

Discourse on Sukarno's Narrative in History Textbooks: Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis of the 3rd Grade History Textbook Curriculum 1975.



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ABSTRACT: The construction of an understanding of Sukarno is strongly influenced by how the discourse about Sukarno is produced. Discourse about Sukarno can only be traced through texts documenting the narrative about Sukarno. This study aims to describe how Sukarno is contained in the text. This research uses Qualitative research methods with a Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Critical Discourse Analysis uses Norman Fairclough's model with a model framework, namely, Text analysis, Discourse practice, and Sociocultural practice. The results of this study showed that: (1) texts about Sukarno in the Indonesian history textbook chapter of Guided Democracy in the 1975 curriculum were studied in the early stages, namely text analysis by looking at the relationship between words; (2) The text data that has been obtained is then analyzed using the second stage, namely Discourse practice, which is a stage to see how the production and consumption of the text; (3) The last stage in Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model is Sociocultural practice, which is a stage where it looks at external influences in influencing a discourse.

KEYWORDS: Sukarno, Textbook, Critical Discourse Analysis, Guided Democracy, Curriculum 1975.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1967, Sukarno's transition to Suharto brought about dynamic changes in various aspects of Indonesian life. The fall of Sukarno could not be separated from the political dynamics that occurred in 1965, after the September 30 Movement the political, security, and economic situation experienced an upheaval, pressures on Sukarno not only from the opposition government but also from various extraparliamentary movements spearheaded by various elements of society who demanded Sukarno over the political, security, and economic conditions of the Indonesian state. Due to the uncondusive state situation, Sukarno sent Suharto through the Supermar letter to control the political and security situation (Syahbuddin, 2017: 5; Wanardi, 2014: 59). The increasingly intense pressure on Sukarno finally made parliamentary, in this case, the MPRS take a decision that removed Sukarno as president and appointed Suharto as president through TAP MPRS No XLIV / MPRS / 1968 (Joeniarto, 1990: 131).

The birth of the new order certainly brought various changes to various aspects of life in the nation and state. The New Order under Suharto's control tried to reconstruct various aspects of life and it also targeted the education system. The change started from a renewal of the curriculum, the new order considered that by updating the curriculum it would be able to rebuild superior generations in the future (Safitri & Purwaningsih, 2016). The 1975 curriculum was an answer to the changes offered by the new order, the content of the realm of history subjects was emphasized by the new order, various efforts were made by the new order, namely by compiling the content in history textbooks under the auspices of the Minister of Education and Culture, namely Nugroho Notosutanto (Marlina, 2016: 37-38; Sudiby, 1998: 22). In addition, in its development through the 1984 curriculum, the new order renewed the study of Indonesian history by launching a program called PSBB (Education for the History of the Indonesian Struggle), this program is a new order strategy in grounding historical narratives that focus on physical struggle material from the Dutch East Indies era to the New Order period (Marlina, 2016: 38; Purwanta, 2013: 98). The New Order government could realize that the subject of history was an appropriate way to carry out its political policies to delegitimize the old order's ideas. History subjects became a key for the new order because of the important role possessed by history subjects as a shaper of nationalism, national personality and morality so that students can become human beings who have a good and virtuous character (Safitri & Purwaningsih, 2016).

The enormous power of the new order encourages how the writing of history in textbooks must be able to make the power to be able to regulate the life of the Indonesian nation. in writing the history of linguistic practice through the relationship of one sentence to another will greatly determine the formation of a narrative of truth (McCullagh, 1998: 14-15). History will always try to be able to represent a historical event to be used as a historical narrative. These differences can be seen through discourse,

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narrative, and discourse that will be narrated will build a subjectivity and objectivity of a narrative. In addition, in the formation of a narrative, will create a plot that displays a framework of narratives that are built close to a historical event. The pattern displayed in the historical narrative will be awakened and get a significant influence from certain ideologies (White, 2008).

