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# Analyzing G30S 1965 Narrative in History Textbook to Develop Historical Thinking Skills

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#### Abstract

G30S 1965 is an event that contains historical controversy to this day. This controversial event is in history textbooks. Analysis of historical thinking in textbooks regarding these events needs to be carried out to discover the development of the historical thinking concept from various times. The research method used in analyzing is qualitative, focused on literature review. The Miles and Huberman concept technique was used as a data analysis technique. The textbook's content analysis is carried out by using the concept of the big six of Seixas' historical thinking. The analysis of the textbooks used the 1994, 2004, 2006, and 2013 high school history curriculum. The results of the analysis found that the various curricula contained the concept of Seixas' historical thinking in the textbooks. It is a key for teachers to develop students' historical thinking in realizing the goals of history learning. Students analyze these events more deeply to be able to face controversial problems and take lessons to improve.

Keywords: G30S/PKI, History Textbooks, Historical Thinking Skills

#### 1. Introduction

Textbooks are a source of learning in history learning that is still used in schools. The existence of textbooks in history learning shows the development of historiography in Indonesia (Samaluddin, 2018: 159)<sup>[40]</sup>. Furthermore, Hatmono (2021:63) <sup>[15]</sup> explains that history textbooks are the results of historiography works used for educational purposes to serve as learning resources in the classroom by educators and students. Textbooks in history learning are always related to the historiographical rules that exist in the science of history, even though they are used in education (Rizaldi and Qodariyah, 2021:147)<sup>[34]</sup>.

Textbooks are used as a source of learning materials that teachers teach to students. Textbooks are used as learning resources that can assist in achieving learning objectives. According to Bertram et al. (2021)<sup>[7]</sup>, the purpose of learning history is cognitive and sociocultural abilities and historical thinking competence, which is not only limited to the memory of facts and figures in the past.

History textbooks provide students with explicit and clear material and evaluation materials in the learning process (Arraman and Hazmi, 2018:124)<sup>[5]</sup>. Textbooks containing explicit material make it easier for teachers to present and explain to students in a structured manner based on the applicable curriculum. Provide information about the development of historical events in Indonesia. There is an evaluation in the textbook to measure students' understanding.

One of the materials in the textbook is the 1965 G30S/PKI incident. This incident contains historical controversies in the textbook and is taught to students. Borrowing an explanation (Hartono & Huda, 2020)<sup>[12]</sup> that historical learning that contains controversial material has the potential for educators to instill character education (critical, analytical, objective, open) based on internalization to minimize doctrine. The controversial event was taught to students to be used as a means to instill critical thinking and be able to analyze events well. Students can inspire good values from events.

Further emphasized (Ahmad, 2016:49)<sup>[3]</sup>, teaching controversial issues will foster a deep understanding of social reality to prepare students as good citizens and able to think critically. Added to the opinion of Septianingsih et al. (2014: 101) [37], controversial issues provide profound thought challenges so that they can do historical thinking and be critical. The G30S/PKI 1965 incident as a controversial learning material can develop students' understanding of photographing existing social phenomena and be able to make historical and critical thinking. It is a provision for students as the nation's generation so that they are not easily provoked to carry out movements like this event.

Students' critical thinking in learning history is closely related to *historical thinking* or historical thinking. Historical thinking skills are a step in the scientific process of learning history that encourage students' critical and creative thinking skills





(Ofianto, 2017: 165). *Historical thinking should be understood as a concept related to cognitive activity in which academic historians engage in the construction of history* (Thorp & Person, 2020:2) <sup>[43]</sup>. The concept of historical thinking as one of the competencies in history learning objectives has an essential role in constructing the controversial 1965 G30S/PKI incident. The importance of historical thinking in this event so that students can develop cognitive abilities and take the good values contained in it, following the role of history learning in shaping character and a nation that has good dignity, pride, and love for their homeland (Lauza & Aisiah, 2022)<sup>[17]</sup>.

