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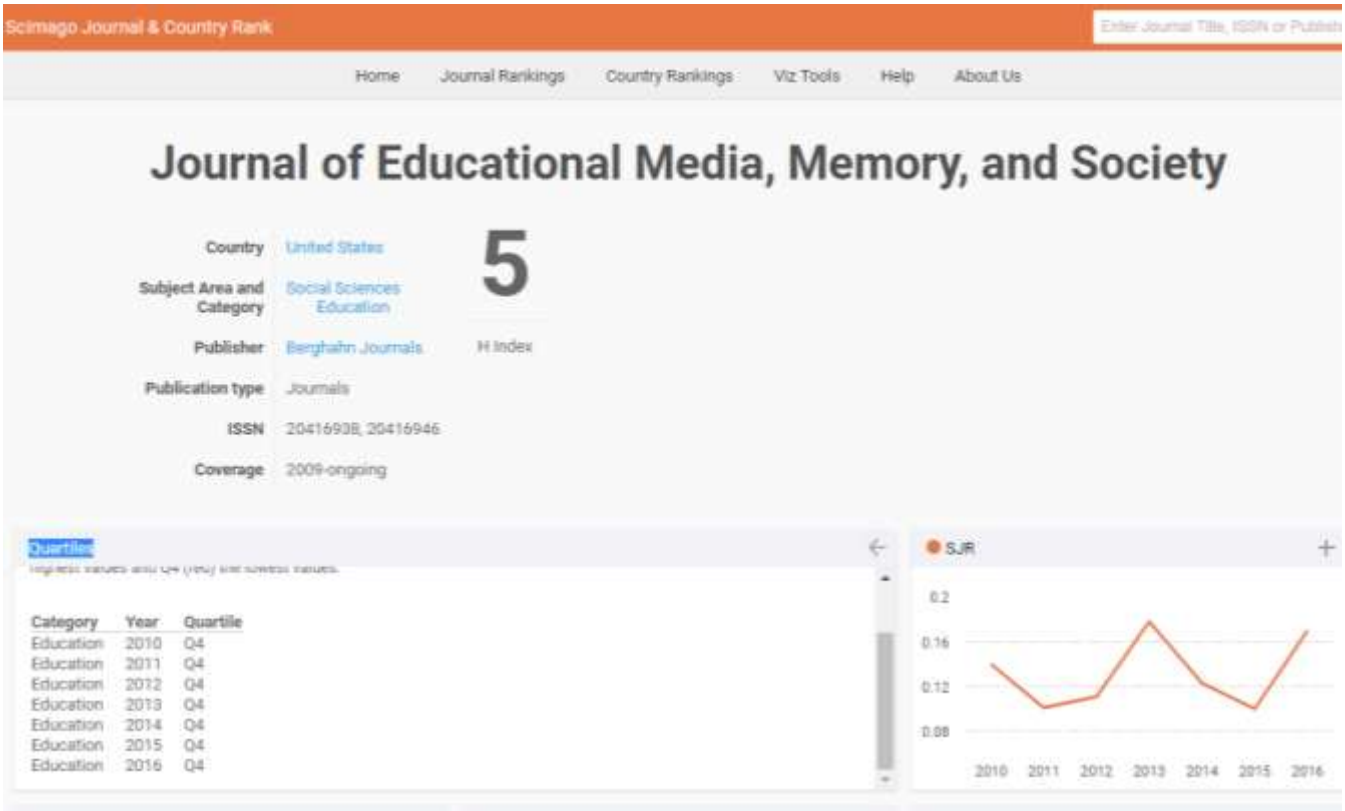

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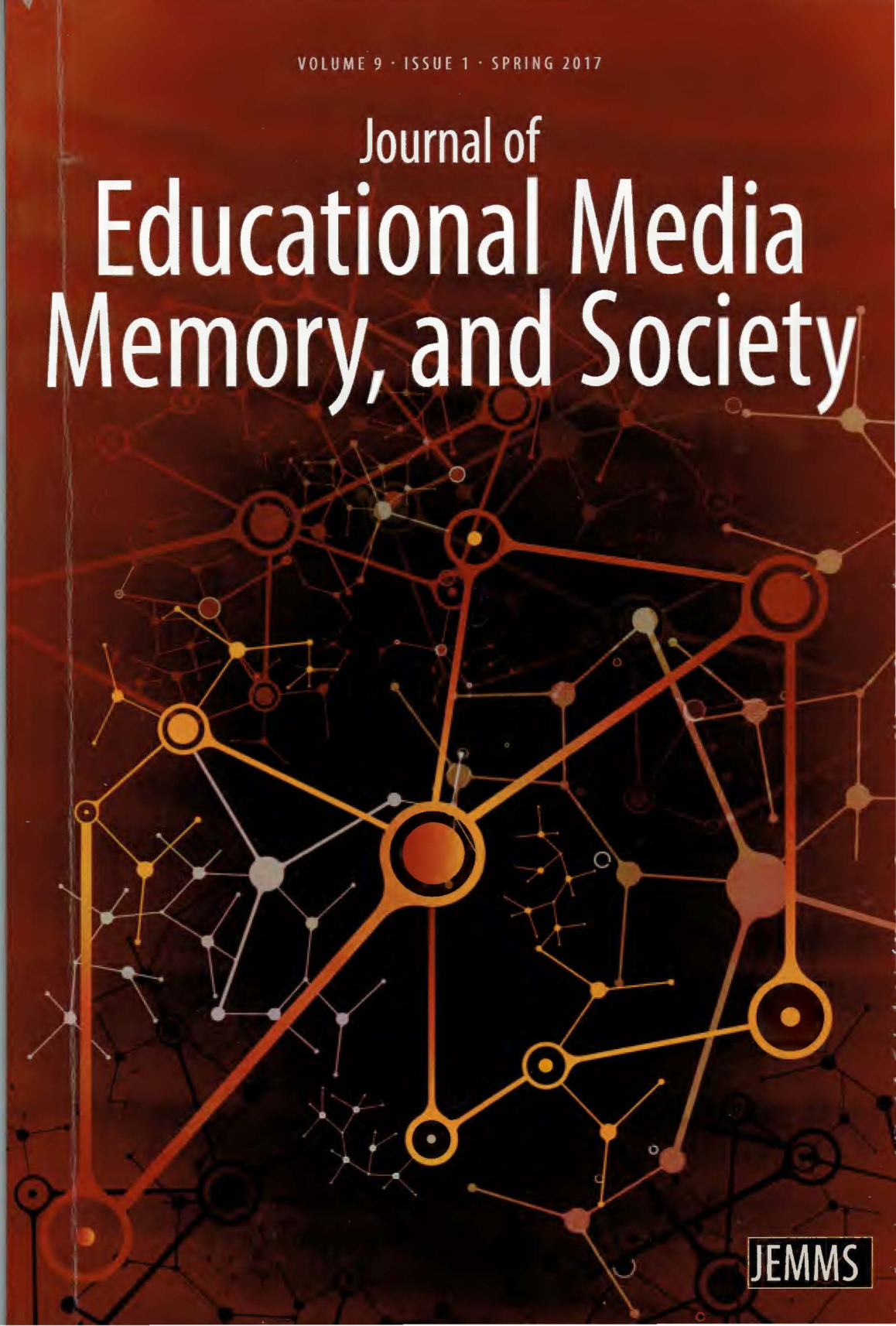

