

HISTORY AS AN IDEOLOGY: NEW ORDER IN A HISTORY SCHOOL TEXTBOOK

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***Abstract---**During Indonesia's New Order period, history school textbooks received special attention from the Suharto's governance. The history of instructional materials must be in accordance with the curriculum designed by the government. These instructional materials, as one would expect, inevitably contained political agendas of the ruling government. This paper reported a critical discourse analysis on the political ideology contained in the historical narratives portrayed by the school textbook during the New Order regime.*

***Keyword---**Ideology, School Textbook, New Order*

I. Introduction

History is the study of human activities in the past. Historical relics are sources of historical knowledge. Historians work scientifically by constructing these historical events. The results of their historical constructions are then disseminated in writing the form of books or articles (Stanford, 1987:6). In doing the construction, historians rely on their own interpretation of the historical events. Hence, their writing will exhibit certain patterns of their interpretation (McCullagh, 1998:111).

A written historical narrative is a form of written discourse (Fairclough, 1992). A history writing contains an interpretation as discourse theory states that meaning exists in the text itself (Van Dijk, 2006). The main discourse in history writing is how the event is constructed (Lloyd, 1986: ix). The construction of events in the form of a discourse is a historiographic work with a philosophical and theoretical basis (Lloyd, 1993). A historian will use a methodology and theory during the writing of history. Thus, historiographic work is a form of discourse in which a text is produced by a historian.

A school textbook on history is a historical narrative specifically designed for education (Darmawan, 2010) and the realization of the operational educational objectives outlined in the curriculum designed by the government (Hasan, 2010:1). Usually, the government makes various curriculum changes as a form of social transformation effort (Arredondo, 2017), to address new challenges taking account of the needs for incorporating new ideas (Lai & Wan, 2014), the importance of making a political standardization, globalization, and decentralization (Saura & Navas, 2015; Popova & Beavitt, 2017; Garcia & Santos, 2018), the cultural hegemony and critical awareness (Zaidi, et.al.,2016), the effectiveness of future pedagogical policies (Bae, 2017), the curricular organization (Ferreira, & de Oliveira, 2015), ethnocentrism and the conflict of powers (Chao, 2014), the instructional epistemology (Emiliozzi, 2015), and the importance of sustainable development (Terlević, 2015).

Education policies in a country are closely related to the sustainability of nation-building (Kasimov, 2011). To become prosperous and developed, a country should introduce its history in school. Through the provision of historical subjects, students are expected to demonstrate national identity and gain a comprehensive understanding of their country's history (Sulistiyono, Singgih Tri, 2017). An introduction to national history will arouse patriotism (Haydn, 2012).

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The instructional contents in the history textbooks are purposively selected based on the policy set out by the government in the curriculum (Hasan, 2010:2). Historical construction compiled in history textbooks contains the political ideology of the ruling government (Darmawan, 2018).

The ideologization of history textbooks occurs in almost all countries, in which the ruling government intervenes the historical interpretations (Swoboda & Wiersma, 2009:18). When it comes to political interpretation, the ruling government always place themselves as the main actors in history. The purpose is to gain people's legitimation of their historical roles (Xifra & Heath, 2015).

In this study, the author analyzes the ideologization of the history textbooks of secondary schools used during the New Order in Indonesia. The analysis focuses on historical narratives that illustrate important events starting from the period of Guided Democracy to the New Order. The Guided Democracy is a political system during the reign of the first Indonesian President, Soekarno, who was supported by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). The New Order was a term used by the second Indonesian President, Suharto, to contrast his administration to that of Soekarno, which was dubbed the Old Order. Suharto replaced Sukarno as President of Indonesia after the historic September 30 Movement (Gestapo) in 1965, an important event that led to political and economic unrest that made Soekarno lose power to Suharto. Through a presidential decree known as the Eleven March Order (Supersemar), Soekarno gave Suharto authority to take whatever measures necessary to restore order. Gaining the authority, Suharto dissolved the PKI because, in his interpretation, the PKI was the mastermind behind the Gestapo movement attempting a coup against the legitimate government of the Republic of Indonesia. The attempted coup was believed to replace the national ideology of Pancasila with communism. Pancasila (the Five Principles) is the ideological foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. The basic principles of Pancasila are belief in God, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice. Communism is deemed against Pancasila because it does not recognize the existence of religion.