Sofiani and Shavab (2018:117)<sup>[39]</sup> explain that historical thinking is related to activity, such as reading, writing, and linking one material to another, analyzing the material obtained. From this viewpoint, students can compare historical events from their background and the impact caused by those events—the benefit of studying historical events for the present and interpreting historical events. The concept of historical thinking in understanding historical events starts from understanding narratives, connecting materials, and comparing events to being able to take meaning from events. History textbooks containing historical narrative material must be able to become learning resources that can stimulate students to think historically.

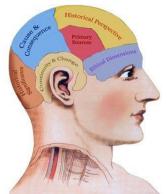
Persada *et al.* (2019) <sup>[29]</sup>, in their research on the dominance of historical thinking on NCHS standards in the 2013 curriculum high school history books, the results obtained that the construction of historical thinking in the 2013 curriculum history textbooks is spread over every chapter and dominates historical analysis and interpretation standards. This research requires a more in-depth identification of textbooks in several curricula to be used as comparisons. This is necessary to observe the development of historical thinking constructions in textbooks from time to time, especially regarding the events of the 1965 G30S/PKI, which contain controversy.

This study will discuss more deeply and specifically the historical thinking domain contained in textbooks by focusing on the historical events of the 1965 G30S/PKI from various textbooks with different curricula. It aims to describe the development of textbook contents regarding these events in realizing historical thinking. By analyzing the narrative, students can think historically; it will bring up students' historical attitudes.

#### 2. Methodology

This study uses a qualitative method using critical analysis. As described by Moleong (2021:219) <sup>[21]</sup>, the technique commonly used in utilizing documents is content analysis or also called content study. The analysis carried out is regarding the study of the content of history textbooks containing the concept of historical thinking. Sources of data used are history textbooks, among others: 1) a history book for the 1994 curriculum supplementing the 1999 GBPP by I Wayan Badrika published by Erlangga, 2) a history book for the 2004 curriculum, an essay publisher written by Magdalina Alfian, Nana Nurliana Soeyono, and Sudarini Suhartono, 3) a 2006 curriculum history book published by Erlangga written by I Wayan Badrika, 4) Indonesian history textbook published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2015 and revised in 2018. The textbooks analyzed are for grade XII high school. According to Miles and Huberman (2014) [20], the data analysis technique used includes data reduction, data presentation, and concluding. Data reduction is carried out to select, classify, and select data considered necessary in research. At the data reduction stage, the selection of textbooks to be analyzed and determine the material. The presentation of the data is in the form of exposing the data obtained from the analysis of historical thinking in the material textbook G30S/PKI 1965. Conclusions in the study are used to verify the data so that it can be accounted for. Conclusions are drawn to conclude the results of historical thinking in textbooks regarding the 1965 G30S/PKI events.

The analysis in this study uses the concept of Seixas' historical thinking. There are six components known as *the big six concepts*. Seixas and Morton (2013:10) <sup>[36]</sup> explain that the concept of historical thinking has six elements, namely, 1) *historical significance*, 2) *evidence*, 3) *change and continuity*, 4) *cause and consequence*, 5) *historical perspective*, and 6) *ethical dimension*. An overview of the concept of historical thinking can be seen in the following figure:



Source: https://historicalthinking.ca/historical-thinking-concepts

Fig 1: Historical Thinking Concept

#### 3. Result and discussion

There are differences in the mention of the terms regarding the 1965 G30S/PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*/Indonesian Communist Party) events in textbooks. The 1994 curriculum textbook, the 1999 GBPP supplement, and the 2004 curriculum are referred to as the 30 September Movement. The 2006 and 2013 curriculum textbooks are referred to as the 1965 G-30S/PKI rebellion. The difference in mentioning these terms is one thing that students must criticize using the concept of *historical perspectives*. The use of different terms in mentioning the 30 September 1965 Movement does contain political and controversial elements (Atmaja, 2012: 198)<sup>[6]</sup>.

Starting from the textbook history of the 1994 curriculum supplementing the 1999 GBPP, which was compiled by I Wayan Badrika. This textbook explains at the beginning of the material the existence of communist doctrine and its aims. The presentation contains the content of Seixas' historical thinking regarding the *ethical dimension*. This is a means for students to think about the goals of the communist party in Indonesia and the efforts taken to control power.