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SPECIAL ISSUE
TEXTBOOKS IN PERIODS OF POLITICAL TRANSITION AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR
Guest Editors: Kira Mahamud Angulo and Anna Ascenzi

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The *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* explores perceptions of society as constituted and conveyed in processes of learning and educational media. The focus is on various types of texts (e.g., textbooks, museums, memorials, films) and their institutional, political, social, economic, and cultural contexts. The construction of collective memory and conceptions of space, the production of meaning, image formation, forms of representation, and perceptions of the "self" and the "other," as well as processes of identity construction (e.g., ethnic, national, regional, religious, institutional, gender) are of particular interest. Special importance is given to the significance of educational media for social cohesion and conflict. The journal is international and interdisciplinary. It welcomes contributions from the humanities and the social sciences as well as theoretical and methodological studies.

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Special Issue:
Textbooks in Periods of Political Transition after the Second World War

Guest Editors:
Kira Mahamud Angulo and Anna Ascenzi

Militaristic Discourse in Secondary Education History Textbooks during and after the Soeharto Era

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Abstract • This study examines the year-to-year development of militaristic discourse in Indonesian secondary education history textbooks since 1975. Historical descriptions written since the fall of Soeharto's military regime and its replacement by a civilian government in 1998 tend to emphasize Indonesia's military history and pay little attention to its civilian leadership. To what degree did political change influence the production of historical discourse in recent textbooks in Indonesia? This article attempts to answer this question by applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to textual sources, in order to expose their historical and socio-cultural dimensions. The results show that in the post-Soeharto era, militaristic perspectives continue to dominate discourse production in history textbooks, denying the role of civilian leadership. This glorification of the military demonstrates that the Indonesian army continues to influence the country's history textbook production in the modern era.

Keywords • Indonesian curriculum, militaristic discourse, secondary education history textbook, War of Independence

In many national curricula militaristic narratives in history textbooks tend to represent the domination of society by the army. Recent research into Pakistan history textbooks, for example, illustrates that this country's historical narrative is characterized by representations of "violent conflict and war as the grand narration."[1] The present study examines Indonesian history textbooks as a source of propaganda that promotes the power of arms and supports violent means of conflict resolution by glorifying the military.

The militaristic discourse incorporated into Indonesian secondary education history textbooks was produced and developed during the reign of the military regime under President Soeharto (1967–1998). This discourse was produced in two ways. First, by narrating the struggle of

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the youth militias *(laskar pemuda*) and soldiers who fought the Japanese, British, and Dutch to secure Indonesia's independence between 1945 and 1949, and, second, by glorifying military figures and historical leaders as heroes.

Militaristic discourse was introduced into history textbooks in order to promote the interests of the military regime,[2] particularly in legitimizing its political power. Indonesia was established in 1945 as a semi-democratic country under the authoritarian civilian leader Sukarno. The seizure of power by the military under Soeharto in 1967, involving a bloody coup, thus represented a political deviation from democracy to totalitarianism. To legitimize this drastic and sudden change, a new historical narrative was constructed that portrayed the military as worthy of its newly acquired political power.[3]

As Hayden White has observed, militaristic discourse in school textbooks often serves as an ideological weapon to distance pupils from their country's political past; in this case, from the legacy of the political leaders who had struggled to build Indonesia as a civil society and democratic nation.[4] The War of Independence is narrated in a way that emphasizes the contribution of what are called military ways to Indonesian independence in order to legitimize the new order as a military regime.