II. Literature Review

History Textbooks Used in Secondary Schools during the New Order

The New Order is a prominent period in the history of Indonesia. It is the period where Suharto is ruling the country, replacing Soekarno, after a chaotic political conflict between PKI and anti-PKI community, prominently students and the Indonesian National Armed Forces, ABRI (Aspinall & Fealy, 2010:4). The culmination of this political conflict was the historically attempted coup called the Gestapo movement. According to the official historical interpretation made by the New Order administration (Notosusanto, 1981:161-166), the Gestapo movement was masterminded by the PKI and the incident led to the end of the Sukarno's era, replaced by Suharto.

The birth of the New Order government was inseparable from the political role ABRI and anti-PKI community played (Fatgehipon, 2009). The New Order was a government dominated by the military. Suharto himself was a military commander who dissolved the PKI after receiving the full authority from the then President Soekarno through the Supersemar presidential decree (Dewi, 2015:71-72). After Suharto came into the presidential office, communism became a forbidden ideology in Indonesia.

The New Order administration pays great attention to the writing of national history (McGregor:2007). In fact, the formal writing of national history began since the early period of Indonesian independence, during which the need for promoting Indonesia-centric history writing emerged to eliminate the Neerlandocentric one (Kartodirdjo, 2001). To this end, the History Congress I was held on December 14-18, 1957 in Yogyakarta. Attended the congress historians and Indonesian history enthusiasts such as Mohammad Yamin and Soedjatmoko. Mohammad Yamin is a prominent Indonesian independence fighter, a scholar who is fond of history writing. Soedjatmoko was a scientist who became a political figure at the time before

Indonesian independence. They were involved in a debate. Yamin put forward the need for making nationalism as a basic philosophy in Indonesian history writing, Soejatmoko argued that history writing is a scientific work and hence must be free from any interests (Ali, 1995:1). The nationalism described by Yamin is the glorification of the success of Indonesia in the past during the reign of the likes of Sriwijaya and Majapahit Kingdom (Nordholt, 2004:4).

The spirit of Indonesia-centric history writing was then continued through the History Congress II in 1970. The important decision of this congress was to urge the government to form a team that would compile the history of Indonesia. The Minister of Education and Culture then issued a Ministerial Decree Number 0173 of 1970 on the appointment of the Pancasila-Based National History Book Writing Committee. The books would be used at all educational levels, from elementary to higher education. The committee managed to compile six volumes of the national history book (Kartodirdjo, 1977:i). The compilation of these six volumes was based on the periodization of Indonesian history as follows:

- a) Volume I: Prehistory of Indonesia.
- b) Volume II: Indonesia in ancient times (early AD to 1600 AD).
- c) Volume III: The era of Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia (1600 AD-1800 AD).
- d) Volume IV: Indonesia in the nineteenth century (1800 AD-1900 AD).
- e) Volume V: The era of national revival and the end of the Dutch East Indies (1800-1900 AD)
- f) Volume VI: The Japanese colonialization and the birth of the Republic of Indonesia (1942-present).

The six volumes of the book were entitled Indonesian National History (SNI) and first published in 1977 by Balai Pustaka, a work unit in the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. For educational purposes, in 1981 the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia published the more concise version of the SNI book, adjusted for middle school and high school. The textbooks were divided into three volumes, according to the number of grades. Volume I for the seventh graders, Volume II for the eighth-graders, and Volume III for the ninth graders in middle school; likewise, in high school, Volume I for the tenth graders, Volume II for the eleventh graders, and Volume III for the twelfth graders. The structure of the instructional contents referred to the 1975 Curriculum designed by the then government (Notosusanto, 1981:3).