Next came the material containing the components of *change and continuity*, namely the PKI movement, which started from the PKI rebellion 1948 in Madiun, the appointment of DN Aidit as the chairman of the PKI, and the continuation of the PKI in acting wanted to rule in

parliament. This component can encourage students to think about the PKI events, which did not immediately appear in 1965, but there was a previous uprising in 1948. In stimulating students to think about changes in PKI leadership and its continuation in controlling parliament to rule over the territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

The *cause and consequence component* is shown by the G30S/PKI causes, which can be analyzed from 1948 to 1965. The cause-and-effect component in textbooks about these events makes students think historically. In addition, there is also *evidence* showing that the 30 September Movement coup attempt was related to the PKI, but the evidence presented was still abstract. Based on these results, the components in the 1994 curriculum history textbook only contain *ethical dimensions, change, continuity, cause and consequence,* and *evidence*.

In the 1994 curriculum, the events of 30 September 1965 show only one party involved, namely the PKI. No multiple opinions are shown. This incident is traumatic and controversial to this day. The truth behind the incident has not yet been found. The 1994 curriculum supplementing the 1999 GBBP still has implications for the legacy of the New Order government. The stigma that emerged was very politically charged and unwise, trying to carry out a single interpretation that the event's mastermind was the PKI (Budiono and Awaludin, 2017:40)<sup>[8]</sup>. Nurrahmi (2017) argues that textbooks have indeed become a tool in strengthening the power of the New Order and national identity by creating a feeling of similarity in the fate and history of the nation. The New Order discoursed on the identity of the Indonesian nation as a nation that runs a modern and militaristic society (Purwanta & Novianto, 2022)<sup>[33]</sup>.

Changes in the 1994 curriculum did not bring about changes in the anti-PKI discourse, and it was still described as a communist party whose aim was to seize state power by destroying opponents of political power (Purwanta and Novianto, 2020: 621) <sup>[24]</sup>. The 30 September 1965 movement during the Soeharto era, where there is no recent research in Indonesia regarding the incident, except those that support the government's version. PKI is the sole perpetrator who is considered cruel and the coup's mastermind. The Army was an institution that was very loyal to the state and was maltreated and became a victim of the PKI's atrocities.

After Suharto stopped being president in May 1998, new books were published featuring various versions of the mastermind behind the 1965 G30S/PKI events (Adam, 2000:33)<sup>[1]</sup>. The discourse that PKI is the sole perpetrator of the incident has been criticized from various points of view and evidence. The truth about the mastermind behind the 1965 G30S/PKI began to be questioned. Many versions have emerged about the event and reveal things that are not yet known to the general public. This is done to invite the younger generation to think more historically in analyzing events that contain mysteries.

In the 2004 Competency-Based Curriculum textbook by Magdalina *et al.*, the 1965 G30S/PKI incident, Seixas proposed several components of *the big six* proposed by Seixas regarding historical thinking, namely *ethical dimensions, cause and consequence, change and continuity, evidence,* and *historical perspectives.* The concept of *ethical dimensions* exists in the curriculum's events described in the textbooks. There are explanations in textbooks about the aim of the communists in Indonesia who want to seize power and create a proletarian dictatorship. The ethical dimension is that it can stimulate students to analyze the understanding of communism that developed in Indonesia at that time.

In addition, the concept of change and continuity emerged, namely changes in leadership and the efforts made by the PKI to seize government power. The continuation of the effort to seize power in Indonesia, which began in 1948, failed, and the G30S/PKI rebellion erupted in 1965. Then there is the concept of *cause and consequence*, namely the causes and effects of the power of communism in Indonesia. The actions carried out by the PKI in an attempt to seize the power of the government of the Republic of Indonesia were the cause of the movement's emergence. As a result, the movement impacted socio-economic and political conditions.