President Soeharto's regime collapsed in May 1998 in the wake of the Asian economic crisis and a wave of student demonstrations that began in late 1997. The students' movement demanded a new political agenda known as the "six political reforms."[5] One of these reforms was to end the dual functions of the Armed Forces *(Dwi Fungsi ABRI*), which, in the Soeharto era, was seen as the foundation of the involvement of the Indonesian Army in politics. The reform agenda aimed to eliminate military power from politics and restore Indonesia's status as a democratic state. In the following years, two important steps were taken to eliminate the power of the military in politics. The initial step, taken in 1999, involved reducing the number of representatives of the military in the House of Representatives from seventy-five to thirty-eight.[6] The second step came in 2004, when the House of Representatives passed the Armed Forces Act that forbade the election of active soldiers to political positions.[7]

In theory, the downfall of President Soeharto and his military regime should have led to a change in historical accounts; instead, history books and news reports continued to glorify the military leadership. The civil leaders who governed Indonesia in the post-Soeharto era, whom it would have been important to legitimize in order to develop civil society, were frequently neglected in the historical narratives. Regarding history textbook production, the political change should have reduced the level of militaristic discourse and replaced it with a more civilian narrative. An anomaly occurred in the sense that, in history textbooks produced and

circulated since 1998, civilian social discourse was neglected, while militaristic narratives continued to predominate.[8]

The fall of Soeharto in 1998 brought no essential change in this regard. The militaristic discourse produced by Nugroho Notosusanto at the beginning of the Soeharto era continued to be reproduced and distributed in post-Soeharto era textbooks, up to as recently as 2006. Interestingly (and disturbingly), these 2013 textbooks were found to contain even longer militaristic narratives than those of the Soeharto era. The presence of militaristic discourse in the history textbooks of the post-Soeharto era suggests that the Indonesian military still possesses enough political strength to influence educational publications relating to the history of Indonesian independence.

Methodology

The main question addressed by this study is the extent to which political change has influenced discourse production in recent history textbooks in Indonesia. To answer this question, the study focuses on the development of militaristic discourse from the Soeharto era to the present day in secondary school history textbooks. In keeping with UNESCO guidelines,[9] I have chosen to adopt a hermeneutic approach. The textbooks are treated as primary sources that represent their authors' understanding of both the historical events discussed and the sociocultural environment. When explaining and reconstructing historical events, a textbook writer interprets the past based on academic exercises, experiences, and the subjective situation in which he or she is writing.[10] From this viewpoint, textbooks are historical documents that reflect social realities of the past, but which are limited in terms of factual completeness.

This study is based primarily on three history textbooks that are endorsed as mandatory by the Indonesian Ministry of Education. The first of these is The National History of Indonesia for Secondary School *(Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA*) by Nugroho Notosusanto and Yusmar Basri (1981). This book was distributed free to all schools as a mandatory textbook to facilitate the implementation of the 1975 curriculum, and remained mandatory even after the curriculum was renewed in 1984. In some cities, history textbooks were published by private publishers, such as the identically titled work published in 1992 by Moedjanto, Sunarti, Kristianto, Haryono, and Padi in Yogyakarta and The National History of Indonesia and the World *(Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum*), published by Ibnu Soewarso in 1992 in Surakarta. These textbooks were used as supporting books and are similar in content to the mandatory textbook.

In the 1994 curriculum, at least three important changes were made. These included, first, the change from the semester system into a

quarterly system. Second, the History Education of the National Struggle *(Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa* (PSPB), which had been added to the 1984 curriculum, was removed. Third, the lessons were restructured to facilitate mastery of the material, which henceforth became the main objective of the history lesson.[11] As a result of these changes, historical materials were deepened in scope and the textbook narratives became more detailed. These changes are exemplified by the well-known textbook by I Wayan Badrika (1997), which, with 221 pages, is almost twice the length of Notosusanto and Basri's work (1981/1986, 122 pages), which covers the same topics relating to the Indonesian Revolution. Other differences include writing style and presentation: Badrika's textbook is written in a style more accessible for secondary school pupils, and contains illustrations, additional information, and structured tasks.

In 2005, the Indonesian Ministry of Education established the National Board for Education Standards (*Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan,* BSNO), which was entrusted with the selection of textbooks for the 2006 curriculum. The only secondary school history textbook with a focus on social studies to pass the ministry's selection was Tarunasena's History for Secondary School (*Sejarah untuk, SMA*); this textbook subsequently became the only one used in the study of the subject. For the 2013 curriculum, the Ministry of Education set up a team of history textbook writers consisting of five groups. Each group was asked to write a history textbook suitable for a particular class and semester. The topic of Indonesian independence was allotted to the history textbook for the second term of year eleven, written by A. Sardiman and Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih. This textbook is still used in the study of this subject. Table 1 compares the descriptions of the Battle of Medan (an episode of the Indonesian Revolution typically presented as a great heroic struggle) contained in the surveyed texts. The battle is presented as proof that the War of Independence between the Indonesian youth militias and the British and Dutch forces had involved all segments of Indonesian society.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The textbooks were analyzed using critical discourse analysis (CDA) on three levels: the micro or textual dimension; the meso or discourse practice; and the macro or sociocultural dimension.[12] Two forms of textual analysis were employed: linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis.[13] Linguistic analysis treats language as a tool of domination used, in this case, to construct the assumptions, ideology, and messages conveyed by the textbooks to the pupils (the audience).[14] This form of analysis consists in an examination of the cohesion and coherence of the texts as well as the word order and the diction used. The goal of CDA is twofold. First,

Table 1. History textbooks surveyed in critical discourse analysis.