Discourse will largely determine the influence of domination of power built by a regime, Discourse on Sukarno is manifested in texts that contribute to Sukarno's understanding in textbooks. Discourse is an action taken by someone in using language practices to be used as an action in the world and especially from the form of percentage when looking at the world or reality (Fairclough, 1992: 62-64). Thus, the historical text will always be a discourse of truth that will be determined by an authority (Wodak, 2011). Therefore, this article aims to describe how the narrative discourse about Sukarno was portrayed in history textbooks in the 1975 curriculum.

II. METHOD

This research was conducted using a descriptive qualitative research method approach. The descriptive data in question is in the form of words, clauses, phrases, sentences or paragraphs (Moleong, 2013). In this study, the data used was in the form of a textbook of Indonesian national history grade 3 SMA curriculum 1975 published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Balai Pustaka. The data collection carried out in this study also observed and saw the discourse built in the 3rd grade Indonesian national history textbook in the 1975 curriculum by taking the chapter that the researcher had analyzed, namely the guided democracy chapter. The selection of data carried out by researchers is carried out with a critical approach to some parts of the text that are considered to contain instability in the meaning of a text. This technique researchers do with the initial step is to record data that has a relationship with the problem or purpose of the study, and the next step is to group or classify the data in accordance with the research. After the data is successfully grouped or classified, the final stage is that the data will be analyzed using four stages, namely 1) data reading, 2) data selection, 3) data presentation, and 4) conclusions.

In this study, researchers also used an analytical scalpel to sharpen the results with a critical discourse analysis approach model developed by Norman Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis approach in understanding the meaning of texts. According to Fairclough quoted in Wodak and Meyer (2001), critical discourse analysis is a method used in sausage research studies. Critical discourse analysis seeks to see the phenomenon of discourse manipulated in the form of text or language contained in various writings by looking at how the dominance of social practices occurs. Visualizing a discourse at the level of social practice will result in the creation of a dialectical between a discursive event and the institution, situation, or social structure that forms it (Fairclough, 2013: 57).

Critical discourse analysis developed by Norman Fairclough emphasizes 3 aspects, namely text analysis, which is a stage to be able to see the multifunction of social space where there are concurrent social processes, namely cognition, representation of the world, and social interaction formed through ideological and textual practice (Fairclough, 1997: 6). The next stage is discourse practice, namely in *discourse practice* there are two parts, namely the production process and production consumption. The production process emphasizes how text can be utilized by producers and restructure the order of discourse so that text consumption produces a new genre and discourse (Fairclough, 1997: 9). The last stage is sociocultural practice, which is the stage of emphasizing various assumptions that social dynamics that occur outside will affect how the discourse enters the media (Eriyanto, 2001: 320; Fairclough, 1997: 220).

Text analysis in this study was conducted by researchers by analyzing the narrative about Sukarno contained in the Indonesian national history textbook grade 3 high school in the 1975 curriculum, by looking at the selection of linguistic characteristics used using the selection of vocabulary (diction), sentence forms (grammar), and the use of metaphors. The second stage is discourse *prattice*, researchers in this case try to analyze how authors and compilers of textbooks can understand the event as a text production, factors that can influence text production, and see hidden motivations in narrative discourse about Sukarno in Indonesian national history textbooks grade 3 high school in the 1975 curriculum. The last stage is sociocultural *prattice*, which is the stage where researchers will analyze how discourse develops outside the textbook described in a siteal, institutional, and social context.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A textbook is a book related to a particular subject or field of study. In its development, textbooks have been compiled by experts who are competent in certain disciplines aimed at pedagogical development, besides that textbooks have a function as a support to expedite a lesson program that has been prepared in detail (Budiono and Awaludin, 2017: 36; Purwanta et al. 2015:348). In line with the above opinion According to Sjamsudin (1998: 103), providing an explanation that in the realm of functions, positions, and roles in history textbooks have a very strategic position, this refers to the dimensions of the formation of cognitive or affective domains that exist in students from various educational levels. The discussion of national history which especially summarizes various materials related to the formation of national identity will be packaged and contained systematically in history textbooks,

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this is done as a reinforcement of educational or active values for the formation of the character of students who are unifying or have a national identity based on the collective experience of state and nation.