The New Order is a centralized government system. The system was so-made to maintain political stability (Mietzner, 2017). Supported by the military, the centralization had strict control over all Indonesian citizens. Political activities carried out by the community are closely monitored. Political ideologies deemed contrary to the government's ideology would be eradicated (Jones, 2010:39-48). Pancasila indoctrination was carried out through the introduction program of Guidelines for Instilling and Implementing Pancasila (*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*) (Cribb, 2010:77). The legitimacy of power is repressive by placing Pancasila as the basis to deal with other ideologies considered dangerous such as communism promoted by the PKI and radical Islamism promoted by the rebellion group Darul Islam (DI) (Ward, 2010, 30-37).

Ideologization was carried out by the New Order regime in the writing of national history. Indonesianism which became the initial basis for the compilation of the SNI book was later ideologically reduced by the New Order regime to Pancasila (Gani, 2018). Pancasila was proclaimed as the national ideology of the Republic of Indonesia on August 18, 1945, a day after its independence (Silalahi and Yuwono, 2018).

The New Order is characterized by a strong dominance of military power over the nation, and the military took a stance as the guardian of the national ideology (Hadiz and Robinson, 2017). Indonesian history is rainbowed with the struggles against the colonials and the tackle down of various rebellions that harmed the sovereignty of the country (Anderson, 1983; Weatherbee, 1985). The ideological interpretation of historical events in the history of Indonesia mainly began since the

early beginning of the New Order. The ideologization was carried out by creating a dichotomy between Pancasila and anti-Pancasila. As the military played a dominant political role, they had a strong influence on the interpretation of Indonesian history (McGregor, 2007).

History has been a school subject since the Indonesian Independence. During the New Order, the history was increasingly given ideological reinforcements by the provision of the National Struggle History Education (PSPB) in 1982 as a separate subject from history at all educational levels (Darmiasti, 2002). History, which was categorized as a social study subject in the 1975 Curriculum, emphasize knowledge provision and was then deemed to fail to instill patriotism (Padi, 1985). In 1988, PSPB was no longer in place and deemed to be overlapping with the history subject.

Nation's interests in the textbooks

In textbooks, sometimes an event is described as something important and determines the course of the history of a country; for instance, the description the role of the Soviet Union in the Cold War in the history textbooks used in schools in Estonia, which used to be a part of the Soviet Union. Korbits (2015) reviewed three history textbooks used in schools in Estonia focusing on the role of the Soviet Union in the Cold War. The three books were published in 1957, 1986, and 2000. The selection of the three books was based on a period of the Soviet Union's rule in Estonia. 1957 was the period where the Soviet Union ruled Estonia, 1986 was the end of the Soviet Union's rule in Estonia, and 2000 was the independence of Estonia from the Soviet Union. In the textbooks published in 1957 and 1986, the Soviet Union was described to play a positive role in peace-making by establishing the Eastern Bloc to balance America in the Western bloc. The 2000 textbook; on the other hand, says otherwise. According to the 2000 textbook, the Cold War broke out precisely because of the Berlin crisis of 1961, which was masterminded by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union later facilitated the birth of the Eastern Bloc, which was confronted with the American-led Western Bloc. These three textbooks show that the ruling government can very much influence the writing of history.

In addition to highlighting the role of the government, ideologization of textbooks can also be done by highlighting a prominent political figure in a history textbook narrative such as Stalin. Nelson (2015) reviewed a history textbook published during Putin's era, during which the Soviet Union had already dissolved, but Putin is a great admirer of Stalin. The textbook portrays Stalin to play a great role in the industrialization and modernization of the Soviet Union, a role that is described as patriotic in winning the war. The centralized government system of the Soviet Union is also described as a better system than democracy.

Ideologization of textbooks was also the main concern of Gu's (2015) work. Gu conducted a critical discourse analysis on history textbooks in Japan. Gu found that Japan was described in the textbook to play a positive role in World War II.

