ABSTRACT
History is known as a branch of science that studies human life in the past with its different dynamics and developments. The role of history in school education is to provide students with an understanding of the ways of thinking and processes involved in studying past events, and what is no less important is the introduction of national identity. Another form of historical writing in formal education is textbooks. History learning textbooks play an important role. Textbooks, as one of the teaching tools used in school education, must present historical facts that are truly objective and not only contain the government's interests. The purpose of learning history is to provide historical awareness to students so that they know their identity. Students must know their national identity and not accept doctrines that contain political tendencies. They must be made to open their minds more broadly and open themselves to the complex and comprehensive construction of historical knowledge.

KEYWORDS: textbooks, pragmatic analysis of rulers, learning history

INTRODUCTION
History is known as a branch of science that studies human life in the past with its different dynamics and developments. The role of history in school education is to provide students with an understanding of ways of thinking and processes when studying past events, and the introduction of national identity is no less critical. Students are encouraged to question historical narratives, including their underlying assumptions, as a reference for self-inquiry (Hariyono, 2018). Philosophically, history is a never-ending interaction between the past and the future (Carr, 2008). Therefore, history must be studied thoroughly and comprehensively to provide meaningful learning as a prerequisite for living in the future. The approach used in learning history at all levels of education is different.

According to Kuntowijoyo (2013), basic history is taught ethically. It means that history is given to instill a sense of love for the struggle of heroes, homeland, and nation. In high school, history is studied ethically, meaning that students begin to instill an understanding of their place in cultural society. In elementary schools, history is studied critically, and new ways of thinking are introduced with the help of the 5W + 1H concept. At the university level, an academic approach to history is offered, which requires students to be able to think in terms of causality (cause and effect). Then be able to understand
and analyze a historical event, starting from the background to the continuity and changes caused by the event.

The perspective of writing history is often combined with the government's interests in power at that time. It cannot be denied that all historical writings have an element of interest, especially in this case, the national interest. The writing style of Indonesian history is divided into several stages, the first of which is traditional historiography, colonial historiography, and modern historiography. Traditional historiography, such as chronicles, sagas, and genealogies, was written for the king's benefit. Most traditional historiography does not involve the actions of humans but gods, so they are theogony and cosmogony that explain natural forces and personify them as gods (Kartodirdjo, 2014). When Western countries began to occupy the archipelago, from commercial activities to colonialism, the perspective of writing history at that time tended towards colonial interests and views, or was called Nederlandocentric.

The style of writing history began to lead to the realization and strengthening of an independent national identity after the declaration. Therefore (Ali, 2005) explains several things that must appear in the history of the nation: (a) the growth of our nation's character as a nation of Indonesia; (b) the struggle of our people for a united and independent nation; c) great people and schools that influenced the struggle; the mass movement which became the basis of the struggle; d) the struggle to realize the ideals of life: independent, just, prosperous, and happy nation. In contrast to the various studies above, one of the objectives of learning history is to increase historical awareness (Sayono, 2013), which not only provides political learning about collective memory because collective memory and historical awareness are two different things. Collective memory tends to be characterized by similar distortions due to the prioritization of memories, forcing us to emphasize certain aspects of the past. Memory is very selective in political life and can sometimes be misinterpreted. At this point, "historical awareness" seeks to provide a more selective and objective interpretation (Tosh, 2013). One of the problems with studying history today is the strong dominance of political history as a form of official intervention in school history textbooks. Studying history in class is the most essential part of building the educational policies of the rulers. The presence of rulers in history learning can be traced from the curriculum to preparing study materials or textbooks. Textbook material is still closely related to the characteristics of the ruling government, placing great people as protagonists of a historical event. For example, when examining the figure of Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of one of the most prominent Islamic organizations in Indonesia and even the world. The social movement philosophy taught by Ahmad Dahlan, namely doing good deeds and doing it as a faith commandment, then developed until now to become the hallmark of the Muhammadiyah movement. Muhammadiyah will only exist by remembering social, educational, and humanitarian tasks related to the identity of the Muhammadiyah movement (Ruslan, 2020).

Various problems and stories in these historical events then aroused the author's interest to thoroughly discuss the other meaning of "History Textbooks in Schools." The purpose of this article is to provide
explaining explanations and concrete examples of the power of control over the interests of the authorities, especially in school textbooks and in history lessons in general.

RESEARCH METHODS
This article was written using the library research method. Some characteristics of the library research method (Zed, 2018) are: a) the researcher deals directly with the text; b) ready-to-use sources; c) the source used is usually a secondary source. Library research is considered an appropriate method because the focus of the discussion in this paper is school history textbooks as one of the learning tools students use. For discussions related to the contents of textbooks, researchers use several relevant sources to provide a clear picture of one of the problems of history textbooks in schools is still often dominated by stories of political history.