	Independence Revolution—Example: The Battle of Medan Area				
Curic-ulum	Authors(s)	Principal Title	Chapter and Section	Words devoted	Short Explanation
1975	Department of Education and Culture (1981)	National History of Indonesia for Secondary School. Volume 3.	Chapter IV: Independence War. Subchapter B: Facing Dutch Aggression and the Communist Party Rebellion.	1 (p. 141)	Medan is mentioned in passing alongside other battles.
1984	Moedjanto et al (1992)	National History of Indonesia for Secondary School. Volume 3.	Chapter IV: Independence War. Subchapter B: Facing Dutch Aggression and the Communist Party Rebellion.	1 (p. 101)	Medan is mentioned in passing alongside the battles of Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Palembang, and Makassar.
1984	Lestari-yono (1989)	Education History of the National Struggle. Volume 2.	The Beginning of Negotiations Indonesia–Netherlands	11 (pp. 1–11)	The struggle for independence is described as a series of fierce battles with Dutch and Japanese troops combined with diplomatic negotiations.
1994	I Wayan Badrika (1997)	The National History of Indonesia and the World. Volume 2.	The Independence Proclamation and Defending Sovereignty	247 (pp. 290–292)	Arrival of Allied troops and NICA; release of Japanese military internees; incidents between Allied troops, NICA, and local youth militia; ultimatum and setting of "fixed boundaries"; claim by Allied troops that Medan city was under their control; establishment of the Medan Area People's Regiment.
2006	Tarunasena (2006)	History for Secondary School. Volume 3.	Chapter I: From the Proclamation of 17 August 1945 to the Reestablishment of the United States of Indonesia. Subchapter D: Conflict between Indonesia-Holland 1945–1949.	194 (pp. 19–20)	Arms taken from the Japanese Army by the Medan youth militia; arrival of Allied troops and NICA; incidents between Allied troops, NICA and local militia; end of the battle.
2013	Sardiman AM and Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih (2014)	History of Indonesia. Volume 4.	Chapter VI: Revolution in Defending the Symbols of NKRI. Subchapter 3: Freedom or Death	558 (pp. 145–147)	Arrival of Allied troops and NICA; release of Japanese military internees, incidents between members of Allied troops, NICA and local youth militia; ultimatum and setting of "fixed boundaries"; claim by Allied troops that Medan city was under their control; establishment of Medan Area People's Regiment.

it is meant to detect the presence of what Derrida refers to as "superior terms" in words, sentences, or phrases used to define what a "self" is. The "self" determines explanations of actions in the past and aims for the future. Thus, "superior terms" are "not only the object of a particular knowledge, but also the object of a vision",[15] and indicate the presence of interest groups.[16] Second, CDA may reveal the presence of "inferior terms" that act as the binary opposite of the superior terms (us/them). Inferior terms (words, sentences, or phrases) contextually serve to negate the other parties ("others"). This negation can be an expression of the blaming, vilification, or victimizing of "others" considered out of line with the ruling group.

Additionally, intertextual analysis shows how text sources selectively draw upon the "orders of discourse" available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances.[17] In the present study, I examined the role of other source texts in the production of the newly written texts, focusing on specific historical narratives such as the Battle of Medan in the colonial struggle for Indonesian independence, which typically employ language of glorification and hero/villain metaphors to represent the military's superior interests.

Discourse practice is related to the production, distribution, and consumption of texts. The production of each curriculum was regulated by specific controls set by the Indonesian Ministry of Education,[18] and the materials were printed in a standardized font that became characteristic of the texts. Only recently were alternative printings, by strictly controlled private publishers, approved by the government. Similarly, consumption depends on the social context in which the texts were published; for example, secondary level history textbooks are now available free online. In this context, the government's hegemony highlights how power relations constrain and control productivity and creativity in discourse practice.[19] Change is investigated via the mapping onto one another of shifting, unstable sociocultural practices. In this study, the constantly changing political roles played by the military are positioned as contexts of discourse production.

The present analysis focuses on discussions of the period of the Indonesian Revolution, from the Independence Proclamation of 17 August 1945 to the Dutch acknowledgement of Indonesian sovereignty on 27 December 1949. Although the historical narratives in the textbooks focus on the military, in fact the Indonesian Revolution involved civilians as well as soldiers. Civilian leaders contributed significantly to Indonesian independence through diplomatic channels, for example by obtaining recognition of Indonesia as an independent nation from the Allied countries through the Linggajati agreement, and recognition of its territory through the Renville agreement. But when the revolution was transformed into a narrative, it was the glorified history of the military that

was written into the textbooks, while civilian efforts toward diplomatic solutions were excluded.[20]

Militaristic Discourse in the Soeharto Era

The story of the Indonesian Revolution begins with the Declaration of Independence on 17 August 1945. The new-born state faced conflict with three parties: the Japanese Army; the British Army as a representative of the Allied Powers; and the Dutch.[21] The Japanese Army was attempting to maintain the status quo until the arrival of the Allied Forces; the British Army's mission was to liberate Allied prisoners and disarm Japanese troops, while the Dutch, who still considered Indonesia their colony, wanted to regain sovereign control over the land. The Dutch came to Indonesia in the wake of the British Army,[22] whose mission, according to the Anglo-Dutch Civil Affairs Agreement, was to secure the territory in preparation for "the eventual handing over of the administration to the Dutch civil authorities."[23] But in practice, the commander of British Southeast Asia, Lord Louis Mountbatten, had no intention of conquering Indonesia for the Dutch, and treated the Indonesian Republican administration as the *de facto* authority.[24]

Indonesian leaders realized that the Allies had recognized the right of The Netherlands to recolonize Indonesia. Therefore, they actively tried to resolve the conflict through negotiations. The first prime minister of Indonesia, Sutan Syahrir, stated that "[i]f the Dutch seek agreement with violence, there will be no agreement."[25]

In the Soeharto era, the history of the Revolution was constructed to glorify the military and its role in defending Indonesian independence. The use of diplomacy by members of the Indonesian government was disregarded as naive. To underscore their "superior" role in the conflict, the Armed Forces called the revolution the "War of Independence."[26] The message here was that the Indonesian Revolution had essentially consisted of warfare and that Indonesian independence was exclusively dependant on military supremacy.

