it seems valid and true. This is based on Suharyo et al. (2014: 43) that the realisation of power relation and language at this era operates in a representation space which causes a symbol resource as an abstract power to reveal truth. This condition had been studied by Sutherland (1997: 83) that emphasised Indonesian history was created, revised and rearranged by creating contradictory statements and denials, so this results in generally accepted narratives.

The improvement and alignment towards the content of history textbooks lasted until now (*Reformasi* in Indonesia). The writing alignment includes two interests, *first*, for education in a political interest and *second*, for the development of the historical scientific rules. This is according to Nordholt (2008: 4) that "Writing history, particularly, national history is not only intellectual and academic activities, but also politically meaningful activities". Darmawan and Agus Mulyana (2016: 529) mentioned that this history writing is reasonable because history as media of education is aimed to create a national identity in order to maintain integrity, sovereignty and pride as an Indonesia citizen.

The creation of history narrative has a close relationship with power, so the revised history textbooks follow the changing direction of the present government political maps. That was stated by Purwanto (McGregor, 2008: xxvi-xxvii) that political history from the dominant regime which wants to build its image as a national saviour by sacrificing others and escapes from its responsibility towards its own created past when change is required. Meanwhile, Mukarom (2016: 223) emphasised that the change of political elites or the government leader is a situation for the change of value systems, power struc-

tures and police-handling strategies. Nevertheless, based on Agung (2015: 32), “this should be remembered that the political influence towards education is not unique and exclusive in Indonesia, but this also occurs in various countries in the world”.

In order to observe the political and ideology influences in writing history textbooks in other countries, Barnard (2003) had conducted research in the construction of ideological meaning in the Japanese history textbooks. This ideology construction then was linked to the public debate concerning the responsibility of Japan’s involvement in the Manchurian incident, Nanking rape, an attack to Pearl Harbour and the authorities in the textbooks. Barnard concluded that language in Japanese history textbooks consistently undermines Japan’s responsibility towards its aggressive actions. This is due to protect dignity, authority and status of Japan which surrendered in 1945. Barnard (2003: vii-viii) mentioned that these actions are as ideology which are irresponsible and as a self-protection for Japan itself.

Another researcher is Zajda (2017) who studied the Russian history textbooks after the geopolitical shift in Russia related to the relationship between countries, globalisation, and the construction of Russian cultural identity focused in ideology, political identity and national development. As a former superpower country (before the collapse of Soviet Union), world was aware in the massive colossal capacity exceeding United States. Hence, Russian Federation offered an example of re-writing the most profound history and followed the geopolitical and cultural changes in Russia. It is necessary to reinterpret the history materials in line with the new reformation in Russia. The role of history interpretation in order to create the image of “good neighbourhood” is considered as a significant factor to the future peace and stability in Russia. Therefore, Russia requires to revive its national awareness and its past which was different from pre-1992 in which Russia was traumatized due to the disappearance of 14

Soviet Republic. The Russian history textbooks were approved by promoting new patriotism and nationalism and reflected what Putin mentioned as “national ideology” (Zajda, 2017: 6). One of the examples was by rewriting ‘the golden age’ in ancient Russian in 988 AD for its history glory, continuity, ideal heroes and Russian cultural heritages.

Troch (2013) examined the collective identity in history textbooks between Yugoslavia and Serbia. Troch studied the textbooks of before, during and after Yugoslavia’s disintegration. Troch tried to explain the searching process of ideal Yugoslavia textbooks through several material developments discussed in textbooks, curricula and other things that should be changed in the textbooks. The education experts acknowledged that the pre-war textbooks were not suitable because of outdated, but more important thing was because the large regional differences which were not suitable for the Yugoslavia’s idealism, namely national unity.

Research on history textbooks in Indonesia has also been conducted by several experts, such as by Mulyana (2013). Mulyana stated that history as an educational tool was influenced by the educational goals set forth in curriculum which became a base for political government. Thus, the writing of history textbooks since historiography cannot be separated from the government political policy or the government ideologization. The form of ideologization in the national history textbooks was concluded by Mulyana (2013: 78), namely nationalism and militarism.