At the end of 1975, the Ministry of Education and Culture compiled a book that was used as a reference for high schools (SMA), the preparation of this textbook was carried out by a team of developers incorporated in the publishing and printing of Balai Pustaka with members consisting of Nugroho Notosusanto, Yusmar Basri, A.B Lopian, Bambang Sumadio, D.D Bintarti, Djokosuryo, Edhi Wuryantoro, Hasan Mu'arif Ambariyanto, and Saleh A. Djahhari. The content of Indonesian national history textbook material, adapted from the master book listed in the Indonesian national history book volumes 1-6. In this section, the results of critical discourse analysis of the construction of material contained in the Indonesian history textbook grade 3 of the 1975 curriculum in chapter vii of guided democracy will be presented.

TEXT ANALYSIS

The first dimension in Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis concept that must be done is text analysis. In text analysis, the aspect emphasized is the structure of the language produced in a text. Fairclough argues that in this stage of text analysis things that need to be analyzed include three elements, namely: Representation, Relationships, and Identity.

Text can be referred to as a form of representation of things that contain a particular ideology. So in this case the text must be disassembled linguistically or seen using linguistic aspects. The form of discourse construction about Sukarno in the 3rd grade Indonesian national history textbook in the 1975 curriculum refers to how the features of happiness or vocabulary choices can affect a discourse. In this case, researchers have classified some text data contained in Indonesian national history textbooks in the 1975 curriculum as follows:

- 1) *Pada masa ini Presiden Sukarno tidak saja melakukan politik imbalan kekuatan (balance of power) antara Angkatan yang satu dengan Angkatan yang lain, melainkan juga antara abri dengan partai-partai politik. Dengan semboyan "politik ada; ah panglima" yang dilancarkan oleh PKI, maka usaha untuk mempolitikan abri semakin jelas. Presiden mengambil alih secara langsung pimpinan tertinggi Angkatan bersenjata, dengan membentuk Komando Operasi Tertinggi (Koti)* (At this time President Sukarno not only carried out *balance of power* politics between one force and another, but also between the armed forces and political parties. With the motto "politics there; ah panglima" launched by the PKI, the effort to politicize the army became clearer. The President took over directly the highest leadership of the armed forces, by establishing the Supreme Operations Command (Koti)) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 200).
- 2) *Tetapi karena sikap Presiden Sukarno yang melindungi PKI yang dominasinya sudah hampir mutlak pada panggung politik dewasa itu, partai-partai dan ABRI tidak dapat bertindak mengusut rencana PKI itu secara terang-terangan* (However, due to President Sukarno's attitude to protect the PKI, whose dominance was almost absolute on the political scene at that time, the parties and ABRI could not act to investigate the PKI's plans openly) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 201).
- 3) *Dengan perlindungan Presiden Sukarno, PKI dan ormasnya dapat dengan aman melakukan intimidasi dan terror politik terhadap pihak-pihak dan tokoh-tokoh yang dianggapnya lawan dengan mengatakan siapa saja yang menentang NASAKOM apalagi anti-PKI, adalah "kontra-revolusioner" dan anti Bung Karno* (With the protection of President Sukarno, the PKI and its mass organizations could safely carry out intimidation and political terror against parties and figures it considered opponents by saying anyone who opposed NASAKOM, let alone anti-PKI, was "counterrevolutionary" and anti- Bung Karno) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 201).
- 4) *Pada suatu Ketika ada saran dari RRC kepada Presiden Sukarno agar dibentuk Angkatan ke-5 di samping Angkatan Darat, Angkatan Laut, Angkatan Udara dan Polisi. Tujuannya adalah untuk memberikan kekuatan PKI yang berupa relawan Dwikora yang sudah dikerahkan* (Once upon a time there was a suggestion from the PRC to President Sukarno that a 5th Force be formed in addition to the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police. The aim was to provide PKI strength in the form of Dwikora volunteers who had been deployed) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 203).
- 5) *Dilihat dari keseluruhannya, gambaran ekonomi kita masa Demokrasi Terpimpin merupakan gambaran yang paling suram di dalam sejarah Republik Indonesia* (Taken as a whole, the picture of our economy during the Guided Democracy period is the bleakest picture in the history of the Republic of Indonesia) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 205).
- 6) *Peluang yang diperoleh PKI selama jaman Demokrasi Terpimpin mencapai klimaknya pada pertengahan tahun 1975. Dalam suatu persekutuan dengan Presiden Sukarno mereka telah membagi kekuatan politik di Indonesia atas , kawan dan lawan, yang kawan dirangkul, yang lawan disingkirkan* (The opportunities obtained by the PKI during the era of Guided Democracy reached its climax in mid-1975. In an alliance with President Sukarno they had divided political power in Indonesia over, friend and foe, friend embraced, opponent eliminated) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 213).
- 7) *Tindakan sendiri-sendiri itu terutama disebabkan karena tidak tegasnya Presiden Sukarno menghadapi pemberontakan G30S/PKI itu, sehingga rakyat cemas, bahwa dengan perlindungan Presiden. PKI akan bangkit Kembali untuk melancarkan keganassannya* (These individual actions were mainly due to President Sukarno's indecisiveness in facing the G30S/PKI