FINDINGS
The Phenomenon of Learning History
Learning is a series of events or activities carried out, structured, and planned using one or several media types. This learning process aims to enable students to achieve the expected competencies. Learning is a two-way interaction, i.e., the teacher fulfills the teacher, and students do the learning (Sagala, 2017). Learning activities aim to provide learning experiences that involve mental and physical processes through the interaction of students, students, and teachers, the environment, and learning resources to achieve learning skills that can be achieved through multifaceted and student-centered learning. Method. Learning activities include life skills that students must master (Sumantri, 2015). On the other hand, Sayono (2013), learning at school is an ideal process for developing students’ thinking skills, attitudes, and personality.

History is a scientific discipline that systematically studies the development process of changes in the dynamics of people's lives in the past in all areas of life (Subagyo, 1997). Meanwhile, Ali (2005) states that history is all the changes and events that happened. Based on this opinion, history is the study of the past that occurred in reality, which is systematically related to changes in the dynamics of people's lives. (Widja, 1991) explains that one of the main functions of history is to have past experiences of society, which can be taken into account by a community in solving the problems it faces at any time. Through history, one can learn and use past values to deal with the present. Thus, learning history is an interaction between teachers and students, where one observes changes or events that have occurred to achieve learning objectives that must be considered in solving future problems (Phillips, 2002).

For example, one proof of this success is the findings regarding Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM/the Muhammadiyah Student Association) in East Jakarta. In the process of learning history, which is usually carried out through studies and social activities, in the end, the values grow in every IMM board and cadre. Then it became an essential provision for IMM's steps and movements in East Jakarta in its campus community and social life (Ruslan et al., 2022).
Achieving the goal of learning history is essential for the life of a society, including the nation and state. The purpose of studying history is to raise historical awareness. Because history studies humanity, all its aspects create awareness and the nature of the development of human culture and civilization (Phillips, 2002). It is because history contains critical moral values that shape a nation's knowledge and future character. History subjects are an essential part of teaching and education because they can develop students' abilities to recognize national values that are fixed, changing, and owned at present. Hence, history education is the most effective means of presenting students about people in the past (Widja, 2018).

Learning external history in the 2013 curriculum is designed to equip students with historical skills and ways of thinking, create awareness of forming national values, develop inspiration, and connect local events with national events in the Indonesian History Series. The subject of Indonesian history is the study of various historical events in Indonesia, which aims to form collective memory as a nation for the identification of national identity and the basis for building national and state life today and in the future or the future (KEMENDIKBUD RI, 2016).

The features of learning history, according to Leo Agung and Wahyuni (2013), are as follows: (1) history is about the past, and historical events only happened once; (2) History is chronological in nature, so history learning materials must be based on the chronological order of historical events; (3) History has three essential elements, namely humans, space and time; (4) the temporal perspective is a significant dimension because history learning materials must be related to present and future subjects; (5) history is the principle of cause and effect, history teachers must be able to explain that one historical event can be caused by another historical event, and one historical event is the cause of subsequent history; (6) history is essentially a historical event and the development of society, which influences various fields of life, such as politics, economics, social, culture, and religion; adopting a multidimensional approach in historical studies (7), historical studies is a subject that examines the problems and developments of society from the past, present, and in Indonesia and so on. The main focus of high school history subjects is the birth of human civilization, the development of social systems, and the development of culture and science.

Kochhar (2008) emphasized that the main objectives of historical studies are: (1) to increase understanding of the process of change and development experienced by mankind to reach its current development; (2) growing understanding of the roots of civilization and respect for the basic unity of humanity; (3) appreciating the different contributions of all cultures to human civilization as a whole, (4) strengthening the understanding of mutually beneficial interactions from different cultures is an essential factor in the advancement of human life; (5) provide opportunities for students who are interested in studying the history of a country concerning human history as a whole.
Textbooks as Learning Resources

Another form of writing history in formal education is textbooks. Textbooks for learning history play an important role. Textbooks are often regarded as the only learning materials that can be used in the classroom, so students depend on them. Thisdependence makes the role of textbooks significant in shaping student knowledge. Even though, in reality, these textbooks are as if they are an extension of the government trying to legitimize its power. Cases like this were experienced during the New Order regime (1966-1998) because their propaganda was extensive at the educational level (Harsutejo, 2010). The role of history learning textbooks becomes quite central when the teacher has no more innovation in teaching and learning activities. Thus, the role of textbooks as one of the teaching materials used by students in information technology becomes vital. In general, this type of learning tends to be monotonous because it places learning materials - textbooks - as one of the central sources.

Such a learning paradigm cannot be changed at all. However, many articles in the form of books or journals have been written on innovation learning theory in the application of learning models and the use of specific media to support the teaching and learning process. Thus, it is almost certain that if learning is carried out continuously with such traditional methods, the teacher personally will not develop his teaching skills, and students will become bored (Husbands et al. l., 2003). The strong position of textbooks in history classes seems to limit students' minds from looking for other information outside of textbooks. The rapid development of technology today must be utilized in history education. With the help of a student's device, they can search for additional information outside of the textbook. Therefore, teachers must be updated with the latest information so that students learn more actively and critically.

