

Controversy

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Singgih Tri Sulistiyono

CONTROVERSY

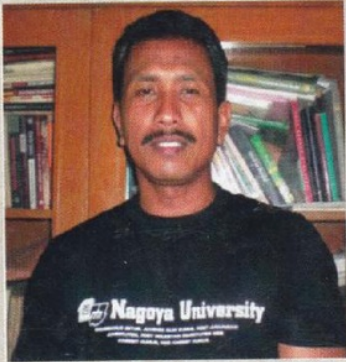
OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Experiences of Japan and Indonesia

1st edition: 2011



Semarang: Diponegoro University Press
ISBN: 973.979.704.602.6



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After defending his scriptie: "The Revolt of Angkatan Umat Islam (AUI) in Kebumen 1950", he received his undergraduate diploma in 1987 from Diponegoro University. He finished his graduate program at Gadjah Mada University in 1994 after defending his thesis entitle: "The Development of Cirebon Port and its Contribution to the Socioeconomic Life of the Society of Cirebon City, 1859-1930).

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FOREWORD

During the period 1 April – 31 July 2007, I had participated in the program of Visiting Associate Professor at Graduate School of Education and Human Development Nagoya University. This program was a part of the realization of joint cooperation between Center for Asian Studies (Pusat Studi Asia/ PSA) Faculty of Humanities Diponegoro University Semarang Indonesia and Nagoya University Japan. For executing the program, Nagoya University has promoted Prof. Dr. Nishino SETSUO and Dr. Mina HATTORI as counterparts.

Besides providing lectures, I also conducted research, participated on international seminars, presented paper, and composed research proposals for further future collaborations. The followings were more detailed activities I had conducted: Provided lectures on Intercultural Education by focusing on Introduction to History of Education in Indonesia. The lecture was attended by students of both Undergraduate and Master Program, Provided additional lectures on Indonesian language attended by students who were taking fieldwork in Indonesia. In this framework, I also opened opportunity for the students to consult their proposed fieldwork themes. Participated on international seminar "Bangsa and

Umma: A Comparative Study of People-Grouping Concepts in the Islamic Areas of Southeast Asia" at Sofia University, Tokyo on 12 May 2007 and at Tokyo University for Foreign Studies on 13 May 2007. Participated on international seminar "Islam at the Margins: The Muslim of Indochina" at Kyoto University on 20 May 2007. Participated on international seminar "Japan Comparative Education Society" on 30 June – 1 July 2007 at Tsukuba University. During my stay in Nagoya, I also presented a paper on the forum attended by Faculty Members, Master Students, and Ph.D. Students of Graduate School of Education and Human Development on 26 July 2007. The paper entitles "Higher Education Reform in Indonesia at Crossroad". It has been published on Nagoya Journal of Education and Human Development in 2008.

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Last but not least, I also conducted research on "The Program of History Education in Japan" with special focus on Controversy of Japanese History Textbook. This publication is actually part of this research report. I hope this publication will be useful for developing further research on history textbooks in Asia.

Semarang, 13 September 2011.

Singgih Tri Sulistiyono

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I INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The important of Japan in the current developing world cannot only be measured by its significant position in the field of economy, politics, cultural, science and technology, but also its development in history teaching at school. The significance of study concerning history teaching in Japan does not mainly lie on the Japanese successful to cultivate historical values to the school students, but it lies on the emerging discourses reflecting a bitter struggle among three elements in the history education at school, i.e. historical truth, political interest, pedagogical-moral value. This problem is possibly faced all nations in the world who are constructing or even defending their own national integration. But it also shows the importance position of historical research in the current and future life of the society.

History teaching at Japanese schools has developed through a long and complicated process during the course of its history. Even until now the history teaching in this `sakura` country is still provoking controversies not only domestically but also regionally and even internationally. In regional and international perspective, the controversies had been

emerged by countries and/ or societies who in the past became the subject of Japanese expansion, colonization, and atrocities. The protest is mainly proposed by China and Korea. They accuse Japanese government had manipulated, distorted, and falsified historical facts in connection with atrocities done by Japanese soldiers during its imperialistic expansion following the modernization since Meiji Restoration. China and Korea demand the Japanese government to write history `as it actually happened`, especially if it is relating with Japanese aggressions onto these countries.¹

¹² In responding sharp protests from its neighboring countries, it is very interesting that the Japanese government shows a low-profile attitude. Formally, the Japanese government also apologizes about the policies and practices of the past Japanese government that caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. The Japanese government is very gentle and in spirit of humility to hope that no

¹ Raymond Aron, 'Relativism in History', in: Hans Meyerhof, *The Philosophy of History in Our Time: An Anthology* (New York: Anchor Original Publisher, 1959), 153. But Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) suggests that `every true history is contemporary history` based on the contemporary interest of the historian and its society. Surely, scientific standrad should still applied to the history research. See B. Croce, 'History and Chronicle', in: Meyerhof, *The Philosophy*, 44.

such mistake will be made in the future and expresses its feelings of deep remorse and states its heartfelt apology.²

One of the distinctiveness of the Japanese system on history textbook is that before being published, textbooks are screened by a team that are composed of historian from universities and research institutes which are viewed independent. Within this system, the government can avoid from allegation to have manipulated and distorted historical facts. The government does not divine a standard for writing national history. Even, Japan does not have national history textbook.

This preliminary small research is intending to describe the extent to which the Japanese history textbooks (especially for lower secondary school) had been blamed to distort, manipulate, and hide historical facts. Besides, this research also proposes to survey the way history teacher at lower secondary school teaching controversial teaching material to the students.

B. Notes on Research Method

Because of lack of capability of researcher in understanding Japanese history textbooks which are

² See <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/2005/4/0405.html#7> (Visited on 25 April 2007).

written in Japanese language and Kanji alphabet, the research only make use of eight textbooks which have been translated into English by Japan Eco Inc. Although the translations have not yet been completed for the whole texts, all `controversial` chapters had been translated completely. The translations can be assessed in <http://www.je-kaleidoscope.jp/english/text1.html>, a site that in cooperation with Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education (MEXT). It is important to be informed when the issue concerning Japanese history textbook re-emerged since the early of 2000s, the Japanese government sponsored translation of part of textbook that became controversy. The translations are not only in English but also in Korean and Chinese. It is aimed at being easy assessed by those who have conscience with the problem of Japanese history textbook. Besides, by publishing such translation on the internet, the content of the textbooks are available to a broad international audience leading to the boost mutual recognition of the various historical views held throughout the nations of Asia and the world.³

Policy of the Japanese government to enable the Japanese history textbook to be available on the internet possibly can be seen as an effort to avoid

³ *Ibid.*

accusing as the master minder of history textbooks in Japan. Besides, the publishing translation also can be seen as the Japanese government effort to call a wider research on Japanese textbooks. It is assumed that possibly many people criticizes the textbook but never read it because of limitation in understanding Japanese language and Kanji. Likewise, this research also relies on sources and data taken from sites on internet which give rich information about the development of debates concerning the controversial textbook. Related material also can be found from various newspaper and magazine which also publishes their article and news via internet sites.

In the meantime, for understanding the position and role of history teacher in teaching the controversial material to the students at the lower secondary school, this research also interviewed history teacher. Besides, class observation was also done during the teaching and learning process. The questionnaires were also given to the students who are now studying at Faculty of Education Nagoya University for getting information about the extent to which they got teaching materials of controversial historical facts when they students at lower secondary schools.



EDUCATION AT LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOL IN JAPAN: GENERAL VIEW

A. Modernization in Education

¹ The modern schooling system in Japan had actually been started since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when the new Japanese leadership drove this country in a rapid motion for modernization. Motivated by the strength of the western power (especially America) who had succeeded to open `Japanese political isolation` by force, the Japanese rulers immediately took steps to modernize the country for catching up with the West and forming a modern nation by adopting new educational system from the Westerns. Missions like the Iwakura mission were sent abroad to study the education systems of leading Western countries.¹

¹ The mission was headed by Iwakura Tomomi assisted by 53 people. In addition to the mission staffs, about 60 students were brought along. Several of them were left behind to complete their education in the foreign countries, including five young women who stayed in U.S.A. to study. On December 23, 1871 the mission sailed from Yokohama, bound for San Francisco. From there it continued to Washington, D.C., then to European countries and then some African and Asian countries. The mission returned home September 13, 1873, almost two years after setting out. See `Iwakura Mission`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iwakura_mission (visited on 30 May 2007).

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Only in a short time the Japanese government succeeded to implement new education system and attracted public to send their children at school. In 1900, more than 90 percent of the school age population enrolled to elementary schools. Until the recent, Japan has one of the highest standards of education and one of the highest literacy rates in the world. About 93% of children enter high school, and nearly all of them graduate. At over 40% in 2000, Japan also has one of the highest university enrolment rates in the developed world, and a huge number of state and private universities to serve the population.²

B. Staging System

Although the spirit of modernization was very strong among Japanese elite, but in fact `Japanese feeling` remained exist. It can be said that until the 1890s, educational ideas were still much more conservative and tradition orientated. The education system still reflected the Japanese values. In this connection, morality stemmed from Confucianism were still be stressed, especially those concerning to the hierarchical nature of human relations, service to the

2 See `History of Education in Japan`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Education_in_Japan (visited on 30 May 2007)

state, and the pursuit of learning. These ideals tended to be stronger in line with the issuing of Imperial Rescript on Education 1890 directing the education system coming into highly centralized government control until the end of World War II.

During the period, education was egalitarian and virtually universal but only at the primary level. At higher levels it was highly selective and elitist. College education was mainly limited to the few imperial universities, where German influences were strong. Women had relatively few opportunities to enter higher education. Only three of the imperial universities admitted women, and there were a number of women's colleges, some quite prestigious. Instead of state-sponsored universities, there were some universities founded by Christian missionaries, who also took an active role in expanding educational opportunities for women, particularly at the secondary level. During this period, the development of education system in Japan was strongly influenced by political situation both nationally and internationally. In 1930s for example, education became the subject to strong military and nationalistic influences lasting until the end of the World War II.

Because of its defeat in the World War II, Japan had to be the subject of the US Military Occupation.

Education was one of the most important sectors which intended to be greatly reformed by the US. It was education system, which lead the Japanese to be the dangerous nations, at least for the Western colonialists. A new wave of foreign ideas was introduced during the postwar period of the US military occupation through the United States of Education Mission which was established in 1946. This institution made a number of changes aimed at democratizing Japanese education: instituting the six-three-three grade structure (six years of elementary school, three of lower- secondary school, and three of upper-secondary school) and extending compulsory schooling to nine years. They replaced the prewar system of higher-secondary schools with comprehensive upper-secondary schools (high schools). Curricula and textbooks were revised, the nationalistic moral course was abolished and replaced with social studies, locally elected school boards were introduced, and the Japan Teachers Union (*Nihon Kyōshokuin Kumiai*) was established.³

The abolition of the elitist higher education system in line with the increasing number of higher education institutions had opened a broader

³ See `Japan Teachers Union`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japan_Teachers_Union (visited on 30 May 2007).

opportunities for the public to continue their study at higher education institutions. Expansion was accomplished initially by granting university or junior college status to a number of technical institutes, normal schools, and advanced secondary schools. This system was formally enacted in 1947 through the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law. Based on this regulation, the 6-3-3-4 system of school education was aimed at realizing the principle of equal opportunity for education.⁴

Those pupils and students who are disabled are properly educated at schools for the blind, schools for the deaf and schools for the other disabled, or in special classes at elementary and lower secondary schools, depending upon the type and extent of disability. In addition, there are kindergartens for pre-school children, and specialized training colleges and other miscellaneous vocational schools, which are offering technical courses or those for various practical purposes. Also, pursuant to the amendments

⁴ This system was clearly imported from the United States. A junior college is a two-year post-secondary school whose main purpose is to provide academic, vocational and professional education. The highest certificate offered by such schools is usually an associate's degree, although many junior college students continue their education at a university or college, transferring some or all of the credit earned at the junior college toward the degree requirements of the four-year school. See 'Junior College', in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junior_college (visited on 30 May 2007).

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to the School Education Law and other legislation in June 1998, the five-year secondary school can be established to enable consistent education covering teachings at both lower and upper secondary schools from 1999.⁵

In short, a more detailed staging system of education in Japan can be broken down as follows:

1. Pre-school: Kindergarten
2. Elementary School (shogakkou)
3. Lower-Secondary School (chugakkou)
4. Upper-secondary School (some of which can be followed on a part-time or correspondence basis):
 - a. Upper Secondary School (kougou; koutougakkou)
 - b. Colleges of technology
 - c. Schools for the Blind
 - d. Schools for the Deaf
 - e. Schools for Other Disabled
 - f. Specialized Training College.

⁵ See 'Formal Education in Japan', in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/formal/16.htm> (visited on 30 May 2007).

After completing upper-secondary school level, the students may continue their study to higher education institutions.

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5. Higher Education (correspondence and part-time options are available):

- a. Specialized training college (Nursing, Engineering, etc.)
- b. Junior college
- c. University
- d. Graduate school (Master's courses, Doctoral courses)
- e. Miscellaneous schools.⁶

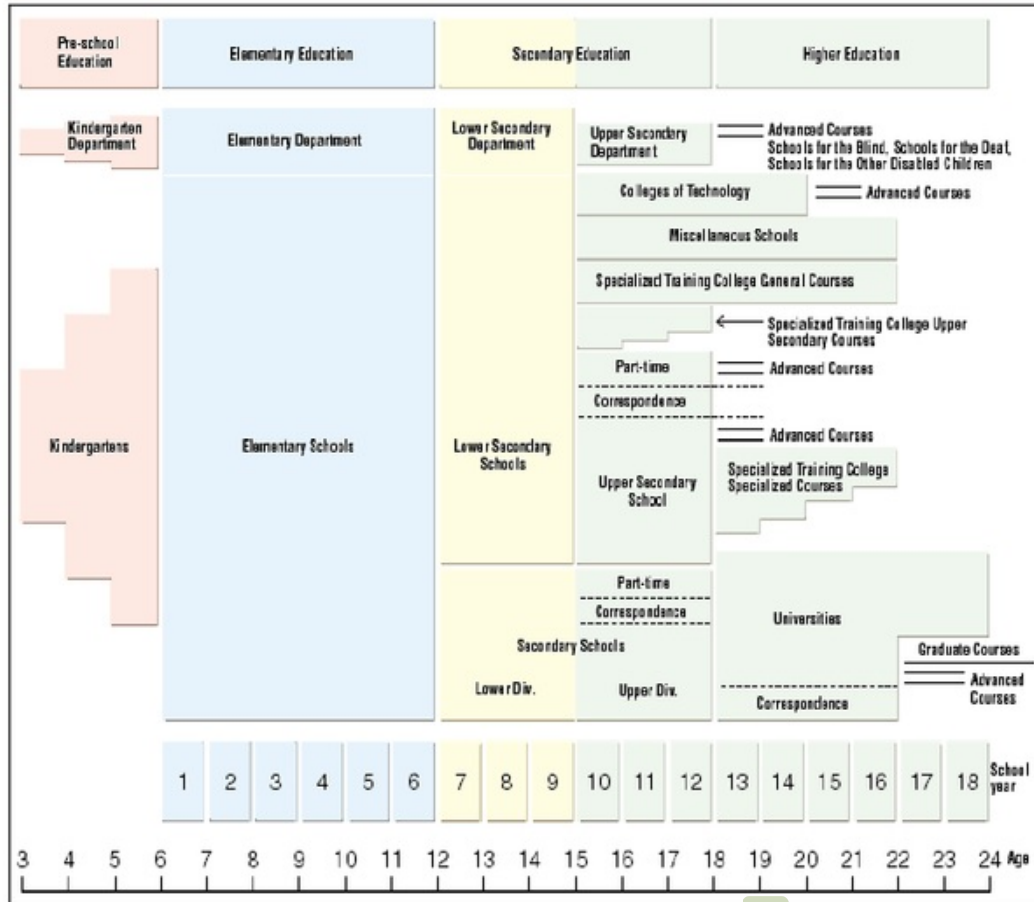
Picture 1 gives global understanding about organization of the school system in Japan.⁷

⁶ See `The Japanese Education System`, in: http://education.japan.org/jguide/education_system.html (visited on 30 May 2007).

