

“The Netherlands in Indonesia, 1945-49”: An Analysis of Argument Narrative Structure in Indonesian History Textbook

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Abstract—History textbooks influence students' interpretations through the structure of arguments and the meanings they contain. This article attempts to answer the question, what is the narrative structure of argument and meaning in the textbook? This article explores narrative arguments using Toulmin's model framework and the use of lexicogrammatical features to detect diction and word choice to identify the contrasting language in textbooks. We explore the Indonesian history textbook in senior high school class XI (eleven). The material analysed is the confrontation between the Netherlands and Indonesia from 1945-49. The study found that the textbook narrative argument identifies the claim that the early conditions of Indonesian independence were fraught with obstacles. The textbook claims that the arrival of the Allies and the Netherlands caused resistance, so the Indonesian struggle occurred in two ways: war and diplomacy. Indonesian history textbooks have become a tool of persuasion to benefit students' national identity formation. Using lexicogrammatical features also reinforces the claim that the Netherlands is on the "bad" side and Indonesia is on the "good" side. Thus, the narrative argument validates the official state-sanctioned history of the Netherlands as a colonialist state and exhibits antagonistic behaviour toward the Indonesian people's decision for independence.

Index Terms—Indonesian history textbook, claim, argument, Toulmin model, lexicogrammatical

I. INTRODUCTION

History textbooks are a source of collective memory (Schissler, 2009). They can be referred to as the "autobiography" of the political tool to strengthen the imagined community of a nation-state (Jana & Sarkar, 2021), a phenomenon that also occurs in Indonesia. Indonesian history textbooks are official school texts published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia as the main learning resource. The textbook's narratives influence students' collective memory as national citizens (Ho et al., 2018). Students are exposed to positive (or negative) textbooks narratives of certain histories, which can influence their interpretation of the social environment (Rajandran, 2013). They can even lead to narratives of past hatred that carry over into the modern era (Weatherley & Magee, 2018). Negative narratives in textbooks, often promoting the state's claim to be the sole consensus holder of history writing (Maadaad & Nasser-Eddine, 2021), can produce dangerously ultranationalist historical narratives. Therefore, emphasising arguments on historical episodes that are more open to alternative narratives with all possible differences will train students to think critically (see Albicher, 2012; Čehajić, 2020; Salih, 2021).

Studies on textbooks narratives have generally considered historical episodes from a nationalist perspective to shape national identity (see Helfer, 2021; Rodríguez, 2020; Redvaldsen, 2021; Sakki et al., 2021). For example, history textbooks in China are implicitly used to ensure: socialism with Chinese characteristics (Yan et al., 2021). Or the case in Turkey, Malaysia, Jordan and Pakistan by constructing "us" and "them" identities (see Khokhar, 2021; Qasmi, 2019; Rajandran, 2013; Yılar & Çam, 2021). There is the term: "the other" in categorising national identity formation in India (Nair, 2021). These studies emphasise using a critical discourse analysis approach, but few examine the narrative structure of arguments. A study by Jaganathan et al. (2014) identified the argument structure and rhetorical devices used

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in advertising texts. The narrative structure of the argument will improve if the meaning of academic text discourse is conveyed to students. The discourse function of textbooks significantly improves students' understanding of various scientific texts. Therefore, this study takes a position to explain the position and meaning of sentences by measuring the argument narrative structure and complemented by the use of lexicogrammatical features. Based on the selection of history textbooks, this study aims to identify the narrative argument structure and meaning in the narratives of an Indonesian history textbook.

The analysis in this article focuses on the Indonesian history textbook for the theme of the period of the Netherlands-Indonesia conflict from 1945-49, which is the most dilemmatic episode of relations between the two countries (see Kropman et al., 2020; Purwanta, 2018; Scott, 2017). This article explores how the Netherlands period in Indonesia is portrayed through argument structures. Arguments in history textbooks are important to examine because their veracity is rhetorical, where the narrative of the textbook's arguments can influence students' interpretations.