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rebellion, so that the people were anxious, that with the protection of the President. The PKI will rise again to carry out its violence) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 220).

In data (1), *sentences Pada masa ini Presiden Sukarno tidak saja melakukan politikimbangan kekuatan (balance of power) antara Angkatan yang satu dengan Angkatan yang lain, melainkan juga antara abri dengan partai-partai politik.* (At this time President Sukarno not only carried out balance of power politics between one force and another, but also between the armed forces and political parties). The word between *abri and political parties* indicates the existence of the interests of *abri* with political parties which result in mutual relations with each other. At this time President Sukarno not only carried out *balance of power* politics between one force and another, but also between the armed forces and political parties. With the motto "politics is the commander" launched by the PKI, the effort to politicize the army became clearer. The President took over directly the highest leadership of the armed forces, by establishing the Supreme Operations Command (Koti) (Notosusanto et al., 1986: 200).

In data (2), *Tetapi karena sikap Presiden Sukarno yang melindungi PKI yang dominasinya sudah hampir mutlak pada panggung politik dewasa itu, partai-partai dan ABRI tidak dapat bertindak mengusut rencana PKI itu secara terang-terangan* (But because of President Sukarno's attitude to protect the PKI, whose dominance was almost absolute on the political scene at that time, the parties and ABRI could not act to investigate the PKI's plans openly). The word *but* here shows that the author sees a possibility that presupposes that the attitude of a person who supports a certain group, it is emphasized by the choice of the word *absolute*, where in the choice of the word *absolute* it tries to state that about a certainty that occurs, about a partiality that when it occurs this is seen from the meaning constructed by the text above then the author trying to establish the fact that Sukarno was a supporter of PKI dominance in national politics at that time.

In data (3) in the sentence *Dengan perlindungan Presiden Sukarno, PKI dan ormasnya dapat dengan aman melakukan intimidasi dan terror politik terhadap pihak-pihak dan tokoh-tokoh yang dianggapnya lawan dengan mengatakan siapa saja yang menentang NASAKOM apalagi anti-PKI* (With the protection of President Sukarno, the PKI and its mass organizations could safely carry out intimidation and political terror against parties and figures it considered opponents by saying anyone who opposed NASAKOM, let alone anti-PKI, was "counter-revolutionary" and anti-Karno). The choice of the word *protection* made by the author can be identified as a form of security for a condition that is happening. The author of the text reveals that Sukarno's power could influence a partisanship. The data above also shows the use of *opposing sentences*. The choice of the word *oppose* used by the author shows the existence of groups that seem to disagree with Sukarno's choice and the negative image that tries to be built that there is an authoritarianism built by a Sukarno in the narrative of the text.

On data (4) in the sentence *Pada suatu ketika ada saran dari RRC kepada Presiden Sukarno agar dibentuk Angkatan ke-5 di samping Angkatan Darat, Angkatan Laut, Angkatan Udara dan Polisi. Tujuannya adalah untuk memberikan kekuatan PKI yang berupa relawan Dwikora yang sudah dikerahkan* (Once there was a suggestion from the PRC to President Sukarno that a 5th Force be formed in addition to the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police. The aim was to give the PKI strength in the form of Dwikora volunteers who had been deployed). The election *was formed* showing an image shown to a Sukarno that the political policy that was built had a tendency towards the eastern bloc. This is emphasized by the choice of words chosen by the author through the word *give* which shows the urgency of the implied meaning that Sukarno was an important figure who was considered to consolidate power for the PKI in exerting its influence in society.