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⁷ See `Formal Education in Japan`, in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/formal/13.htm> (visited on 30 May 2007).

Organization of the School System in Japan



Source: `Formal Education in Japan`, in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/formal/13.htm> (visited on 30 May 2007).

C. Education at Lower Secondary school

1. Understanding the Objective of Education at Lower Secondary School

a) General Objective

The objectives of education at lower secondary school education aims at helping students acquire essential knowledge, skills and mind to have healthy social life as an individual as well as a member of the society / nation. It also aims at helping student's foster rich humanity, recognize and develop their own individuality and further cultivate mind of self-reliance.⁸

1 It is very clear in school curricula in Japan that generally speaking education in this country Japan is very futuristic and is functioned to anticipate the rapid change occurring in the 21st century both domestically and internationally. The spirit of the curriculum is to help children for cultivating their well-balanced development and is for educating them to be sound

⁸ The Curriculum Council, `Synopsis of the Report National Curriculum Standards Reform for Kindergarten, Elementary School, Lower and Upper secondary School and Schools for the Visually Disabled, the Hearing Impaired and the Otherwise Disabled`, in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/news/1998/07/980712.htm>

1 members of the nation and the society living independently in the 21st century. However, it is not only the solely task of school but the cooperation with family and society is also needed. Schools, families and communities must cooperate and effectively demonstrate their individual educational function. Such well-balanced education is the key to children's sound development. Specifically, children's life style and learning environment need to be changed, and the roles of schools, families and communities need to be reviewed. School's primary role is to motivate children to learn and to teach them how to learn. Families and communities are expected to recognize their roles in education and to do their part successfully.

2 In connection with the above function, school should be a pleasant place for children to feel relaxed. The school's role is to satisfy children by providing them opportunities to receive recognition and to realize the self while they interact with one another and with teachers in classes and in other school activities.

b) Social and national contexts

It is very interesting that the objectives of education are not only giving stress on cultivating individual capabilities, but also cultivating well-balanced rich humanity and sociality. Rich humanity includes sympathy, mind to respect each other and live together in harmony, respect for life and human rights, sensibility of appreciating beauty and the environment, volunteer spirit, mind to make efforts to achieve one's own goal and the like. High value will be set on moral education which helps children acquire social rules and basic morality, a sense of norms, public morals, justice and fairness, sound judgment, strong will and ability to take action, awareness of responsibility, autonomy, self-control and the like. In addition, children's healthy development and physical strength are also emphasized for them to lead vigorous lives.

Children will be encouraged to deepen their understanding of national as well as local history, culture and tradition, and to develop love to those matters. They will also be encouraged to appreciate different cultures open-mindedly, and to cultivate the mind of international cooperation and the identity as Japanese living in the international community. Current problems which are faced by Japanese

society also become the basic material to be studied by lower secondary school such as those of the impacts of internationalization and globalization, the increasing critical issues on environment, the ongoing process of aging society with declining birthrate in Japan, etc. In short, the students are prepared to be responsive against present and future human problems both locally and globally.

In respect with tendency for school education to emphasize volumes of knowledge for forcedly creating an intellectually genius man, education in Japan is now tending to be in a position in which the school education looks itself from the children's standpoint and places a high value on the development of children's intellectual interests and inquiring minds. Thus, the school education positively conducts its activities by emphasizing the importance of motivating children to learn by themselves and helping them develop abilities to learn, reason, judge, express themselves accurately, discover and solve problems, acquire basic creativity and act independently in response to social changes. Additionally, children are encouraged to use their knowledge and skills comprehensively in daily life in order to successfully relate their knowledge acquired at school with the actual life. This requires the promotion of such educational activities as hands-on

learning activities, problem-solving activities and activities to teach how to research and how to learn.

To avoid 'knowledge volume' orientation of school education, the curriculum suggests that student's academic ability should not be measured by the quantity of knowledge acquired; it should rather be assessed by whether or not he/she has acquired the "zest for living" such as ability to learn and think independently. However, the students are expected to have acquired adequate knowledge and skills as a prerequisite for it. In this connection, the role of schools and teachers are very significant to improve grading method regarding students' ages (grades) and specific features of each subject.

In connection with the spirit of liberalism and individualism, school education should effectively help children acquire the selected educational content thoroughly by conducting educational activities without pressure of time or stress. They will also encourage children to study independently what they are interested in. The common contents of compulsory education will be closely examined so as to consist of the very basics necessary for the social life. Education for growing children's individuality will also be focused on. Thus, considering children's interests, schools need to promote children's

independent learning and to further develop individualized instruction. In addition, the elective course system will be introduced to the fifth graders and older at elementary school, and there will be more elective subjects for higher graders at lower secondary school.

As occurred in other countries, school education in Japan is also facing problems stemmed from emotional behaviors of students such as those of bullying among students, their refusal to go to school, juvenile delinquency and student's poor morality and sociality. Based on survey and discussion carried out by the Curriculum Council, it is concluded that teachers do not well understand the significance of moral education nor make much efforts. It is also mentioned that schools are less active to practice the moral education. In this connection, under the present curriculum, the academic achievement of Japanese student is satisfactory overall. However, there are several issues existing: (1) considerable number of children does not fully understand class content, (2) children's abilities to independently research, judge and express themselves have not yet fully developed, (3) children's abilities to view things from different angles are not yet satisfactory and (4) children are not highly motivated to study. It is convinced that if the above issues can be handled

well, the unexpected emotional behavior of the students can at least be reduced.

¹
In connection with the ongoing rapid social changes, schools in Japan had to prepare student to anticipate it well. First of all, the school education must help children securely acquire the "absolute value in all ages" in this kaleidoscopic world. Besides, school education is expected to help children develop ability to anticipate social changes and to cope with them flexibly.

2. Curriculum

Curriculum as a set of courses offerings to the student should ideally be based on the philosophical basis and objective of education in general. Based on the objectives of education at lower secondary school, the national curriculum standard will be shortly outlined below. In this case the government also gives a broader opportunity to school to show ingenuity in developing the institution to be distinctive school institution especially in respect to develop what the so called 'Integrated Study'. In general, contain of national curriculum standard at lower-secondary school includes Japanese language, social studies, geography, history, civics, arithmetic,

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mathematics, science, life environment studies, music, fine arts, crafts, calligraphy, homemaking industrial arts and home economics, health and physical education, foreign language, information studies, subject areas (professional education), moral education, and special activities.⁹

The great emphasis of Japanese language subject is placed on students' having their own ideas and on the development of their ability to reason, express themselves appropriately depending on the purpose and the situation and comprehend the content of reading accurately. The development of mind to get familiar with reading is also considered. Therefore, the Japanese Language education consists of three categories, "speaking/listening", "writing" and "reading", instead of current two categories, "expression" and "comprehension". Thus, such class activities as giving explanations, holding debates and making reports is recommended. Besides, the instruction of Kanji (Chinese characters) is basically developed. However, plenty of time is assigned to the instruction of writing Kanji so that students can take

9 Most part of this section is outlined from The Curriculum Council, 'Synopsis of the Report National Curriculum Standards Reform for Kindergarten, Elementary School, Lower and Upper secondary School and Schools for the Visually Disabled, the Hearing Impaired and the Otherwise Disabled', in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/news/1998/07/980712.htm>

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time to master writing them before they go up a grade. Likewise, classics and calligraphy is also taught appropriately.

1
In the subject of social studies, geography and history and civics, the emphasis is given on the development of children's capabilities required as Japanese in the international society. The capabilities include mind and ability to study both domestic and international incidents from various angles and then to make judgments in a fair fashion, understanding and love of their country and its history, and the spirit of international cooperation. Thus, schools will encourage students to learn how to study and research and to participate in hands-on learning activities and problem-solving activities, rather than placing too much emphasis on students' knowledge of all matters.

In geography classes at lower secondary school, students will be encouraged to acquire the basics of Japanese and the world geography and learn how to view things and find characteristics of local areas through various examples. In civics classes, students will study mainly the basics of politics and economy by examining specific cases. In the meantime, in history classes at lower secondary school, students will study Japanese history together with world

history as background knowledge. Japanese history will be shown in large sections, so that students can grasp the major flow of the history. The students will also be expected to view things from different angles by learning how to study and examine history. Considering the consistency with lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools will help students deepen their understanding of Japanese and world history and develop their ability to think from a historical point of view.

In the subjects of Arithmetic and Mathematics, generally the student is prepared to acquire basic knowledge and skills of quantity and geometrical figure through problem-solving activities with plenty of time, while the relevance to the real life is being considered. The student will be expected to develop ability to think mathematically and to cultivate creativity. At lower secondary schools will help students acquire basic knowledge of quantity and geometry. The emphasis will be placed on the development of students' ability to reason and thus the problem-solving approach to learning will be positively adopted. The teaching contents including a linear inequality with one unknown, a formula of the solution to a quadratic equation, some characteristics of a circle and statistics will be taught at upper secondary school.

In the field of science subject, it is principally expected that the student can relate their experiences in the class with daily life and encourage children to make observations and experiments for their own purposes. The emphasis will be placed on children's development of intellectual interest and inquiring mind toward the environment, and abilities to solve problems and view things variously and comprehensively. At lower secondary schools will conduct more of outdoor observations and exploratory activities. Some of the current teaching contents of lower secondary schools such as ions, composition/decomposition of force, the characteristics of Japanese climate, regulations of heredity, and biological evolution will be taught at upper secondary school.

Life Environment Studies subject is expected to promote the student activities and experiences in communities especially in connection with environmental issues. This is in line with the increasing number of environmental problems stemmed from the development of industry in the world.

The subject of music is emphasized on to help student to enjoy music, find pleasure in musical activities and have mind to appreciate music

throughout their lives. Activities of self-expression and music appreciation will be improved in order for students to deepen their interests and understanding of the music culture in Japan as well as those in foreign countries.

In the meantime, the subject of fine arts and craft help students are able to enjoy creative activities of drawing and crafting now and throughout their lives. At the lower-secondary schools, students are expected to deepen their understanding of the characteristics of Japanese as well as other countries' culture of art. In calligraphy subject the students are expected to enjoy calligraphy and have a love for calligraphy throughout their lives, and at the same time, individualized and creative learning activities will be promoted.

The aim of homemaking, industrial arts and home economics subject is to improve students understanding of family relations and family functions, their acquisition of knowledge and skills necessary for daily life, and the development of enthusiasm and practical mind to improve their lives. It includes family functions, family relations, raising a child significance, relation between daily life and industrial arts, and active use of information devices. At lower secondary school, the subject currently

consists of eleven categories such as "timber processing", "electricity", "family life", "food" and the like. It will be reorganized so as to consist of two categories of "industrial arts" and "homemaking". The "industrial arts" will emphasize the content related to manufacturing and basic skills for computer processing. The "homemaking" will emphasize the content related to clothing, food and housing, which are necessary to lead an independent life, such as nutritious eating habits, and the content related to family, family relations and consumer life.

Health and physical education ² subject is expected to motivate student to enjoy sport throughout their lives and maintain and improve their physical health, physical exercises in the physical education will be carefully chosen according to the stage of child development and children will be helped to improve their basic physical strength. The health education will help children learn ¹ the importance of health and lead a healthy life. Due to the recent changes in circumstances, human behavior and disease structure, the following problems are getting more and more serious: mental health problems, improper eating habits and other bad habits, diseases caused by bad habits, drug abuse problem, issues surrounding sex, and the like. Thus, the emphasis is on the instruction related to these

problems. A new teaching content, "stretch" is adopted in the physical education at elementary school and lower and upper secondary schools, and the martial arts is continued to be taught appropriately. Flexible measures can be taken by related school.

The subject of foreign language is one of the required subjects²⁵ at lower secondary schools especially English. In order for students to develop practical communicative competence in the target language, great emphasis is placed on the practice in the situations where the target language is actually used. Listening and speaking practice will be particularly emphasized at lower secondary school. At lower secondary school, daily situations where the target language is actually used should be introduced, and functions of such discourse as "greeting", "making requests" and the like is demonstrated. Adopting this approach, lower secondary schools can provide various activities in order for students to use the target language in context.

As a modern industrial country, Japan still views moral education is one of the most important subject taught at schools. Moral education subject is taught through hands-on learning activities and to enhance itself in cooperation with families and communities.

Great emphasis is placed on the promotion of such moral education that encourages children to tackle problems by themselves and think together for the better future. The students are expected to cultivate mind for respecting life, having an independent spirit, a sense of responsibility, basic morals including knowing good and bad, respecting and developing Japanese culture and tradition while having a spirit of international cooperation, and practical ability to develop their own lives and the society for the future. Lower secondary school students are helped to lead a well-disciplined life, realize themselves as a Japanese citizen and cultivate a spirit of international cooperation.

Japanese schools including lower secondary school are obliged to have `Special Activities`. Special activities cultivate consciousness that students have desirable human relations, acquire basic morals and social rules, develop independent and practical mind to cooperatively build a better life, and cultivate practical mind. It is necessary to improve the functions of student guidance and develop rich hands-on learning activities. In addition, students are encouraged to foster their Japanese identity and cultivate a spirit of international cooperation, and thus the meaning of Japanese flag and anthem will be taught widely. Besides, in consideration of the stage

of child development, children are encouraged to develop mind to consider what life they should lead in the future and ability to independently make a right choice. The function of student guidance will be improved in order to help children adapt themselves to the school life and build a sound relationship with others. It is also stressed that children is encouraged to tackle various issues by themselves for the better class and school life in the homeroom activities. Student on lower secondary schools are insisted to learn what life they should lead and how as a human being and the significance of participating in such social activities as volunteer activities. Such kinds of Activities are addressed to help children cultivate volunteer spirit will be enhanced among school events. The hands-on learning activities in the environment and interactions with infants and elderly people will be positively adopted as school events, while the number of school events will be limited overall by combination or integration of events. In consideration of the relations of club activities with extracurricular activities, out-of-school activities and the "Period for Integrated Study", lower secondary schools will eliminate club activities.

Although Japan has National Curriculum Standard, schools remains possess a moderate opportunity to develop their own distinctive institution

which may have special characteristic compared to other schools. Therefore, it is understandable each school has their own creativity for being the best and attracting students. But in principle, they have compulsory to apply the National Curriculum Standard in the educational process at school.