II. LITERATUR REVIEW

A. Previous Textbook Studies

The narrative argument is a powerful tool to appeal to readers and shape desired responses (Jaganathan et al., 2014). In history textbook writing, for example, various argument narratives are used to shape a positive perspective of imperialism and limit the topic of colonialism in Europe (see Helfer, 2021; Redvaldsen, 2021; Sakki et al., 2021). However, each narrative argument in written form illustrates a particular element in the context of the narrative perspective presented. For example, a study in the Netherlands sought to inform textbook authors with alternative explanations from various perspectives (Kropman et al., 2020). Therefore, it is important to understand how narrative arguments are used variably to evoke perspectives from readers.

In Indonesia, there have been many studies in history textbooks. The topics studied are also related to state political policies to instil national identity using a critical discourse analysis approach (e.g., Djono et al., 2021; Joebagio et al., 2019; Purwanta, 2018), but not many have studied from the angle of textbook argument structure. The argument structure is important to identify text content claims, data, and warrants. For example, Yoong et al. (2017) research on the argument structure of history textbooks in Malaysia illustrates Singapore's argumentation as an enthusiastic partner and then an untrustworthy partner of the Malaysian Federal Government. The narrative in the text identifies the argument, and the word sets used. According to Arsyad et al. (2020), argument structure underlines the communicator's manner as an important marker of understanding and misunderstanding, depending on the sensitivity to selecting text narratives. Therefore, this study contributes to analysing the arguments of Indonesian history textbooks using Toulmin's argumentation model.

This study provides a guide to analysing how textbook narratives are built with claims, data and warrants with narratives that meet the needs of students in Indonesia. The use of Toulmin's (2003) model contributes to the knowledge gap that exists in the content of Indonesian history textbooks, supported by the use of lexicogrammatical features to realise semantics as a source of meaning expression that can be seen from word structure (Muthalib et al., 2022; Oktavianti & Prayogi, 2022). Thus, this research is significant in displaying the narrative structure of arguments and sources of meaningful expression used in history textbooks in Indonesia.

B. Theoretical Framework

Text language as a medium of persuasion is used to influence facts and logic (*logos*), conscience or ethics (*ethos*) and emotional feelings (*pathos*) (Jaganathan et al., 2014); therefore, this article adopts Aristotle's philosophy of rhetoric theory. This theory assumes that narrative argument (rhetoric) is an effective tool of persuasion. This means speakers who want to persuade their audience must consider three important elements: *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos* (Macagno & Walton, 2015). In textbook writing, narrative arguments ultimately aim to influence students' logic, conscience and emotions in knowing their country's history. Therefore, the narrative arguments made in history textbooks are related to the long-term impact of students living life as citizens of the nation. It also relates to the data and warrants that support claims to influence students' interpretations. Generally, analysing narrative arguments to influence one's beliefs uses Toulmin's (2003) model. Toulmin's argument provides evidence and makes inferences to arrive at provisional claims. According to Erduran (2018), this model is considered a "horizon of possibilities" for understanding the transition of arguments to conclusions. The use of Toulmin's model to analyse argument structure has been used in many studies and has proven to be reliable (e.g., Arsyad et al., 2020; Erduran, 2018; H ärm ä et al., 2021; Jaganathan et al., 2014; Lee, 2017; Yoong et al., 2017). Therefore, Toulmin's model was also utilised in this study due to the emphasis on task diversity relevant to the research objectives.

Argumentation is an attempt to justify a statement (Lee, 2017). There are three basic parts to Toulmin's (2003) model arguments: claim, data and warrant. It starts with a statement, view, judgement or opinion on any topic that can be rationally justified (claim). The claim features data (experiences, events, or statistics) that support and reinforce the basis of the claim. It is considered a position supported or protested and a conclusion or believed viewpoint of the argument. A warrant is a general statement or hypothesis to justify the relationship between the data and the claim. This means students read the textbook because of its content and the quality of its knowledge base (warrant). Therefore, the

textbook's author claims that students should study the history textbook for various reasons, and the information (data) provided substantiates the claim. Thus, the claims, data, and warrant further strengthen the argument narrative. The level of persuasion in the argument narrative can increase if a component is added: qualifier, rebuttal and backing. The qualifier indicates the strength of certainty of the claim, warrant and backing. The rebuttal is the condition where the warrant does not apply. As a result of the rebuttal, the consequent conclusion can be cancelled. And backing authorises the strengthening of the reasoning and validity of the warrant. All these components are shown in Figure 1.