One of the objectives of writing history textbooks is to introduce national, political and military figures in the past (Zajda, Spady & Lovorn, 2016). The history of the nation is introduced to shape national identity in students (Fitch & L'Etang, 2017). History textbooks in schools usually describe the process of a national identity building by introducing the origin of the nation. This can be done by tracing who the indigenous people were there. The interesting thing is when the nation was established through a process of colonization as happened in Australia. O'Dowd (2011) found that the state intervened in the writing of history textbooks by hiding historical facts. Historical facts show that white people came to the continent of Australia through the process of occupation. The hiding of this historical fact led to historical "silence." All of this goes to show how the writing of history could be intervened by the government. In the present study, the author tried to analyze the intervention done by the New Order administration in the writing of history textbooks in Indonesia. The study focused on the description of the September 30 Movement (Gestapo).

III. Methodology

This study analyzed the historical narratives in a history textbook entitled “*Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Untuk SMA Jilid 3*,” edited by Nugroho Notosusanto, and published in 1981 by the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. The textbook was used as the main reference for the teaching of history and PSPB subjects to the twelfth graders in high school. The analysis was focused on Chapter VI on Guided Democracy and Chapter VII on the New Order. The New Order was the period where the textbook was written and used at school. The political ideologization of the textbook was inevitable since the understanding of history can a national identity be shaped (İnaç, 2013). A nation is established within a community that shares the same historical experience, culture, law, and habits within a particular territory (Smith, 2002: 15). National identity emerges along with a sense of nationalism that can be instilled through a political indoctrination (İnaç, 2013) through the provision of history subjects at school (Kelsey, 2009:26-27).

History textbooks are written based on the principles of nationalism. The discourse of nationalism is constructed based on historical events as an effort to compile national historiography (Yilmaz, 2015). The government always views national historiography as a key to building historical awareness (Lukacs, 2017). The government makes the citizens aware of history through educational policies embodied in the curriculum (Nordholt, 2008:13). The construction of history in textbooks will create discourse. Therefore, this study used a critical discourse analysis.

History textbooks are historiographic works that represent a historical discourse. Historical discourse is constructed by historians using a particular methodology and theory (Burke, 1992:4-11). History textbooks can be analyzed using the perspective of critical discourse analysis, which is a linguistic analysis aimed at analyzing social and political events (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). A discourse is a result of the construction of a social community. This community use language as a social practice, rather than individual activity (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse is seen as an established social practice of the power of various entities. A discourse contains an ideology of a social group that created the discourse in question. Ideology contains components facing two opposite directions: *we* and *they* (Van Dijk, 1995). What is meant by a social group in this study is the New Order government, who control what must and must not be written in the textbook. The author analyzed how the New Order administration described the historical events in the textbook, how they, as the representation of *we*, interpreted the history.

IV. Results and Discussion

A. Sukarno and the September 30 Movement

As previously mentioned, the New Order began with the September 30 Movement in 1965, which was masterminded by the PKI and killed seven generals. The event was deemed an attempted coup by the PKI. What follows is the narrative in the SNI book on Sukarno and the movement.

Sejak gagalnya Kudeta G.30 S/PKI, sampai awal tahun 1966, Pemerintah di bawah pimpinan Presiden Sukarno tidak pernah mengutuk PKI selaku dalang pemberontakan itu. Presiden Sukarno berupaya berjanji akan memberikan penyelesaian politis (political solution) tetapi selalu ditunda-tunda pelaksanaannya. Hal ini menimbulkan ketidak-sabaran Rakyat karena bertentangan dengan rasa keadilannya. Keadaan menjadi berlarut-larut dan menjurus pada timbulnya krisis kepemimpinan nasional (Notosusanto, 1981 :167).

[Since the attempted coup of September 30 Movement, up to early 1966, the Sukarno’s administration had never condemned the PKI as the mastermind behind the rebellion. President Sukarno promised to provide a political solution, but the implementation was always postponed. People lost their patience with this. It was just against their sense of justice. This protracted situation led to the national leadership crisis (Notosusanto, 1981:167).]