STATE AND TEXTBOOK IN JAPAN

A. History of Textbook History in Japan

The emergence of a contemporary latent controversy of history textbook in Japan cannot be separated with the development of early modernization process in Japan. The modernization of Japan was started since 1868 which marked by the new progressive leadership under the Meiji emperor. The Meiji leaders realized that modernization was not only a matter of effort to face against the western power which at that time became the threat of Japan and other Asian countries. In this connection, education was seen as one of the most important matters to be developed. The Meiji government soon established a public education system to help Japan catch up with the West and form a modern nation. The government sent education missions abroad for building system of education like Western countries. One of the most important missions was headed by Iwakura which traveled to America and European countries. After returning back to Japan, Iwakura mission came up with the ideas of decentralization system of education

5 including the establishment of local school boards and teacher autonomy. Such ideas and ambitious initial plans, however, proved very difficult to carry out. After some trial and error, a new national education system emerged. By the 1890s, a much more conservative and traditional orientation evolved: the education system became more reflective of Japanese values. Confucian precepts were stressed, especially those concerning the hierarchical nature of human relations, service to the new state, the pursuit of learning, and morality. These ideals embodied in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, along with highly centralized government control over education.¹

12 The above development was also in line with the development of textbook authorization process in Japan. In the ongoing debate concerning local versus centralized control in system of education in Japan, the Ministry of Education, established in 1871. In the early 1870s the government granted local government considerable discretion over the selection of textbooks used by schools. While the Ministry sponsored some publications, including translations of

1 See Wikipedia, `History of Education in Japan`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_education_in_Japan (Visited on 9 June 2007).

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Western textbooks, most were produced by the private sector with little government oversight.

In line with increasing process of centralization in education, beginning in the 1880s the Ministry of Education moved to expand the central government's control over textbooks. In 1880, the government established a kind of `investigator` to scrutinize teaching materials used in the schools, while translation of Western works was abandoned because seen too liberal. As a part of centralization process, the government also demanded schools to report which textbooks they were using in order match with government policy. The Textbook Authorization Ordinance of 1887 required publishers who wished to sell textbooks to schools to submit them first to the Ministry for inspection and authorization. According to the Ministry, this measure was necessary to insure uniform coverage, quality, and price. This procedure led to a deeper interference of the government in controlling local schools.

The peak of government interference in school textbook (including history textbook) occurred in 1903 after the so-called Textbook Scandal (*kyokasho*

gigoku jiken) in 1902.² The scandal became one of the most important reasons for the government to improve her control to the school textbooks. This was in line with the increasing process of centralization of education leading to burgeoning of ultra-nationalism and militarism in Japan. After first amending the laws to discourage graft, the parliament in 1903 gave the Ministry of Education exclusive authority to commission and publishes all elementary school textbooks. This system remained in effect through the end of World War II following the lost of Japan at the end of this war.³

After its surrender on 15 August 1945, Japan and its former occupied regions were divided among the Allies member, especially between the Soviet Union and the United State. The Soviet Union was responsible for North Korea, Sakhalin, and the Kuril

² The scandal was closely linked with the failure of the new authorization system to address the graft in the publishing industry. In 1901, newspapers began reporting on a government investigation which discovered more than twenty publishers who had distributed bribes, gifts, and entertainment to local education officials, government school inspectors, and others in an effort to market their textbooks. By the end of 1902, the government had brought charges against 152 individuals, including principals, other school officials, bureaucrats, and the publishers. Eventually, 112 people were convicted involving the scandal. See 'Japanese history textbook controversies', in: http://www.bookrags.com/Japanese_history_textbook_controversies (Visited on 9 June 2007).

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ Islands, while the United States and British Commonwealth forces were responsible for Japan, South Korea, and Japan's remaining possessions in Oceania. The Far Eastern Commission and Allied Council for Japan were also established to supervise the occupation of Japan. This kind of territory division directed to the formation of communist and liberal sphere of influences leading to the Cold War situation in the subsequent periods. General Douglas MacArthur, former Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in the Southwest Pacific Area during the World War II, as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) to supervise the occupation of Japan.⁴

There were some agendas that would be carried out by the SCAP, namely disarmament which banned Japan from maintaining any armed forces for preventing. Japan became an aggressive military power. Besides, liberalization was also implemented among other by conducting land reform in which about 20,000 km² of land were taken out of the hands of landlords and given to the farmers who worked them. In term of democratization process, in 1946 the Diet, under the direction of Occupation authorities issued the new constitution guaranteed

⁴ See Wikipedia, `Occupied Japan`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied_Japan (Visited on 30 May 2007).

basic freedoms and civil liberties, women got the right to vote, abolished nobility, removed the emperor from politics (only as a symbol of Japan). Likewise, Shinto was abolished as a state religion.

The reformation was also taken place in the field of education. Before and during the war, Japanese education was based on the German system, with "Gymnasium" and universities to train students after primary school. During the occupation, Japan's secondary education system was changed to incorporate three-year junior high schools and senior high schools similar to those in the US: junior high became compulsory, but senior high remained optional. The Imperial Rescript on Education was repealed, and the Imperial University system reorganized. Besides, since 1947 the government enacted The School Education Law which directly regulated the procedure of composing school textbook. The regulation ordered the provisional government of Japan to end the system of government-designated textbooks (*Kokutei Kyokasho*) and allow scholars in the private sector to write textbooks. Local educators would then choose which textbooks to use at their schools. This means that local schools have opportunity to be creative in developing their institutions. The spirit of militarism and ultra-nationalism in the textbook eliminated and

the government promoted the individual dignity. Although the government set up the guide line of curriculum and textbook, it does not meant the government established of state version of textbook. This kind of system, in a broad sense is still in effect until present day with little bit changes. The following section will talk about the procedure of composing textbook in Japan.⁵

B. Textbook Authorization System in Japan

To gain a better understanding concerning the controversy of history textbooks in Japan, one should study about the system of textbook authorization in Japan. The system might be different with most countries in East and Southeast Asia. This difference possibly became one of important sources for controversy especially in how the Japanese school textbooks are mainly reflecting group rather than government interests and formally the government does not have authority to impose the state version of textbooks.

1. Textbook Examination Procedure

⁵ See Wikipedia, `Japanese History Textbook Controversy`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_history_textbooks_controversy (Visited on 9 June 2007).

The information concerning the system of textbook authorization⁶ in Japan has been available in the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁶ The system of textbook approval had been enacted since 1947 based on the School Education Law enacted. Private publishers are given opportunity to compose school textbooks and submit them for official examination and approval by the Ministry of Education. These books must meet the requirements of the Curriculum Guideline, a set of curriculum standards for Japanese schools composed by the Ministry of Education. The publisher can give additional material in connection with learning methods broadening the student knowledge. There are several steps for getting approval from the MEXT.

⁶ See `Textbook Examination Procedure`, in: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/education/textbooks/overview-3.html> (Visited on 9 June 2007). See also `Japan's School Textbook Examination Procedure`, in: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/education/textbooks/index.html> (Visited on 9 June 2007). See also `How a Textbook Becomes Part of a School Curriculum`, in <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/education/textbooks/overview-1.html> (Visited on 9 June 2007). Most part of this section is taken from those sites.

4 *The first* is compilation step. In this step, the MEXT sets and announces Compulsory Education Textbook Examination Standards and Senior High School Textbook Examination Standards as screening criteria for textbook examination. In the examination process, textbooks are screened, in an appropriate and fair manner based on the relevant examination standards. The examination standards include General Rules, which outline the basic policy for screening, common conditions applicable to all subjects and subject-specific conditions. These conditions are arranged from the following three viewpoints: "scope and degree of difficulty," "selection/treatment and organization/amount" and "accuracy, orthography and expression" (refer to the overview of the General Rules and common conditions). After understanding the rules proposed by the MEXT, a publisher gathers a team of academics and school teachers. This group writes a textbook, carrying out repeated discussions on content and editorial stance. After completing the textbooks draft the publisher submits a copy of completed textbook draft to the MEXT.

The second is examination step. In this step, the textbooks are studied by textbook experts of the MEXT. When necessary for the examination of specialized issues, specialist members are appointed

to serve on the Council to undertake a specialist investigation. Textbook experts are full-time officials of MEXT and are appointed based on university teaching experience and other relevant experience. It will also be referred to the Textbook Approval and Research Council as an advisory body of the Minister. The Minister will examine the textbook based on the report submitted by the Council. Based on recommendations from the Council, the MEXT requests that unsuitable passages undergo revision. Then, the publishers resubmit their own revisions and if the Council decides them satisfactory, it recommends the textbook as an appropriate one. The recommendation is followed by the final decision of the MEXT approval.

The third step is adoption. By the publishers, the approved textbooks have to be placed on display in local communities to allow public examination of them. The final decision will be in hand of local boards of education in the case of public schools, and with the schools themselves in the case of private institutions. A report outlining the requisite number of textbooks adopted is submitted to the Minister.

The fourth step is publishing (printing and distribution). Based on the information concerning kind and number of books requested by local Board

of Educations and private schools, the ⁴ Minister issues instruction to the publishers informing which textbooks to be published and how many. Based on this instruction, the publishers start printing and followed by distribution.

In this connection, the government pays all expenditures related to the publishing textbooks of compulsory-level schools (elementary schools, junior high school, first three years of integrated high schools, and elementary and junior high divisions of schools for the blind, the deaf and the disabled). The entire process takes a considerable amount of time. Most textbook projects run at least three years from the launch of the writing committee to the actual use of books in classrooms.

2. Examination Standards

It is also important to know about the standards for examining school textbook, because this standard can influence the content and interpretation of textbooks concerned. In short, the standard can be categorized into two kinds, i.e. general rules and common conditions applicable to all subjects.

a. General Rules

Textbook examination is designed to screen textbooks in order to ensure that they conform to the purpose

and policy of education as specified by the Fundamental Law of Education and the purpose of the school and objectives of education as specified by the School Education Law. This process takes into consideration the fact that textbooks are created for students and intended for use in their instruction as primary teaching materials and must therefore be organized and arranged in accordance with the curriculums.

b. Common conditions applicable to all subjects

1) Scope and degree of difficulty

- a) All items specified in the Courses of Study must be included and no unnecessary items may be included. Material not specified in the Courses of Study may be included outside the main text.
- b) The educational content of all textbooks should be appropriate to the mental and physical developmental stage of the students for whom they are intended.

2) Selection/treatment and organization/amount

- a) Selection and treatment should be implemented so that no part of the textbook may be deemed inappropriate in light of the

Courses of Study (the objectives and intentions set out in the Courses of Study for material not specified in the Courses of Study, if applicable). Furthermore, there should not be any potential to pose a barrier to the learning process for students.

- b) The treatment of politics and religion should be impartial, and no part of the textbook should support or criticize a specific political party or religious sect or its ideology or beliefs.
- c) There should be no bias towards specific subjects, phenomena or fields, and an overall balance should be maintained.
- d) One-sided views should not be included without adequate safeguards.
- e) Overall amount of material and its allocation, organization and linkage (for material not specified in the Courses of Study, if applicable, its amount) should be appropriate.
- f) When material not specified in the Courses of Study is included, it should be organized separately from other material and clear indication should be made identifying it as material not specified in the Courses of Study.

3) Accuracy, orthography and expression

- a) There should be no errors, inaccuracies or contradictions.
- b) There should be no expressions that are too difficult for students to understand or have the potential to cause misunderstanding.
- c) Orthography should be appropriate and consistent.⁷

Based on the above explanation, it is very obvious that the Japanese government does not impose a government version of textbooks for schools and even this is prohibited by the law. It also includes history textbook. In this sense the government does not have standard national history which has to be referred by all educational institutions in Japan. In case of school history textbooks, the government through the MEXT only gives a course of study or curriculum. The government gives a broader opportunity to the local board of education teachers, and publishers to develop and compose teaching materials in the form of books guided by a certain procedure issued by the government and examination by related experts.

⁷ See `Textbook Examination Procedure`, in: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/education/textbooks/overview-3.html> (Visited on 10 June 2007).

IV

CONTROVERSY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOK IN JAPAN

A. Early Controversy

The controversy of Japanese history textbook actually did not firstly rise by other countries such as Korea and China. Long before China and Korea strongly protested against Japanese history textbook in 1982, one of the leading Japanese historians, i.e. Ienaga Saburo did not only protest but he filed lawsuit against Ministry of Education. In 1965 he filed the first of his three lawsuits against the Ministry of Education alleging the Government was unconstitutional in censoring history textbook. Ienaga's history textbook viewed as "too many illustrations of the 'dark side' of the war, such as an air raid, a city left in ruins by the atomic bomb, and disabled veterans." His second suit two years later also involved the issue of constitutionality and, in addition, focused on points related to Ienaga's characterization of Japan's foundation myths and a description of the 1941 Japan-USSR neutrality pact.¹

¹ See Kathleen Woods Masalski, 'Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies', in: <http://www.indiana.edu/~japan/Digests/textbook.html> (Visited on 1 June 2007).

¹ The third lawsuit in 1984 connected with the `unconstitutional censoring` of the description on, among others, Nanking Massacre and its sexual assault.²

Japanese history textbook began to be a world-wide controversy and called for international debate since the early of the 1980s, when on 26 June 1982 the `Asahi Shimbun`, one of the big three leading national newspapers in Japan, reported that the Ministry of Education demanded a textbook that wrote that the Japanese army `invaded` Northern China to rewrite it to `advanced into`. The Chinese and South Korean governments immediately protested to the Japanese government. The content of the Japanese history textbook was viewed as a kind of manipulation in writing history by covering cruelty and atrocity of Japanese invasion into Korea and China before and after the World War I. They also alleged Japan as having no remorse on the war

² See more detail `Saburo Ienaga`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ienaga_Saburo (Visited on 1 June 2007).

which had caused unvalued destruction.³

In the end of August in the same year the Japanese government officially made statement that the Japanese Government and the Japanese people are deeply aware of the fact that acts by our country in the past caused tremendous suffering and damage to the peoples of Asian countries, including the Republic of Korea and China, and have followed the path of a pacifist state with remorse and determination that such acts must never be repeated. This kind of statement had actually ever been agreed by Japan, China, and Korea. In 1965, Japan and Korea had ratified a Joint Communiqué that the past relations are regrettable, and Japan feels deep remorse. The same thing was also done saying that is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war and deeply reproaches itself. In connection with the criticized history textbook, the

³ The use of term 'advancement' had actually been existed since 1973 when Yamagawa Publishing published revised *World History*. It was said that 'Japan obtained the clue of the *advancement* to Korea by making Qing admit the independence of Korea'. See Tomochika Okamoto, 'The Distortion and the Revision of History in Postwar Japanese Textbooks, 1945-1998', in: http://homepage3.nifty.com/ubiquitous/MA/index_original.htm (Visited on 17 April 2007). But at that time this history textbook did not become controversy. Possibly it related with the limited access of information and contextual global political situation.

1 Japanese government promised to take steps for making correction to the government responsibility in that matter and would revise the Guideline for Textbook Authorization after discussions in the Textbook Authorization and Research Council. Again, the Japanese government stressed to promote mutual understanding and develop friendly and cooperative relations with neighboring countries and to contribute to the peace and stability of Asia and, in turn, of the world.⁴

1 As a realization of the promise of Japanese government, in November 1982 the Ministry of Education adopted a new authorization criterion, the so-called "Neighboring Country Clause". It was stressed that the history textbooks ought to show understanding and seek international harmony in their treatment of modern and contemporary historical events involving neighboring Asian countries. The result was that history textbook gave more detail about the `negative side` with a more `naked` word of expression of the Japanese expansion to Korea and Japan. In the revised *World History* issued by Yamakawa Publishing, it was said

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⁴ See `Japanese History Textbook Controversies`, in: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Japanese history textbooks controversy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_history_textbooks_controversy) (Visited on 1 June 2007).