In data (5) in the sentence *Dilihat dari keseluruhannya, gambaran ekonomi kita masa Demokrasi Terpimpin merupakan gambaran yang paling suram di dalam sejarah Republik Indonesia* (Viewed from the whole, the picture of our economy during the Guided Democracy period is the bleakest picture in the history of the Republic of Indonesia). The *whole* word in the above sentence gives an idea that Sukarno is considered a figure who is considered as a figure who caused the country's economy to suffer. The negative image built by the author of Sukarno is represented through the above sentence which describes the economic state of guided democracy which is considered a system that brings decline. This is emphasized by the choice of sentence diction that builds an author's identity towards the partiality possessed, this is seen from the euphemism thrown through the word *gloomy*. The word *gloomy* has a meaning as something that is considered a setback or destruction.

In data (6) in the sentence *"Peluang yang diperoleh PKI selama jaman Demokrasi Terpimpin mencapai klimaknya pada pertengahan tahun 1975. Dalam suatu persekutuan dengan Presiden Sukarno mereka telah membagi kekuatan politik di Indonesia atas , kawan dan lawan, yang kawan dirangkul, yang lawan disingkirkan"* ("The opportunities obtained by the PKI during the era of Guided Democracy reached its climax in mid-1975. In an alliance with President Sukarno they have divided the political power in Indonesia over, friend and foe, friend embraced, opponent eliminated"). The use of the word *Klimak* in the above text constructed by the author tries to illustrate how there was a special relationship between Sukarno represented through guided democracy and the PKI. The relationship between the two parties was also strengthened by the use of the word *alliance* which in this case referred to an effort to build consolidation of power between Sukarno and the PKI covering various domains such as the structural government of the Sukarno presidency.

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In data (7) in the sentence *"Tindakan sendiri-sendiri itu terutama disebabkan karena tidak tegasnya Presiden Sukarno menghadapi pemberontakan G30S/PKI itu, sehingga rakyat cemas, bahwa dengan perlindungan Presiden. PKI akan bangkit Kembali untuk melancarkan keganannya"* ("The individual actions were mainly caused by President Sukarno's indecisiveness in facing the G30S/PKI rebellion, so that the people were anxious, that with the protection of the President"). *The PKI will rise again to carry out its violence.* The choice of words is very calculated by the author, in the data above the choice of words confronts the existence of indirect involvement between Sukarno and a rebellion movement declared by the author as G30S / PKI. This seemed to try to corner Sukarno as someone involved in the rebellion movement, in another part the choice of the word *"protection"* refers to an attempt to deny that Sukarno was pro-PKI so that all PKI movements always had Sukarno's blessing.

DISCOURSE PRACTICE

In the discourse practice stage or discourse practice carried out on the textbook looks at processing discourse, such as how the process of dissemination or use of discourse, the profile of the book, the author of the book, and how the editor of the book produces the text. In Fairclough's opinion (Eriyanto, 2001: 316-320), in this discourse practice stage emphasizes the process of production and consumption of a text. The production process is determined by how the text is produced by individuals or organizations, this factor is related to the professionalism of an author and editor with organizational structures.

The 1975 curriculum textbook, published in 1986 for grade 3 high school, is a textbook compiled by the Ministry of Education and Culture in collaboration with the publisher Balai Pustaka. The 1975 curriculum textbook was written by a team of developers from the Ministry of Education and Culture. The development team consists of several members such as chairman Nugroho Notosusanto, secretary Yusmar Basri, Member A.B Lopian, Bambang Sumadio, D.D Bintarti, Djokosuryo, Edhi Wuryantoro, Hasan Mu'arif Ambary, and Saleh A. Djamhari. Meanwhile, Nugroho Notosusanto and Yusmar Basri concurrently serve as Editors. In its implementation, the procurement of the 1975 Curriculum book was an effort made by the New Order government brought by President Soeharto in order to increase growth and development science and technology and government policy.