A key element of this militaristic discourse was the narration of the success of the *laskar pemuda* (youth militias) in taking arms from the ousted Japanese Army. The history textbooks describe these confrontations, which were triggered by Japanese soldiers who were unwilling to surrender and hand over their arms to the Indonesians, in heroic terms. Confrontations occurred in many big cities where Japanese troops were stationed, including Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Medan, Palembang, and Ujungpandang (now Makassar). After glorifying these military confrontations, one textbook concludes in a typically

exalted tone that "in the end, we succeeded in defending the sovereignty of the Republics of Indonesia."[27]

The civilian struggle, by contrast, was presented in history textbook narratives as an unsuccessful diplomatic compromise. Most of these historical narratives downplay the importance of political diplomacy. For example, it is explained that in November 1946, negotiations were held between Indonesian and Dutch representatives in West Java. On 25 March 1947, an agreement was signed that involved eighteen concessions although the history textbooks mention only two of them: that the Republics of Indonesia and the Netherlands would work together to establish a federation state named The United States of Indonesia (Republik Indonesia Serikat, USI); and that the government of the USI and the Netherlands would collaborate to form what would be known as the Indonesia-Netherlands Union.[28] These two points show that Indonesian diplomacy failed. Table two below provides excerpts from the Indonesian-Netherlands Treaty Agreements.

Interestingly, the history textbooks display only two of the eighteen points of the Linggajati agreement, which appear to prove that the agreement is disadvantageous to the independent Indonesian position. These two points are intended to demonstrate the failure of civilian leaders in negotiating for Indonesian interests. Applying Derrida's theory,[29] the narration represents the interests of the army as a dominant group, using language of separation and union to draw a binary opposition between military and civilian leaders. The purpose of this is to impart to the younger generation a negative perception of the role of civilian leaders who are dismissed as losers in the struggle for independence led by the victorious military.

In supporting this militaristic discourse, the textbooks glorify specific military figures. General Soedirman, a founding father of the Indonesian Army, is one of the historical actors singled out for special description. Soedirman, who led the Indonesian guerrilla campaign against the Dutch in December 1948, is described as the supreme leader of the Armed Forces, who "provided grip and inner strength to the people and the soldiers,"[30] despite suffering from lung disease.

A similar glorification occurred in the case of Soeharto who was likewise elevated to the status of national hero.[31] The history textbooks explain that he was a key figure in the "general offensive" (*serangan umum*) against the Dutch troops stationed in the city of Yogyakarta on 1 March 1949. In this celebrated battle, the Indonesian Army, attacking at daybreak, succeeded in occupying the city and holding it for six hours.

By contrast, when describing civilian leaders, the history textbook adopts a negative perspective. For example, in its discussion of the presidential decision of 19 December 1948 that President Soekarno, Vice

Table 2. Excerpts from the Indonesian-Netherlands Treaty Agreements.

Linggajati Agreement* (15 November 1947)	**Renville Agreement**** (17 January 1948)
Article 1—The Netherlands Government recognizes the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as exercising de facto authority over Java, Madura and Sumatra. The areas occupied by Allied or Netherlands forces shall be included gradually, through mutual co-operation, in Republican territory. To this end, the necessary measures shall at once be taken in order that this inclusion shall be completed at the latest on the date mentioned in Article 12.	A stand fast and cease fire order [shall] be issued separately and simultaneously by both parties immediately upon the signing of this agreement and is to be fully effective within forty-eight hours. This order will apply to the troops of both parties along the boundary lines of the areas described in the proclamation of the Netherlands Indies Government on 29 August 1947, which shall be called the status quo line, and in the areas specified in the following paragraph;
Article 2—The Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic shall co-operate in the rapid formation of a sovereign democratic State on a federal basis to be called the United States of Indonesia.	In the first instance and for the time being, demilitarized zones [shall] be established in general conformity with the above-mentioned status quo line; these zones as a rule will comprise the territories between this status quo line and, on one side, the line of the Netherlands forward positions and, on the other side, the line of the Republican forward positions, the average width of each of the zones being approximately the same.
Article 3—The United States of Indonesia shall comprise the entire territory of the Netherlands Indies with the provision, however, that in case the population of any territory, after due consultation with the other territories, should decide by democratic process that they are not, or not yet, willing to join the United States of Indonesia, they can establish a special relationship for such a territory to the United States of Indonesia and to the Kingdom of the Netherlands.	The establishment of the demilitarized zones [shall] in no way [prejudice] the rights, claims or position of the parties under the resolutions of the Security Council of 1, 25, and 26 August and 1 November 1947.

* https://lastafternoon.wordpress.com/2013/02/20/linggarjati-agreement/. Accessed on 11 August 2016. See also: Central Intellegence Group, Basic Dutch-Indonesian Issues and the Linggajati Agreement. Document ORE 20 9 June 1947.

** http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/Pages/volume-13/22-renville-agreement.aspx. Accessed on 11 August 2016.