¹ for example: `Postwar Japan aimed at aggression on the continent, and annexed Korea in spite of ardent resistance of the Korean side in 1910 (the annexation of Korea).⁵

In line with the process of trans-nationalism and globalization, the more open policy in writing history textbook in Japan since 1983 had resulted a `liberal description` on the history of Japan especially in connection with the Japanese policies and actions outside Japan. In one hand this development certainly satisfied neighboring countries which had ever been targeted by Japanese military expansion leading to the absence of protests concerning the Japanese history textbook. But on the hand, this kind of history writing raised a certain impact to the Japanese society. Some Japanese scholars who had `strong` nationalism felt that history had been functioned as the court in which the historical figures of the past are called to be judged.

2. Ongoing Situation

¹⁵ See Tomochika Okamoto, `The Distortion and the Revision of History in Postwar Japanese Textbooks, 1945-1998`, in: http://homepage3.nifty.com/ubiquitous/MA/index_original.htm (Visited on 17 April 2007).

1 A certain degree of opinions differences actually occur among Japanese people including intellectuals, politicians, and other group of professional such as history teachers, etc. Ienaga Saburo is one of historian who tries to tell the past truth as it actually happened, regardless the history readers. But another group of historians who concern with history as a material for instructions especially for school students tend to urge `positive` events that are told to the student. One of the most prominent leaders of this group is Fujioka Nobukatsu, a professor of education at Tokyo University, who since the end of the 1990s urged the reform of Japanese history curriculum. He set out to "correct history" by emphasizing a "positive view" of Japan's past and by removing from textbooks any reference to matters associated with what he calls "dark history," issues such as the comfort women, that might make Japanese schoolchildren uncomfortable when they read about the Pacific War.⁶ When he was asked by *Asia Week* concerning the problems faced by Japanese history textbook writing, he said:

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⁶ See Kathleen Woods Masalski, 'Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies', in: <http://www.indiana.edu/~japan/Digests/textbook.html> (Visited on 1 June 2007).

¹ `Simply that they are not written with Japanese people in mind. They present a history hostile to Japan; the negative view our own socialists and communists and liberal media (the major newspapers, notably Asahi Shimbun, and the networks) have of our country; the U.S. and other Western nations seeing Japan as nothing but an evil aggressor during the war; and the perspective of China and Korea, to whom Japan continually apologizes. The impact on our children is such that they write in their essay classes that Japan is the worst, most immoral country in the world.⁷

In 2000, Fujioka and his group of conservative scholars established an association called the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform. This association then published, *The New History Textbook*. This book was actually only one of eight secondary school history textbooks which were approved by the Ministry of Education in April 2001 and ready to be started in use in 2002 school year. This book has caused huge controversy. Nishio Kanji as the leader of the Society summarized the views of the Society in an article in the August 2001 *Japan*

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⁷ See `Let's Stop Apologizing: A Professor's Battles Outside the Classroom`, in: <http://www.asiaweek.com/asiaweek/97/0314/nat4.html> (Visited on 4 June 2007).

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Echo. The article maintained that the textbook aims to restore common sense to the teaching of the subject. He says that the history teaching should be no more treated like a court in which the figures and actions of the past are called to be judged.⁸

By the end of December 2000, the Society circulated the textbook draft to the school districts and even shown on national television. It is surprisingly that the reaction against the textbook firstly came from Japanese society itself. The reaction even was not only addressed to the textbook for lower secondary school but also continued to some textbooks for upper secondary school during the consecutive years.⁹ A series of critical reactions had launched by historians, historians, NGO`s, etc, ranging from the end of 2000 until 2005, such those of Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 together

8 Masalski, 'Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies', in: <http://www.indiana.edu/~japan/Digests/textbook.html> (Visited on 1 June 2007). See also 'Japanese History Textbook Controversies', in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_history_textbooks_controversy (Visited on 1 June 2007).

9 See for example Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21, 'Criticisms of the Japanese Government Authorization of Japanese History Textbooks – The Case of *Koko Nihonshi B* (Senior High School Japanese History Textbook B) Published by Meiseisha' in http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_020429seomei.htm (Visited on 4 June 2007).

1 with Committee for Truth and Freedom in Textbooks, Advisory Committee for Discussing Social Studies Textbook Problems, Liaison Committee for the Japan Textbook Publishers Union, and Committee for Monitoring Historical Truth, who in 12 September 2000 on-lined an article entitles `The Falsification of History under the Guide of `Self Censorship` has been Forced onto Textbook Publishers: We will not Tolerate the Actions of the Government and the Ministry of Education`. This article gave some critics to the textbook produced by Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform and even other seven companies publishing history textbooks that had been approved by the Ministry of Education. There were several points criticized, among others: the so called `comfort women`, Nanjing Massacre, Three-All Policy, the Battle of Okinawa, the use of the term `advance` (*shinshitsu*) instead of `invasion`.

In connection with the 3 issue of 'Comfort Women', it disappeared from 4 out of 8 companies' product. Furthermore, even in those companies who have retained references to 'Comfort Women', only 2 of them place those references in the '15 Year Japan-China War, Asia-Pacific War' section; the remaining company only refers to 'Comfort Women' in the 'Postwar Compensation' section. In addition, only 1 company actually uses the term 'Comfort Women'

(ianfu), while the other 2 refer to 'comfort stations' (ian shisetsu). According to the article, the 4 companies that removed 'Comfort Women' references dominate 80% of the market at the time when the article was published.

References to Nanjing Massacre (Nanjing Incident), the article finds there were considerably rolled back.¹⁰ Firstly, out of 4 companies that used the term 'Nanjing Massacre', 2 have switched to the term 'Nanjing Incident', Three of those companies formerly used the term 'massacre' in the text, but all of them now refer to 'murder' (satsugai) or 'killing' (koroshita). Furthermore, while at present 6 companies refer to the numbers killed, only 2 will

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¹⁰ The Nanjing Massacre was an infamous [war crime incident committed by the Japanese military](#) in and around the then capital of China - [Nanjing](#), after it fell to the [Imperial Japanese Army](#) on [December 13, 1937](#). The extent of the atrocities is debated between China and Japan, with numbers ranging from some Japanese claims of several hundred, to the Chinese claim of a non-combatant death toll of 300,000. A number of Japanese researchers consider 100,000 – 200,000 to be an approximate value. Other nations usually believe the death toll to be between 150,000 – 300,000. See 'Nankin Massacre', in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanjing_Massacre (Visited on 7 June 2007). See also Gao Xingzu, Wu Shimin, Hu Yungong, & Cha Ruizhen (translated by Robert Gray) 'Japanese Imperialism and the Massacre in Nanjing', in: <http://www.cnd.org/njmassacre/njm-tran/> (Visited on 7 June 2007)

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continue to do so, while the others will replace numbers with phrases such as 'large numbers (were killed)', 'many (were killed)', 'a lot (were killed)' (one even obligingly provides a qualifying footnote explaining that there is no agreement on the number of casualties).

The so called `Three-All Policy` (Kill All, Loot All, Burn All) was also narrowly described by the textbook.¹¹ In the meantime, the issue about the Battle of Okinawa has also been regressed. From two pages to one, from ten lines to two and a half without its own sub-heading, from seven lines to five, from seven lines to four etc, with altogether 4 companies reducing the space allocated to this topic. In addition, 2 companies have omitted references to the number

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¹¹ The Three-Alls Policy was a Japanese scorched earth policy adopted in China during World War II, the three alls being: "Kill All", "Burn All" and "Loot All". In Japanese documents, the policy was originally referred to as "The Burn to Ash Strategy" (*Jinmetsu Sakusen*). In his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, Herbert Bix, based on the works of Mitsuyoshi Himeta and Akira Fujiwara, claims that the Three Alls Policy, sanctioned by Hirohito himself, was responsible for the deaths of 2.7 million Chinese civilians. Like much of Japan's WWII history, the nature and extent of the policy is still controversial today in Japan. See `The Three All Policy`, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three_all%27s_policy (Visited on 7 June 2007).

³ of civilians killed by the Japanese army and to 'group suicides'. Besides, there are deliberate revisions of terminology, such as 'advance' (shinshitsu) instead of 'invasion' and in general picture, references to aggression in Asia is greatly reduced by the textbooks.

³ According to the article, 'all of the above substantively represent an attack on so-called 'masochistic history' by an array of forces including LDP parliamentarians and The Society, who seek to falsify history'. In connection with the issues of 'Comfort Women' and the Nanjing Massacre in which both the Japanese government and international society have already acknowledged about the severe criticism on it, the Japanese government should not close the eyes about it. The article also mentions that the battle of Okinawa is an essential knowledge to student for understanding the contemporary problems of Okinawa. Above of all, the article summarizes that:

³ 'There is no reason to revise, omit or reduce those references in textbooks. We are convinced that clearly conveying this history in textbooks and teaching it in schools will yield a correct consciousness of history and of war, and that this is essential to the fostering of custodians of a peaceful 21st century. It is also vital

to promote coexistence with Asia. It is clear that the deterioration of textbooks outlined above will attract criticism not only from within Japan, but from Asia and the international community`.¹²

1 Although there had been severe criticism both from Japanese people internally and other Asian neighbors externally, the textbooks remained to be approved by the Ministry of Education. Corrections were actually had been made according with Ministry screening recommendation, but it was viewed by the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 (*Kodomo to Kyokasho Zenkoku Netto 21*) and its groups that the changes were not significant. For that reason the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 joined with more other associations to challenge the existing textbook condition. The Groups consist of the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21, Committee for Truth and Freedom in Textbooks (*Kyokasho ni Shinjitsu to Jiyu o Renrakukai*), Advisory Committee for Discussing Social Studies Textbook Problems (*Shakaika Kyokasho Kondankai Sewaninkai*), Japanese Society for Democratic

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¹² See `The Falsification of history under the Guise of `Self Censorship` has been forced into Textbook Publishers: We will not tolerate the Actions of the Government and the Ministry of Education, in: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_seimei20000912.htm (Vistited on 6 June 2007).

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Education (*Zenkoku Minshushugi Kyoiku Kenkyukai*),
Liaison Committee for the Japan Textbook Publisher
Union (*Nihon Suppan Rodokumiai Rengokai*), Center
for Research and Documentation on Japan's War
Responsibility (*Nihon no Senso Sekinin Shiryō Senta*),
etc.

In 3 April 2001, they declared a joint declaration
as a reaction against the textbook sponsored by the
Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform. The
joint statement, which is published via internet,
entitles `A Textbook that Treads the Path of
Constitution Denial and International Isolation Should
not be Handed over to Japanese Children`. This joint
statement criticized the textbook. There is several
points mention in the joint statement among other
the Greater East-Asian War, comfort women issue,
the legend of Emperor Jimmu, the nature Japanese
nationalism, etc.

In connection with the Asia-Pacific War, this
join statement criticized that the textbook still refer to
such a war as the 'Greater East-Asian War'. According
to join statement, this not only fails to recognize the
fact that this was a war of invasion, but it also takes a
standpoint that glorifies and affirms the war as one
fought for Asian liberation. There is no reflection on
the annexation and colonization of Korea, rather a

sense of its justification remains. The fact of the existence of so-called 'comfort women' is completely ignored, and there is only a one-sided account of the Nanjing Massacre from a standpoint of denial.

In connection with the Emperor of Jimmu, the joint statement criticized the way the textbook treated myths as if they were historical facts, while minor corrections were made, there is almost no change in contents or size, e.g., a map of "Legendary Emperor Jimmu's Eastern Expedition" is published as is.

According to the joint statement, Japanese history is presented in a way that suggests the authority of the emperor was consistent, while baseless contempt is shown for the history of Asian countries. It seems that the textbook tries to plant pride in a narrow-minded Japanese nationalism that bypasses internationalism. Even the joint statement interpreted what the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform as an effort to benefit history education for military purposes. This because in the post-war study of history and historical education, Japan has respected historical facts that were scientifically confirmed. The joint statement proposes that the textbook compiled by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform places emphasis on pride in the nation, service to the nation, and obligation of

national defense by giving exaggerated descriptions of international tensions, without any regard to the current world climate, and by glorifying the war, is distorting historical facts. The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform is suspected to mobilize Japanese people and children to future wars.¹³ The joint statement remains to those who concern towards international peace:

"We must recall that the Japanese Constitution is an international declaration and an international pledge for non-aggression. Also, we must not forget this fact: with protests from many Asian countries against the suppression of the description of the Japanese 'invasion' of Asia by the textbook screening panel in 1982, the Japanese government added a clause to the criteria of textbook screening that describes in 'regarding the handling of historical events in modern and contemporary history involving neighboring Asian countries, due consideration shall be given from a standpoint of international understanding and cooperation.'"

¹³ See 'A Textbook that Treads the Path of Constitution Denial and International Isolation should not be Handed over to Japanese Children', in: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_010403/seimei.1.htm (Visited on 4 June 2007).

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Moreover, in 1995 Mr. Murayama, the then Prime Minister expressed in his official statement apologies for "incalculable damages and pain" inflicted to Asian countries. The 1998 Japan-Korea joint declaration manifests that "it is important for both peoples, especially for the younger generation to further develop an appreciation of history." These statements are a clear pledge the Japanese government made to the world. Seeing the global spirit for denial of aggressive wars, respect for equality of all peoples and the peace that has prevailed since the end of World War II, the Japanese government's thought has, until now, rightly reflected such a trend. The Japanese government has an obligation to honor this international pledge`.

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Because the Japanese government had approved the textbook containing description violating the international pledges, the joint statement urges the government to take appropriate action from the government. For that purpose, the joint statement proposes some demands:¹⁴

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¹⁴ See `A Textbook that Treads the Path of Constitution Denial and International Isolation should not be Handed over to Japanese Children`, in: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_010403/seimei.1.htm (Visited on 4 June 2007).

1. The government has to take responsible for the selection of the controversial textbook because during the process for which the Education, Science and Technology Minister holds the authority for approval the textbook and such approval will result in the official authorization of the use of approved textbooks in classrooms.
2. Since politicians of the ruling parties had been active in organizing nationwide political activities to have this textbook approved and adopted and Education, Science and Technology Ministry and politicians of the ruling parties including the current Education, Science and Technology Minister that literally forced, under the name of "self-imposed control", to have deleted from existing textbooks the description of "comfort women" and the term "invasion" by applying various types of political pressure, the joint statement cannot allow the government to evade a responsibility of this caliber.
3. Politicians of the ruling parties should openly cry for the cancellation of the international pledge by claiming that criticism from Asian countries is a form of intervention in domestic affairs. If the government clearly denies such a demand, Japan

will surely repeat the mistake of walking the road to international isolation.

4. Do not hand over the dangerous textbook sponsored by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform which denies the Japanese Constitution and treads the path to international isolation. Because such textbook has passed official approval, and voices of objection have been raised about the adoption of such a text in various arenas, the joint statement publicly calls for strengthening resolve against decision. By doing so, the Japanese citizens showed their good conscience to the rest of the world.

Another criticism was launched by Yoshifumi Tawara, Secretary General of the national Network of Concerned Citizens on Textbooks and Children, in website *Japan in the World* uploaded on 1 March 2001. Yoshifumi pointed out that while the number of publishers producing junior high school history textbooks has increased to eight due to the entry of the right-wing the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform into the industry, many out of the seven present history textbook publishers which have submitted the manuscripts to the ministry's screening panel have cut back considerably in terms of the content on modern history. Yoshifumi gave a more

critical criticisms concerning the changing content of the textbook in the screening process maintained by the Ministry of Education. The detailed Yoshifumi's criticism related to the deletion of reference to 'Comfort Women' and the battle of Okinawa, euphemism concerning the 'Nanjing Massacre' and Japanese invasion/ aggression into Asia, and the strategy of the triple scorched.¹⁵

Reactions and protests against the Japanese history textbook surely not only came from Japanese people but also from outside, especially China and Korea. The Chinese government and people were very angry and dissatisfied with new history textbooks that had been approved by the Japanese government and would be taught for the school year of 2002. Chinese government addressed the right-wing Japanese scholars masterminded the textbook. Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Banzao warned that the Chinese people would not accept the interpretation of wartime events put forth by the new textbook.¹⁶

¹⁵ For the complete criticisms see Yoshifumi Tawara, 'Junior High School History Textbooks: Whither 'Comfort Women' and the Nanking Massacre?' in: <http://www.iwanami.co.jp/~jpworld/text/textbook01.html> (Visited on 6 June 2007).

