



Reviewing the National Historiography: The Study of the Narrative of the Indonesian National History Textbook in Critical Pedagogy Perspective

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Abstract: The main objective of this study is to reveal the narrative content of Indonesian National History textbooks, studied from a critical pedagogical perspective. This research was conducted using the method of literature study. In the study of literature or research data obtained by conducting a review of books, journals, academic works (dissertations), as well as various reports relating to the problem to be solved. While the approach used is hermeneutics, which is an auxiliary science that is used to understand and interpretation texts or information. The results of this study indicate that the narrative and historical knowledge that is told in Indonesian National History textbooks cannot be separated from the existence of certain interests and ideologies determined and coab instilled by the State. In textbook narratives, the state dominates knowledge about the formation of the nation (nationalism), the perspective of militarism is so strong due to the influence of regime power and the emergence of discourses of de-succession. In the Indonesian National History textbooks, it is also revealed that it only provides a very minimal place for ordinary people as historical actors. Indonesian National History mostly shows big figures present as heroes, while ordinary people are ignored from their history. There has been elicitation in telling historical events and figures in Indonesian National History textbooks.

Keyword: Indonesian National History, Historiography, Critical Pedagogy, History Education, Textbook



Introduction

On December 14-18, 1957, the first National History Seminar was held in Yogyakarta. In historical records, this seminar is an important event in determining the direction of Indonesian historiography. That's because at this moment there was a reorientation of the Indonesian historiographical narrative from being Dutch-centric to Indonesian-centric.

Prof. Dr. Sardjito, chairman of the seminar committee who at that time served as President of Gajah Mada University. When delivering his remarks at the event, Sardjito considered that the teaching of history during the Dutch East Indies colonial period "had gone wrong" so that the younger generation of Indonesia knew Dutch heroes better than the heroes of their nation. In fact, due to the influence of the teaching of history with a Dutch style, the younger generation grew a negative assessment of Indonesian national heroes such as Imam Bonjol and Prince Diponegoro as rebels. This perspective, according to Sardjito, is "the seeds that poison the soul" (Surjomihardjo, 1967, p. 3).

The first National History Seminar was held in the Hall of Gajah Mada University. The event began on Saturday, December 14, 1957, and then closed on Wednesday, December 18, 1957. Several important figures attended this event, including the Minister of Education, Teaching and Culture Prof. Dr. Prijono, Former Minister of Education, Teaching and Culture Ki Sarino Mangoenpranoto, Former Minister of Education, Teaching and Culture Prof. Mr. Muhammad Yamin, and the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX. The First Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia Muhammad Hatta was also scheduled to attend this activity, but in the last days before the activity, he was unable to attend, then appointed Soedjatmoko to represent him (Syukur, 2013, pp. 47-48).

The seminar program is designed in the form of a panel discussion. There are six main topics discussed in the seminar. These materials all focus on the problem of teaching history. Among them are (1) Conception of national historical



philosophy with Prof. Mr. Mohammad Yamin and Drs. Mohammad Hatta; (2) Periodization of Indonesian history with Prof. Dr. Mr. Sekanto and Drs. Sartono Kartodirdjo; (2) Requirements for writing a book on Indonesian history with a national character, with Soebantardjo and Raden Mohammad Ali discussing; (4) National history lessons at school with discussants Suroto and Ki Padmospita; (5) Education of historians with discussants M.D Mansoer and Notohamidjojo; (6) Maintenance and Use of historical materials with Drs. R. Soekmono, Drs. Mr. A.K. Pringgogido, and Drs. Sutjipto (Syukur, 2013, p. 45).

Regarding the conception of the philosophy of national history, Yamin argues that the center and motor of national history is for the formation of national character (national character building) with the event of independence as the lifeblood of Indonesian nationalism (Syukur, 2013, p. 49). As a subject, according to Yamin, history should serve as a tool to instill the ideology of nationalism and patriotism, love for the nation, and love for the homeland. History must be able to erode the sense of primordialism so that it can create national integration. For him, formulating a philosophy of national history with an ideological style is important because it provides instructions for teachers and how to teach them, as a guide for historians on how to write history.

The next important moment in the history of Indonesia's national historiography was the holding of the second National History Seminar in August 1970 in the city of Yogyakarta. At that time, there was a new enthusiasm brought by historians to bring the problems of Indonesian historiography in a methodological direction. This is a response from professional academics and historians brought by Sartono Kartodirdjo by introducing the social sciences approach to historical studies.