The concept of historical perspectives and evidence is contained in the 2004 curriculum textbook on the 1965 G30S/PKI incident. Evidence of the PKI rebellion appears in the textbook by displaying photos that prove that the incident occurred in Indonesia. Historical perspectives, namely the explanation of several sources, state that there are different versions of narrating the chronology of the event. Starting from the PKI as the mastermind behind the incident, the opinion emerged that the incident was caused by: 1) internal conflict within the TNI-AD, 2) the opinion that explained that Major General Suharto was the mastermind behind the incident, 3.) Soekarno knew and supported the movement's actions. PKI, 4) CIA as a provocation of PKI in a coup, 5.) Britain is interested in pressing for political change in Indonesia, 6.) There is internal and external support. Several stories related to the 1965 G30S/PKI incident have caused controversy in modern society today (Ghani & Tajjudin, 2017)<sup>[11]</sup>. The controversy about Soekarno being involved and supporting the movement can be seen from his disapproval of General Nasution, who was always wary of the PKI and the existence of presidential politics in providing opportunities and incentives to the PKI the movement on 30 September (Nasution, 2012:113)<sup>[22]</sup>.

Polemics colors the historical thinking concept found in the 2004 curriculum history textbooks. Scientifically, the book in the 2004 curriculum includes objectivity which includes several opinions about the event. The problem that occurred was the elimination of the PKI in the textbook. Besides the omission of the term PKI in the 2004 curriculum textbooks, the increasingly complicated polemic is also considered an experimental curriculum that has not been ratified (Fauzi and M.Kom, 2015:1800)<sup>[10]</sup>. The Attorney General's Office examined and investigated the 2004 curriculum textbooks. They were feared to disturb public order, so they were confiscated based on the Attorney General's Decree No. 019/A-JA/10/2007 dated 5 March 2007, regarding the ban on history books for the 2004 curriculum and the withdrawal instructions in all parts of Indonesia based on the Attorney General's Order No. Ins. 003/A-JA/03/2007.

The concept of historical thinking in the history textbook KTSP (2006) by Habib Mustopo contains *change and continuity, cause and consequence, ethical dimensions,* and *evidence. Change and continuity* are explained in the material on the G30S/PKI 1965 events. The PKI's progress during the Liberal Democracy and Guided Democracy gave them a strong position in agitation and propaganda for the 1955 elections. The PKI's continuation in the rebellion in

1948 occurred in 1965. The changes and continuity of the actions carried out by the PKI and the repetition of rebellions are rules that must be a means of analyzing students with the concept of historical thinking. Based on this, the change and continuity of historical material displayed in the explanation process will describe the life and show important values so that it becomes a benchmark for action (Hastuti *et al.*: 2021:8) <sup>[13]</sup>. Suppose students can analyze the changes and sustainability of the material with the concept of historical thinking. In that case, they will get a picture of the values that can be used as benchmarks for attitude.

The concept of *ethical dimensions is* an explanation related to the success of the PKI politically in influencing and enlarging its ambitions by basing it on a Marxist analysis that balanced parliament with violent means. The explanations in the textbooks stimulate students in doing historical thinking with the concept. Students will better understand the basic understanding used by the PKI in carrying out its movement on 30 September 1965.

In the 2006 curriculum, there is also the concept of *cause* and consequence because actions drove the emergence of the 1965 G30S/PKI rebellion before the incident occurred. They started from sabotage, mass actions, unilateral actions, terror, destruction, agitation and propaganda, rumors, and acts of kidnapping, murder, and torture of the General Counsel. These actions led to the outbreak of the 1965 PKI rebellion. As a result, the rebellion was crushed. The existence of this rebellion had a significant impact on the socio-political and transition of power in Indonesia.

Evidence is also displayed in the 2006 curriculum history textbooks. The concept of *evidence* in historical thinking is contained in textbooks. There are also pictures of the people's rejection of the PKI in Indonesia, pictures of demonstrations demanding the disbandment of the PKI, and mass and student demonstrations as a reaction to the death of Arif Rahman Hakim shown.

The concept of historical thinking is also contained in the 2013 curriculum history textbooks. The textbooks in the curriculum are published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. There is a 2015 issue and a revised 2018 edition. The concept of change and continuity is found in explaining the events of the G30S/PKI 1965. The continuation of the PKI in politics began with its revival in 1952 from the remnants of the rebellion in Madiun in 1948. The political power of the PKI reappeared as new domination in the 1955 general election. The PKI launched various attempts to improve its image in society. After gaining the image of a group of people and gaining President Soekarno's trust, the PKI wanted more power in its position in the cabinet. During the Guided Democracy period, there was a political competition between the PKI and the Army. The concept of change and sustainability described in the textbook drives students to think historically. From 1948 PKI was reduced, but it rose again to become a significant force until there was a revolt in 1965.