¹⁶ Kathleen Woods Masalski, 'Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies', in: <http://www.indiana.edu/~japan/Digests/>

¹ Masalski also points out that the use of the controversial Japanese textbook also raised the severe protest and angry in Korea. In preparing to celebrate its Liberation Day (from the Japanese) on August 15, angry Koreans continued to stage anti-Japan protests ignited by the new Japanese "textbooks that allegedly gloss over atrocities by Japanese soldiers during World War II."¹⁷ The situation became increasingly tense when the Japanese Minister Junichiro Koizumi remained to visit Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo as a respect to Japanese military who died in the World War II, including war crimes.¹⁸ Before that, Republic of South Korea had recalled temporarily her ambassador, Choi Sang-ryong from Tokyo in 9 April 2001 as a part of serious protest.¹⁹ Besides, Korea also intended to embargo Japanese products.²⁰ But Japanese government refused to revise the controversial textbooks since it

¹ [textbook.html](#) (Visited on 6 June 2007).

¹⁷ Masalski, 'Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies', in: <http://www.indiana.edu/~japan/Digests/textbook.html> (Visited on 6 June 2007).

¹⁸ See for example 'Potong Jari Massal untuk Protes Koizumi', in: *Suara Merdeka* (14 August 2001).

¹⁹ See 'Heboh Buku Teks Sejarah Jepang', in: <http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0104/19/UTAMA/hebo01.htm>

²⁰ See '30 SMP Jepang Pilih Buku Sejarah Bermasalah', in: <http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0107/14/In/smpj02.htm>

1 had no authority to do such kind action. According to the government, Japan applies democratic system in composing school textbooks.²¹

Again, controversy on Japanese history textbook emerged in 2005. It closely linked with the fact that the Japanese Ministry of Education approved new edition of history textbooks which also gave raise a controversy in 2001. Again, based on the protests, these textbook narrowed and even hid the atrocities and Japanese forced prostitutions of during the aggression especially in China and Korea. Korean Ministry of Foreign Affair had proposed official protest to the Japanese government. Mass demonstration had burned Japanese flag. The same actions were also taken by Chinese government against the Japanese policy on history textbook.²² Even Chinese Ambassador to Japan Wang Yi visited Vice Foreign Minister Shotaro Yachi to protest what he described as an alteration of historical fact in the textbook, which is published by Fuso Publishing Inc.²³

21 See News Voice of America `Jepang Tolak Permintaan Revisi Buku Sejarah`, in: <http://voanews.com/indonesian/archive/2001-07/a-2001-07-09-5-1.cfm> (Visited on 8 June 2007).

22 See News Voice of America `Jepang Menyetujui Sejarah yang Kontroversial`, in: <http://voanews.com/indonesian/archive/2005-04/2005-04-06-voa2.cfm> (Visited on 8 June 2007).

23 See Akemi Nakamura `Ministry Screeners Approve

¹ An internet site, 'EastSouthWestNort' published an article entitles 'Japanese History Textbooks (2005 edition)' containing some analysis on the differences between history textbook composed by Japan's Society for History Textbook Reform already 2001 edition and 2005 edition. In fact there were no fundamental changes between the two. This article gave several examples about the controversial issues. One of the examples is concerning the cause of the 1894 Sino-Japanese War.

'The 2001 edition of the Japanese removes the reference that the Japanese attacked the Manchurian forces first. Instead, it used the ambiguous description: "Conflict occurred between the Japanese and Manchurian military forces, and the Sino-Japanese War began."

The proposed 2005 edition goes a step further: "The Manchurians did not want to lose their final tributary state Korea and therefore treated Japan as an enemy. Japan entered the Sino-Japanese War and the Russian-Japanese War due to these international relationships." The Chinese understanding of this history was that the Sino-Japanese War had its origin in the continental policy formulated at the first

¹ Contentious History Texts', in: <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/member/member.html?m20050406a1.htm>

Imperial Congress of Japan in 1890 where their territorial interests were directed right at the Korean peninsula and northeastern China. With these goals, Japan initiated the Sino-Japanese War. China lost, paid 200 million taels of silver in compensation and ceded Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan. At the same time, Japan invaded Korea and attempted to take over the Liaotung Peninsula too. Due to the intercession of Russia, Germany and France, the Manchurian government paid Japan 300 million taels of silver to 'reclaim' Liaotung'.²⁴

Criticisms also expressed by The Children and Textbook Japan Network 21 on 26 August 2005 through its on-lined publication entitled 'Statement against Fusuo-sa History Textbooks Adopted by the Tokyo Metropolitan School Board'. The criticisms was actually not directly addressed to Fusuo-sa textbooks (which were published under the direction of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (*Tsukuru-kai*), but to the Tokyo Metropolitan School Board who adopted the textbooks which since 2001 had been protested by many parties both domestically and internationally. In the end of the

²⁴ See 'Japanese History Textbooks (2005 edition)', in: http://www.zonaeuropa.com/20050328_2.htm (Visited on 8 June 2007).

¹ statement, the Children and Textbook Japan Network 21 proposed some recommendation:

1. To rescind the decision to adopt Fuso-sha textbooks for the new junior-senior high school and to open discussions about the issue all over again. The Tokyo Metropolitan School Board should base its decision upon the opinions of a wide group of Tokyo citizens, teachers, parents, and educational leaders who have expressed their deep reservations about these textbooks.
2. To open the records of the discussions held at the previous assembly meeting up to the time when the decision to adopt was made. The next discussion should be open to the public.²⁵

Again, although aware criticisms from so many parties both domestically and internationally, the Japanese government remained to stand on their own feet. The government does not want to revise the controversial history textbooks. The government states that the authorization of textbooks does not mean the consolidation of the governmental perspective of history. The examination of whether a

²⁵ See Children and Textbook Japan Network 21, 'Statement against Fusho-sa History Textbooks Adopted by the Tokyo Metropolitan School Board' <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/statement040826.htm>

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textbook is available for school is done by a third-party institution. This is part of freedom of speech and freedom of thoughts prevails in Japan. According to the government, Japan does not have national history textbook.²⁶

During the 2005 `controversial season`, the Japanese government was more open in response to the criticisms. The government did not only propose her stand not to use her authoritarian power to revise the controversial history textbooks and gave answers to every question asked by journalists or whoever. But, the demand that had been proposed by the Children and Textbook Japan Network 21 has not been materialized by the government. Possibly, such kind of procedure is out of state regulation related to history textbooks screening. Thus, that is a matter of Japanese parliament goodwill to review regulation concerned. What is really different with the 2001 controversy is that the government (supported by Ministry of Foreign Affairs) tries to cooperate with one of the most popular internet-based interactive journal in Japan, *Japan Echo*, to translate and publish (at internet) multilingual translation (in English, Korean, and Chinese) of the MEXT- (popular abbreviation of

²⁶ See <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/2005/4/0405.html#7> (Visited on 25 April 2007).

1 Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) approved middle school history textbooks.

The publication of the translations is aimed at presenting in-depth information to researchers and other people who need a deeper understanding of Japan's school textbooks especially for those who do not use Japanese as a spoken language. The textbook translations have been commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for informing the textbook accurately and directly to all people around the world. The translated material comes from all eight of the Japanese history books approved for the 2006 school year and focused on the early modern period and the modern age which frequently become the source of controversy. Because this project is still in progress, the site will be frequently updated in line with the development of translation results. It important to state here that by making the material available to abroad international audience, *The Japan Echo Inc.* hope there will be boost mutual recognition of the various historical views held throughout the nations of Asia.²⁷

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²⁷ Japan Echo, 'Multilingual Translation of MEXT-approved Middle School History Textbook', in: <http://www.je-kaleidoscope.jp/> (Visited on 9 June 2007).

To have standard national history which has to be referred by all educational institutions in Japan. In case of school history textbooks, the government through the MEXT only gives a course of study or curriculum. The government gives a broader opportunity to the local board of education teachers, and publishers to develop and compose teaching materials in the form of books guided by a certain procedure issued by the government and examination by related experts.

V HISTORY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY IN INDONESIA

1 A. Current Indonesian Case

The latest controversy on school history textbook in Indonesia relates with the decision of the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia of 5 March 2007 to ban the use of several kinds of school history textbooks which do not add the term 'PKI' (Partai Komunis Indonesia/ Indonesian Communist Party) in writing G 30 S (Gerakan 30 September). This controversy had actually been turned up since the end of 2005 when the Minister of National Education, Bambang Sudibyo banned the use of school history textbooks benefiting competence standard of history subject which referred to Curriculum 2004. The Minister said that this decision was based on the ongoing public discourses viewing the standard competence of Curriculum 2004 as not fully objective in describing modern Indonesian history. He said that the PKI Revolt of Madiun in 1948 was not included in the textbook. In case of the G 30 S 1965 uprising, PKI was not mentioned as the master minder. In the meantime, the revolt of PRRI/PERMESRA and DI/TII were explicitly included. The government then urged the Badan Standar

Nasional Pendidikan (National Standard Body for Education) to reformulate the competence standard of history subject in the school curriculum especially in connection with the involvement of PKI in various revolts against the state.¹

The policy of the Minister of National Education had stimulated controversies in the society. In one hand, a number of Indonesian people still defended to add the term PKI in mentioning the revolt of G 30 S (it becomes G 30 S/PKI). On the other hand, part of Indonesian people insisted to remove the word PKI from the term G 30 S/ PKI. Even the controversies had been colored by various mass demonstrations especially those done by certain social element who protested the removal of the word PKI from the term G 30 S. They accused Curriculum 2004 had been benefited by the pro-PKI elements in the society to clean up the involvement of PKI in the dark period of Indonesian history.²

¹ See for example 'Buku Sejarah Kurikulum 2004 Dilarang', <http://www.suamerdeka.com/cybernews/harian/0506/27/nas15.htm>. (Visited on 16 March 2006).

² See 'Demo Penghapusan Sejarah PKI Warnai Hardiknas di Grahadi', www.mediaindo.co.id/berita.asp?id=64033 (Visited on 16 March 2006).

¹ Those who wanted to remove the word PKI from the term of G 30 S/ PKI argued that the tragedy is being investigated by historians. In fact, there are many theories and versions suggested by both Indonesian and foreign researchers concerning the master minder of the tragedy.³ Besides, the members and sympathizer of the PKI and those who become the victim of the military operation during the post tragedy did not agree with the addition of the word PKI in the term G 30 S. Accusing PKI as the master minder of the revolt of G 30 S is considered as manipulation of historical fact.⁴ A historian from LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia), Aswi Warman Adam, urged to carry out a 'straightening of history'.⁵

³ Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI* (Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi, 1995), pp. 37-38. See also Aswi Warman Adam, 'Kontrol Sejarah Semasa Pemerintahan Suharto', paper presented on *Seminar Pra-Kipnas: Memandang Tragedi Nasional 1965 Secara Jernih* (Serpong: 8 September 1990), pp. 6.

⁴ Imam Soedjono, *Yang Berlawan: Membongkar Tabir Pemalsuan Sejarah PKI* (Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2006), pp. v.

⁵ Aswi Warman Adam, *Pelurusan Sejarah Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: TriDE, 2004).

¹ The controversy has caused the history teaching at school was experiencing a dilemma whether history subject gives teaching materials without censoring or it only gives selected historical events which has been burdened by a certain moral values and political messages to the students. In this connection, the teachers have to face difficulties in teaching history subject especially in connection with the tragedies of Madiun and G 30 S 1965.⁶ The pupils are also facing the same difficulties in distinguishing teaching materials educated by the teachers and historical facts exposed in monographs which are freely published. In this connection, the position of teacher is very important to give 'enlightenment' to the students.

B. Controversy

Since the beginning, the national tragedy that comes from what is often referred to as 30 September 1965 movement has been shrouded in mystery difficult to solve until now. This has led to various opinions, interpretations, and even speculation about the truth behind the incident. This occurs especially when people talk about the master mind behind the event

⁶ *Suara Pembaruan*, 30 June 2005.

and how and why it happened. Broadly speaking there are at least five versions of who was behind the G 30 S, namely: 1) PKI, 2) A click of the Army, 3) CIA / U.S. Government, 4) President Sukarno, 5) There is no single actor.⁷

Soon after that fateful event occurred, the Army (AD) is controlled by the Suharto (who gave birth to the New Order) rush to conclude that the G 30 S PKI is finalizing a plan during the time of President Sukarno was seriously ill in early August 1965.⁸ Even according to Pauker, PKI plans for a coup had been made before the issue appeared on the General Council in May 1965.⁹ New Order government had several times published a 'white book' about the tragedy.¹⁰ According to 'white book' the major driver

⁷ Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI* (Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi, 1995), pp. 37-38.

⁸ Seksi Penerangan Komando Operasi Tertinggi, *Tjataan Kronologis di Sekitar Peristiwa G-30-S/PKI* (Djakarta: KOTI, 1965).

⁹ G.J. Pauker, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Indonesia* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1969).

¹⁰There are some 'buku putih' on the G 30 S which are published by the ORBA, among others: Nugroho Notosusanto & Ismail Saleh, *The Coup Attempt o the '30 September Movement' in Indonesia* (Djakarta: Pembimbing Mas, 1968); Dinas Sejarah Angkatan Darat, *Pemberontakan PKI dan Penumpasannya* (Jakarta: 1974); Kantor Sekretariat Negara, *Gerakan 30*

of the G 30 S is the Special Bureau of PKI. Biro is also referred to as the Liaison Bureau or the Army Bureau. The Bureau was established by the Chairman of the Central Committee, DN Aidit in 1964 that served to make incursions into the military body. Bureau is confidential. Even the Communist Party members did not know publicly the existence of this bureau. The organizational structure of the Bureau is located directly under the coordination of Aidit as Chairman of the Central Committee. At the central level, it was formed the Central Special Bureau (BCC) in charge of coordinating the Regional Special Bureau (BCD). BCC led by Syam Kamaruzaman which was directly responsible to Aidit. So, apparently through the organizational activity of Syam, PKI is seen as the mastermind behind the events of the G 30 S.

The second version which says that the mastermind of the G 30 S is an Army clique presented by researchers from Cornell University (Ben Anderson, Ruth McVey, and Frederick Brunell). They studied it since the fateful events erupted. The results of their study entitled 'A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965: Coup in Indonesia' to be discussed in a variety of informal seminars at Cornell, so the script

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September: Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia. Latar Belakang, Aksi, dan Penumpasannya (Jakarta: 1994).

research seminar was often referred to as the Cornell Paper. In essence, they concluded that the G30 S is the peak of the internal conflict among the Army since the beginning of its formation which already had political consciousness and ambitions the conclusion is drawn from the fact that the entire operation was executed by the army, particularly the Army and Air Force. Meanwhile, the devastating force of the movement was also among the soldiers themselves.¹¹

In this connection, Wertheim said that the role of PKI can be seen as a side the role. The major role was played by Aidit in conjunction with the Syam who very familiar for a long time. Syam had claimed to enter the PKI in beginning of the 1960s. Syam later became a key figure in the confidential network between PKI and a group of army officers. Even the network was not known by the top leadership of the PKI, especially its members. According to Wertheim, Syam is actually a double agent working for both Aidit as well as for the Army.¹² However according to the end, there is a possibility that Syam was an Army agent who infiltrated into the PKI to lure them

¹¹ *Cornell Paper* has been published in Bahasa Indonesia, See B.R.O'G Anderson & R.T.McVey, *Kudeta 1 Oktober 1965: Sebuah Analisis Awal* (Yogyakarta: LKPSM-Syarikat, 2001).