The second National History Seminar is a stage that provides an opportunity for professionals from the world of historical studies to perform. Practically all the papers presented are the results of reconstructions or interpretations of events that occurred with time. Apart from that, this national seminar resulted in two important decisions, namely the formation of the Indonesian Society of Historians



and the writing of the book Indonesian National History, which consists of six volumes (Abdullah, 2016, p. 11).

However, this attempt to rewrite Indonesian history was hampered by historiographical and political problems. Like the spirit that emerged in the 1950s, where history was required to build the nation's character following the spirit of dismantling the colonial political order, Soeharto's New Order regime (1966-1998) also wanted to write a history that dismantled the previous political order to find a new beginning for the Order. New and it's future (Kwa, 2006, p. 4). At least the two eras share some of the same directions regarding the history of the Indonesian nation: starting from the pre-colonial golden era which has shown the core of national identity then continuing into the dark period under colonial oppression; a heroic struggle that culminated in a national revival and a revolutionary struggle that resulted in independence (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 11).

The difference that emerged from historiography during Soeharto's New Order was a centralized approach, with the state as the only source that legitimized the collective memory of the Indonesian nation. Suharto legitimized his power by pointing out that the nation's past before the New Order was a period of chaos and showing that his power was born as a stable development leadership. The New Order used history not only to build a post-colonial national identity but also to use it as a source of power legitimacy.

Indonesian National History Textbook was compiled during the New Order era with the framework described above. The six volumes of the Indonesian National History Textbook are determined based on the period of Indonesian history which includes (1) prehistoric - BC; (2) the period of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom; (3) the period of Islamic kingdoms; (4) colonial administration period; (5) nationalism and the end of colonial rule; (6) Japanese occupation; revolution; liberal democracy; guided democracy until the events of the 30 September Movement/Indonesian Communist Party. Until today, the Indonesian National History Textbook has undergone several revisions with the most recent edition published in 2008.



Indonesian National History Textbooks, are the main national historical sources at the university level and a standard source for writing history textbooks for other schools at the high school, junior high, and elementary levels. Textbooks on national history can be an efficient tool for systematically engineering and disseminating ideas. Mainly because the intended audience includes the younger generation (school and university students), teaching staff, and researchers, and because the authors are specialized and trained experts affiliated with higher education and research institutions. Textbooks can be politically strategic for any effort to build a new collective national identity through educational institutions (Suwignyo, 2014, p. 116).

The fall of Soeharto's New Order regime in 1998 prompted a lot of criticism of the writing of Indonesian history. Many historians consider that the New Order through Indonesian national history textbooks was full of state legitimacy, unidimensional, and militaristic. Some even believed that the New Order regime "deflection" the existing version of national history by reducing or even falsifying historical facts, for example, the 1965 tragedy or Suharto's role on March 1, 1949, General Offensive (Suwignyo, 2014, p. 114). The biggest agenda of post-New Order historians is to try to critically examine the historiography written during the New Order era, as well as to write and re-imagine Indonesian history during the reform era. However, there were not many significant changes from the SNI textbooks which underwent an update in 2008.

This paper was written to review the latest edition of the Indonesian National History textbook (2008) from the perspective of critical pedagogy. Various developments in the concept of national historiography encourage writers to study the narrative of national historiography contained in Indonesian National History textbooks. In this study, the author uses a critical pedagogical approach to see the impact of the development of national historiographical narratives in the context of changes in political and government regimes in Indonesia on historical education in Indonesia.



The reason the author uses a critical pedagogical approach is that this approach seeks to dismantle ideological aspects and hidden curricula that exist in the world of education. According to Henry Giroux, critical pedagogy offers a knife to criticize old and outdated views, formulate new views about humans concerning the social environment, and encourage people to be involved in the process of forming a just and prosperous democratic society (Wattimena, 2018, p. 4). It can also help develop a critical attitude toward knowledge that is present in the world of education. The awareness that knowledge is never born out of a vacuum, but instead is selected, and organized through a set of principles and values that come from somewhere, representing certain views about normality and deviance, about good and bad, and about what "good people act" is also is the basic idea of critical pedagogy (Apple, 2019, p. 65).