There were three parties in the narrative above: Sukarno, the PKI, and the people of Indonesia. The three parties were interpreted differently in relation to the event. Sukarno was labeled as the party who “never condemned” and “promised to provide a political solution, but the implementation was always postponed,” and this “led to the national leadership crisis.” The PKI was labeled “the mastermind behind the rebellion.” People saw an injustice in the way Sukarno dealt with the matter. The phrase “lost patience” represents people’s reactions to Sukarno. The narrative shows that Sukarno and the PKI were interpreted negatively. Sukarno is portrayed to not have a clear stance on the issue and the PKI was portrayed as the party who orchestrated the rebellion. The people of Indonesia were interpreted positively. They were portrayed as the party who were treated unfairly.

As suggested by van Dijk, a discourse will always value the actors who constructed the ideology. These actors are divided into ingroup actors and outgroup actors. The ideology will always interpret the ingroup actors positively and vice versa (Rahimi, 2011:109). In the above narrative, the New Order as the ideology creator in the discourse placed Sukarno and the PKI in the outgroup actors and the people of Indonesia in the ingroup actors. The PKI was portrayed to make an attempted coup to replace Pancasila with communism and Sukarno was also deemed wrong for not having a clear stance about the incident. The people were deemed the defending actors of Pancasila and hence were the righteous party. The textbook also described that Indonesia’s economy increasingly got worse.

Sementara itu keadaan ekonomi Indonesia semakin memburuk akibat Pemberontakan G30S/PKI. Pada tanggal 13 Desember Pemerintah mengambil kebijakan untuk melakukan devaluasi rupiah lama, menjadi rupiah baru dengan nilai Rp.1000,- (uang lama) sama dengan Rp.1,- (uang baru). Sebagai lanjutan kebijaksanaan ini harga bahan bakar dinaikkan sebesar 4 x lipat, yang dimulai pada tanggal 3 Januari 1966, yang mengakibatkan kenaikan harga barang dan jasa di semua bidang (Notosusanto, 1981 :168).

[Meanwhile, the economy of Indonesia worsened due to the September 30 Rebellion. On December 30, the government made a monetary policy by devaluation rupiah. IDR 1,000 in the old currency equaled IDR 1 in the new currency. As a follow-up policy, the fuel prices were increased fourfold on January 3, 1966. This resulted in an increase in the prices of goods and services in all sectors (Notosusanto, 1981:168).]

Using the word “worsened”, the PKI and Sukarno were portrayed in the narrative above as the actors responsible for the economic crisis. Sukarno’s policy drew a reaction from the people, which was initiated by Indonesian Students Action Forum called KAMI. They urged the government to restore the economy.

Pada tanggal 6 Januari 1966 KAMI meminta agar kenaikan harga barang itu ditinjau kembali, namun tidak mendapat tanggapan pemerintah. Akhirnya dimulailah aksi demonstrasi pada tanggal 10 Januari 1966, yang melanda hampir seluruh jalanan ibukota selama kurang lebih 60 hari (Notosusanto, 1981 :168).

[On January 6, 1966, KAMI requested the government to review their policy of raising the prices; however, the government did not respond to the request. A big demonstration began to break out on January 10, 1966, on almost every corner of Jakarta. The demonstration did not stop until approximately 60 days (Notosusanto, 1981:168).]

Sukarno was again interpreted negatively using the phrase “did not respond to the request.” KAMI was interpreted positively by being considered as the party who wanted to restore the economy.

The negative interpretation of Sukarno does not stop right here. The following narrative portrayed how Sukarno responded to the students' actions.

Presiden Sukarno mengutuk aksi-aksi mahasiswa, bahkan memberi komando kepada pendukungnya untuk membentuk "Barisan Sukarno". Dengan komando itu berarti Presiden Sukarno membangkitkan konflik antara kelompok-kelompok pemuda, rupa-rupanya untuk mengalihkan perhatian dan penyelesaian politik terhadap pemberontakan G30S/PKI (Nugroho Notosusanto, 1981:167).

[President Sukarno condemned students' actions. He even commanded his loyalists to organize "the Sukarno Brigade." His command aroused conflicts between the youth groups. Apparently, it was meant to divert people's attention from the September 30 Movement issue (Notosusanto, 1981:167).]