¹² Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI*, pp. 22.

involved in a movement that could eventually become a pretext for the army to finish them off.¹³

Opinion that emphasizes the role of Army as the master minder of the G 30 S is also expressed by Harold Crouch is that before the fateful event, the General Staff of the Army (Suad) splitted into two factions. Both factions were in fact equally hostile PKI although different attitude when dealing with President Sukarno. The first faction is the 'midst faction' who was loyal to Sukarno. The faction was also called as 'right faction' led by Major General A. Yani (Minister of Commander in Chief of Army) who only opposed against Sukarno's policy concerning national unity where the PKI was in it. Meanwhile, the second faction is the 'right faction' which in addition to oppose Sukarno also opposed the policy of Yani who was loyal to Sukarno (Sukarnoist). Nasution and Maj. Gen. Suharto included in this faction. The September 30th movement which pretended to

¹³ Ben Anderson noted that Syam is an adventure full of mysterious figures. He had been Chairman of the Branch PSI Rangkasbitung 1951. Even during the revolution he had become spionage of Recomba West Java (Dutch-made). In the late 1950s he became an informant from the commander of the KMK (City Military Command) Jakarta.

rescue Sukarno was in fact intended to get rid of 'right faction' for reaching the rule.¹⁴

1 Meanwhile, the third version suggests that the master minder of the G 30 S is the CIA. This opinion is suggested, among others, by Peter Dale Scott and Geoffrey Robinson. CIA (United States) looked at the tendency of political direction that leads Sukarno 'left' very worried the United States. If Indonesia fell into the hands of Communist rule the American position in Southeast Asia would be endangered because Vietnam had been first ruled by a communist regime (Domino theory). Everywhere foreign agents cannot work without the help of internal elements of power in the country. Therefore, the CIA established an intimate relationship with a click in the Indonesian Army in order to provoke PKI to take action and then killed. Towards the eruption of the bloody drama, America has graciously volunteered to educate the Indonesian army officers with the packaging program Military Assistance Program (MAP). In 1963 there were about 30 officers were sent to the U.S. Army, 29 in 1964 and 47 officers in 1965. Good relations were also established by CIA with SESKOAD (School of

¹⁴ Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI*, pp. 18.

Commander Staff of Army). The CIA also has a special relationship with Suharto.¹⁵

Version which says Sukarno as that the master minder of G 30 S put forward by several authors. 'White Book', published by the Secretariat of State, although not explicitly describe the attitudes and behaviors of Sukarno closed to the figures indicated as the PKI figures and Sukarno knows that movement. John Huges in his book *The End of Sukarno* (1967) concluded that Sukarno was the master minder of the G 30 S. He considered that the operation of Colonel Untung has gained approval from Sukarno. Sukarno did not react when General Supardjo reported the killing of the generals. Similar analysis is also expressed by Anthonie Dake. In his book *In the Spirit of the Red Bull* (1973), he says that the G 30 S stimulated by the impatience of Bung Karno, who saw the opposition a few army officers against his revolutionary programs. He then ordered Lt. Col. Untung to clean it. The order was delivered on August 6, 1965. Aidit knew the information and after coming home from the China and after the Politbiro PKI meeting on 7 August 1965. It was the

¹⁵ Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI*, pp.. 27.

early involvement of the PKI, which had no choice but to follow the attitude of Sukarno.¹⁶

Meanwhile, another version says the G 30 S as an event that was so complicated which was not only masterminded by a single perpetrator, but involved various parties who had the ambition to hold power. G 30 S was a conspiracy in which the elements of Nekolim (Neo Colonialism) to thwart the course of the Indonesian revolution. The success of Nekolim is supported by the strayed leadership element of PKI and misguided elements of the Army. Such opinion was stated by several people including Sukarno himself in his speech entitled Nawaksara and Complementary Nawaksara.¹⁷

The existence of so many versions of the opinions and interpretations concerning the G 30 S indicates that the event was very complicated and shrouded in mist that may bear that the work was planned by a sophisticated intelligence operation. Therefore, this topic is still an endless debate. If the question posed by the public to this tragedy is still limited to the questions that are chronicles the 'what', 'when', 'where' and 'who', may have many answer

¹⁶ Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI*, pp. 29-34.

¹⁷ Tim ISAI, *Bayang-bayang PKI*, pp. 37-38.

and did not cause a lot of debate because some of the perpetrators are still alive and the event itself is still remembered (remembered event) even though it may have been distorted. However, when someone asks a question that is more critical then start the debate more exciting, for example the question of 'who' is behind these murders? When murder plan was drawn up and who's involved? The debate is becoming increasingly widespread when the questions began to put forward the historical questions of 'how' and 'why' the event happened. It can, therefore, be understood if the claims of historical truth is very diverse and therefore the historical single truth is also hard to be accepted. In this case history is a science providing the means of mass communication in which all member of the community can express their opinions as far as could be accounted for in scientific ethics and morals.

There is a tendency since the mid-1990s in which the study of the 1965 tragedy is not solely directed merely to the master minder behind the tragedy. There are several historiographical trends around the tragedy including: disclosure of lies and falsification and manipulation of historical sources in the writing of the history of the tragedy. In this respect, one of the most interesting books is written Wieringa concerning Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita

Indonesia/ Indonesian Women Movement). This book dismantles how the army press forges and manipulates news around Gerwani involvement in the torture of the Army generals before being killed in the old well at Lubang Buaya.¹⁸

The second trend is the emergence of the historiographical works that try to reveal the so-called 'revenge', i.e. the motion carried by the anti-PKI forces to make arrests, persecution and mass murder against those who are considered followers and sympathizers of the Communist Party and like-minded organizations that were considered to have the same direction with PKI. This trend can be seen in the work Hermawan Sulistiyono reviewing the mass massacre in Jombang-Kediri region during the years 1965-1966.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Robert Cribb also collects a variety of sources telling about the mass slaughter of PKI members in Java and Bali during 1966.²⁰

¹⁸ Saskia E. Wieringa, *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Garba Budaya-Kalyanamitra, 1999).

¹⁹ Hermawan Sulistiyono *Palu Arit di Ladang Tebu: Sejarah Pembantaian Massal yang terlupakan (1965-1966)* (Jakarta: Pustaka Gramedia, 2000). The book is translated from his Ph.D. thesis at Arizona State University in 1997 under the title: *The Forgotten Years: The Indonesia's Missing History of Mass Slaughter (Jombang-Kediri, 1965-1966)*.

²⁰ Robert Cribb (ed.), *The Indonesian Killings:*

The third tendency is the publication of various legal defends like the trial pea of Colonel Abdul Latif.²¹ The pleas can more or less reveal about the New Order government's atrocities committed against political resistance so that they recognize something they did not do. These sources also reveal the presence of top leaders of Army who were actually involved in the G 30 S.

In addition there is also a trend emerging of memoirs and biographies of the figures who were accuses to be involved in the G 30 S such as those Pranoto Reksosamodro, Oei Tjoe Tat, Hasan Rait, Sulami, and so on. Besides revealing the crimes and serious human rights violations by the New Order the memoirs are also used to deny the involvement of PKI in the adventures of the G 30 S 1965.

Almost all of these historiographical tendencies burdensome New Order regime as responsible for the detention without legal process and mass murder without mercy. Of course the ultimate goal of the

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Pembantaian PKI di Jawa dan Bali 1965-1966 (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa & Syarikat Indonesia, 2003).

²¹ Abdul Latif, *Mengungkap Sejarah yang Sebenarnya (Pledoi di Depan Mahkamah, Mei 1978. Diperbanyak oleh Penerbit Gotong Royong)*.

studies that led to Suharto's New Order as the most responsible party for past tragedy.

In this connection, local studies that analyze the national tragedy at local or rural level have not yet received proportionate attention. Studies of national tragedy at the local level will provide new perspectives on the tragedy. The tragedy of 1965 in rural areas which was free from high-level conspiracy will certainly offer another illustration. There is no political conspiracy of the PKI and the other political parties or the army to seize the local government. Sense of conflict among the people happened in the years before 1965, but it was only at the verbal level, and did not give birth to the social violence especially murder. Mass arrests and killings occurred when the Special Forces of Army came and cooperated with anti-PKI elements.²²

C. History and Current Problem

When compared with the field of history teaching, historical research and writing about the G 30 S has shown remarkable progress in this reform era,

²² Dalhar Muhammadun, *Tanah Berdarah di Bumi Merdeka: Menelusuri Luka-Luka Sejarah 1965-1966 di Blora* (Solo: ATMA, LPAW, LSAM, 2004), pp. x-xi.

especially in relation to the freedom gained by historians and writers of history to work. Perhaps this is one of the sign of the growing historical consciousness among the people to understand contemporary issues in order to achieve a better future. The term 'history' and 'contemporary' are two words that seem to be opposites. On the one hand, 'history' relates to the historical reality and past events that have been lost, on the other hand, the word 'contemporary' clearly refers to the reality that is and will be faced by a community. Therefore the question that arises is: what is the relevance and function of historical writing on contemporary issues? Or more extreme: is the writing of history useful for solving the present problems? That question often asked by people who has lack of historical consciousness as a manifestation of cynical assessment of the contribution of history in the present life and the future.

Historiography and historical consciousness does have a very close relationship. The writing of history would be one means to create historical awareness. Conversely historical awareness will also stimulate the writing of history. In the national level, if the nation-state is still considered important, historical awareness can also be a subjective thing in the sense that it associates with appreciation of the

citizens to the past experiences as a collective memory. Historical awareness that is supported by the objective knowledge of the past would lead to empathy for citizens of the nation-state by means of 'relive' and 'rethink' of the actions of their predecessors in the past.²³ Henceforth, this empathy will arouse their curiosity to dig deeper into their nation trip in the past in order to find the answer to the question why everything becomes what it seems in the present. Citizens who have a sense of history will find the answer not only to study history but also to learn from history, as ever echoed by Sukarno. Maybe after that, they will become wiser and can contribute to ideas on the direction that should be tracked by their nation because the sense of history is a form of intellectual empathy.

An idealist philosophers of the twentieth century Italy, Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), who has put in the perspective of contemporary historical writing, derided the effort to achieve objectivity of the past 'as it actually happened' as it ever suggested by the empirical historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886).²⁴ Croce recommended for not ignoring

²³ H. Stuart. Hughes, *History as Art and as Science* (New York: 1964), pp. 1-21.

²⁴ Raymond Aron, 'Relativism in History', dalam: Hans

contemporary interest that in fact cannot be avoided by historians. Truly telling a set of past events is not history, but merely the chronicle. According to him chronicle just 'something', i.e. bodies or carcasses of history, while the real history is an act of spirit. Hence he writes: 'every true history is contemporary history' and the consequence is that each generation will write their own history, in accordance with their own interests at the time of the present dimensions.²⁵ While the chronicles have died in the mind, that means not living in the mind or experience of the historian. In understanding of the past, historians could remember the past events in his mind then issued in written form.

It is important to be noted that the writing of history is very open in accordance with the discoveries of new evidence, new interpretations, and of course also new interests. This means that the writing of history (historiography) needs to be reassessed in line with changes occurring in society. Nothing is perfect in the writing of history. The story

Meyerhoff, *The Philosophy of History in Our Time: An Anthology* (New York: Anchor Original Publisher, 1959), pp. 153.

²⁵ B. Croce, 'History and Cronicle', in: Meyerhof, *The Philosophy*, pp. 44.

in the history must always be updated. Nothing is eternal in the writing of history but rewriting the history is a certainty. Thus, there is no most final, objective, straight, complete, and the like in writing history. No matter how great a historian, he will not be able to show the intact reality of the past as it is. There are always limited capability and historical sources. An objective reality exists only as far as history as a past event that will not be repeated. While the history as a result of reconstruction done by the historian is a product of language, discourse, and the experience of historians in specific social and cultural context.²⁶ The so-called facts of history itself actually exist in the minds of historians (obtained through memory or through indirect evidence of past traces, oral reports and written documents). It is then described in written form. This is consistent with what proposed by Croce and Collingwood that historian who actually played an active role in constructing the history (as narrative) by doing a 'rethinking' of the reality in the past.²⁷

²⁶ Bambang Purwanto & Asvi Warman Adam, *Menggugat Historiografi Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2005), pp. 46.

²⁷ Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (Rutledge, 1997), pp. 20.

Since the beginning of the selection of themes or topics of historical research, historians have to use certain principles in accordance with their interests. In this case, it is more than just a chronicle, historiography are not only selective but also interpretive and explanative. Thus, although the historiography contains about the past but is really a contemporary phenomenon that is determined by the motives that exist in the minds of historians representing their era. In this context, the history should not only serve as a nostalgia alone that are recreational and not only as a means of justification away from the repressive rule but more than that, it could be a vehicle for people to liberate from the bondage of myths and past tyranny. Writing of history could be an ice-breaker in the social relations that lead to prolonged conflicts in society. That is, for the sake of Indonesia at this time (and even then if we still have a commitment to maintain Indonesia as a nation state), historiography could have become a vehicle for social reconciliation that currently is required by the people of Indonesia.

D. History Teaching as Social Enlightenment

A few years ago, President SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) invited GAM (Free Aceh Movement) to

forget bad events in the past and look at to the future to create an atmosphere of peace after the signing of a memorandum of understanding in Helsinki (Finland). What was interesting about SBY invitation is that only by forgetting the bitter history can a social harmony of the present and future be achieved? Invitations also hints that the bitter history reveals is believed to be a handicap for the realization of a social reconciliation or social harmony when people who have a collective memory is filled with conflict and violence. Within this context, it needs to be asked a question of whether or not to forget the past is the way to a social reconciliation when people are facing problems of social conflict? Is it true that the past which is full of conflict and violence is not worthy to be remembered or should be forgotten? If so why the memory of the PKI as the master minder behind the tragedy of 1965 must be maintained while the study of history do not still find its hard fact? Perhaps it is correct that forgetting the past or even killing the past is one way of striking social reconciliation. However, the question is whether it can be massively done?