The study of the national historiographical narrative contained in the Indonesian National History textbook also aims to develop a strategy for teaching history that is not only top-bottom but also critically builds an understanding from below of the journey of the Indonesian nation. Thus, it is hoped that national historiography is not absolute as the only historical source, but rather becomes a guide or opening door for students who want to learn and explore further the experience of the life of the nation and state.

Research Method

This paper is written based on the results of a literature study or literature study. Literature or literature study means data collection techniques by conducting studies of books, journals, notes, and various reports related to the problem to be solved. For the approach, this paper uses a hermeneutic approach, which is an auxiliary science used to understand and interpret a text or information (Wiriaatmadja, 2015, pp. 62-65). The text understood and interpreted here is the narrative contained in the Indonesian National History textbook. Meanwhile, the perspective used in interpreting the narrative of the textbook is critical pedagogy.



Discussion

National Historiography

National historiography can be defined as history that authoritatively provides a standardized version of events and a timeline of the process by which the nation-state was formed. The concept of national historiography is inseparable from the growth and development of the idea of the nation-state since the 19th century. The nation, which is an abstract group that has just emerged as a product of modernity, needs a narrative that can persuade each individual or group of people to feel bound by the common past and convince them that the future belongs together (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 6).

As stated by Muhammad Yamin at the first National History Seminar, that Indonesia's national historiography is based on a philosophy that aims to shape national character building with the independence event as the lifeblood of Indonesian nationalism (Syukur, 2013, p. 49). Therefore, as a nation, the writing of Indonesia's national history aims to build a new identity that unites the collective memory of the entire Indonesian nation and formulates the same ideals and future.

At the beginning of the formulation of the concept of Indonesian national historiography, several issues became the basis for the importance of the formulation. First, the writing of Indonesian history is still surrounded by an orientation of colonial interests (Dutch-centric) so it is considered not to reflect the interests and identity of the Indonesian people. Second, the threat of national disintegration refers to various regional-centric actions (regional rebellions) which show differences in collective memory between regions referring to experiences of colonialism and independence (Abdullah, 2016, pp. 5-6).

The first National History Seminar, which was held in 1957 in Yogyakarta, attempted to answer the formulation of the concept of national historiography by proposing a vision of Indonesian-centric history writing. In this case, historical writing contains a national vision that is oriented from within Indonesian society



as a means of forming the nation's collective identity and decolonizing historical knowledge.

However, during the implementation of the first National History Seminar, a debate arose regarding the Indonesia-centric approach being offered. The main debate is represented by differences of opinion between Muhammad Yamin and Soedjatmoko. Yamin argues that scientific historical research should lead to nationalist interpretations that can be useful for strengthening national consciousness. On the other hand, Soedjatmoko criticized the idea by calling it a "utopian past" which made the nationalist approach override the scientific approach (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 8).

However, Soedjatmoko's suggestion seems to have been ruled out. Since the beginning of its development, Indonesia-centric historiography has tended to move away from objective history due to the development of the principle of decolonization of historiography which is ultranationalist and is more concerned with rhetoric (Purwanto, 2001, p. 32). In the methodological context, the discourse posed by Indonesia-centric historiography has reconstructed history based on the contemporary interpretation (the spirit of the times) that developed at that time. In the end, the Indonesia-centric approach tends to serve the prevailing core values of nationalism, patriotism, and the Indonesian revolution. Historiographic decolonization is only concerned with the ideologization of the past rather than reconstructing historical truths (Purwanto, 2001, p. 33).

In the end, the form of Indonesian historiography, can never really be separated from the colonial discourse and only becomes a reinterpretation that places the Dutch character and all-colonial policies as something "evil" and makes Indonesian figures and the struggle against colonialism for independence something "good".

The unfortunate thing is that the first Historical Seminar in 1957 failed to compile and publish national historiography. Although President Soekarno always reminded the importance of awareness and the glory of Indonesia's past, until the



end of his leadership Indonesia was still a “country without history” (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 10). It was only during the New Order government (1966-1998), to be precise since the second History Seminar was held in 1970, that a national historiographical formulation was formed and was successfully published in 1975 as a textbook entitled Indonesian National History.

National historiography in the New Order era was not much different from the formulation of the concept of historiography in the 1950s. At least the two eras share some of the same directions regarding the history of the Indonesian nation: starting from the pre-colonial golden era which has shown the core of national identity then continuing into the dark period under colonial oppression; the heroic struggle that culminated in the national uprising and the revolutionary struggle that resulted in independence (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 11). The difference that emerged from historiography during Suharto's New Order was a centralized approach, with the state as the only source that legitimized the collective memory of the Indonesian nation.