President Mohammad Hatta, and many cabinet members chose to remain in the presidential palace, resulting in their capture by the Dutch.[32] The textbook criticizes their decision, explaining the psychological impact of their capture on the Indonesian people and armed forces. Moreover, the textbook accuses the president and vice president of relying on foreign assistance via diplomatic negotiation, rather than on the power of the people and on force of arms. Such interpretations emphasize negative

criticism of the civilian leaders, in order, ostensibly, to demonstrate that only the military stands on the side of the people. Textbooks deliberately ignore the fact that the critical decision to remain in Yogyakarta was made by the Indonesian cabinet and not by President Sukarno and Vice President Mohammad Hatta alone. General Soedirman, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, walked out of the cabinet meeting.[33] In another example, from 1975 onwards all mention is erased from history textbooks of Sutan Syahrir, Indonesia's first progressive prime minister, with a clear suppression of information relating to the diplomatic process that brought Syahrir into power.

The production of discourse that glorifies the role of the military and negates civilian leadership is closely associated with the historian Nugroho Notosusanto, who worked at the Armed Forces Historical Center *(Pusat Sejarah, ABRI)*.[34] Notosusanto played a key role in the construction of militaristic versions of Indonesian history for schools, which were meant to propagate a set of military values known as the "1945 values." In the army's history seminar in 1972, whose goal was to demonstrate the role of the military in national history, the 1945 generation was presented as quintessentially patriotic, full of confidence and prepared to bear arms to defend their country and nation, with an unbreakable spirit reflected in their motto "Freedom or death" (*Merdeka atau Mati*).[35]

In order to impart these 1945 values to the youth, Notosusanto and his team from the Armed Forces Historical Centre joined the Department of Education and Culture in 1974, where Notosusanto became the director of a project for secondary school history textbook research.[36] In 1971, he also became the director of a project to write the national history of Indonesia. Immediately after the resulting textbook was published in 1975, Notosusanto and his research team carried out a revision of the national history narrative, the results of which were to be made into a textbook. It is worth noting that many of the members of Notosusanto's editing team were military officials; they included Yusmar Basri; Adrian Bernard Lapian; Bambang Sumadio; D.D. Bintarti Djokosuryo; Edhi Wuryantoro; Hasan Mu'arif Ambary; and Saleh As'ad Djamhari.

Notosusanto was appointed minister of education in 1983. The following year, as part of the national curriculum renewal of 1984, Notosusanto introduced a new subject called History Education of the National Struggle (*Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa* or PSPB), whose purpose was to amplify the militaristic discourse in history lessons. As in the narration of the Indonesian Revolution described above, the PSPB materials emphasized military history, with an emphasis on physical struggle. The difference was that PSPB covered a broader historical period, which began with the Dutch Cultivation System of 1830 and culminated in the New Order under Soeharto. Another striking difference between PSPB and previous textbooks was the style of language used. PSPB texts were

provocative and demeaning to the Dutch. For example, when narrating the role of the Good Will Commission in the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands, a PSPB textbook explains that

> the Dutch colonials were tricky, rotten and awkward. Indonesia, with sincerity, asked for negotiations in order to resolve the dispute and avoid casualties, but the Dutch held negotiations only as a ploy to gain time to prepare and strengthen their troops. During the negotiations, which were drawn out, the Dutch continuously brought military personnel and weaponry from their motherland, The Netherlands. The Dutch also recruited indigenous people, who were demoralized and less aware of the meaning of the nation's independence and sovereignty, into the Dutch army.[37]

Furthermore, the textbook explains that the Dutch rejected the Linggajati Agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands "on a variety of pretexts, including the claim, based on a [deliberate] misinterpretation of the results of the negotiations, that Linggajati could not be implemented." The textbook goes on to describe how, after the Dutch launched their first "military aggression" on 21 July 1947, the Indonesian people responded to the attack with the "first War of Independence," which they waged in the spirit of the slogans "Freedom or death" *(Merdeka atau Mati*) and "Once free, forever free" (*Sekali Merdeka Tetap Merdeka*).[38]

The militaristic discourse produced by Nugroho Notosusanto is central to the historiography of Indonesian education. His texts became the main source for later history textbook writers in the Soeharto era—a fact that accounts for the predominantly militaristic character of Indonesian secondary education level history textbooks.

Militaristic Discourse in the Post-Soeharto Era

In 2006, eight years after the fall of Soeharto, Indonesia renewed its national curriculum. The history textbooks for the curriculum of 2006 were distributed via the electronic textbook system and could be downloaded free. The militaristic discourse appears in the subchapters of the History for Secondary School *(Sejarah untuk, SMA*) textbook entitled "Social Unrest" and "The Indonesia-Netherlands conflict."[39] In the subchapter "Social Unrest," the history textbook describes the confrontations between the Medan youth militias and the Dutch and Japanese forces, as well as other battles including the Surabaya incident, the five-day battle in Semarang, and the battle of Yogyakarta.

The end of Soeharto's military regime in 1998 and the great upsurge of will to construct a civil society that accompanied it could have been an opportunity for textbook writers to develop civil perspectives in nar-

rating the history of Indonesian independence. Yet this did not happen. The textbook for the 2006 curriculum still contained a strong element of militaristic discourse; in fact, the space allotted to the narration of military events was lengthened. One example is the case of the Battle of Medan. While in the textbook from 1975, this episode was mentioned only in passing, in the textbooks for the 2006 curriculum it comprises 194 words over three paragraphs, which describe in detail the struggle of the youth militia to wrest control of Medan from the Japanese and to defendthe city from British occupation.[40]

