

# The New Order Policy Toward History Curriculum for the School

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Article Info	Abstract
	This study analyses the 1975 History Curriculum as a New Order
Received:	government policy in education. The research problem discussed is what
05/11/2024;	was the New Order's political policy through the Department of
	Education towards history learning? The analysis was conducted using
Received in revised form:	the Political Discourse Analysis approach developed by Fairclough. The
11/11/2024;	results of the study show that the 1975 History Curriculum adopted the
	United States curriculum to gain political and economic support from
Accepted:	Western countries. The 1975 History Curriculum also used textbooks
13/11/2024;	from the neoscientific model pioneered by Sartono Kartodirdjo. The aim was to gain political support from modern professional historians. The
Available online:	implementation of 1975 Curriculum resulted in history teachers losing
13/11/2024;	their autonomy. In addition, the function of history teachers to instil
13/11/2024,	historical consciousness was also no longer able to be carried out because
	their function changed to conveying information contained in textbooks.
	From the student's perspective, learning history has become
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Universitas	<i>Keywords</i> : ABRI History Center; history curriculum; history learning;
Muhammadiyah	neoscientific history; memorization
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i urwokcito.	
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## 1. Introduction

The 1966 change of government leadership from President Soekarno to President Suharto brought about significant changes to school history learning. During President Soekarno's reign, history lessons were used to teach and develop nationalism. Various stories about the greatness of the past were created so that students had historical thinking and awareness that Indonesia was a great and great nation. The establishment of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945 was interpreted as the third glory of the Indonesian people, after the Srivijaya Empire as the first peak of glory and Majapahit as the second. Even Mohammad Yamin wrote a book entitled 600 Years of the Red and White Flag, which explained that the Indonesian national flag had been used as the proud flag of the Majapahit

Empire.

Klooster's study (1985, p. 23) found that in the 1950s, there was growing dissatisfaction with the colonialistic historical narrative, better known as Neerlandocentrism, because it could not express the Indonesian people's vitality. One of the authors of history textbooks who was seen as able to provide a strong foundation for the Indonesia-centric historical narrative was Sutjipto Wirjosuparto. In his book, published in 1955, he was considered capable of contrasting the conditions of the colonizer and the colonized (Klooster, 1985, p. 213), thus providing an understanding and awareness of the suffering of the Indonesian people due to Dutch colonialism. The discourse to develop an Indonesia-centric history peaked at the first National History Seminar in 1957. Muhammad Yamin, at the seminar, proposed to build a national historical philosophy that was uniquely Indonesian so that the historical narrative that was formed would be genuinely beneficial for the progress of the Indonesian nation (Panitia\_Seminar\_Sejarah\_1957, 2017, pp. 32-34).

The proposal was opposed by Soedjatmoko, an intellectual with an excellent reputation at the national level. He stated that the use of history for political interests was very contrary to the methodology of history as an empirical science that maintains its objectivity. Therefore, he proposed that historical science avoids practical political interests and strictly uses scientific methods. Outside the seminar forum, Soedjatmoko stated that in the debate, he tried to protect historical studies from being misused to support a new myth, namely nationalism (Abidin, 2015). Yamin's idea to build a proud historical story for the Indonesian people failed. One of the causes was the national political crisis that culminated in the bloody tragedy in 1965 and the change of national leadership. President Soekarno was replaced by President Suharto, who named his government the New Order. The transfer of power had an enormous influence on the development of Indonesia. President Suharto was an Army leader, so the characteristics of the military government intensely colored domestic politics.

Drastic changes also occurred in foreign policy, which was previously pro-socialist/communist countries (Budianta, 2007); after President Suharto ruled, Indonesia's foreign policy changed to procapitalist countries and anti-socialism and Communism (K. McGregor, Melvin, & Pohlman, 2018; Melvin, 2018). During the New Order, the discourse to transform Indonesia into an industrial country like the nations of Western Europe and the United States through development programs emerged and developed into a grand narrative of national political policy (Posthumus, 1972). Even President Suharto was dubbed the Father of Development (Ronodirjo, Atmoprayitno, & Hadjid, 1983). After the first National History Seminar on historical studies, a narrative model called neoscientific history, or the use of scientific methods in writing history, was developed and pioneered by Sartono Kartodirdjo.