Suharto legitimized his power by pointing out that the nation's past before the New Order was a period of chaos and showing that his power was born as a stable development leadership. The New Order used history not only to build a post-colonial national identity but also to use it as a source of power legitimacy.

The Indonesian National History Book in the New Order era was the only official historiography of the country that was used as a standard and standard teaching material at various levels of educational institutions. During Suharto's New Order rule, the Indonesian National History textbook has become an important part of the process of legitimizing power and the pillar of modern Indonesia's official history. Indonesian National History textbook is part of the pillars of the power of historical knowledge that creates hegemony as well as the marginalization of elements that are considered to disrupt political and economic stability (Abidin, 2017, p. 439).



The concept of national historiography in the New Order era has received a lot of criticism that has become increasingly echoed since the regime collapsed in 1998. Many historians think that the New Order, through textbooks on Indonesian national history, is full of state legitimacy, unidimensional, and militaristic. Some historians have even accused the New Order regime of “deflection” the existing version of national history by reducing or even falsifying historical facts, for example about the 1965 tragedy or about Suharto's role on March 1, 1949, General Offensive (Suwignyo, 2014, p. 114).

The concept of national historiography received sharp scrutiny and criticism in the reform era. Historical experience regarding the development of national historiography either in the 1950s or in the New Order era shows the similarity that ideologization and interests to legitimize power are the most important things in historical writing (Curraming, 2003). At the beginning of the reform, historians began to build independence and distance from power. This shows an awareness and hope for a change in history writing in Indonesia to no longer be bound by state influence or control.

However, major changes did not occur in the Indonesian National History textbooks which were republished in 2008. One of the things that were highlighted from the minimal changes in the last edition of Indonesian National History textbooks was that there was not much space to explore the reputation of political policies during the New Order era, there was still a lack of sources. local sources as the basis for historical narratives, as well as the ideologies of nationalism, patriotism, and militarism which are still strong, especially in volumes V and VI. In fact, in the Reformation era, the trend of studies on the New Order paid great attention, especially related to human rights issues and approaches that were expected to be able to accommodate various perspectives and local sources.

Although intended as an updated edition, the 2008 Indonesian National History textbook offers very little new material compared to the previous Indonesian National History textbooks, especially the 1982 edition (Suwignyo, 2014, pp. 117-118). In the following discussion, the author will try to show more about the



development of Indonesian National History textbooks as one of the main sources of Indonesian national historiography.

Indonesian Historiography Narrative in Indonesian National History Textbooks

As has been explained, the beginning of the formulation of the Indonesian National History textbook was inseparable from the holding of the second National History Seminar in 1970 in Yogyakarta. The first edition was published in 1975, then a revised edition was published in 1982, and the latest edition was published in 2008. This sub-chapter discusses the history of the formulation of the Indonesian National History textbook and the author's analysis of the historical narrative in the Indonesian National History textbook based on a critical pedagogy perspective.

1. The Formulation History of the Indonesian National History Book

The second National History Seminar in 1970 brought a new paradigm introduced by the father of Indonesian history, Sartono Kartodirdjo. Changes in the political situation and criticism of the results of the first history seminar, appear to be the right momentum to discuss national historiography in a more methodological and scientific direction. Therefore, Sartono, through his dissertation on the 1888 Banten Peasant Uprising, tried to offer a history writing approach using the social sciences approach.

The second National History Seminar is a stage that provides an opportunity for professionals from the world of historical studies to perform. Practically all the papers presented are the results of reconstructions or interpretations of events that occurred over time. The second National History Seminar also resulted in two important decisions, namely the formation of the Indonesian Society of Historians and the writing of the book Indonesian National History, which consists of six volumes. Through this forum, the organizational management composition Indonesian Society of Historians with the editorial team from the Indonesian National History book was formed by appointing Sartono Kartodirdjo as the chairman of the Indonesian Society of Historians



as well as the General Editor of the Indonesian National History book (Abdullah, 2016, p. 11).