There is also the concept of historical perspectives in historical thinking in the 2013 curriculum textbooks. The 30 September 1965 movement, which until now contains controversy, requires an in-depth analysis of the mastermind behind the incident. In this textbook, several predictions show different perspectives on the event, including; 1.) the movement was triggered by an internal polemic between the Army (AD), 2.) the provocateur of the event, namely a CIA agent (United States Intelligence Service), 3.) this movement was a meeting of British-US interests, 4.) Soekarno as the mastermind of the incident, 5.) there was no single actor in the incident, 6.) the mastermind of the incident was the PKI. The concepts included in the textbook become a means for students to explore knowledge from the various historical perspectives presented. In the 2013 curriculum, books published by the Ministry of Education and Culture are more objective in opening up opportunities for students to analyze for themselves the mastermind behind the 1965 G30S/PKI without rushing to conclude or interpret (Sirait, 2021)<sup>[38]</sup>. Objectivity in displaying various opinions regarding the perpetrators of the incident has also been found in the 2004 curriculum textbooks.

The emergence of violent acts carried out by the PKI in the explanation in the 2013 curriculum textbooks was the concept of *cause and consequence* in historical thinking. The violence that occurred in the community due to the behavior of the PKI was the cause of the movement's emergence in 1965. Much of the violence disturbed the community until the generals and officers of the TNI-AD were killed. This cause caused significant consequences on 30 September 1965, which claimed many victims. The concept of cause-and-effect events described in textbooks can make students think historically. Students can think that the incident occurred because of the cause and consequence of actions that endangered the community, so the TNI-AD carried out a large-scale crackdown on the PKI in Indonesia under the leadership of Major General Suharto. Based on the concept of *cause and consequence*, students can think about ethical dimensions.

There was evidence regarding this incident, namely the display of pictures of newspaper news related to the PKI's proposal to arm the workers and peasants. This shows a concept of *evidence* in the 2013 curriculum textbooks. The evidence in the picture shows that the PKI's actions in 1965 were unnatural and clouded the atmosphere, especially between the PKI and the Army. The estuary of this event was the desire to establish a communist government in Indonesia. The concept of *evidence* can be used as a reference for students in conducting historical analyses of these events.

The findings regarding the Seixas historical thinking concept contained in the history textbook for the 1965 G30S/PKI events in the 1994 curriculum supplemented by the 1999 GBPP, 2004 curriculum, 2006 curriculum, and 2013 curriculum are further mapped in the following table:

	Contents of Historical Thinking of the 1965 G30S/PKI Events in Textbooks			
I oncent in Historical	1994 curriculum	2004 curriculum	2006 curriculum	2013 Curriculum
	Ethical Dimensions	Ethical Dimensions	Ethical Dimensions	Ethical Dimensions
	Change And Continuity	Change And Continuity	Change And Continuity	Change And Continuity
	Cause And Consequence	Cause And Consequence	Cause And Consequence	Cause And Consequence
	Evidence	Evidence	Evidence	Evidence
	-	Historical Perspectives	-	Historical Perspectives
	_	-	_	-

Table 1: Contents of Historical Thinking of the 1965 G30S/PKI Events in Textbooks

Textbooks in history learning are assessed by the National Education Standards Agency (BSNP) (Utami and Widiadi, 2016:107)<sup>[45]</sup>. The analysis is different from the assessment of the feasibility of textbooks by BSNP. The agency assesses the feasibility by setting four main criteria: material, presentation, language and legibility, and graphics. Nurlaili and Aisiah (2021:69-70)<sup>[21]</sup> stated more clearly, namely the four elements of eligibility regarding the quality of textbooks owned by BSNP, among others:

- 1. Feasibility of the content includes three components that must be considered, namely, a) the suitability of the content with the essential competencies listed in the curriculum, b) the accuracy of the material, and c) supporting materials in learning.
- 2. Feasibility in the presentation includes three things that must be seen, namely, a.) clarity in the use of terms, b.) conformity in giving examples with existing material, and c.) clarity in the use of sentences.
- 3. Feasibility in language, such as the use of language that is communicative, coherent, and integrated into the flow of thought.
- 4. The feasibility of the graphic is three indicators: the feasibility of the graphic in the definitive book, the design of the book's cover, and the form of content in the book.