The above narrative has four keywords to negatively interpret Sukarno: condemned students' actions, organize 'the Sukarno Brigade', aroused conflicts, divert people's attention. Using these keywords portrayed Sukarno as an authoritarian who seemed to side with the PKI.

B. Suharto and the New Order

Suharto became President of the Republic of Indonesia after the September 30 Movement in 1965, a move interpreted as a rebellion done by the PKI. The movement that was initiated with the kidnappings and murders of Indonesian Army generals. The incident caused a vacuum of leadership in the Army due to the murder of Lieutenant General Ahmad Yani by a group of soldiers who were interpreted as a group of pro-PKI soldiers.

Suharto took over the Army leadership and led an operation to tackle down the September 30 Movement as described in the textbook.

Di Jakarta, Mayor Jenderal Suharto, Panglima Kostrad (Komando Cadangan Strategi Angkatan Darat), setelah menerima laporan tentang terjadinya penculikan-penculikan terhadap para pimpinan TNI Angkatan Darat, membuat perkiraan keadaan dan segera mengambil langkah-langkah untuk memulihkan kekuasaan pemerintahan di ibukota (Notosusanto, 1981 :164).

[In Jakarta, Major General Suharto, commander of the Army's Strategic Reserve (KOSTRAD), after receiving a report of kidnappings of Army leaders, assessed the situation and took a measure to restore the governance in the capital (Notosusanto, 1981:164).]

In the above narrative, "to restore the governance in the capital" was used to positively interpret Suharto. On the other hand, the like of "kidnappings" was used to negatively interpret the PKI. The use of these contradictory keywords represents a construction of ideological discourse as suggested by van Dijk (Forough Rahimi, 2011:109). The PKI was negatively interpreted, and Suharto was positively interpreted in the history textbook during Suharto's administration.

Dalam waktu yang singkat, pengkhianatan yang dilakukan G.30S/PKI berhasil dipatahkan, berkat kesetiaan Rakyat dan ABRI terhadap Pancasila. Dengan melalui kudeta ini jelaslah bahwa PKI berusaha merebut kekuasaan Negara untuk selanjutnya menggantikan falsafah Pancasila dengan Marxisme-Leninisme. Sukses kita menumpas pemberontakan G30S/PKI itu sekarang kita peringati setiap tanggal 1 Oktober sebagai Hari Kesaktian Pancasila (Nugroho Notosusanto, 1981 :165).

[In a short time, the PKI betrayal was successfully overcome, thanks to the loyalty of the people and ABRI towards Pancasila. Through this coup, it was clear that the PKI was trying to seize power to subsequently replace the Pancasila with Marxism-Leninism. For our success in overcoming the PKI rebellion, we now commemorate the Pancasila Sanctity Day every October 1 (Nugroho Notosusanto, 1981:165).]

The above narrative contains some keywords that connote ideological and political meanings such as “betrayal”, “overcome”, “loyalty”, “seize power”, “replace”, and “sanctity”. The use of these keywords in a discourse, according to van Dijk, is to make an ideological polarization (Forough Rahimi, 2011:110) using Pancasila as the benchmark. The PKI was portrayed as the anti-Pancasila group, and the people of Indonesia and ABRI were described as the pro-Pancasila group.

The success of overcoming the PKI movement placed Suharto as a prominent figure in the history of Indonesia. Suharto was deemed capable of resolving the country's political crisis. His role was even made legitimate by the issuance of the presidential decree known as the Eleven March Order (Supersemar) in 1966, providing him with an authority to take whatever measures necessary to restore order. One of the most important steps Suharto took was the dissolution of the PKI as described in the textbook as follows.

Serangkaian tindakan yang diambil oleh Jenderal Suharto pada hakekatnya adalah untuk menyelamatkan martabat Kepresidenan dan kewibawaan Pimpinan Nasional. Karena jika krisis kewibawaan berlangsung lama, masyarakat mungkin akan mengalami gejala yang terus menerus. Pembubaran PKI merupakan keharusan mutlak, karena hanya dengan pembubaran PKI, keamanan dan ketertiban, serta persatuan dapat dipulihkan dan rasa keadilan Rakyat dipuaskan (Notosusanto, 1981 :165).