Furthermore, another researcher is Purwanta (2012) who analysed the discourse of national identity in history textbooks for Senior High School from 1975 to 2008 influenced by the modernist view. Utami and Aditya (2016) revealed the depiction and representation of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* values in history textbooks in various themes such as assimilation, acculturation, syncretism, diversity, plurality, multiculturalism, discrimination, and unity. Budiono and Alfian (2007) found a

political system which influenced the writing of history textbooks in accordance with the political content of the government regime, so it was reasonable if the changing regime led to the change of political currents.

By reviewing several results above, history textbook writing in school seems inseparable from the situation and condition of the country in power. The development of the state and its government will influence the change of the textbook material contents used in the school. The research results by Barnard (2012) explained that the Japanese government is brave to change his dark national history for the reputation and greatness of his country. However, this change should not manipulate the facts. This is agreed by Darmawan (2010:100) who stated that "history textbook as a historiography work for educational purpose does not ignore the historiographical rules of history science". In other words, history for educational purpose should be balanced by the academic contents, so students have critical thinking to their national history in the past.

Thus, this is interesting to study how the development of history textbook writing in Indonesia is, whether it follows other history textbook writings in other countries, such as trying to show the greatness of the figures, national identity by forgetting the dark past, or presents the old incidents with a new interpretation. These problems become the subject of this study, particularly the incidents occurred in the history of Indonesia, either involving the figures or incidents that suddenly disappear or reappear or following the old historical narrative. Purwanto (McGregor, 2008: xxii) stated as "... historiography like this is angel-faced historiography, but demonic one". This statement is understandable as assumed by Fashri (2007: 13) who cited the Gramsci hegemony theory that each power tends to be maintained, preserved, and recreated by actors or institutions who have that power through the hegemonic strategy.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method who allows the researcher close with the subjects studied, namely contexts in the SHS history textbooks. The qualitative approach is used to understand and to interpret the meaning of events based on the researcher's perception. The reality of the qualitative research includes interpretation from the understanding to all field data. The reality is not only observed, but it also can be reversed. The intended data based on Creswell (1997:145) are called *meaning*.

Through qualitative approach, the researcher is trying to understand and to interpret the meaning of ideological discourse in history textbooks used in SHS. Hence, in understanding and interpreting the text content, the researcher used *Critical Discourse Analysis* method. Discourse theory explains that an incident occurs like a sentence or a statement, so it is called discourse analysis (Heryanto, 2000: 344). The sources of data in this research are history textbooks for Senior High School grade III or XII issued in the New Order or *Reformasi* in Indonesia.

Furthermore, this research also used hermeneutics approach as complementary sciences in order to understand and to analyse ideology in the SHS history textbooks. Grondin (2012: 17) explained that hermeneutics can be used to criticise the authenticity of texts and traditionally is understood as an interpretation theory. No wonder if in contemporary philosophy, the term of hermeneutics is used in the language problem (Fowler, 1987: 109). This is in line with the argument stated by Sjamsuddin (2007: 212) that hermeneutics becomes a philosophical reflection which explains *verstehen* concept (understanding). Hermeneutics is trying to understand the true meaning from documents or texts. In attaining meaning, Faiz (2003: 20) mentioned that hermeneutics has responsibilities in presenting meanings behind the symbols which become their objects. Meanwhile, Freedon (2003, p. 48) explained that "One guideline of hermeneutics is that the meaning of texts can only

be decoded if we are able to tap into the contexts in which the text was written and in which it would make sense”.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study refer to two narrative expressions in history textbooks for SHS which had been issued in the New Order and *Reformasi*. Narratives in this textbook writing are more focused on the ideological narratives. Ideology here does not mean big ideology such as communism, fascism, capitalism, socialism and liberalism, but it is the choice of words and sentences in narrative, argumentation, other expressions of ideology statements involved: (1) a collection of concepts and beliefs accepted as facts or truth by certain groups, (2) the ways of thinking and guides to philosophising, governing and educating, (3) rules to regulate the ways of people to act in politics, to simplify the goals and intention, (4) self-identity in order to show themselves and others, (5) understanding to create public