A similarly emphatic militaristic discourse appears in the section on the Renville Agreement of 17 January 1948; specifically, in the textbook's explanation of the military impacts of the agreement. In a detailed passage, the textbook explains the negative impact for Indonesia of the Renville agreement, as part of which "the Damarwulan and Ranggalawe troop divisions from East Java and the Siliwangi troop division from West Java moved to Yogyakarta," resulting in a strengthening of the Dutch hold on these provinces. The text adds that this shift of power also led to the establishment of the militant Darul Islam movement by "members of the military in West Java who did not follow the troop migration."[41] In addition to presenting only the negative results of the agreement, the textbook fails to reference the diplomatic processes taking place at the time, and to present the Renville Agreement from the perspective of civilian leaders.[42] Today, the Indonesian military has what Marcus Mietzner calls a "hybrid" character. Although the army has lost much of its former political power, it has successfully maintained its autonomy from institutional control, and exploited the fragmentation of civilian politics to gain political concessions.[43] In other words, it is no longer the strong-armed actor of national politics it once was, but has a more "behind the scenes" role.[44]

In 2013, the Indonesian Ministry of Education launched a new national curriculum. The years 2014 and 2015 saw the publication of new history textbooks entitled History of Indonesia (*Sejarah Indonesia*) and comprising five volumes, each of which was written by a different team of writers. The story of Indonesian independence appears in volume 2b.[45] Chapter 6, entitled "Revolution Enforcing The United States of Indonesia," recounts, employing familiar militaristic discourse, the conflicts and war of independence. The militaristic character of the narrative is especially evident in the subchapter "Freedom or Death," which narrates in great detail the fighting that occurred in Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Ambarawa, Medan, Bandung, and Sulawesi. Three pages and 558 words are allotted to the Battle of Medan alone, every episode of which is described in great detail, including portraits of historical actors on all sides, including the British, Dutch and Indonesian. The narrative begins with the arrival of the Allied troops under Brigadier General Kelly and

ends with the establishment of the Medan Area People's Militia Regiment (*Komando Resimen Laskar Rakyat Medan Area*). The degree of detail of the narrative is illustrated by the following example, taken from the description of the first physical conflict between the Dutch and locals in Medan:

> A day after its landing, a RAPWI (Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees) team arrived at the detention camps of Kerayan Island, Saentis, Rantau Prapat, Pematang Siantar and Berastagi in order to free the prisoners and send them to Medan with the approval of Governor M. Hasan. These ex-prisoners were immediately formed into the KNIL (*Koninklijke Nederlands Indische Leger*/ Royal Netherlands East Indies Army) battalion in Medan. Thus empowered, the former prisoners assumed an arrogant attitude, feeling as if they were the victors of the war. This attitude provoked various incidents involving groups of Indonesian youths. The first such incident, which occurred at Bali Street, Medan on 13 October 1945, began when a Dutch guest snatched a Red White badge from an Indonesian and trampled on it. In response, the hotel was attacked and vandalized by youths. The violence then spread to other cities like Pematang Siantar and Berastagi.[46]

In addition to expanding the scope of the historical explanation, the 2013 textbook also narrates a violent conflict not mentioned by the earlier history textbooks. In a subchapter entitled "The Sea Operation between Banyuwangi and Bali," the textbook explains that

> in order to intensify the struggle against Dutch troops in Bali, three groups of troops prepared to build a blockade: two groups of naval forces led by Captain Markadi and Waroka, and one army group under the command of Lieutenant Colonel I Gusti Ngurah Rai. The operation was planned as a three-pronged landing. Waroka's troops landed on the Gerokgak and Celuk Bawang beaches; Makardi's troops landed between Cupel and Candi Kusuma, Jembrana and Gurah, while I Gusti Ngurah Rai's troops landed on the Yeh Kuning beach.[47]

The plan did not go well. The crossing operation was "intercepted by Dutch sea patrols, who immediately opened fire on Ngurah Rai's troops; Cokorde Rai Gambir and Cokorde Dharma were killed. The two groups landed in Yeh Kuning, and Ngurah Rai's troops returned to Muncar. The next day on 4 April 1946, Ngurah Rai's troops landed at Pulukan and continued to Munduk Malang."[48]

Another example of militaristic discourse in this history textbook can be found in the glorification of military figures, as in the description of Soedirman's role in the Indonesian victory in the Semarang battle. The textbook describes how

> Soedirman, still wearing his uniform, performed ritual ablutions *(wudhu*), ritual prayer *(sholat*), and prostration of gratitude *(sujud syukur*), as he prayed, "O Allah, O Almighty God, so great and powerful you are. You are the source of power and victory. Please forgive your humble servant who is weak and powerless, and give us strength." This victory greatly increased Soedirman's popularity as a commander and leader of the TKR (*Tentara Keamanan Rakyat*/ People's Security Force, and proved that the Republic of Indonesia still possessed a strong army, the TKR.[49]

As is clear from the above citation, the history textbook, in addition to reinforcing the public's perception of military commanders as heroes, introduced a new perspective in its glorification of Soedirman as a religiously devout person. In the textbook of the Soeharto era, Soedirman is glorified as a commander who gave "purpose and inner strength to the people and soldiers who fought" during the Dutch attack on Yogyakarta on 19 December 1948.[50] In addition to illustrating Soedirman's role in guerrilla warfare[51] as earlier textbooks also had, the 2013 textbook adds a new perspective by describing him as a man who "no longer thinks of his treasures, his body and his soul, but has sacrificed all for the sake of the sovereignty of the nation and the state."[52] General Soedirman is praised not only for his capability as a leader, but also for his personality. The addition of these details regarding the personality of Soedirman illustrates another way in which militaristic discourse in textbooks has been strengthened: by the addition of a positive, personal element.