[a series of measures General Suharto took was essential to save the dignity of the presidency and the authority of national leadership because if the leadership crisis continued to last for a much longer, there would be continuous civil unrest. The dissolution of the PKI was an absolute necessity. Only with the dissolution of the PKI, security, order, and unity could be restored and the sense of justice of the people craved could be satisfied (Notosusanto, 1981:165).]

The use of the keywords “to save”, “dignity”, “authority”, “crisis”, “unrest”, “unity”, “sense of justice”, and “satisfied” shows that the above narrative contains ideology. According to van Dijk, in a discourse ideology can be constructed using euphemisms (Rahimi, 2011:110) such as “to save”, “dignity”, and “authority”. Suharto is portrayed as a gentleman who fought for the dignity and the authority of leadership during a social and political crisis and as the one who could satisfy the public’s sense of justice.

Having managed to overcome the PKI rebellion, in August 1966 Suharto, based on the Decree of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS) No. XIII/MPRS/1966 was appointed as a presidium in charge of forming the Ampera Cabinet. Becoming a presidium, Suharto gained authority in government like a prime minister or president. Suharto’s power even got stronger after the MPRS Special Session on March 7-12, 1967 issued a decree of the MPRS No. XXXIII/MPRS/1967 concerning the revoking of governmental power from President Sukarno and the appointment of Suharto as Acting President of the Republic of Indonesia as described in the following narrative.

Setelah mendengarkan saran dari berbagai pihak, akhirnya Presiden Sukarno memutuskan untuk menyerahkan kekuasaan kepada Jenderal Suharto sebagai cara yang paling bijaksana untuk mengakhiri situasi konflik (Notosusanto, 1981 :175).

[Upon suggestions from various parties, President Sukarno finally decided to hand over power to General Suharto. It was the wisest way to end the conflict (Notosusanto, 1981:175).]

The use of the word “wisest” is to imply that the transfer of power from Sukarno to Suharto was done in a peaceful manner.

In 1967, Suharto became President of the Republic of Indonesia and the New Order era began. The coinage and usage of the term “New Order” were political. Suharto uses it to contrast his administration to that of Sukarno, which he dubbed as “Old Order.”

Orde Baru merupakan koreksi total atas penyelewengan-penyelewengan di segala bidang yang terjadi pada masa lampau, dan berusaha menyusun kembali kekuatan bangsa dan menentukan cara-cara yang tepat untuk menumbuhkan stabilitas nasional jangka panjang, sehingga mempercepat proses pembangunan Bangsa berdasarkan Pancasila dan Undang-undang Dasar 1945 (Notosusanto, 1981 :175).

[The New Order made a total correction to all kinds of misconducts happening in the past and tried to restore the national security and determined the appropriate ways to established long-term national stability to accelerate the national development based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Notosusanto, 1981:175).]

The use of keywords “total correction”, “misconducts”, “restore”, “determined the appropriate ways”, and “national stability” shows that the above narrative is ideological and political. According to van Dijk, an ideology in a discourse can be constructed by constructing the ingroup and the outgroup actors (Rahimi, 2011: 109), which in the case of the above narrative the New Order administration is contrasted to the Old Order administration. The Old Order administration is the outgroup actor that is interpreted negatively by the use of the word “misconducts.” The New Order administration, on the other hand, is the ingroup actor that is interpreted positively by the use of the phrases “total correction”, “restore”, “determined the appropriate ways”, and “national stability.” The Old Order administration is portrayed to not comply with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

V. Conclusion

The historical narratives on the New Order in the history textbook was ideological. The ideologization was done by the New Order administration by conducting strict supervision over the people through various measures including the writing of history school textbooks. History textbooks were used by the New Order government to build people's good perceptions of their administration by constructing discourses to provide historical justifications for the birth of the New Order. The discourses described that the New Order administration was the one who made corrections to all misconducts and abuses done by the Old Order. The discourses also portrayed two prominent figures of the two contrasted orders, namely Suharto and Sukarno. Suharto was always interpreted positively and Sukarno negatively.

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