Furthermore, Kartodirdjo (1982, p. 5) explained that neoscientific history studies more social and economic issues than politics, implying the equalization of individuals. In other words, implicitly, the discourse in history is directed to encourage "democratization" in the sense that the role of "ordinary people" has a place in history. The characteristic of neoscientific history is the use of social science approaches in analyzing historical events (Curaming, 2003; Kartodirdjo, 1992). Sutherland (2008) calls this group Modern Professional Historians (MSH) with ideological characteristics that position Western cultural modernity as the goal of all humanity (Sutherland, 2008, pp. 34-35). The neoscientific history Seminar on 26–29 August 1970. One of the results of the seminar was the formation of a national history writing committee with PIC Sartono Kartodirdjo, Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro, and Nugroho Notosusanto.

The inclusion of Sartono Kartodirdjo as one of the editors indicated that the neoscientific history model became a guideline for writing Indonesian National History. Domestic and foreign political developments, as well as the emergence of neoscientific history, became the context for the policies taken by the New Order regarding history for schools. Various studies (Budiono & Awaludin, 2017; Nur & Nur Indah Afriyati, 2023) found that history for high school on the topic of the War of Independence was used to legitimize the power of the New Order as a military regime. Krisnadi (2022), who studied the topic of the 30 September 1965 Movement, explained that there was a tendency for the New Order to force its truth in compiling historical narratives and view other explanations as wrong.

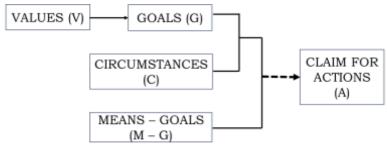
On the other hand, Klooster (1985), who observed the historical narrative of the Dutch colonial period, found that Indonesian history for schools compiled by the New Order viewed it more positively than the narrative of the Soekarno era.

This research on the New Order's policy on history for schools focused on the topic of the national movement. The basic assumption was that the New Order's political interests and the development of the national and international situation in the 1970s could be found more clearly. As a new ruler, President Suharto tried to embrace various parties, national and international, to support his power. At the national level, the development of the influence of neoscientific history was increasingly widespread among Indonesian intellectuals, so it was a force to be reckoned with. At the international level, the interests of the West as the prominent supporter of the New Order's power must also be accommodated. Efforts to accommodate and gain support from various interest groups were most apparent in the narrative of the national movement.

#### 2. Data, Theory and Methodology

This research focused on the problem: What was the New Order's policy on history for schools? In order to answer this problem, the History Curriculum from 1975 to 1994 and official textbooks supporting the curriculum were used as the main objects of study. The 1975 and 1984 Curricula used official textbooks compiled by a team of historians with Nugroho Notosusanto as the chairman. The compilation was carried out by summarizing six volumes of Indonesian National History published in 1975 and revised in 1984. In the 1994 History Curriculum, the government no longer compiled official textbooks, so schools used privately published textbooks. In 1998, the New Order collapsed and was replaced by a period known as the Reformation era.

The analysis was carried out using Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). Referring to the definition given by van Dijk (1997), political discourse is a discourse produced by politicians, both authors, and actors, in the form of text and speech. Not much different, Fairclough & Fairclough (2012, pp. 17-18) explain that PDA focuses on the production and reproduction of political discourse, both represented by individuals and institutions involved in the political process to gain power. In this context, the textbook for the 1975 Curriculum is positioned as a representation of New Order politics in history learning in schools. The PDA model used in this study is practical reasoning (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 35). The practical reasoning model is based on why an actor or political institution takes action to achieve a goal. The framework of thinking used to analyze PDA is described in the following schematic form:



Source: Fairclough & Fairclough, (2012)

The basic assumption of PDA is that every political action must be carefully calculated. A political actor in this study was historians from Pusjarah ABRI who made calculations from the perspective of short-term and long-term goals, as well as national and international developments in the context in which the action was taken. Political actors also organize a series of actions that function as a medium to achieve goals. From this perspective, a study of these three aspects is needed to analyze an action as a representation of political discourse. It is further explained that these three aspects stem from values about goodness and truth that are fought for (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, pp. 45-46). Thus, goals are

determined by values so that, conceptually, they are always following the truth and goodness believed in by politicians.

