The Ideology of Territory in the Frames of Text Book of Indonesian History: between Facts and Myths

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Abstract. This paper reveals the results of a study against the historical content that contains the messages of territorial ideology by using discourse analysis method. Through this method, the material construction in accordance with the facts was juxtaposed as the events that happened with myth that created by the author of the text books which amplifies the message that wanted to build. The text books that reviewed in this paper were the high schools (SMA) history text books in accordance with the curriculum that used in Indonesia. Based on the results of this study, there are several themes or topics to strengthen the messages of ideology, especially about the ideology of territory. The purpose of the ideology is to grow the spirit of nationalism, feel the love of nation, to strengthen the integration of nation, and to achieve the goal of history education.

1. Introduction
The ideology of territory that referred in history text books is actually the historiographical approach that describes how to view Indonesia as itself and its surroundings. The past is being learned for a symbol to continue the present life. This was in accordance with the aim of history education to provide lessons for its citizens. The lessons were recorded, one of them was found in history text books. History text book is a media that support learning process and provides to ease learners in understanding the lessons in schools. This text books usually written in accordance with the applicable curriculum [1] and become the main source for learners and teachers to achieve the demands of curricular activities. Because of the content was written refers to the curriculum, therefore the content was full of the state’s political importance. It can be seen from the historical exposure that was written with the version of its state [2] and the contents of the events was selected to the importance for the journey for its country.

The history text books contain the meaning of discourse that directed to affect the way people rebuild their past [3]. The disclosure of the meaning of historical discourse is important because it was influenced by the power or ideology. While the country or the leader must be able to control and influence the society [4]. The relationship between the ideology and factual text become a model to control how people act, speak or write or how they understand others social practices. This argument is in line with Munslow’s thought who said that the writing of history demands of the plot distribution from the past, not only as a way to organize the evidence, but also consider about rhetoric, the metamorphosis explanation strategies, and the ideology that used by historians. This means that every writing was already contained an ideology of the author itself.
This paper presents the results of a study of history text books that contains the interpretation of the facts of events that support the state’s ideology. This kind of writing usually reputed by political reason than academically reason. The mythology and the ideology become a historical subjectivity that wasn’t built based on lies or fiction, but it because of the wrong anachronism [5] or the deliberate from the historian or from the government (state). The history reconstruction by the state version become the legitimacy that gives the strengthening power. For so many meanings of ideology, the researchers focus on the room aspect. Therefore, the ideology that examined in this research are: (1) How does the territorial ideology was built in history text books, (2) does the content of text books in accordance with facts the way the events actually occurred or does the narrated events that related to the myth seems happened like that.

2. Methods
History books is one of the results of historians’ construction about the past. In constructing the evidence remains the past, historians have been doing interpretations, which is analysis. However, in each analytical process, every historian has their own different of writing/narration pattern [6]. The narration of his writings will form into an event discourse. This is not surprising if the discourse in historical writing is actually how the events were constructed [7].

To understand and to interpret the contents of history text, therefore this research using the discourse analysis approach. The discourse analysis started from social construction approach that explains that this world is constructed by the views of the society. In this case, the researchers using the language to constructing the society’s point of view. The language reflects a social construction of the society, because they created the language itself. The discourse analysis includes the classification efforts of symbols that used in every communication and using specific analysis techniques in making prediction [8]. The researchers attempting to read carefully against each explanation of history content in text books to give the true meaning of the data based on the symbols that have been created. The symbols that are analyzed in this research is to understand the ideology that built and dominate the meaning, so it looks legal and true. The analysis of this study was focused on the history text that contains the meaning of the territorial ideology.

In understanding the text, the researchers are also using hermeneutic as analysis techniques. Hermeneutic has two meaning that is the interpreted text and the described deeds. In the first meaning we see a unity or a coherence in a text, while in the second meaning we give an answer to the question why historical players do so [9].

3. Results and Discussion
The history text books were published by the government allocated to the education interests. However, that is not mean to removing the academic norms of historiography in history. The explanation of the substance and compelling presentation is not enough if not using the concept and methodology of history as a knowledge. This historical principle is need to be emphasized to control the processes of heuristic skills, critiques and implementation of the theory and methodology so that the writing of history could be responsible [10]. Darmawan added that conditions of scientific from a history writer in addition the method, also other things such as the use of the sources, facts and its approach, room aspect, and time aspect [11]. If these terms are complete, then fact, objectivity, and the truth of the history could be established.

The ideally between the aims of education and the use of the scientifically qualifications in the writing of history text books must be inter-connectedness to one another. The problem that appears are about the education purpose is one of the political policy and history construction could not be separated from government ideology. The discourse that was constructed by the author of history books will remain in the supervision of the ruling government. The government will provide the political intervention to a historical interpretation in order to develop a collective memory that can legitimize its authority. This is a false dichotomy that appears in history text books, between history as science and as education that contains the message the educational purpose.
Through this paper, there are some discourses of history content that could be said contain the elements of ideology, especially the territorial ideology in the frame of Indonesia which are examined according to the message the educational purpose and history as science. Whether this is fact or myth.