Sartono's main vision in writing the SNI book was to mediate the national historiographical philosophical debate between Yamin and Soedjatmoko at the first National History Seminar. Sartono revealed that the national history conceptualized through the book does not mean that the description of the history of the Indonesian nation only records the greatness or glory of the nation's past at the expense of historical objectivity (Kartodirdjo, 1974, p. xviii). He realizes that the challenge of writing national historiography is the tug-of-war between the demands of nation-building and the development of historical knowledge. Sartono's conception philosophically seeks to balance the integrative historical movement for the sake of the need for national awareness with a multidimensional approach that represents scientific principles (Abidin, 2017, p. 438).

Thus we can see that the initial design and vision of the writing of the six volumes of the Indonesian National History book is to be written in scientific terms for educational purposes to strengthen the collectivity of the nation and state. However, the biggest challenge of these ideals emerged from the New Order government which wanted to legitimize its power through the writing of history.

The intervention of the New Order government in Indonesian National History textbooks was particularly evident in Indonesian National History book volume VI which discussed the Japanese occupation period to the contemporary era. Indonesian National History book volume VI became important for the New Order government because it explained the emergence of the regime and authorized the dual function of the armed forces to protect national sovereignty and oversee national development (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 12). This problem prompted several writing teams and Sartono as the main editor to choose to withdraw from writing Indonesian National History books. Furthermore, in the publication of the second edition in 1982, Nugroho



Notosusanto took the main role in writing the Indonesian National History book.

In the second edition, apart from minor changes in volumes I to volume V, there was a rearrangement and expansion of the material in volume VI. The 1952-1966 period chapter was expanded and a new chapter on the New Order was added. The formation of the New Order was demonstrated in terms of the realization of political and economic stability, as well as a planned development. The New Order government was legitimized by discussing the 1971 and 1977 elections. The narrative of militarism was strengthened by emphasizing the importance of the dual function of the Armed Forces, as well as Indonesia's role in the foreign policy arena as evidenced by an explanation regarding the formation of ASEAN and the integration of the East Timor region (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 13).

In its journey, Indonesian National History textbooks during the New Order era became the only main source of history learning in middle school and high school. This is inseparable from the initial plan to publish Indonesian National History books as a means of education, and can be seen from the remarks of the Minister of Education and Culture, Syarif Thayeb, and realized by the publication of the National History book for junior and senior high schools led by Nugroho Notosusanto from 1977 to 1982.

Until the end of the New Order, the position of Indonesian National Historiography as the main historical source was almost irreplaceable. Various textbooks at the secondary and higher education levels, although various adjustments appear to adapt to changes in the education curriculum, substantively the content of the historical material contained is not much different and remains based on National Historiography (Abidin, 2017, p. 440). The National Historiography book itself during the reformation period was republished in an updated edition in 2008. Agus Suwignyo said, although it is called the latest edition, the contents of the 2008 National Historiography did not change significantly. The reason for the new authors involved and the



publisher of Balai Pustaka republishing National Historiography in 2008 was to provide additional material from actual developments regarding Indonesian history and based on the view that National Historiography was the first national history textbook written entirely by Indonesian historians and using an Indonesian approach. centric (Suwignyo, 2014, p. 118).

2. Historical Narrative Analysis in Indonesian National Historiography

Various changes from the Indonesian National History textbook, in fact, still follow the pattern of periodization and philosophical goals which, when viewed critically, of course, form a pattern of power relations. Indeed, as a national historiography, the Indonesian National History book cannot be separated from the existence of certain ideologies determined by the state in developing historical narratives and knowledge. Through this critical pedagogical approach, narrative and historical knowledge, it will be analyzed and mapped into several focuses, namely how the state hegemony knowledge about the formation of the nation, militarism perspectives, and de-Soekarnoization discourse rooted as the legacy of the New Order, as well as how Indonesian National History book remains shows the power of Suharto as a leader who brings political stability and development to Indonesia.

At least under the direction of Nugroho Notosutanto and in the updated edition of the Indonesian National History textbook, some characteristics can be seen. First, the Indonesian National History book makes the state and the military the central subject in historical narratives. Indonesia's National History, especially post-independence, is shown as a series of crises that threaten national unity but can be overcome thanks to military intervention. Thus, the discourse that developed from the narrative development was that military action and national interest were the same and congruent (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 13). This critical pedagogy shows how knowledge is not value-free but contains a meaning that forms patterns of social relations and power (Apple, 2019, p. 65). Such discourses in everyday life place the social status of the armed forces above that of civilians and legitimize the intervention of



state repressive instruments in people's lives in the name of the national interest.