Political actions in this study are in the form of curriculum and history textbooks for schools, so the focus of the study is content analysis. Historical narratives, both as a whole and in smaller parts, such as words, sentences, phrases, and paragraphs, are positioned as subjective expressions of the author to represent his political interests (Wodak & Meyer, 2006). Thus, analysis can be conducted to identify the ideology to be conveyed to the younger generation as readers of history textbooks (Crawford, 2001). Spivak (1997) recommends a way to find the author's political interests and ideology by using superior terms. He explains that superior terms are markers of the presence of interests and ideologies (Spivak, 1997, p. lviii)

## 3. Findings and Discussions

A significant change made by the New Order was the implementation of the 1975 Curriculum. In the 1975 Curriculum Guidebook, it is explained that history learning is carried out for 3 hours of lessons per week (Dirpenmenum, 1980/1981). The time allocation for History Learning is the largest compared to other Social Sciences sections, such as economics, geography, and Pancasila Moral Education which receive 2 hours of lessons. Providing a more significant time allocation shows that the New Order has a high level of attention to history learning. Despite receiving privileges, history learning has received sharp criticism. Umasih's study (2017) explains that the 1975 History Curriculum was oriented towards achieving goals but was dominated by cognitive aspects and was still shallow, namely included in categories C1 and C2 in Bloom's taxonomy. This shallowness can be seen from the determination of the following curricular objectives:

- 1. Students have advanced knowledge about the relationship between the development of National History to appreciate other regions' struggles.
- 2. Students have advanced knowledge about Indonesian history in relation to neighbouring countries so that they can see Indonesia's position in life between nations.
- 3. Students know, realize, and appreciate the diversity of regional cultures in the context of the unity of Indonesian culture.
- 4. Students understand and appreciate Indonesia's cooperation with neighbouring countries and other countries in the social and cultural fields to improve the welfare of the Indonesian people (Umasih, 2017).

The significant changes made by the New Order to Indonesian history are closely related to Nugroho Notosusanto, who since 1964 has been the Head of the Center for History of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (Pusjarah ABRI - now the Indonesian National Army/TNI). Historically, his involvement in producing history textbooks for schools began in 1974. Nugroho Notosusanto was appointed as the head of the history textbook research team for secondary schools, which consisted of members from the ABRI History Center staff.

...Pada tahun 1974, Menteri Pendidikan mengangkat Nugroho dan anggota staf yang lain sebagai kepala tim riset untuk buku sejarah bagi sekolah menengah. Staf Pusat Sejarah ABRI juga membantu menyiapkan buku teks sejarah untuk sekolah menengah pertama dan sekolah menengah atas dari tahun 1975/1976 dan untuk pendidikan tinggi dari tahun 1970-1974. Pusat Sejarah ABRI juga berperan serta dalam evaluasi buku-buku untuk perpustakaan sekolah dan dalam merancang kurikulum sejarah untuk sekolah (K. E. McGregor, 2008, pp. 271-272).

The appointment of the leadership and staff of Pusjarah ABRI as a history book research team was a crucial stage in compiling a historical narrative for schools that were in accordance with the interests of the New Order government. The results of the history book research team's work were a threevolume textbook of Indonesian National History for junior high schools and three volumes of Indonesian National History for senior high schools, which significantly influenced the writing of history textbooks in later periods. The textbook summarised from the six-volume National History of Indonesia, written by archaeologists and historians and published in 1975. Borrowing the categorization made by Munslow (1997), the history textbook for the 1975 curriculum used a construction model. In this model, historical events are not only told about what, where, when, who, and how they happened but are emphasized in efforts to explain the background of historical events. For example, when discussing the birth of nationalism, the textbook explains the socio-economic structure of Indonesian society in the 19th century as its background. It is explained that the penetration of the Western economy that occurred since 1870 had a significant influence on the lives of Indonesian people who generally live as farmers:

Pada peralihan abad ini penetrasi (penerobosan) ekonomi Barat telah masuk sampai ke desa-desa. Munculnya perkebunan-perkebunan besar menyebabkan tanah pertanian dan irigasi diperluas, dan sejalan dengan itu ditingkatkannya cara-cara pertanian. Sebaliknya juga banyak tanah pertanian rakyat, yaitu sawah dan tegalan, dibeli atau disewa oleh perusahaan. Akibatnya tanah petani yang sudah kecil itu makin sedikit, sedangkan petani-petani penyewa dan petani tak punya tanah bertambah banyak. Tetapi jumlah petani kaya, yang juga berfungsi sebagai tuan tanah, makin bertambah, karena mereka membeli tanah yang dijual oleh mereka yang mengalami kesulitan uang untuk membayar pajak (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981, p. 14)

The following pages explain that the penetration of the Western economy brought a domino effect, namely the emergence of the working class, the growth of cities, transmigration and the spread of Western teaching or education. Specifically for Western education, the textbook explains in more detail and depth. The explanation begins with describing the various types of schools developed by the colonial government, such as the Second Class School intended for the lower-class indigenous people, the First Class School for the middle-class indigenous people, and the European Lagere School for Europeans. In further developments, the Dutch colonial government established the Hollands Inlandse School (Elementary School) with Dutch as the language of instruction, Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO/SMP) and Algemene Middelbare School (AMS/SMA) for the middle-class natives, and Hogere Burgerschool (HBS) for the upper-class natives (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981, p. 18). The development of education resulted in social mobility, both vertical and horizontal. The case of children of low-ranking employees exemplifies vertical mobility. Because of the education they receive, they can surpass the level their parents achieved, such as becoming high school teachers or doctors, engineers, law graduates, and so on.

On the other hand, horizontal mobility is exemplified by job changes at the same level, such as from farmers to factory workers. The textbook also explains the phenomenon of cities as locations that are the starting point for the birth of national consciousness. It is explained that the development of large cities that have become centres of teaching and education, trade and industry attract more attention from the younger generation. Schools in large cities become meeting places for students and young people from various regions with different customs and social statuses. From this point of view, schools function as a communication bridge between them, thus building awareness of a common fate and views on alternative solutions to overcome various societal problems. Young people who are educated in the West and have great concern for the progress of society are called the national elite. The textbook further emphasizes the relationship between Western education and the birth of nationalism:

Jelas bahwa pengaruh sistem pendidikan Barat adalah sangat menonjol dalam menumbuhkan elite nasional. Dengan ilmu, mereka menghasilkan ide dan pemikiran sendiri untuk kemajuan masyarakat. Begitu pun keahlian seseorang dalam suatu ilmu telah mendesak keturunan sebagai ukuran bagi penentuan status seseorang. Dapat dikatakan bahwa pada masa Pergerakan Nasional secara keseluruhan, status bangsawan atau elite tradisional merosot bahkan telah dilampaui oleh golongan intelektual atau elite nasional.

Elite nasional yang telah mempunyai dasar baru dalam memandang masyarakat sekitarnya, yaitu nasionalisme Indonesia, berusaha mengubah pandangan yang bertolak dari lingkungan daerah masing-masing (Notosusanto & Basri, 1981, p. 27).