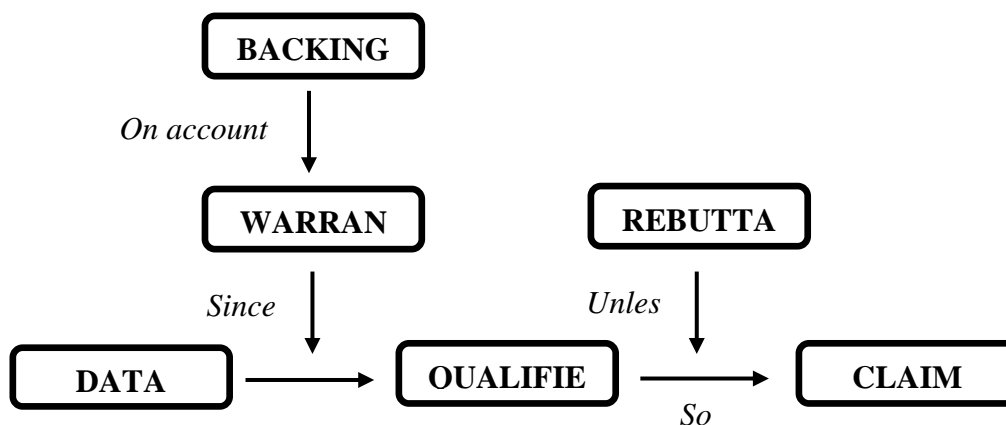


Figure 1. Toulmin's Model Argument

III. METHODS

The textbook analysed is entitled "Indonesian History (*Sejarah Indonesia*)", published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017 (revised edition). This textbook is included in the national curriculum called "Curriculum 2013". The author of the history textbook hopes to "foster historical awareness for the younger generation to contribute to the progress of the nation's life". The purpose of writing this book also means fostering the values of nationalism and national identity of students (Joebagio et al., 2019; Purwanta, 2018). As a compulsory course that all students must follow, this textbook is structured using the more popular regressive approach (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017). This means that the flow of the textbook presents present-day events, which are correlated backwards to historical events. This textbook is often used by students aged 16-17 for senior high school class XI (eleven). The book's table of contents explains the chronology of historical events in the independence revolution (1945-49). In addition, the material presents the process of Indonesia's declaration of independence (proclamation) and the resistance efforts against the Netherlands' return to Indonesia. The textbook's narrative on the return of the Netherlands to Indonesia is presented in the last chapter (Chapter 7), entitled "The Revolution to Uphold the Banner of the Republic of Indonesia (*Revolusi Menegakan Panji-Panji NKRI*)". This chapter contains the resistance between war and diplomacy that ended in 1949.

This article uses Toulmin's argumentation model to analyse the argumentation structure of Indonesian history textbooks on the history of the revolution to defend independence from Netherlands colonialism (1945-49). Toulmin's (2003) model frames the argument narrative in constructing and helping to understand history textbooks to convince students by creating persuasive arguments. The model underpins the essential identification of the parts of an argument narrative based on claim, data and warrant. It increases the level of persuasion of the argument narrative with the components: qualifier, rebuttal and backing. Through claims, textbook authors try to prove a narrative assertion. For example, the assertion can be the cruelty of Netherlands colonialism and must be expelled from all parts of Indonesia. This statement is then substantiated with facts and information relevant to the textbook author's claim. This is categorised as data. The element of warrant includes the initial assumption that underlies the argumentation. In general, the relationship between data and claims is expressed in the warrant. So warrant in this study includes assumptions and interpretations made based on claims and data. Persuasion can increase if qualifier, rebuttal and backing are included. Qualifier shows the strength of the claim, data and warrant, while rebuttal and backing influence the warrant, which concludes accepted or rejected.