For the Indonesia people at this time who begin to live in an era of reform and openness that is colored with a variety of the prolonged conflict that lead to the social and national disintegration, the

empowerment of history to take part actively in the process of social enlightenment needs to get serious attention. This discourse was also a small attempt to respond to the current indication about the phenomenon of disorientation among academic historians in historical writings so that they do not understand the root problems of society, or they stand on the ivory tower, so that their works were deemed unable to enlighten the public and does not have any contribution to solve contemporary problems. The task of narrative history is to understand the present. In this case the actual role of history teaching in schools are very important in the process of social enlightenment, because through the teaching of the history of the young generation receives historical explanation of current problems which is now faced by the Indonesian people. Thus the younger generation will not be shackled by ignorance or miss-understanding about the past so it will be wrong also in acting in the present and future. If this occurs means that the future of Indonesia is built on the ruins of misleading history

Of course, the pattern of historical teaching materials used in schools depends on the curriculum. Meanwhile, the curriculum and teaching materials depends on the government. So the drafter of curricula and teaching materials is a lot of coloring

paradigm of teaching history in schools. In this context, there are two paradigms in the teaching of history. The first paradigm relates with the principle of selectiveness. This tends to have principles to provide the learning materials of history only after going through the selection process by using a certain morality standard and of particular interest. This means that not all historical events should be taught to students. The fact that the teaching materials are chosen and selected on the basis of moral considerations and special interests, historical teaching often judge a certain and also tend to be black and white, good-bad, and even right and wrong that is deterministic. In this connection, learning history is almost no different from a court that gave birth to who the winner and who the losers. This gave rise to a deep impression that history is the story of the winner. In such a story, the loser does not get a proper place. There is no winner, actually, without the existence of the losers. Therefore, it is cynical to say that should the New Order government at that time be grateful to the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia), because the presence of PKI which was defeated (or someone used to say 'sacrificed') by the New Order government can take the helm government for over three decades. It implies that the history of the losers also have the right to be

placed in proportion to the story of history as collective memory. In this context, a monopoly on historical truth by the winner should be eliminated because it would give birth to the story of the history of vengeful and fatalistic who see issues in black and white that would perpetuate the existing social conflicts in society.²⁸ Such monopolistic paradigm is usually applied by the winners to perpetuate their status quo. On the contrary, such way of thinking is also developed by the losers. They always try to dismantle the narrative version of histories which are dominated by the winner. It means that they actually have the same way of thinking but different interests.

It is very interesting that there are often emerging discourses in which social conflicts which are being faced by society can be reduced by burying the past. Such invitations usually come from the winner who has become the ruler who wants a stable power. They hope that the losers as victims are able to forget the bitterness of the past filled with a smoldering resentment. Even if the victim can accept the past as a necessity that has been fated by the God, it is doubtful that the generation after them can

²⁸ About discourses perpetuate the memory of anti Communism in Indonesian society Budiawan, *Mematahkan Pewarisan Ingatan: Wacana Anti-Komunis dan Politik Rekonsiliasi Pasca-Soeharto* (Jakarta: ELSAM, 2004).

also receive the same thing. What often happens is the opposite. There were demanding the disclosure of an objective past. There are also demanding the 'rectification of history' or even a kind of historical trial.

Thus there are two different poles in relation to the question of whether the writing of history can be functioned as a means of social reconciliation in a conflict society. The first pole of the opinion urges that in order to achieve a social reconciliation, all elements in society have to bury deeply the past which was full of conflict and violence. This pole tends to expose selective historical phenomena for the interests of perpetuating the power. The second pole demands an opposite argument. For achieving social reconciliation, it is necessary to dismantle the past as clearly as possible in order to seek justice in history (probably because they could not find justice in court). It is the fact that the two poles are equally difficult to do, especially if the distance between events and the writing of history is still so close. The stance to bury the past is usually not acceptable to the parties who want to dismantle the past openly. Likewise, the attitude of those who want to achieve social reconciliation by making a 'historical trial' is also difficult to accept a lot of people precisely because of the subjectivity in the writing of history itself,

especially if the party who will be tried is still in power. If social groups in conflict are still thinking in black and white then the problem would not be well resolved.

E. Expected Role of the Teacher

The role of history teachers in conducting social enlightenment through the teaching of history in schools can be doubted. Teachers should be the spearhead that can explain the contemporary phenomenon based on historical perspective. Thus the teaching of history should also be contextual and based on the contemporary problem (problem-based learning). Until recently the teaching of history in schools is still often shackled by the mastery of story of the past without associated with the present lives. Therefore the main challenge of the teacher is how to connect the history with the interests of current situation so that the teaching of history also has a significant function in society today.

However, the question is how the history teacher is able to provide social enlightenment to his disciples through the teaching of history. Perhaps there are some features of the teaching of history that can provide community a social enlightenment. First, the

teaching of history should be able to contribute in the process of formation of civil society that is democratic society, a trust, accept pluralism, do not forbid the difference, and so on.²⁹ Conversely, if the teaching of history resulted the generations who have anti-democratic syndrome, crisis of confidence, and intolerant to diversity, meaning that the teaching of history has failed to perform its function as the public enlightenment.

For that purpose, history teachers need to have a democratic attitude, respect for student opinion, and accepting differences. In addition, the history teacher should be able to explain the difference between history and indoctrination. Perhaps teachers need to explain to students about the nature of historical knowledge that is always dynamic, evolving and open. Anyone have the freedom to write anything as far as it is factual and rational. In this case the public should be enlightened to be able to accept differences of opinion and historical research. Likewise, people should be given the 'autonomy' to assess historiographical works. This relates to the fact that an understanding of differences and conflicts can

²⁹ Bambang Purwanto, *Gagalnya Historiografi Indonesiasentris?!* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2006), pp. 50.

be achieved by the opposing views rather than by attempts to articulate a consensus. Thus, according to Burke, there must be change of the 'voice of history' leads to 'Varied and opposing voices' or from *monoglossia* toward *heteroglossia*.³⁰ Let people get used to the difference of opinion and judge for their self every historiographical work. Emancipation of the writing of history will fade the myths emerging from historiographical works itself. Thus the policy of covering up a specific historical event not to be delivered to students need to be revisited. The lesson of history is actually not only from the events that are considered as a victory and pride but also of events that are considered shameful defeat. All events victory or defeat, triumph or setback, pride or shame will provide the same wisdom.

Secondly, the teaching of history that can enlighten the public is 'teaching about human', meaning that no matter how wonderful a person who is considered a historical figure or conversely how the evil of someone in history, certainly has its advantages and disadvantages of each. History which is narrated by the teacher is human history, not

³⁰ Peter Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cornwall: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 6.

history of the angels. Therefore, the teaching of history which has value as social enlightenment is the teaching of history which is able to avoid narratives containing patterns of black-white binary opposition between winners and losers, or between a hero and deceiver, because such a stigma is situational and subjective and will cause the process of perpetuating the prejudice, resentment, and social disintegration.

E. There is Still Expectation

The Reform movement since 1997 did not merely mean as the fall of New Order government which was in power for over 30 years. The Reform had a broader meaning because it was followed by other radical changes, which covers almost all areas of the life of Indonesian people in politics, the press, social, as well as in government.

Changes are also very striking, i.e. the emergence of the climate of freedom in the writing of history (historiography) in which during the New Order era was very repressive. Only history textbooks which are approved by the Government could be instructed at schools. However, it was an odd situation that the extraordinary development in the writing of history has not been accompanied by a

paradigm shift in teaching history. Even after the eight years of reforms, there has been a step backwards in the teaching of history by freezing the 2004 curriculum for the subjects of history and go back to the 1994 curriculum which had been produced by the New Order government. During the reform, this regime had been accused as the ringleader of multidimensional crisis which is unresolved until today. This phenomenon will add to the confusion of teachers and pupils in history teaching.

In the first years of reform, the confusion comes from the history teachers who were facing the unstoppable development of historical writing (both in the mass media and through various publications). The controversial issues especially associated with the cruel of the New Order government and the various problems associated with PKI. Meanwhile, history teachers used the old curriculum (1994), so the development of historical writing on the outside of the school institution is relatively not been accommodated in the school education. It is very important that history teachers should be creative and follow the development of historiography during the reform period.

Now when the teachers of history began to be able to make accommodations to the development of historiography in the community, the history curriculum had to change again. Thus the teaching of history should take the necessary steps to fulfill his duty to teach history that can serve as the social enlightenment, namely that the teaching of history should be able to create a civil society that is democratic, open, tolerant, respect the difference, and so on. For this purpose, teachers should be able to behave as being of democratic, honest, tolerant, respect differences of opinion, and so on. In addition, if teachers want the teaching of history still can be a vehicle for social enlightenment, the teaching of history should be able to present a deterministic narrative history viewing historical events in black and white that will sustain social resentment in the society. In this way, history teaching will serve as a social enlightenment as well as a liberator against myths and the past idols.

VI REFLECTION ON HISTORY EDUCATION: BETWEEN DEBATE AND PRACTICE

A. Distortion, Falsification, and Euphemism of History

During the debate concerning controversial history textbook in Japan, there are some terms that are most frequently used by those who do not agree against the Society's textbooks are among other distortion, falsification, and euphemism of historical facts. Those terms refer to the publishers who get approval from the Ministry of Education to distort, falsify and euphemize or at least blur the historical facts.

Issue about distortion of historical facts in Japanese history textbooks are mainly linked with the issues concerning Japanese policy in Korea. Dated on 5 December 2000 for example, a group of historian and history educator published in a website an appeal that they could not entrust history education to a textbook that distorts history. The appeal that signed by 60 historians and history educator criticize the distortion of historical facts found in the history textbook developed by the Japanese Society for

History Textbook Reform (*Atarashi Rekishi Kyokasho o Tsukurukai*). This appeal states that the Society's textbook describes "The Greater East Asian War" as a war for the liberation of Asia. It states:

`For example, the textbook states that, even though Japan was an ally of Italy and Germany, Japan had a state policy to oppose racism, which distinguished it from both the fascism of Mussolini and the Nazism of Hitler. Moreover, it states that the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration, adopted at the Greater East Asia Conference on January 6, 1943. The appeal adds that in fact even just before the defeat in 1945, Imperial Japan was still committed to a policy of "reserving Korea to Japan," i.e., retaining Korea as a Japanese colony: these facts are clear from documents made public by the Japanese government`.¹

¹ The appeal states an argument that the Supreme War Leadership Council was established in August 1944 membered by the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Army Minister, the Navy Minister, and the Chiefs of the Army and Navy General Staffs At that time the Showa Emperor also attended the meetings when important matters were discussed. The section "Territory to Be Yielded" of the textbooks stated that in order to succeed in its negotiations with the U.S.S.R, Japan would need to begin to prepare to return Southern Sakhalin to the Soviet Union, renounce fishing rights there, re-open the Straits of Tsugaru (between Honshu and Hokkaido), and cede Japanese railroad rights in Northern Manchuria; Japan, however, would retain

In that connection, the appeal states that the textbook distorts those facts and describe Imperial Japan as a leader in the liberation of the colonies. According to the appeal, that description is the falsification of historical facts and a construction of a "modern myth."²

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The Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 also suspects the Society to distort historical facts concerning the nature of Pacific War. Based on its observation, the Society's textbook calls the war with US and Britain beginning in the year 1941 as the "Greater East Asian War" whereas, other textbooks call this war as "the Pacific War" or "the Asia Pacific War". The Textbook states "Japan declared war on the U.S. and Great Britain, maintaining that this war was a war of survival and self-defense, and naming it the Greater East Asian War". Based on Japanese government at that time, the war was also aiming to establish the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere" in order to liberate Southeast Asian countries

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Korea`. See: December 2000 Appeal by Japanese Historians and History Educators: We Cannot Entrust History Education to a Textbook that Distorts History`, in: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_yukou_seimei_20001205.htm (Visited on 12 June 2007)

² *Ibid.*

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from the colonial control by European and American white races. But according to the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 this kind of statement was "superficial" and is easily proven false by the Japanese government had not mentioned about the independence of Korea which was annexed since 1910.³ Besides, the textbook also intends to distort the implementation of Japanese totalitarianism and militarism leading to the World War II. Even the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 addressed the Society as to admit the totalitarian nature of the Japanese government and army. The Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 states:

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`On pages 44-45, the Textbook states the explanation about "Communism" and "Fascism" being as two totalitarian trends. In this explanation, both "Fascist Party" and "Nazi Party" are treated as Totalitarianism. However, there is no mention that the Japanese government especially the Japanese army was controlled by the same totalitarian thought`.⁴

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³ See the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21, `The Problem of the new textbook for Japanese history prepared by "the Society"`, in: <http://www.jca.apc.org/asia-net/library/article050810.shtml> (Visited on 12 June 2007).

⁴ *Ibid.*

Issue that was frequently associated with the falsification of historical fact is about the foundation myths, those compiled in Japan's earliest chronicles, as historical fact. It can be seen when the textbook describes the eastward expedition of the Jimmu Emperor as if it were historical fact. By ignoring all the findings of historical studies on the subject the textbooks states that "the date of the enthronement of the *Jimmu* Emperor" is "National Foundation Day [a current Japanese national holiday], February 11 on the solar calendar."⁵

In the meantime, the problem of euphemism found in Japanese history textbook in describing historical facts were mostly being associated with the issues of `comfort women` and Nanjing Incident. In this case, it is very interesting to cite online criticisms proposed by the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 and its group entitled `The Falsification of History under the Guise of `Self-Censorship` has been Forced onto Textbook Publishers: We will not Tolerate the Actions of the Government and the Ministry of Education` dated from 12 September 2000. They find that the terms of 'comfort women'

⁵ December 2000 Appeal by Japanese Historians and History Educators: We Cannot Entrust History Education to a Textbook that Distorts History`, in: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_yukou_seimei_20001205.htm (Visited on 12 June 2007)

3 have disappeared from 4 out of 8 companies' product and only 2 of them place those references in the '15 Year Japan-China War, Asia-Pacific War' section, while the remaining company only refers to 'comfort women' in the 'Postwar Compensation' section. From those numbers, only 1 company uses the term 'comfort women' (*ianfu*), while the other 2 refer to 'comfort stations' (*ian shisetsu*). It is surprisingly that according to the Japan Network 21, the 4 companies that removed 'comfort women' references currently dominate 80% of the market.⁶ Those suggest the trend in which the publishers tried to hide historical fact concerning `comfort women` and also tried to euphemize the term comfort women to be `comfort station`.

The same case also occurred in connection with the term of Nanjing Massacre. Based on the finding of the Japan Network 21 that:

3 `firstly, out of 4 companies that used the term 'Nanjing Massacre', 2 have switched to the term 'Nanjing Incident', Three of those companies

9 ⁶ See The Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21, `The Falsification of History under the Guise of `Self-Censorship` has been Forced onto Textbook Publishers: We will not Telerate the Actions of the Government and the Ministry of Education`, in: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/e_seimei20000912.htm (Visited on 13 June 2007).

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formerly used the term 'massacre' in the text, but all of them now refer to 'murder' (*satsugai*) or 'killing' (*koroshita*). Furthermore, while at present 6 companies refer to the numbers killed only 2 will continue to do so, while the others will replace numbers with phrases such as 'large numbers (were killed)', 'many (were killed)', 'a lot (were killed)' (one even obligingly provides a qualifying footnote explaining that there is no agreement on the number of casualties).⁷

It is very clear that something happen with the changing term from `massacre` to `incident` or from `massacre` to `killing` or `murder`. It reflects both the hiding and euphemizing of historical facts for a certain objective.⁸ The hiding of historical facts in the textbook also can be found in the case of what so-called `the Battle of Okinawa`. The Japan Network 21 finds that the textbook reduced the description concerning this topic, for example in one textbook, from ten lines to two and a half without its own sub-

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⁷ Ibid. See Also Yoshifumi Tawara, `Junior High School Textbook: Whither `Comfort Women` and the `Nanking Massacre`?`, in: <http://www.iwanami.co.jp/jpworld/text/textbook01.html> (Visited on 13 June 2007).

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⁸ Euphemism refers to an indirect word or phrase that people often use to refer to something embarrassing or unpleasant, sometimes to make it seem more acceptable than it really is.

3 heading and some of them omitted references to the number of civilians killed by the Japanese army and to `group suicides`. The problematic euphemism also occurred in using the term `advance` instead of `invasion` or `aggression` that become the source of protest from China and Korea.