opinion, to direct and to justify their actions and to demean other parties. Below is the selections of the choice of words and sentences who are ideological expressed in the SHS history textbooks in the New Order and *Reformasi* in Indonesia. The materials that become “the past ghost” which are reviewed here are Soeharto’s narrative, the incident of G 30 September 1965, and militarism since these tree materials are discussed in different ideological expression.

The presentation of written materials from Soeharto in history textbooks published in the New Order and *Reformasi* was extremely different in his ideological expression. The discussion of Soeharto’s expression in history textbooks during the New Order era was depicted as a strong leader, the heroic military leader from the Independence War to other events. The books during the New Order era tended to create opinion and wanted to provide beliefs which could be accepted as facts or truth, that only Soeharto who became a

Table 1. Soeharto’s Narrative in *General Attack* Incident on 1 March 1949

No	The History Books in the New Order Era	The History Books in Reformasi
1	<p><i>Perwira ini berhasil melakukan konsolidasi kekuatan dari kesatuan-kesatuan TNI di sekitar Yogyakarta</i></p> <p>(The commissioned officer succeeded in consolidating power from the unity of Indonesia National Army around Yogyakarta)</p>	<p><i>Pertahanan daerah gerilya Yogyakarta dan sekitarnya berada di bawah pimpinan Letkol Soeharto, sedangkan di dalam kota masih ada tokoh republik yang tinggal, yakni Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX yang tetap giat membantu gerakan-gerakan gerilya republik.</i></p> <p>(The defence of guerrilla areas in Yogyakarta surroundings was under the leader Lieutenant Colonel Soeharto, while in the city there was still a republican figure namely Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX who actively remained to help the guerrilla actions.)</p>
2	<p><i>Dengan pimpinan Letkol Soeharto pada tanggal 1 Maret 1949 dilakukan Serangan Umum yang berhasil dengan gemilang menduduki kota Yogya selama 16 jam.</i></p> <p>(With the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Soeharto on 1 March 1949, General Attack worked out brilliantly to occupy Yogya for 16 hours.)</p>	<p><i>Dengan direbutnya kembali Yogyakarta oleh TNI dari Belanda menunjukkan kepada dunia Internasional bahwa walaupun pimpinan RI diasingkan, namun kekuatan TNI masih tangguh.</i></p> <p>(The recapture of Yogyakarta by Indonesia National Army from the Netherlands showed the world that although the Indonesian leaders were exiled, the power of INA was still tough.)</p>

central figure in the General Attack or showed the prominent partiality to a figure who would be a future leader in Indonesia. This showed in a sentence “The commissioned officer succeeded in consolidating power from the unity of Indonesia National Army around Yogyakarta”. Furthermore, it was also written in a sentence “worked out brilliantly” as a self-identity in order to see his success in the General Attack on 1 March 1949.

In contrast, history textbooks issued in the *Reformasi* tended to be neutral based on the field data and facts. See the statement, “there was still a republican figure who actively remained to help the guerrilla actions”. The intended figure here was Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX. This meant that in this incident, not only Soeharto alone who played, but there was another figure who had similar role. Next, the sentence, “the recapture of Yogyakarta by Indonesia National Army”, had emphasised that the victory achieved due to the power of defence institution, namely Indonesia National Army (INA). Hence, history textbooks during the *Reformasi* were positioned as a party which could embrace all involved party. This could be seen from the mention of Soeharto name and other figures, namely Sri Sultan Hamengkubowono IX and INA.

Another material which often became a ghost in Indonesian history was the incident of 30 September 1965 in which the discussions in history textbooks during the New Order era and *Reformasi* were extremely different, as presented in the table below.