In analysing textbooks argument narratives, the use of lexicogrammatical features is also used to detect diction, word choice and style to identify the contrasting language in textbooks. Lexicogrammatical combines lexis and grammar, i.e., representatives in realising semantics as a source of meaning expression that can be seen from word structure (Muthalib et al., 2022; Oktavianti & Prayogi, 2022), especially in this study to analyse verbs, nouns, and adjectives. For example, historical episodes of relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands are expressed in textbooks as social and political struggles (Maadaad & Nasser-Eddine, 2021). Therefore, using lexicogrammatical features can influence the course of history depicted in textbooks. For example, the passage on the clauses of the Indonesian and Netherlands sides during the 1945-49 confrontation. The Netherlands identifies its actions as "Police Action.", which has the right to provide

order in its territory. In contrast, in the clausal section, the Indonesian side visited by the Netherlands is considered "Military Aggression". Other nouns describing "Rebels" or "Colonisers" and other verbs, such as "to bring order" or "to clash", can modify the word "to fight". Lexicogrammatical features are used to show different perspectives of meaning in textbooks.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Findings look into two aspects: firstly, on the structure of claims, data, and warrant, coupled with qualifiers, rebuttals, and backing presented in an Indonesian history textbook, and secondly, on lexicogrammatical features that focus on the source of meaning expression that can be seen from word structure, especially to analyse verbs, nouns, or adjectives. The history textbook presents two claims in describing the beginning of independence. Claim 1, the arrival of the Allies and the Netherlands, led to resistance, and claim 2, the choice of war and diplomacy.

A. Claim 1: The Arrival of the Allies and the Netherlands Led to Armed Resistance

There are three reasons for claim 1: (i) the arrival of the Allies, which was initially welcomed, was followed by NICA representing the Netherlands government, (ii) NICA came with fully armed troops, and (iii) NICA was oppressive and considered Indonesia still as its colony. These three reasons are presented in excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1. The arrival of the Allies and the Netherlands

"...For the Allies and the Netherlands, Indonesia was in a vacuum of power. Therefore, the Netherlands' logic was to **return** to power over Indonesia as it had been before it was **captured** by Japan..." (p. 144).
 "...The arrival of the Allied troops was accompanied by NICA who would **re-establish** their power in Indonesia. This led to suspicion of the Allies and an anti-Netherlands attitude..." (p. 146).
 "...It turned out that they were **accompanied** by Nederland Indische Civil Administration (NICA) soldiers who then armed the former prisoners..." (p. 156).

In the text, claim 1 warrants the existence of colonialism that must be resisted. The warrant is described: colonialism in Indonesia, if left unchecked, can lead to oppression, so it must be expelled from all areas of the newly independent Indonesia. With the arrival of the Allies, which NICA also followed, there was resistance from the Indonesian people. Data and information can be formed by: the arrival of Allied troops accompanied by NICA caused suspicion of the Allies and anti-Netherlands behaviour. The backing was given to the Allies; after the end of World War II, the former Japanese colonies were the responsibility of the Allies.

The meaning in excerpt 1, using lexicogrammatical features, illustrates that the Netherlands had returned to Indonesia intending to regain control of its colonies and the newly independent Indonesian people were suspicious of the arrival of the heavily armed Netherlands. This can be seen from the verbs used, **return** (*the Netherlands' logic was to return to power over Indonesia*), **captured** (*as it had been before it was captured by Japan*), **re-establish** (*the arrival of the Allied troops was accompanied by NICA who would re-establish their power in Indonesia*), dan **accompany** (*accompanied by NICA*). These verbs describe the deep suspicion towards the arrival of the Allies, followed by NICA. The condition of the arrival of the Allies and NICA is also emphasised in nouns and adjectives that reinforce claim 1, such as emptiness, soldier, suspicion, armed, and prisoner. The textbook shows conflicts at the beginning of independence (excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2. Conflicts at the beginning of independence