Second, the approach in Indonesian National History textbooks provides a very minimal place for ordinary people as historical actors. Indonesian National History book mostly shows big figures who are present as heroes, while ordinary people are ignored from their history (Nordholt, et al., 2008, p. 65). This makes learning history not contextual for most people. Heroic traits may be a value that inspires many students. However, it can build a distance between those who study history (ordinary people) and the heroes they study. Whereas in the perspective of critical pedagogy, education aims to form moral sensitivity to encourage people to be involved in social change (Wattimena, 2018, p. 4). Representations and narratives about the involvement of ordinary people in certain historical events can encourage more concrete awareness and contextualization of students who do not live in a heroic past. Critically, without excessive heroism, students can also examine more deeply the lives of various historical figures as ordinary people and explore the motives of historical actions.

Third, this book describes openly how the patriotism of Soeharto and the military suppressed the September 30, 1965 crisis, by blaming the Indonesian Communist Party as the mastermind behind this movement. The book also explains openly how Suharto and the military won the throne for Indonesia by seeking legitimacy through the September 30, 1965 crisis, and attaching it to the people's aspirations to implement Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution purely and consistently which was also mobilized by the military.

This third point is visible in the sixth volume of the Indonesia National Historiography book. Since the beginning, the change in the main editor from Sartono Kartodirdjo to Nugroho Notosusanto is also closely related to the facts and narratives that fill the Indonesia National Historiography Volume VI book. Through the Indonesia National Historiography book (especially volume VI), the New Order tried to create a self-identity as a regime that was



an improvement from various fits of abuse that occurred in previous times. The government that took place before the New Order (defined by Suharto as the Old Order) was interpreted as no better situation, full of upheaval and rebellion, instability in government, and a severe economic crisis. Through historical writing, the New Order tried to legitimize itself as a representation of the nation's strength and determine ways to foster national stability and development based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Despite the political changes during the reformation period, the latest edition of Indonesia National Historiography in 2008 did not do much to correct the main problems of the New Order period, especially related to human rights violations that occurred during the past 32 years. Changes in the political context after the reform did not seem to be a strong background for the publication of the latest edition (Suwignyo, 2014, p. 118).

The contents of the Indonesia National Historiography book were not spared from criticism, apart from only relying on the military's role, and there were even accusations of twisting the facts written in the book. For example, the sharp criticism that was thrown by B.M. Diah. In the book "Uncovering Historical Manipulation" by Asvi Warman Adam, he quotes from the Merdeka Newspaper, April 8, 1976, B.M. Diah said that Bung Karno had been accused and convicted of intimidation and terror carried out by the Indonesian Communist Party allegedly under President Soekarno's direction. Soekarno's role seemed to be trying to be minimized as a way for the New Order to silence political groups that could undermine the legitimacy of his power.

Various facts about the strong ideological interests of power in hegemonizing public knowledge through the Indonesian National History book, encourage the task of historical education which leads to a critical attitude toward the content and narrative of national history. Thus, the critical pedagogical approach in history education is very relevant. This is of course to avoid distortion of history which no longer pursues objectivity and a scientific



attitude. However, objectivity and a scientific attitude in national historiography are not impossible, as Sartono Kartodirdjo is trying to do. In fact, according to Taufik Abdullah (2016), if we carefully re-read the experience of the formulation of national historiography in 1957, a conclusion can be drawn:

“National history is the result of research based on simple principles Indonesia-centric but requires the sophistication of authentic historical disciplines. This principle does not mean simply a reversal of the value base from colonial to national and it does not mean only being free from the confines of a Neerlandocentric vision. Historical works are not merely stroking the supposedly glorious past but are the result of objective and creative scientific reconstruction efforts about the series of struggles of the nation's children to overcome the shackles of fate and the fervor of struggle to achieve the coveted socio-political order. [...] In other words, an Indonesiacentric approach is an academic attitude to gain an accurate understanding of the various structural shifts and cultural changes that may occur over time.”

3. Strategy for Utilizing Indonesian National History Books for History Education

Various polemics and debates regarding the philosophical goals of national historiography as well as the content and historical narratives contained in the Indonesian National History book certainly have an impact on the scope of history education. Historical writing that was reconstructed as a tool for the interests of power during the New Order era not only raised problems of scientific objectivity and methodology but was also felt by teachers and students in learning.