The sentence that we often hear to reveal the Indonesian borders is "from Sabang to Merauke". This expression could be fact and myth as well because it contains a sense assignment, emphasizing, and empowerment against the region of Indonesia that has the potential of natural resources for the embodiment of ideals nation [12]. The different characteristics of area from thousands of islands that has been packed in a single short phrase but so meaningful. Also with the diversity of society and culture that are uniquely able to unite through that expression. If refers to the border region during the Proclamation in 1945, the Indonesian state only has an area of the former land of the Dutch Indies extent around 1,905 million km2. Then increased to 5 million km2 after the declaration of the Juanda in 1957. The number of large and small islands were framed in one of the clusters of 'From Sabang to Merauke". This was expected from the unity that could not be separated, because Indonesia’s territory consists of islands that surrounded by the seas. The island was not basically separated by the sea, but the sea that unites every island in Indonesia. This is the territorial ideology that was embedded through the history text books.

Examining the phrase of "from Sabang to Merauke" it could be seen from historical perspective, it seems no longer in accordance with the actual geographical area. That expression was only show on the scope of the Indonesia’s territory from west to east while the north and south were ignored or may be forgotten. Therefore, the phrase to refer to the geographic region of Indonesia "from Sabang to Merauke" is actually not appropriate except in adding the region from the north and south of Indonesia. For example, Miangas Island in the north as the outermost islands (now called with the leading island) Indonesia on the border with the state of Philippines and Rote Island or Roti Island that is an area in south of Indonesia. Thus, the perfect expression in accordance with the fact that is in field is "from Sabang to Merauke, from Miangas to Rote". That is the expression of territorial ideology as part of the effort to build and maintain the integration of the nation. The objective reality of Indonesia’s area in the Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) become more recognized and maintained.

The insights nusantara is a concept that viewed Indonesia’s geographical region as a whole political, social-cultural, economic and defense and security. The term of nusantara in history text books used in the discussion of the development of colonialism and imperialism in Indonesia. Nusantara showed the islands in Indonesia that visited and ruled by colonial powers. Not to wonder if the region of the Indonesian state after the Independence Day is a former of Dutch colonies region. Then the region was developed by using the concept of “insights nusantara”. This concept becomes a phrase in maintaining the integrity and unity of the territory of the NKRI.

If it traced well, the concept of insights nusantara is different with the message that conveyed in history of nusantara. "Nusa" means "Island" (means Java) and "antara" means "other" (the other island of Java). Thus, nusantara means the Java Island with other islands. In the conception of Java, nusantara had already expressed by King Kertanegara on the 13th century to declare the conception of the Javanese Kingdom expansion to other regions of Java. The history of nusantara facts were not surfaced in the text books because it can be considered nusantara as the colony areas of Java. The conception is used it refers to the opinion of Ki Hajar Dewantara who proposed the terms of nusantara is another name for the new independence country, the replacement for the Dutch government name that their “most regions” become the NKRI region. If it refers to the Negarakertagama book, the region of nusantara covered Semanjung Melayu until Pattani. That fact is not surfaced in history text books. That fact that appears in the region of nusantara is a region of the NKRI as the results of founding agreement that joined in Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI) stating that the Indonesia’s region is the former of Dutch government colonialism and then expanded through the Juanda Declaration 1957. From that point, it was agreed that the concept of "Insights Nusantara" as a unity of politics, economy, social-culture, defense and security of region of Indonesia.
The other themes that contain territorial ideology in history text books is "Indonesia was colonized for 350 years". The content is related to the discussion of the development of colonialism and imperialism in Indonesia or the history of the struggle against the Dutch government. This statement has become a common knowledge and considered a true fact by Indonesian society [13] because it once delivered by President Soekarno in his speech in 1950. Soekarno’s statement was intended to burn the spirit of nationalism nationality from the entire nusantara to rise up against the Dutch government who tried to dominate after Indonesia declared its independence. This statement asserts the spirit of patriotism.

Is the statement a fact or a myth? To examine the "Indonesia was colonized for 350 years" is a fact or myth is actually can be traced from the words of Governor General de Jonge in the 1930s which stated that the Dutch has power in the East Indies since almost 300 years ago and will remain the next 300 years. Referring to that argument is certainly delivered by the fact when Cornelis de Houtman set off from Netherlands in 1595 and was landed in Banten in 1782. It continued by the development of VOC and then forwarded by the Dutch government until 1942. The questions that appears are, does with the landing of the Dutch government then made the nusantara fall into the Dutch power, and does the entire nusantara have been ruled by the Dutch government?

Referring to G.J. Resink’s opinion [14] during the Dutch power, not all of the islands in Indonesia had been occupied. He mentioned in his book that The Colony Affairs Minister told the Dutch Parliament that there are several independent islands in Indonesia, and if there was a legal case/court happened there, judges could not provide the decision if the case occurs outside the Dutch Indies power. For an example of this case is Mandar region that cannot be judged in Makassar, a person from Kutai was rejected to be judged in Surabaya in 1904. Therefore, the research of Resink, Adam [15] said the Dutch control which allegedly 350 years in Indonesia islands is actually a political myth that could not stand to against the test of truth history.

4. Conclusions

The history text books that spread in schools have its ideological discourse. This ideology was done as a form of government legitimation toward its citizens. The other purpose is to build a collective memory by gives the justification of facts reconstruction or myth that built about the past of its nation. In accordance with this second purpose, the territorial ideology that developed in history text books is able to bring the historical journey about the territorial history in Indonesia that can strengthen the integration of the nation and the planting of nationalism of its citizens.

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