"The arrival of the Allies in Indonesia caused various reactions from the Indonesian people. Especially with the Netherlands piggybacking on it, who wanted to **regain control** of Indonesia. This resulted in various efforts of opposition and resistance from the community, such as: (i) the **struggle** of the people of Semarang against the Japanese army, (ii) the Japanese takeover of Yogyakarta, (iii) Arek-arek Surabaya for Indonesia, (iv) the battle of Palagan Ambarawa, (v) the battle of Medan Area, (vi) Bandung Lautan Api, and (vii) Operation Sea Cross Banyuwangi - Bali" (pp. 167-173).

The warrant can be described as follows: the arrival of the Allies, followed by NICA, caused various reactions from the Indonesian people. The people in various regions did not have the slightest fear of fighting against the injustice of colonialism. On the contrary, they dared to fight with massive casualties. Data and information can be formed: the occurrence of opposition and resistance in various regions of Indonesia. Lexicogrammatical features can be seen in the verbs: **regain control** (*to regain control of Indonesia*) and **struggle** (*the struggle of the people of Semarang against the Japanese army*). At the same time, nouns and adjectives can be seen in reaction, resistance, battle, and power. It is evident that the suspicion of the Indonesian people led to the inevitable outright war at the beginning of independence.

The textbook has a more detailed explanation of each resistance. However, the approach is too temporal, so students have to be taken back in time with much dense writing. It is as if students are immersed in a boring past story. Several passages in the textbook provide rebuttals to claim 1. Although some groups chose to resist the Netherlands, some did not expect it, especially those who benefited from the Netherlands' presence, as in excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3. Rebuttal to claim 1

"The arrival of the Allies in Indonesia caused various reactions from the Indonesian people. Moreover, the Indonesian people also realised that force of arms was **not the only one** way to achieve independence. Diplomacy or negotiation is another path that the Indonesian people need to take. This also shows that the Indonesian people are a peace-loving nation, but prefer independence. Why is that? Because diplomacy sometimes does not always favour the Indonesian people, and vice versa..." (p. 170).

The phrase "not the only one" comes after a difference of opinion between civilian and military leaders. Excerpt 3 shows the different interpretations of the struggle. Civilian political figures, led by Soekarno and Hatta, thought diplomacy was more effective in gaining recognition of the Republic of Indonesia's sovereignty and international sympathy. Meanwhile, the military, led by General Soedirman, thought that if the leader of a detained country could not negotiate with the invaders who held him, an armed struggle would be more effective.

B. Claim 2: The Choice Between War and Diplomacy

The first part of the history textbook explains the conditions and wars that took place after the declaration of independence, while the second part presents the struggles that took place from 1945-49. The struggle during this period used two methods: war and diplomacy. The mention of war and diplomacy in the textbook is arranged in the order in which the events occurred. The sequence consists of the Linggarjati Agreement, Military Aggression I, Renville Agreement, Military Aggression II, Roem-Royen Agreement, Yogyakarta Kembali and the Round Table Conference, which ended with the recognition of sovereignty in 1949.

The textbook summarises the struggle between 1945-49 with several important points: (i) the Netherlands was not willing just to let go of Indonesia as an independent country, (ii) the Netherlands made various efforts to regain control of Indonesia, (iii) to solve the problem of Netherlands-Indonesian relations, and the Indonesian people used two ways of struggle, namely diplomacy and war, (iv) the patience and persistence of the Indonesian people finally obtained results with the recognition of Indonesian independence by the Netherlands on 27 December 1949. This point is further elaborated, as shown in excerpt 4.

Excerpt 4. War and diplomacy arguments

The War Argument:

"On 21 July 1947 at midnight, the Netherlands launched their first 'police action'. Troops moved from Jakarta and Bandung to occupy West Java, and from Surabaya to **occupy** Madura and the East End. Smaller troop movements secured the Semarang area..." (p. 179).