The description of the problem of national historiography in history education is well portrayed by Gerry van Klinken (2001) in his writings. When President Habibie announced in late January 1999 that an independence vote would be held in East Timor, the teachers there panicked. The teachers' association pleaded with Jakarta to transfer non-local teachers out, saying



they were constantly harassed. "Their presence was rejected by a large part of society," the association said. A year later, the same thing happened in what is now officially called Papua. History teachers in remote highland outposts in February 2000 found themselves fleeing to safe towns after their parents threatened them for teaching a version of national history in which Papuans had no role. Confusion over the official historical version produced by the New Order was also evident from the confession of a teacher in West Kalimantan, who was often accused of lying by students because he explained about the Communist Party and Supersemar as Suharto's legitimacy in power (van Klinken, 2001, p. 2).

This happens because historical education appears to only be a process of instilling values and facts that have been officially agreed upon by the state. Inevitably, various voices, whether in the form of facts or perspectives on events from the experiences of various regions, are not represented by national historiography.

As has been discussed, the purpose of historical education includes at least eight points, namely; (a) develop the ability to think chronologically, critically, and creatively; (b) build social care; (c) develop a national spirit; (c) building the honesty, hard work, and responsibility; (e) develop curiosity; (f) develop values and attitudes of heroism and leadership; (g) develop the ability to search, process, package and communicate information (Hasan, 2012, p. 91). To achieve this goal, historical education should not only be a process of transferring knowledge by memorizing various events from national history textbooks. Rather, it encourages criticism from students regarding the content and historical narratives available.

Thus, the presence of the Indonesian National History textbook can be seen as a source and not the main source containing absolute truth. Indonesian National History book can be positioned as a source for analyzing the content of information and its narrative. One of the teacher's abilities to deliver meaningful learning and fulfill the goals of history education is to facilitate



students' various historical knowledge and the ability to organize various facts and perspectives in a problem-based learning model.

On the other hand, a critical pedagogical approach can bridge contextual knowledge that arises from students' awareness of the realities and power relations that shape society. Awareness of the problems contained in historical narratives in SNI books can be a way for students to be involved in solving real problems. If the writing of our national history contains several problems as stated, then the teacher can start critical history education by asking, how can writing history make a major contribution to people's lives? What do students think about the diversity of historical perspectives and narratives present during people's lives? And how can students be involved in writing national history which can develop the ideals and values of national unity without ignoring scientific principles?

Historical education with a critical pedagogical approach no longer only burdens students with various memorization of figures, years, and events. This is because critical pedagogy requires awareness that knowledge is part of political and cultural forces that have certain interests. Historical knowledge is no longer seen as something neutral, but about power and social structures that already exist in society. As revealed by Giroux, through a critical pedagogical approach, historical education can be a trigger for social change based on criticism of the state of society, as well as hopes for change for the better (Wattimena, 2018, p. 5).

Conclusion

The journey of the Indonesian nation which has a long history and is written in national historiography is a foundation of identity that strengthens unity and unity. The formulation and debate regarding the historical formulation were originally born based on the need to shape the nation's character. As a newly born and independent nation, post-colonial conditions encourage our nation to build legitimacy as a new community that is free from the shadows of colonial rule.



History aside from being a scientific discipline is a grand narrative that can unify and form identity. As has often been said regarding the definition of a nation as a community that has the same fate and agrees to unite to achieve the future. That's how history tells the similarities of the past and provides a foundation for goals for the future. Problems related to history arise when its scientific nature is ignored and narratives and stories are built in the name of national interests. Writing history during the New Order era is an example of how, in the name of national interests, the nation's past was created to legitimize power.

The presence of the Indonesian National History textbook with all its polemics has two sides that deserve attention. First, Indonesian National History is one of the country's efforts to build a collective memory that is useful for bonding unity as a nation. However, on the other hand, the view that Indonesian National History is the only official and authoritative historical version of the nation's collective memory is wrong and needs to be changed.

Indonesian National History is nothing more than a useful historical source for the Indonesian people to get to know various experiences of the nation from the state's point of view. As a textbook, Indonesian National History can be an entry point to study and compare existing facts, perspectives, and narratives with various other historical sources. Indonesian National History textbooks can be a case study of knowledge that needs to be analyzed critically, both facts and ideological perspectives contained in the textbook.

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