From the quote above, it can be understood that Indonesian nationalism was born by a national elite whose greatness surpassed that of the traditional elite or nobility. The greatness of the national elite developed thanks to Western education, and they had ideas and thoughts for the advancement of society. The curriculum renewal 1984 remained relatively the same as the history learning material. Revisions were only made to the material on the birth of Pancasila, which in the textbook for the 1975 History Curriculum included the contents of Mohammad Yamin and Sukarno's speeches. The material received a negative response from historians and former members of BPUPKI. They stated that Sukarno was the only figure who gave a speech on the philosophy of the state, while Mohammad Yamin's speech was considered fake (Hatta, Djojoadisurjo, Maramis, Sunario, & Pringgodigdo, 1980, pp. 59-60). The criticism resulted in the revised edition of the 1984 Curriculum removing the narrative of the speeches of Mohammad Yamin and Sukarno (Notosusanto & Basri, 1992, p. 122).

In the implementation of the 1984 Curriculum, schools continued to develop, so the textbooks provided by the government were insufficient. Therefore, the government allowed private publishers to publish textbooks. One of the textbooks widely used by Catholic and Christian high schools was created by Moedjanto et al. (1992). Although compiled and published by a private publisher, the textbook has the same chapter and sub-chapter titles as the official textbook. The content is also substantially the same. The only difference is in the choice of words used. From this point of view, the historical construction compiled by the High School History Book Research Team has become increasingly established. It has become a grand narrative of Indonesian history for schools.

A significant development occurred in the 1994 History Curriculum, namely the addition of a chapter entitled New Ideologies that Influenced the Asian-African National Movement and the Indonesian Independence Struggle. The underlying reason for the addition is explained in the textbook that all nationalist movements and independence movements in colonized countries were direct and indirect influences of several new ideologies that developed in Europe and spread to the colonies (Badrika, 1997, p. 84). From this point of view, the Indonesian national movement in the 1994 History Curriculum is positioned as a result of the association political policies of the Dutch colonial government. These national movements in various Asian and African countries originated from the emergence of various ideologies in Europe.

The New Order policy of including scientific history in schools revolutionarily changed the position of history learning. At the beginning of independence, teachers had the autonomy to process historical information into learning materials that could be a tool for instilling historical awareness. An example is the inculcation of Javanese cultural identity carried out by Tamansiswa (Novianto, Yogiarni, & Purwanta, 2023). When the government used history learning to inculcate nationalism or nation-building, the autonomy of history teachers was maintained.

The New Order policy lost the function of history lessons and teacher autonomy. The function of history lessons as a tool for instilling historical awareness is impossible because they no longer tell the historical actions of the students' ancestors based on the depth of understanding and nobility of character. The discourse of Indonesiasentris or autonomous history (Nagazumi, 1968; Smail, 1961), which emerged and developed at the beginning of independence as a form of resistance to Neerlandocentrism, remained an idea and was never realized in the form of historiography. Efforts to make Indonesian society the central role holder in its history (Mulyana & Darmiasti, 2009, p. 5) could not be realized for various reasons, including the absence of written documents as the primary source for compiling historical reconstruction and construction. From this point of view, it is very appropriate if Purwanto (2006) states that the writing of Indonesiasentris history has failed.

The New Order's policy on history in schools returned to the narrative of Dutch-centric history. Indigenous Indonesian society was positioned as an object or even a result of the policies and greatness of foreign parties, especially the Dutch colonial government. Various policies of the Governor General, from the construction of the Anyer-Panarukan road to the Ethical Policy, were discussed in detail as the main actors in advancing indigenous Indonesian society. On the other hand, Indonesian society was only narrated as coolies, forced labourers, and recipients of the Governor General's kindness. Borrowing White's view (2008), the New Order's policy on history for schools resulted in the narrative of Indonesian history explaining more about the history of Western nations in Indonesia, thus separating the younger generation from its past. Not much different, Nordholt (2004, p. 10) stated that, like the colonial era, Indonesian history is history without society. In addition to losing its primary function, namely instilling historical awareness in the younger generation as citizens and the nation, history learning also failed to develop students' curiosity and use of scientific methods.

The construction of history compiled by historians is already in the form of finished goods, namely the results of the analysis of historical events in the form of historiography. Therefore, the role of teachers in the classroom is to explain the results of historians' analysis. Even during the New Order, teachers could not express opinions or explain historical events from different perspectives. From this perspective, the New Order government wanted a uniform narrative and understanding of history (K. E. McGregor, 2008). If history teachers dare to have different explanations, they will encounter various structural difficulties, such as being asked by related officials or security forces.