"...After hearing that the Netherlands were launching an **attack**, General Soedirman **seemed** to have a new spirit. He remembered his promise when he took the oath when he was sworn in as commander of the Indonesian National Army to **fight** for the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia until the end..." (p. 187).

"...General Soedirman, who was sick with only one lung, was determined to **lead** the guerrilla war..." (p. 190).

Diplomacy Argument:

"...For Soekarno, Hatta, and Syahrir, the defensive war strategy was more risky than the old ways, because it would cause more casualties. According to them, the recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia was better **done** through diplomacy..." (p. 175).

"...This second Netherlands military action **attracted** the attention of the United Nations, because the Netherlands openly did not **follow** the Renville Agreement in front of the Three State Commission **commissioned** by the United Nations..." (p. 188).

"...With the end of the Round Table Conference, the Netherlands-Indonesian dispute ended. Indonesia then received recognition from other countries. The first recognition **came** from the countries of the Arab League, namely Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, India, and others..." (p. 203).

The warrant in the argument can be reconstructed: the colonisers must be expelled; fighting for independence can be done in any way. The Netherlands became a colonialist state, which exhibited antagonistic behaviour toward the Indonesian people's decision for independence. Therefore, diplomatic struggle and guerrilla warfare were justified to counter Netherlands policies. On the contrary, the Netherlands committed military aggression by committing violence in various parts of Indonesia, so Indonesia's choice to fight back with weapons should not be blamed. Data and backing are presented in various statements in excerpt 4.

Lexicogrammatical features show the interrelationship between parties in the field. For example, war arguments show action-orientated activities, such as the verbs: **occupy** (*from Surabaya to occupy Madura and the East End*), **attack** (*after hearing that the Netherlands were launching an attack*), and **seemed** (*General Soedirman seemed to have a new spirit*), **fight** (*fight for the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia until the end*), **lead** (*was determined to lead the guerrilla war*). The Netherlands considered Indonesia subversive, so they used the "mobilise and secure" argument. On the other hand, Indonesia considered the Netherlands colonialist, using the argument, "fighting

and leading a guerrilla war". Almost the same as the war argument. The lexicogrammatical features in the diplomacy argument also show some action in the verbs: **done** (*better done through diplomacy*), **attracted** (*This second Netherlands military action attracted the attention of the United Nations*), **follow** (*the Netherlands openly did not follow the Renville Agreement*), **commissioned** (*the Three State Commission commissioned by the United Nations*), and **came** (*The first recognition came from the countries of the Arab League*). Nouns and adjectives also reinforce the claim with word choice, such as police action, defensive, war, recognition, sovereignty, diplomacy, and ended. Looking at the words chosen, the arguments of war and diplomacy had their way of gaining independence.

The main finding in the argument structure confirms that Indonesian history textbooks explicitly state that Indonesia is in the right position (position: us) and cannot be denied, so the Netherlands' behaviour in the period 1945-49 cannot be justified in any grounds (position: them). The structure of the textbook's argument is similar to what happens in many countries around the world, namely, a nationalist perspective to shape national identity (e.g., Helfer, 2021; Khokhar, 2021; Rodríguez, 2020; Nair, 2021; Qasmi, 2019; Rajandran, 2013; Redvaldsen, 2021; Sakki et al., 2021; Yan et al., 2021; Yılar & Çam, 2021). The Netherlands has a long history in Indonesia, dating back to 1596 AD (Vickers, 2013). However, the turning point in World War II was the opportunity for Indonesia to declare independence after Japan lost to the Allies. Therefore, the argument structure of the textbook describes various Netherlands efforts as acts of colonialism (military aggression) against an independent country called Indonesia (Bijl, 2012; Purwanta, 2018). The Netherlands is positioned in the textbook as the "bad" side and Indonesia as the "good" side. The analysis of word structure illustrates that Indonesia's main goal as a newly independent country is only to maintain independence from the Netherlands colonialism. The warrant in this textbook favours Indonesia to justify its struggle to maintain independence because the coloniser must be expelled, and fighting for independence can be done in any way. Intentionally, Indonesian history textbooks direct students' national identity to instil values of unity, nationalism and love for the country. Interestingly, history books written by the Netherlands have different interpretations of its position in Indonesia during the 1945-49 period (see Kropman et al., 2020; Sijpenhof, 2020; Weiner, 2013).