The history narratives concerning the incident of 30 September 1965 Movement were presented differently. History textbooks in the New Order era had shown that 30 September 1965 Movement was only carried out by PKI. It could be seen from the subtitle “PKI Rebellion”. How powerful the role of PKI in this incident was proved by writing a sentence “the slander of General Council” as a foundation for PKI in murdering the generals who were considered as pro colonialism. The relationship between a great figure, Soekarno, and PKI was indeed described in the textbooks in the New Order era with a sentence “President Soekarno still insisted defending and protecting PKI”. The word “insisted” showed a tendency of the New Order towards Soekarno who stood firm to defend PKI who was clearly a perpetrator in the incident. Hence, the closing part of this history textbooks was strengthened by a title “the Destruction of 30 September/PKI Movement” which was defined that 30 Septem-

Table 1. Narratives of 30 September 1965 Movement

No.	The History Books in the New Order Era	The History Books in Reformasi
1	<i>Pemberontakan PKI</i> (PKI Rebellion)	<i>Gerakan 30 September 1965 (G 30S/PKI)</i> (Movement of 30 September 1965 [G 30S/PKI])
2	<i>Fitnah “Dewan Jenderal”</i> (Defamation of “The General Council”)	<i>Isu tentang adanya Dewan Jenderal</i> (Issue in the existence of the General Council)
3	<i>Presiden Soekarno masih bersikeras membela dan melindungi PKI</i> (President Soekarno still insisted on defending and protecting PKI)	<i>Siapa dalang Gerakan 30 September 1965 sebenarnya?</i> (Who was the true mastermind of the 30 September 1965 incident?)
4	<i>Penumpasan Gerakan 30 September/PKI</i> (The destruction of 30 September Movement/PKI)	<i>Diketahui bahwa Gerakan September ini berhubungan dengan PKI, maka G30S/PKI pun berhasil ditumpas</i> (It was known that the September Movement was related to PKI, so G30S/PKI was successfully destroyed)

ber Movement was similar to PKI, so PKI should be destructed.

Writing history textbooks in the New Order era was clearly expressed the ideology by mentioning the involvement of one of the prohibited organisations protected by Soekarno. This could be seen from a sentence "Guided democracy opened more opportunity to develop the influence of PKI, the position of PKI in the state institutions protected by President Soekarno, communism was merged with Marhaenis doctrine by Bung Karno, PKI and Soekarno were one, President Soekarno never stopped to defend and to protect PKI, and the people wanted the cabinet to be purged from PKI influences and immediately improve the economic condition (Karso et al., 1989: 234-236)." The government in the New Order era was identical with a figure of Soeharto who delivered dark exposure towards Soekarno as the leader of the Old Order in the past.

Unlike history textbooks in the New Order era, *Reformasi* driven by the spirit of democratic freedom had written a phrase "30 September 1965 Movement (Gerakan 30 September)" (Abdurakhman, 2015: 16) since the perpetrator behind this incident was still controversial. Furthermore, this was also worsened by the negative stereotype to the New Order government and the support to freedom of expression (previously silenced by the New Order). Several history textbooks were written by different styles, such as "30 September 1965 Movement (Gerakan 30 September)" without followed by a term "PKI". Who the mastermind of 30 September 1965 Movement was, was described by various opinion. This meant that the textbooks in the *Reformasi* were trying to eliminate the term "PKI" behind G 30 S and showed other facts concerning the involvement of other figures and organisations in that incident. However, the writing of ideology expressed as a result of freedom of expression by calling for critical thinking, was not able to change the old paradigm that the mastermind of that incident was PKI. New facts, interpretation and theories

which were trying to justify the incident in which not only PKI who was involved could not be accepted. Abdullah, Abdurrahman and Gunawan (2012:23) stated the events around and after G 30 S were everlasting recorded experiences in the collective minds which were difficult to be forgotten. As a result of this, the published textbooks in the society, especially schools, were revised and had to replace by bringing back the term PKI behind the incident of G 30 S/PKI.