From this perspective, history teachers have lost their autonomy, and their position has become utterly dependent on the government. The impossibility of history teachers having different interpretations of textbooks is also caused methodologically, as they do not have the various skills learned in historical science. As an illustration, to apply an interdisciplinary approach, historians study the concepts and theories of the social sciences. These various social concepts and theories enable historians to analyze the context of historical events, both from social, economic, and political aspects. In addition, historian education also teaches various competencies to produce historiography that can be academically accounted for.

On the other hand, most teacher education courses contain regional history. Lectures are directed at understanding the contents of historiography compiled by historians about historical phenomena in a region. The history teacher education curriculum does not equip its students with various competencies to criticize and evaluate historiography from the perspective of historical sources, methodology, and the subjectivity of the historian who wrote the narrative.

Both problems, namely government supervision and the absence of methodology, result in teachers being professionally responsible only for explaining the results of historians' analysis to students. Assignments and exam questions are also made in order to test students' memories. On the other hand, students answer each assignment and exam question based on textbooks and notes to obtain optimal grades. They memorize word by word because the teacher will blame answers that differ from the narrative in the textbook. The trap of history learning in memorization became a chronic problem that was not solved until the New Order collapsed in 1998, even until now. Umasih's (2017) criticism above can be used to find and discover the root of the problem of history learning during the New Order.

History learning has become memorized in various countries, especially in countries that separate historian education from history teacher education. The problems of learning history in the United States are not much different from those in Indonesia:

... the study of history as nothing more than an experience for students which involved memorizing and quickly forgetting dates, events, and names of people. It was a learning process which embodied little if any relevance to the present or preparation for the future (Scheiber, 1979, p. 484)

From the quote above, Scheiber explains that history lessons are about memorizing dates, events, and figures, which will be forgotten after the exam. History lessons are no benefit to students' lives now and in the future. Students feel bored, especially if the material is repeated (Akengin & Cendek, 2017). The similarity in historical learning outcomes in schools between Indonesia and the United States can occur due to the New Order's politics, which directed Indonesian education to emulate the United States.

At the end of the 20th century, awareness emerged that a material-based curriculum caused the trap of history learning in schools to become memorization. Therefore, the solution was to compile a competency-based curriculum. In the United States, the National Center for History in the Schools

(NCHS) in 1996 compiled various competencies that were important for students to master in learning history. These competencies then became the curriculum and were applied nationally. They were known as historical thinking skills.

In Indonesia, a new curriculum, the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK), emerged in 2004. The curriculum explains that the purpose of learning history is to develop historical thinking skills and understanding (Puskurbalitbang, 2003, p. 6). From the objectives perspective, the 2004 history learning curriculum, officially implemented in 2006, is a transitional curriculum. On the one hand, history learning has been directed at mastering historical thinking skills, but on the other hand, it still includes the objective of understanding historical construction

#### 4. Conclusion

In order to gain support at the national and international levels, the New Order, through the Ministry of Education, decided to change the history curriculum for schools. The change occurred in the 1975 curriculum, which emphasized cognitive development, similar to the history curriculum in the United States. Politically, the policy was expected to gain international sympathy, especially from the United States, the leader of Western countries, to support the existence of the New Order. The 1975 Curriculum was supported by textbooks that used the neoscientific history writing model pioneered by Sartono Kartodirdjo. The ABRI History Centre wrote history textbooks by summarizing Indonesian national history. The actions of the ABRI History Center can be interpreted politically as an effort to gain support from academics, especially modern professional historians.

The renewal of the history curriculum in 1975 resulted in the loss of autonomy of history teachers in schools. The function of teachers as instillers of historical awareness could also no longer be carried out because history teachers are required to teach only the material contained in the textbooks. The position of teachers has changed to being entirely government agents. On the student side, the 1975 Curriculum made history a memorization subject because all the correct answers had to be the same as the contents of the textbook.

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