Indonesian history textbooks cumulatively present longer narratives and contain more explanations with long texts that make the books very thick. This choice confirms students' stigma about history lessons being more rote (Joebagio et al., 2019; Purwanta, 2018). The data presented is mostly in the form of aggregate data and then supported by granular data. The analyses used are one-dimensional lines (aggregate data) rather than comparing the treatment of rejection and approval from outsiders (granular data). One source leads to the inclusion of one opinion and the exclusion of others. Indonesian history textbooks, therefore, do not seem to provide an expression for comparing holistic data and do not try to develop students' interpretations of balanced historical developments. Although the textbooks provide questions and tasks that encourage critical thinking, it seems that students' interpretations must still be in line with the official government history (Salih, 2021). Therefore, there is no room for alternative histories in history textbooks. This is, in fact, common in other countries around the world, significantly influencing students' *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos* in fostering national identity.

However, the Indonesian government's approach has a negative impact, which can affect students' critical thinking skills (Albicher, 2012; Čehajić, 2020), which are needed for 21st-century skills. As Hobsbawm (1997; as cited in Yoong et al., 2017) once wrote, "why do all regimes make their children study history in school? Not to understand society and how it changes, but to approve of it, to be proud of it, to be or become good citizens". The purpose of the state-making history textbooks is to socialise students as obedient and responsible citizens to make them proud of the country and contribute to maintaining its integrity for the future. The Indonesian government wants to determine the type of historical knowledge and how it is produced. This finding confirms Aristotle's theory of textbooks as effective tools of persuasion (Macagno & Walton, 2015). Historical knowledge should be objective, an independent endeavour without political interference. The special relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia should continue to look to the future for better relations. Therefore, space should be given in textbooks to the "positive" Netherlands legacy in Indonesia. In order to use this approach, it is important to have an ongoing but rigorous dialogue between the government, university historians and history teachers.

V. CONCLUSION

Finally, it is necessary to summarise the structure of the arguments in the analysed Indonesian history textbook. This article identifies two main claims about the Netherlands' position in Indonesia, 1945-49, namely: (i) the arrival of the Allies and NICA created suspicion and resistance because the troops were well armed, and (ii) there was Indonesian resistance to the Netherlands in two ways: war and diplomacy. All two claims are warranted with substantial data to justify the textbook's arguments. There are fewer rebuttals to the claims, and more backing and qualifiers are available in the textbooks. Indonesian history textbooks confirm the view of Aristotle's theory, where textbooks become tools of persuasion to benefit students' national identity formation. Using lexicogrammatical features to view words in textbooks also reinforces the claim that: The Netherlands is on the "bad" side and Indonesia is on the "good" side.

This article is relevant for language studies of textbooks, and its significance is threefold: specifically in the study of argument structure, in the analysis of textbook language and the use of argument narratives in history textbooks. History and history education scholars can use Toulmin's model to measure narrative arguments in history textbooks on other themes. Thus, the language of textbooks needs to have the advantage of encouraging students' thinking with diverse

preferences and asserting rational arguments according to the needs of the times. Therefore, the language used must be able to assert arguments that convince them to act rationally and appropriately according to national interests in living their lives as citizens. History teachers can also benefit from using Toulmin's (2003) model to train students to analyse arguments and write them down. This model can be considered a simple and guiding approach to students' writing assignments as it provides a more systematic framework for teaching writing by analysing the separate elements of an argument. However, the limitation of the study should be mentioned that the textbook's discussion only covers limited themes; future researchers could take another theme position by using Toulmin's model. History textbooks have always been improved in Indonesia following educational curriculum changes, although there have always been many obstacles. These obstacles are encountered when historians have to choose narratives following state ideology. This is also done in many other countries to control the narrative and maintain its influence on all citizens.

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