B. The Nature of History Education

It is very interesting that the Japan Network 21 criticize the system of textbook screening applied by the MEXT which suggest a `self-censorship` done by publisher. Although the system seems to be free from the government interest, but according to the Japan Network 21 and its groups that one of the possibilities is the publisher got pressure from Ministry of education and other interest groups. They propose:

3 `Why has this deterioration in textbook content occurred? Each publisher has submitted their drafts for screening, and on the surface it looks like 'self-censorship'. However, we believe that for the following reasons, it is not simply a case of 'self-censorship' but rather 'self-censorship' as a result of powerful pressure from the Government and the Ministry of Education.

In June 1998, the then Minister for Education Machimura Nobutaka, responded to questions in the Diet by stating that 'the sections on modern and contemporary history in history textbooks have "changed". We are examining whether corrections can be made before they are submitted for screening'. In response, from January 1999 the senior bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education asked the managers of textbook companies to 'make the content (of textbooks) more balanced' and to 'rethink the line-up of authors'. In reacting to this initial stage of pressure, it is thought that the textbook publishers did not want to omit the content related to 'Comfort Women' or to alter the material on the Nanjing Massacre/Incident or the Three-All Policy. This can be appraised through examining the content of textbook manuscripts prior to the production of Plain Cover Draft Editions. In effect, the content of these manuscripts was largely unchanged from that in existing texts (this is what we could glean from the product of 2 companies concerned). Therefore, we can assume that the content of those manuscripts was altered before they were submitted to the Ministry in the form of a draft text. At around December 1999, the Presidents of companies publishing textbooks in Social Studies for junior high schools were contacted by sources in the Prime

Minister's office and told the following:- 'we have been reliably informed that you have been asked to deal with the sections on 'Comfort Women' (this was confirmed by one company President). Upon encountering this political pressure, each company decided to practice 'self-censorship' before proceeding with the production of draft texts. One particular company's editor visited each author individually to seek the authors' cooperation regarding the company's new policy of reducing references to 'Comfort Women' and deleting footnotes concerning the Nanjing Massacre. Furthermore, in response to a query from an author along the lines of 'what has happened?' one editor replied 'it's the voice of heaven'.`⁹

Finally the Japan Network 21 and its group contemplate that possibly there are at least three reasons why the 7 companies engaged in self-censorship on this occasion, i.e. the effect of attacks from the Right, such as The Society, the influence on the choice of textbooks of the Broad Option System, and the pressure from the Ministry of Education and other politicians. But according to the Japan Network 21 and its group the decisive pressure came from the

⁹ The Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21, 'The Falsification of History.'

last parties meaning that the so-called 'self-censorship' is not the spontaneous will of textbook companies, rather the political pressure by the Government and the Ministry of Education.¹⁰

This research does not intend to trace the master minder of the so-called falsification, distortion, and euphemism of historical in Japanese history textbooks, but it will relate the present phenomenon of the Japanese history textbooks controversy to the nature of history education for student. It is not surprising that the state or government has interest to involve in coloring or even deciding the history textbook for school children. This can possibly be seen as the responsibility of the government in educating the young generation in order to be a good citizen. It is strongly assumed that the state will be encouraged if it has good citizen and `loyal to the state`. It is understandable, therefore, that most government tends to interfere to history textbook writing. This indicates that history lesson is very important for civic education.

Although the Fundamental Law of Education that was enacted since 1947 does not allow the government to interfere the school textbooks

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

composing, but based on the Amendment of the Fundamental Law of Education 2003, the education is addressed to "cultivate the spirit of Japanese people to carve out the 21st century with richness in mind", including: cultivate people who are independent-minded and seek personal development; cultivate people who are warm-hearted and enjoy physical well-being; cultivate people to become creative leaders of a Century of Knowledge; cultivate Japanese who are civic-minded and who will actively participate in the formation of a state and society befitting the 21st century; cultivate Japanese people based on the tradition and culture of Japan to live in a globalized world.¹¹

In the national curriculum standards reform, it is explained that the education aims to help children cultivate rich humanity, sociality and identity as a Japanese living in the international community. Children will be encouraged to cultivate well-balanced rich humanity and sociality. Rich humanity includes sympathy, mind to respect each other and live together in harmony, respect for life and human rights, sensibility of appreciating beauty and the

¹¹ See `Educational Reform: Fundamental Law of Education and Basic Promotional Plan for Education (Amendment of the Fundamental Law of Education)`, in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/reform/09.htm> (Visited 13 June 2007)

2 environment, volunteer spirit, mind to make efforts to achieve one's own goal and the like. High value will be set on moral education which helps children acquire social rules and basic morality, a sense of norms, public morals, justice and fairness, sound judgment, strong will and ability to take action, awareness of responsibility, autonomy, self-control and the like. In addition, children's healthy development and physical strength are also emphasized for them to lead vigorous lives. Children will be encouraged to deepen their understanding of national as well as local history, culture and tradition, and to develop love to those matters. They will also be encouraged to appreciate different cultures open-mindedly, and to cultivate the mind of international cooperation and the identity as Japanese living in the international community.¹²

37 Moreover, `National Curriculum Standards Reform for Kindergarten, Elementary School, Lower and Upper Secondary School and Schools for the Visually Disabled, the Hearing Impaired and the Otherwise Disabled` stresses that:

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¹² See `National Curriculum Standards Reform for Kindergarten, Elementary School, Lower and Upper Secondary School and Schools for the Visually Disabled, the Hearing Impaired and the Otherwise Disabled (Synopsis of the Report)' in: <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/news/1998/07/980712.htm>

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`History classes should help students respect Japanese culture and tradition and deepen their understanding and love of its history. Historical events and phenomena taught at elementary school will be selected more carefully, and the focus of history classes will be the learning of achievements by historical figures and typical cultural properties. In history classes at lower secondary school, students will study Japanese history together with world history as background knowledge. Japanese history will be shown in large sections, so that students can grasp the major flow of the history. The students will also be expected to view things from different angles by learning how to study and examine history. Considering the consistency with lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools will help students deepen their understanding of Japanese and world history and develop their ability to think from a historical point of view.`

It is very clear that the history education has heavy burden to help student in cultivating `respect to the Japanese culture and tradition and deepen their understanding and love of its history`. It is also

understandable if the government also feels to have responsibility to guarantee that such kind of objective can be successfully achieved. This proves that history subject has significant role in present and future life of students. It is in line with Dilthey opinion that history can give answer about the actual question concerning present reality. The problem is actually stemmed from whether history education is given by selecting only for a `beautiful` events or all events are useful for acquiring lessons from history. It is important to stress here that if the history will be benefitted as a lesson in order to help `students respect Japanese culture and tradition and deepen their understanding and love of its history` as stated by National Curriculum Standards Reform in Japan, all historical facts regardless victory or defeat, rise or fall, proud or disgraceful will give certain lesson to the students. These historical facts will give the same wisdoms. The victorious and proud events will give spirit to keep it improving. On the contrary, defeating and disgraceful events can give wisdom of how to make the future better. One of the most important things is that the student should be given the nature of studying history a better future life. Learning history for students is not for past itself but for a better recent or even future life. In this connection, it is not necessary for the government, publishers, or whoever

to distort, falsify, and euphemize historical facts for the interest of student learning.

¹ C. Seeing to the Field: Education History in Practice

1. Teacher

This section intends to look at further about the discourse of Japanese textbook controversy on the level of implementation (history teaching at school). It relates with the question of how history teacher teaches controversial history teaching materials and how students response the teaching materials given by their teachers. Due to some limitation, therefore, this research only benefits information from a history teacher which was dig by using structured interview. The information relates with some controversial teaching materials such as Nanking tragedy, Japanese aggression during the World War I and II, comfort women, and the Greater East Asia War.

The informant remains using the term 'Nanking massacre'/ *Nankin daigyakusatsu* (南京大虐殺) when describing historical events related to Nanking tragedy during the Sino – Japan war in 1937 although the several textbooks use the term 'Nanking incident'/'

Nankin jiken (南京事件). It seems that principally still has autonomy to express their opinion on a certain historical event and teaching methods they use. Besides, the teacher also has broader information about controversial historical events including Nanking massacre. The teacher also teaches several versions concerning this event such as Chinese version which proposes that the number of victim of Nanking massacre were about 300.000, while Japanese version proposes that the number of victim is still in debate. This means that the teacher does not treat textbook as the only sources of the truth. By explaining the versions, the teacher intends to cultivate student critical attitude leading to the capability for drawing a proportional conclusion concerning teaching materials given by the teacher.

Respondent uses the term 'invasion' (武力監視, *buryoku kanshi*) in spite of 'advancement' (寢室, *zenshin*) for referring the controversy on Japanese expansion to other Asian countries before and during the World War I and II. It is in line with the demand of China and Korea. The respondent is aware of this event in historical context. During that time, many industrial countries competed each other to colonize other countries. All of them wanted to show who was

the strongest. Good and bad were not the main considerations.

In connection with the controversy on `comfort women` (従軍慰安婦, *jūgun-ianfu*) during the World War II, it is true that some lower secondary schools do not give this teaching material to the student. Korea and China allege Japan to hide historical facts. But the teacher has their own reasons. It is very difficult for the teacher to describe historical fact relating to women who were sent by Japanese authority to battle ground for fulfilling sexual needs of the Japanese military personnel at the level of lower secondary school. They are viewed as too young for getting explanation about this sexual cruelty. But these teaching materials are given to the students of upper secondary school.

Using the term `The Greater East Asia War` /Dai Toa Senso is also one of the controversies in explaining World War II in Asia. In this matter the respondent is consistent to use the term `Asia Pacific War` instead of the Greater East Asia War. The respondent argues that the term Great East Asia War was propaganda of Japanese military government to win the war against the Western colonialists and to get supports from indigenous people. The respondent proposes that the war motivated by Japanese

economic condition in connection with its industrial development, expansion to Chinese territory, and Western colonialists embargo. The respondent hopes that in the future, the writing of Japanese history should consider suggestion from China and Korea in connection with controversial issues.

2. Student

This research also uses 12 student respondents. They are now university students of second and third years. The questions which are proposed to them mainly relate to various aspects of controversial teaching materials when they were at lower and upper secondary schools such as those of Pacific War, comfort women, Japanese aggression, Nanking massacre, and their hope on history teaching in the future.

a. Using the war term

When the respondent are asked about the term used by their history teacher to explain the World War II in Asia Pacific region, 25 percent of respondents answer that their teacher used the term *Dai Toa Sensho*, 42 percent used the term Pacific War, and 17 percent used the term World War II. The rest gives answer that the teachers used the war terms changeable.

b. Moral Judgement of Dai Toa Senso

Majority of respondent (50 percent) states that their teacher explained `The Greater East Asia War` was completely bad that was done by Japanese people. In the meantime only 17 percent of respondents tell that their teachers explained the Greater East Asia War was bad thing but good for Asian peoples. It refers mainly for some Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia and Indochina which succeeded to proclaim and defend their independences against western colonialists who wanted to re-colonize their former colonies after the end of World War II.

c. Motives of Japanese Expansion

Controversial teaching materials also include motives behind Japanese expansion to Asian neighboring countries. There is a polemic of whether the Japanese aggression was motivated by their willingness to liberate Asian people from other colonialist countries (especially Western colonialist). Respondent acknowledge that their history teachers had explained to them that Japanese aggression was mainly motivated by the desire to colonize other nations (67 percent). There are only 17 percent of respondents

who get explanation from their teachers that the Japanese expansion was motivated by the reason of 'self defend'. But 17 percent of respondents also acknowledge their teachers explaining of accumulated motives behind the Japanese expansion, i.e. self defense and the desire to colonize other nations. There is not student acknowledging that their secondary history teachers had explained that the motive of Japanese aggression was liberating other Asian nations from western colonialism.

d. Using the term 'comfort women'

The term 'comfort women' or (従軍慰安婦, *jūgun-ianfu*) also becomes one of the controversial issues relating to the history of Japanese aggression during World War II. This term refers to sex slave for the service of Japanese soldiers. This issue is very sensitive since some former *jūgun-ianfus* still alive. In this respect, 33 percent respondents says that their history teachers had explained clearly about this issue, while 67 percent witnessed that their history teachers had never explained about this issue.

e. Nanking Tragedy

As explained before that the Nanking massacre is also one of the most controversial historical events during the Sini – Japan war in the end of the 1930s. It

mainly relates with the number of victim, the murderer, and the term use for this event (massacre of incident or tragedy). The research result shows that 75 percent respondent say that their teachers used the term Nanking Massacre (南京大虐殺 / *Nankin daigyakusatsu*), while only 25 percent used term 'Nanking incident' (南京事件 / *Nankin jiken*).

f. The Term Aggression

There is debate concerning the use of the term aggression, invasion,¹ and advancement for the Japanese imperialism during the World War I and II. The research proves that 58 percent of respondents acknowledge that their teachers used the term 'aggression' (攻撃, *kougeki*), 25 percent: 'invasion' / 'armed intervention' (武力監視, *buryoku kanshi*), and only 17 percent used the term 'advancement' (寢室, *zenshin*).

The students hope that history teaching should give explanation on historical facts as objective as possible or the teacher should teach the truth (58 percent). By studying such kind of historical facts, they are able to learn from history. If they do not know about historical fact, they cannot learn from it. They want to know Japanese history; no matter it is

'good' or 'bad'. Some students (8 percent) suggest that Japanese has to realize the past mistakes in order to be able to do better thing in the future. They also hope that the teacher should explain various versions of historical facts so that the student can think critically (17 percent). Besides, 8 percent of respondents demand the teacher to deepen their knowledge in order to be able to explain Japanese history well.

VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

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Controversy on Japanese history textbook is a latent phenomenon in the history of history textbooks writing for school children in Japan. At the beginning the controversy was closely linked with the government/ state interests who intended to benefit history teaching for political aims. After the end of the World War II, the American occupation prohibited history teaching at school as a medium of political propaganda. This policy was applied by, among other, giving broader opportunity to private enterprise to compose and publish history textbooks. The function of government was to select a number of textbooks which were match with the standard issued by the government. By issuing such kind of regulation, the government formally did not responsible directly to the content of history textbooks which were use at schools.

Providing authority of composing and publishing history textbook to private sector do not automatically solve the problem of history textbook controversy. Various social groups in the Japanese society also have certain interests on history textbooks. In this connection, right-wing nationalists are alleged to

publish history textbook which does not expose all historical facts. Only 'positive' historical facts are properly taught at school. This explains the emergence of controversy which mainly relates with distortion, euphemism, and falsification of historical facts. History is viewed as not the medium for trialling historical figures in the past. Such kind of attitude has invited protests from neighbouring countries especially China and Korea which had ever been the victim of Japanese aggression during the World War II. Teachers at schools, therefore, still have 'free space' for interpreting and explaining controversial historical facts to the students. But they propose that the opinion of neighbouring countries should be taken into account in composing Japanese history textbooks especially as far as it relates with the history of neighbouring countries. In the meantime, the students hope that history teaching has to provide real facts/ the truth in order they are able to think critically. Besides, they also want not only learn history but also learn from history for reaching a better future.

In Indonesian case, the controversy of history textbooks does not relate to the World War II. Although in a certain degree there have been protests on the euphemism of Japanese history textbook in Indonesia, it does not comparable to those done by

Chinese and Korean. Controversy of history textbooks in Indonesia mainly relates to the changing period from President Sukarno to Suharto regimes, especially connecting to the tragedy of 1965 in which hundred thousand people were murdered.

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