The assessment carried out by BSNP has not explored the material, so it cannot assess the effectiveness of history textbooks when viewed from the learning objectives (Purwanta, 2010:2) <sup>[31]</sup>. The concept of historical thinking proposed by Seixas regarding *the big six* is a way to analyze the depth of material in textbooks. The concept of depth of material with historical thinking analysis has not been tested for its effectiveness by BSNP.

Taking theory (Merkt, 2017:137) [19], namely, historical thinking skills are related to formulation answers these questions taking into account historical questions and information from various documents under consideration. Each author's personal view of past events can lead to biased reporting. The information is appropriate to the context, and the learner's past interpretation serves as an orientation for the present and the future. Historical thinking is related to the ability to think about the past, which students interpret to obtain its benefits for the present and the future. The development of the concept of historical thinking reflects the practice of historical learning that is still conservative and memorizing (Purwanta, 2019)<sup>[32]</sup>. The existence of the concept of historical thinking in textbooks, especially the G30S/PKI 1965 material, should be able to make history learning interactive and fun. Students can think critically and analytically and take the meaning of these events as provisions for the present and face the future.

Different opinions were expressed by Aldila *et al.* (2019:142) <sup>[4]</sup>. They argued that history textbooks used in schools as one of the learning supports, both those launched

by the private sector and the government, were not worthy of being used as references because they were considered unable to explore the soul of the curriculum well. History textbooks as a source in learning history are very ironic. The results of the analysis conducted on textbooks with *the big six* Seixas concept show that there are historical thinking concepts from various textbooks with different curricula that can facilitate students to think deeply. However, it is impossible to realize students' historical thinking properly without the guidance and direction of the teacher as the navigator in history learning.

The teacher must guide the concept of historical thinking in textbooks as a facilitator by providing a stimulus. The teacher facilitates students to think historically by doing a stimulus in analyzing the 1965 G30S/PKI events contained in textbooks. Reinforced by Nisa et al. (2019:206) [23] that the stimulus given by the teacher in the learning process to examine the material discussed manifests students in the ability to think historically. The stimulus given by the teacher is a form of having historical abilities, namely historical thinking (Husna et al. 2020:23)<sup>[16]</sup>. As a guide in learning and a stimulus for students to think historically, the teacher must have this historical ability. The history learning process in building students' historical thinking cannot be done instantly but requires habituation by the teacher in exploring historical phenomena (Rismaya, 2018)<sup>[47]</sup>. History teachers must be able to stimulate and familiarize students with historical thinking to study and analyze events.

Seixas' historical thinking concept can be realized well and includes six components if interactive learning occurs between teachers and students. The teacher can complete the void of students' historical thinking concepts in textbooks regarding the events of the G30S/PKI 1965. In the textbook, the analysis results do not contain the *historical significance* as a whole. The teacher's job is to stimulate students to find the meaning of the events as the teacher's task is to maximize the potential, insight, and meaning of learning as a provision to live life after students complete their studies (Susilo and Isbandiyah, 2019:173)<sup>[41]</sup>.

The concept of *the big six*, which is used as a textbook analysis as a whole, can be implemented by the teacher in history learning, making students master good historical thinking skills. According to Tricahyono and Widiadi (2020:215)<sup>[44]</sup>, students must master historical thinking skills containing five aspects, including; *chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretations, research capabilities, historical issues analysis, and decision making* (historical issues analysis, and decision making). Aspects of students' historical thinking will be able to be realized if the history learning process is well directed and learning becomes meaningful.