The development team tried to build a discourse about Sukarno in historical material contained in the history textbook of the 1975 curriculum. In the material on the guided democracy chapter, it is necessary to look carefully at the practice of discourse. The background of the development team is one element that cannot be released. In this case, the position of head of the development team is crucial, he is a retired military officer as well as in 1983-1985 served as a Minister of Education and Culture. This became a major influence on the construction of Sukarno's discourse in the 3rd grade Indonesian history textbook in the 1975 curriculum.

The development team as authors and compilers of the textbook has strong principles and clear alignments. In data (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7) Sukarno's discourse construction strongly shows the negative image of a Sukarno towards the guided democracy era and his involvement in the problem of rebellion carried out by the PKI. In its management, the textbook is published in a formal education environment where the consumption of the discourse is intended for grade 3 high school students. Therefore, the construction of Sukarno's narrative in textbooks was packaged in such a way based on the point of view of government power at that time. This is an effort by the New Order government in constructing historical narratives in the educational environment so that the history that is present is the actual history that happened.

SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE

The third dimension in the stage of analysis of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse is the stage of analysis of social or cultural practices. This stage emphasizes the dimension of social context that exists outside of the 1975 curriculum history textbook which can actually affect how the discourse in the textbook. This sociocultural practice is based on systemic, institutional, and social levels that affect how educational institutions are textbook makers and their discourse. The institutional level is always related to the production or the context of the situation. The institutional level is always related to the dimensions of influence of an institution both internally and externally. The social level always deals with more macro situations, such as the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of society.

Based on data exposure (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7). The topicalization of the discourse contained from the data above focuses on the role of a Sukarno represented by the old order or guided democracy with the PKI and its teachings. Based on the institutional and institutional levels of the development of the 3rd grade history textbook launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture is an extension of the regime. The ruling is the New Order. The presence of the New Order regime through the idea of the 1975 curriculum towards the formation of Sukarno's narrative in history textbooks also colored how the alignment of a regime was. The strong influence of the state can determine how true or false information is conveyed. The 3rd grade history textbook in Curriculum 1975, here incarnates as an extension to influence and dominate the public. With the core discussion about Sukarno, the guided democracy regime and the relationship with the PKI, the state was indirectly trying to build and form a negative

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image in the eyes of the public (participants education and educators) about a Sukarno through textbooks written objectively and transparently as a form of interest.

Social context in this case refers to when the text is produced. The New Order through educational institutions seeks to carry out sociocultural practices towards the public, in this case students, educators, and the community. The use of tendentious language to Sukarno's historical narrative in textbooks was a way built by the new order in expanding desukarnoization in society. This desukarnoization became a way carried out by the new order in reducing the influence of a Sukarno in the development of the new order era in society. Desukarnoization was a discourse built by the new order in the delegation of Sukarno's influence in the public through the relationship between Sukarno and the PKI. The 1975 Curriculum period was an era in which desukarnoization was very progressive carried out by the new order, through historical narratives about Sukarno in textbooks that Finally, the state tried to build a public perception of the instability of Sukarno's presidency.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research above, the author concludes that critical discourse analysis seeks to emphasize discourse as a form of interaction, besides that through critical discourse analysis then It will be seen how the practice of using language or written speech is a representation of social practice. Social practice in the dimension of discourse analysis always has a relationship with events from reality and social structure. The role of state institutions cannot be separated from the ideology that is being built, meaning that in this case history textbooks are used as an extension in constructing a narrative History by using word selection from the theme of the same discourse.

When viewed using the framework of critical discourse analysis written by Norman Fairclough, the figure of a Sukarno and guided democracy became the main object in the news. The New Order regime in power at the time tried to emphasize Sukarno and guided democracy as a negative thing, so it needed a way to delegitimize Sukarno's influence at the level of society. This is further reinforced by the diction or word choices contained in the guided democracy chapter which broadly tries to explain how Sukarno's relationship, guided democracy, with the PKI.

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