Textbook of History and Interest Groups

Hasan (2019) states that the history taught to students has an identifiable pattern as follows; (a) Historical events are presented with an explanation of the conflict process between the parties, which leads to a black-and-white interpretation. History is not always black and white, right and wrong; (b) the story is constructed as if it is black and white to create hatred towards the past and its perpetrators; (c) the ruling regime does photography to show its superiority, which seems to exaggerate its role and kindness. (Abidin, 2015) reveals the comparative importance of government in history textbooks at that time. The old regime promoted some ideologies that were enshrined in textbooks, including (a) anti-colonialism; b) national integration; c) nationalism; (d) diversity. These points were then raised in the discussion of patriotism, nationalism, and geopolitical unity.

Given that, at that time, the political composition of Indonesian society was still very complex, the government felt the need to weave these points into textbooks. When governments change, so do ideology and discourse production. The New Order system that emerged after the events of the 30/9/1965 movement, Vickers (2005) also sees another interest in writing history contained in textbooks. Their ideology includes a) national resilience; b) state stability; (c) development; d) Strengthening Pancasila ideology; e) anti-communism; (f) national identity, which is a form of their
preaching in the field of education. The New Order government understood history as an effective propaganda tool for indoctrination (Harsutejo, 2010). The writing of Indonesian history at that time had the nuances of political history, especially the roles of the military (military-oriented) (McGregor, 2007).

Finally, studying history in class seems to emphasize the government's interest in imposing "collective memory" on students' memories, which should not be so ethical when studying history. The learning paradigm is homogeneous; historical learning is one-way so that government doctrine can be implemented as a whole. this phenomenon can be referred to as "memory politics." In this case, the government should be responsible for providing students with an understanding of history by presenting objective facts no longer based on particular interests or tendencies aimed at weakening certain parties (Mahardika, 2020)—complete mastery of historical writing, especially in the New Order era. Politically, the power system established by Suharto was authoritarian, which allowed him and the government to enter a learning curve.

The main focus of their scientific media is historical material and content, as well as the use of other media, such as films, as a form of propaganda. The purpose of learning history is to provide an understanding of history and foster a love for the homeland. It is effective if history is transmitted through media available to various audiences, especially students. However, the published and transmitted material must be objective, and facts that could diminish the objectivity of the event itself must not be added or subtracted. For example, the proper version of the events of the 30 September 1965 movement, which the Order of Batu calls G30S/PKI, in its famous film, which has been shown yearly since 1985 (Mahardika, 2020).

The film is full of doctrine that embodies anti-communist sentiment. So that in textbooks up to the KTSP 2006 curriculum, in the material "Threat of Disintegration," they still use the term G30S/PKI from the New Order government version of the story. However, these concepts and paradigms began to change when the 2013 curriculum was introduced. In the 2013 Curriculum history textbook, the term G30S/PKI is no longer used for this event but has been changed to the events of the 30/9/1965 Movement (Mahardika, 2020).

After the reformation, several attempts were made to reconstruct Indonesian history, which were considered inconsistent with the facts of events, especially modern history. The New Order's "distortion of facts" created several problems in the Indonesian history writing paradigm and directly impacted learning in schools. There have been several attempts to create newer versions of history books based on recent research. Sjamsuddin (2000) describes many developments in textbook production based on various criteria. Relevant criteria include: a) factual content must be held accountable; (b) interpretation or explanation; c) presentation and rhetoric must be adapted to developmental psychology; d) introduction to historical concepts; e) following the applicable curriculum; (f) Complete illustrations in the form of illustrations, photos, and historical maps that are
informative and narrative in nature. The author did not find the meaning of the differences between history textbooks compiled based on the education unit level curriculum (KTSP) and the 2013 curriculum. The material focuses on political history, conflict, cooperation, and power. Perhaps ideally, the writing of history textbooks for students is associated with the standards set by the National Education Standards Agency (BSNP). However, it would be better if other alternative history topics were also included so that students’ understanding of history is more focused on political history (Mahardika, 2020).

The political interests of teaching and education draw understanding into the black-and-white (right–false) rights paradigm. That becomes our collective concern to improve the quality of historical education today. Students must know their national identity, not accept doctrines that contain political tendencies and must be made to open their minds more broadly and open themselves to the complex and comprehensive construction of historical knowledge.

CONCLUSION
Learning history should provide a complete and objective understanding of history. If it is said that the writing of history should not be interfered with by interest is a wrong statement. Historical writing must be based on interests but interests in objectively reconstructing an event for a complete historical understanding. The problem is that the interests of the authorities, which are not always in line with objective historical writing, always interfere in this matter, causing a distraction to the historical narrative and leading to fatal consequences in the form of historical anachronism. It should then be further considered by the compilers of history textbooks so that they pay more attention to the substantial aspects of the material compiled for the benefit of learning history in higher-quality schools.

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