The history textbooks of 2013 also glorify Soeharto, as earlier textbooks had, by describing his role in the General Attack *(Serangan Umum*) on 1 March 1949, but with a difference: the 2013 textbook stresses the international importance of this historic episode in the history of the Indonesian struggle for independence. The textbook notes "although Indonesian troops only occupied the city of Yogyakarta for about six hours, this attack was nevertheless very significant for Indonesia. Besides firing up the spirit of the people, the attack also demonstrated Indonesia's power to the world. The foreign journalists in Yogyakarta played an important role in informing the world of the situation in Indonesia."[53]

As noted above, in contrast to the glorification they accord Soedirman and Soeharto, the secondary level history textbooks denigrate many distinguished civilian figures, as in the discussion of the Renville Agreement. The similarities to the textbooks from 2006 are quite prominent, especially with regard to the narration of the negative impacts of this agreement. Similarities are also evident in the presentation of other historical events, such as the Linggajati Agreement and Soekarno's cabinet decision of 19 December 1948.

Conclusion

The fall of Soeharto in 1998 brought no essential changes to the "legitimate knowledge" disseminated through history courses and textbooks in use in Indonesia. The militaristic discourse initiated by Nugroho Notosusanto at the beginning of the Soeharto era continued to be reproduced and disseminated in the history textbooks of the post-Soeharto era. In fact, this militaristic discourse appears in an even stronger and more extended form in the textbooks from 2013 than in those from 2006 and the Soeharto era.

The amplification of militaristic discourse in the 2013 history textbooks is evidenced in four ways. First, every violent conflict is described in more detail. Second, the textbook adds a new section dedicated to violent conflict ("The Sea Operation between Banyuwangi and Bali"). Third, the textbook adds a new perspective to the glorification of Soedirman by portraying him as a devout Muslim. Fourth, the text glorifies, even more than previous textbooks, military action as the most significant contribution to Indonesian independence and minimizes the role of non-military contributions, particularly diplomatic negotiations.

Militaristic discourse in history textbooks is a crucial concern for Indonesia as it seeks to develop democracy and civil society. Unless this discourse is changed, future generations will have a limited understanding of Indonesian history, especially its struggle for independence. Thanks to the militaristic discourse propagated via history textbooks, the Indonesian Army is portrayed as the ultimate guarantor of the safety of the state and the prosperity of the Indonesian nation. The only way to limit the effect of this tradition of militaristic discourse and impart a more comprehensive historical understanding to pupils is to rewrite the history textbooks in a way that properly portrays the positive role of civilian leaders in the history of Indonesian independence.

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Notes

1. Muhammad Ayaz Naseem, "Deconstructing Militarism in Pakistani Textbooks," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* no. 2 (2014): 13.

2. Mariam Chughtai, "What Produces a History Textbook?" (PhD diss., Harvard Graduate School of Education, 2015), 139, accessed 24 June 2016, http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:16461056.
3. This legitimization of the military by the Indonesian regime was achieved with the aid of two narratives. The first of these was the story of the bloody coup of 1965, in which the military is described as having saved Indonesia from the threat of communism. The second narrative, which is a main focus of the present article, addresses the role of the military in historical narratives of the Indonesian Revolution. See Hieronymus Purwanta, "Discourses of the '1965 Bloody Coup' in Indonesian Education Historiography," *International Journal of Social Sciences & Educational Studies* 2, no.4 (2016).
4. Hayden White, "The Historical Event," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 19, no. 2 (2008): 9.
5. The six reforms include the enforcement of the rule of law, the eradication of corruption, collusion and nepotism, the trial of Soeharto and his cronies, the amendment of the constitution, the elimination of the dual function of the army, and the provision of the greater autonomy of local government. H. M. Nasruddin Anshoriy, C. M., *Dekonstruksi Kekuasaan: Konsolidasi Semangat Kebangsaan*. (Yogykarta: LKIS, 2008), 184.
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16. Ibid., 12.
17. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 188.
18. Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Isi Media* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2001), 221.
19. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2.
20. White, "The Historical Event," 9.

21. The British and Dutch were allies, having signed the Anglo-Dutch Civil Affairs Agreement on 24 August 1945. See Christopher Alan Bayly and Timothy Norman Harper, *Forgotten War: Freedom and Revolution in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 167.
22. Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 99.
23. See Richard McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia, 1945–1946: Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 10.
24. M.C. Ricklef, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200*, third edition (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 265.
25. *Berita Indonesia*, December 5, 1945, 1.
26. "The War of Independence" was a chapter title in secondary school history textbooks during the Soeharto era. See Nugroho Notosusanto and Yusmar Basri, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Untuk SMA*, volume 3 (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1981).
27. Ibid., 137.
28. Ibid., 145.
29. Juliana De Nooy, *Derrida, Kristeva, and the Dividing Line: An Articulation of Two Theories of Difference* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998), 60.
30. Notosusanto and Basri, *Sejarah Nasional*, 155.
31. Soeharto was president of Indonesia when this textbook was published. The narrative can be seen as a personal legitimation of Soeharto which emphasizes his important role in Indonesian history.
32. Notosusanto and Basri, *Sejarah Nasional*, 154–155.
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34. Goto Ken'ichi, *Multilayered Postcolonial Historical Space: Indonesia, the Netherlands, Japan and East Timor* (Tokyo: Waseda University, 2005), 6–7.
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36. Ibid., 153.
37. See Lestariyono, *Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa*, volume 2 (Klaten: Intan Pariwara, 1988).
38. Ibid., 41.
39. Tarunasena, *Sejarah untuk SMA*, volume 3 (Bandung: Armico, 2009), 19–20.
40. Ibid., 19–20.
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46. Ibid., 145–146.
47. Ibid., 151.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 145.
50. Notosusanto and Basri, *Sejarah Nasional*, 155.
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