The return of the previous interpretation could not be separated from the government in power. The policy to write new interpretation was based on the government as well due to the change of leaders in the *Reformasi*. This was recorded from 1998 to 2004, the government changed four times. Hence, this was proved that if the government changed, the policy in determining the direction of history textbook materials.

Another interesting narrative, militarism in history textbooks during the New Order era, was highlighted while it was invisible in the *Reformasi*. Militarism seemed to disappear in Indonesia national history. During the New Order era, militarism narrative showed in the two highlighted chapters entitled "Armed Fight for Independence" and "Between Diplomacy and Battle". This military-expressed writing with the phrase "armed fight" showed how military defended Indonesia independence. The armed battle in various regions, such as Semarang, Ambarawa, Surabaya, Bandung, Bali, Palembang, Manado, Medan, and Makasar could be overcome by the army. Next, "between diplomacy and battle" could show that the strategic positions in negotiating and war were inseparable, or both positions were equally necessary. If civilians had a role through diplomacy fight, so military was in battle. Impasse, denial and treachery of diplomacy were resulted in the military aggression by TNI as expressed in the textbook "Diplomacy did not turn out well". The National Defence Council emphasised that the struggle should be elevated into a direct confrontation against the

Netherlands through arms (Karso et al., 1989: 226)". The statement above showed how the importance of military role (TNI) compared with the diplomatic fight was.

In addition to dealing with the Netherlands who wanted to regain control to Indonesia, and unfavourable situation and condition of domestic security as well, militarism was rewritten as a security institution which succeeded in overcoming various rebellion. The military role was entitled "Restoring security and order", so each rebellion movement disturbing the stability of security, integrity and ideology, such as the rebellion of PKI Madiun, DI/TII, APRA, Andi Aziz, RMS, and G 30 S/PKI could be overcome by military (TNI). Next, the role of military in writing history textbooks in the New Order era was reinforced as a guard and a defender of state ideology, namely Pancasila and dual function of ABRI as military and political forces.

The military-based writing in history textbooks during the *Reformasi* did not seem too prominent as in the New Order era. This could be seen from a writing concerning "Conflicts and upheaval related to ideology, conflicts and upheaval related to interests and conflicts and upheaval associated with government system", the role of military or TNI in these conflicts was not highlighted. This condition seemed to be adapted with the *Reformasi* agenda which eliminated the dual functions of ABRI in accordance with TAP MPR No VII/MPR/2000 about the role of TNI and Polri. Hence, no wonder if the military role in the national history could not be written as great as in the New Order era.

CONCLUSION

The described explanation above depicts the writing of history materials in history textbooks which is different in the expression of narrative ideology. *First*, history textbooks during the New Order tend to choose figurative and provocative ideology which accentuates the role of Soeharto as a new leader and corners Sukarno who is identical with the dark times of Indone-

sia, especially in his involvement of identical G 30 S PKI incident. Moreover, the strong military figure was also highlighted in history textbooks during the New Order era. *Secondly*, history textbooks during the *Reformasi* is influenced by the spirits of anti-Soeharto and military, and writing national history is trying to be neutral by giving the similar role to other figures. Similarly, the power of TNI with its dual functions of ABRI is no longer highlighted in the *Reformasi*. *Thirdly*, an incident which still becomes a polemic for Indonesia is "30 September 1965 Movement (Gerakan 30 September 1965)". The strong ideological involvement of PKI and Soekarno is shown in history textbooks during the New Order era while in the *Reformasi*, this was written equally and presented other involvement (not only PKI). During the *Reformasi*, PKI has been eliminated from the incident of Madiun Rebellion in 1948 and 30 September 1965 Movement. However, these writings do not last long because these are not in line with the perception of the new government. These books finally were withdrawn and prohibited in the society. Thus, this condition shows that the writing of history textbooks is inseparable from the political and ideological interests of the government in power although in the era of democracy, namely Indonesian *Reformasi*.

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