Students' knowledge will increase if they can carry out historical thinking concepts in textbooks to explore the events of the G30S/PKI 1965. Borrowing the thoughts of International Journal of Advanced Multidisciplinary Research and Studies

Claravall and Irey (2021:2)<sup>[9]</sup> that *historical thinking is the higher thinking needed to understand the text of information and explanations.* Historical thinking requires deep thinking to understand historical event information. The realization of historical thinking is the basis for instilling attitudes in students. Based to Agustin *et al.* (2017: 41)<sup>[2]</sup>, In the implementation of history learning, it is hoped that there will be a joint adventure between teachers and students so that they can obtain values that can be taken from events in the past, not only focusing on knowledge. Teachers and students must collaborate well in the history learning process. The goal is for students to develop their knowledge and historical thinking to get value from these events.

Through textbooks on the 1965 G30S/PKI movement, students are expected to be able to think historically to understand the context according to the spirit of the era. History textbooks serve as mandatory references in the learning process that students are expected to be able to explore so that they can think historically to explore the past in the spirit of the times (Nur *et al.*, 2019:296) <sup>[25]</sup>. Students can explore the events in the textbook by using the concept of historical thinking. Syahriman and Mulyana (2021:20) <sup>[42]</sup> explain more deeply that learning history is expected to provide answers to problems and developments in the times that continue to move with the aim that students can develop good values as a nation in their lives.

Understanding these events is a process of humanizing humans, triggering them to become fully human beings who have feelings, are wise, and can think critically in facing all challenges. History learning is a process of helping students develop their potential and attitudes through messages that exist in every event to become a good and wise nation (Sardiman, 2012: 6) <sup>[35]</sup>. Hasudunung (2021:15) <sup>[14]</sup> further added that the process of learning history does not only understand an event but can learn from the event. This principle will make students more deeply immersed in events that can be used as lessons in their lives. Students are not easily eroded by the currents of provocation, mainly related to the nation's disintegration, such as the 1965 PKI incident in Indonesia, both now and in the future.

The concept of historical thinking contained in textbooks is a crucial point in learning history in Indonesia; it just needs to be adequately implemented. In Australia, based on the results of Pratt's research (2018)<sup>[30]</sup>, it is found that the curriculum in that country has failed in the design process to reflect historical thinking. The concept of historical thinking in the country has not yet been determined. Based on that, Indonesia already has signs of developing history learning to realize students' historical thinking. Indonesia must be able to realize students' historical thinking skills through history learning because there are clear concepts and goals in the curriculum and contained in textbooks.

Lee (2013)<sup>[18]</sup> explained that in America, history textbooks are instructional materials used in classroom lessons, but they still need a study of their function in encouraging and improving students' historical thinking. In Indonesia, textbooks are also a learning resource used as a guide in learning in schools to date. The concept of historical thinking already exists in textbooks. The use of textbooks as an incentive for students to think historically indeed needs to be studied more deeply, considering its essential role in realizing the objectives of learning history.

Researchers mainly do the development of historical thinking skills in Indonesia. It is necessary to develop these

skills in analyzing documents and interpreting textbooks in history learning, especially about controversial historical events such as the G30S/PKI 1965. This is a demand in realizing the objectives of history learning in the curriculum, which are related to students' historical thinking. Widiadi (2021) <sup>[46]</sup> develops historical thinking skills by analyzing textbooks about the events of the Surabaya battle in the 2013 curriculum. The result is that the development can improve students' historical thinking. Thus, it supports the results of this analysis that the textbook contains the concept of *historical thinking*, which the teacher must further develop to realize students' historical thinking.

### 4. Conclusion

Historical thinking is essential in understanding every historical event, especially in exploring controversial events such as the G30S/PKI 1965. Besides these events containing controversy, there are many mysteries about the mastermind behind the occurrence. Historical thinking about these controversial events can be seen in *the* 1994, 2004, 2006, and 2013 curriculum textbooks.

The realization of students' historical thinking will be the basis for realizing the objectives of history learning, namely, transferring knowledge and attitudes. Students will be unable to have a good attitude and get the meaning of every event without thinking historically first. Thinking historically about the events of G30S/PKI 1965 will make students able to understand events well, analyze and make meaning. This is to strengthen students' character so that they are not eroded into the flow of movements that can divide the nation like this incident.

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