

# The Socio-Political Factors of the Emergence of Teaching English in Postcolonial Indonesia

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## Introduction

This essay addresses the question of how English entered Indonesia in relation to European Colonialism in the early Sixteenth century. In order to identify more closely the place occupied by English in postcolonial Indonesia, the rest of the paper will be devoted to sketching the position of the “surrounding” colonial languages — Portuguese and Dutch in the interplay with the position of Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian national language in the mid-twentieth century. This sketch will be framed from the perspective of the entry of foreign languages into pre and post-colonial Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia as one of the Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian languages had been used as the *lingua franca* in the Indonesian archipelago before the seventh century. It is a modern dialect of the Malay language which borrowed heavily from many foreign languages: the notable ones are Sanskrit, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, Japanese and English. This paper will also “untangle” the sedimentation of foreign languages into the history of foreign language teaching in Indonesia, beginning with the arrival of Sanskrit along with the Hinduism and Buddhism; the arrival of Arabic accompanying the introduction of Islam; the arrival of Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Dutch with Christians and Catholics missions, and, finally, the introduction of Japanese following the brief colonial occupation by Japan in the 1940s.

In exploring further the impact of the English language on Indonesia, I will provide a general account of Dutch colonization. In discussing this, I will supply information of the language policy of the colonizer wherever necessary to provide a better picture of the existence of English: how its significance and impact was different from and similar with other European foreign languages in the course of Dutch colonization. I will use a critical perspective in cultivating the history of the arrival of English language during the Dutch era as well as uncovering the socio-political factors that imbued the establishment of English departments in Indonesian universities through the policies developed by the Indonesian government. I argue that the existence of English language, besides normal, neutral and beneficial as viewed publicly, was also embedded by other significant factors such as social, political, economic, and religious elements. These dimensions played significant roles in the emergence of English language teaching in Indonesia during the pre and post-colonial periods of Indonesian history.

## ***Bahasa Indonesia* as the contesting melting pot: the interplay of *Sanskrit* with Hinduism and *Arabic* with Islam**

Indonesia<sup>1</sup> as a name of a state came into existence after World War II. The *Republik Indonesia* as a state was established on Independence Day, 17 August 1945, after Dutch and Japan colonization was ended. At that time, other regions in Africa and Asia also gained their independence from European colonization. The physical boundaries of Indonesia had been established by the Netherlands when they took over the many islands and made them into a single colony: the Netherlands East Indies.<sup>2</sup> Indonesia now is a home to nearly 300 million people and thus the most populous Muslim-majority in the world and the fourth most populous country in the world. The present Indonesia was formerly named by the Dutch as “East Indies”. Why East Indies? As the popular colony of British was India, Indonesia was named after India. East Indies is a term referring to thirteen thousands islands located east of India. It is located in the South East Asian Archipelago. Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua are among the five largest islands. Within these islands, there are more than 300 ethnic groups and 200 local languages (Vickers, 2005). The total number of languages and ethnic groups are more than 742. East Indies was a complex entity before the arrival of foreign influences. The term Indonesia or East Indies which means “the islands of India” was given to the archipelago by a German ethnologist and has been used since 1884 (Vlekke, 1959).

The first major foreign influence on latter-day Indonesia emanated from the ‘owner’ of its name: India. This influence was divided into two phases and characterised by the role of Hinduism. However, compared to India in which around 78% of the total population<sup>3</sup> adopted the Hindu way of life, the present day Indonesia is home to the religion of Islam. Around 82% of the total current population in Indonesia are of the Muslim faith.

Indonesian Hinduism, which apparently originated in India, however, was deeply rooted in the formation of the many former dynasties of present-day Indonesia, before the arrival of European colonialism. For nearly seven centuries, Hindu and Buddhist empires had challenged each other for supremacy in the archipelago (present day Indonesia) east of India. This unauthenticity and the foreign influences on the “pagan” archipelago then formed the basis of the identity for the present-Indonesia. The Hindu Mataram was located in Java and the Buddhist Srivijaya was centred in Sumatra. The most famous Hindu Majapahit was established in Java in the thirteenth century. These three kingdoms moulded the sediment of the basis of a longstanding social and cultural legacy for most people in the Indonesian archipelago.

The so-called “Pagan-Indonesia”, with its indigenous Malay language, learned its first foreign language, *Sanskrit*, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Sanskrit was introduced to the islands of Sumatra and Java from between the 7<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century under the influences of Hinduism and Buddhism with its local kingdoms. The coastal areas of India contributed to the eastward

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<sup>1</sup> *Indonesia* originated from Greek: *IndU.S* = India and *nesos* = islands.

<sup>2</sup> Vickers in the Introduction, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Dheram, “English Language Teaching in India” in Braine, *Teaching English to the World*, 59.

expansion of its culture; southern India having greater influences than other areas.<sup>4</sup> It is estimated that there around 750 loans words from Sanskrit still be found in modern Bahasa Indonesia. Whether directly or indirectly, a far greater number of Sanskrit terms found their way into Old Javanese languages (the dialect spoken by people in the Java island).

Almost half of the Old-Javanese language was composed of loans words from Sanskrit. Sanskrit was taught among the high-ranking nobility. The middle class spoke low-Malay language. The spread of the Sanskrit was used to spread Hinduism as well as Buddhism, the language being was circulated via ritual exercises. The form of the religious school was termed *Padepokan*, a three-in-one system of teaching-learning-working.<sup>5</sup> A small number of students studied under the supervision of religious teachers. The school dealt with the study of Shivaism, Buddhism, literature, language, exact science, astronomy, arts, and architecture,<sup>6</sup> an assessment supported by the evidence found in many Hindu-Buddha temples in different parts of Java and South Sumatera. Hinduism and Buddhism were challenged by the arrival of Islam in Indonesia brought by Gujarat South Indian traders as early as the thirteenth century.

The Majapahit of Java slowly lost its ground and moved east to East Java finally residing on the island of Bali where most of its present population adhere to Hinduism. Islam began to spread widely to the East Indies in the fifteenth century with the rise of the Sultanate of Malacca in the straits between Sumatra and the continent. The oldest Islamic Kingdom was established in Perlak, Aceh in 1292. The merchants from Gujarat who came to Indonesia formerly did not come with the intention of propagating Islam rather in search for spice trade. This importance of the spice trade challenges the assumptions of some historian as to the significance of religious-based missions in the arrival of foreign influences from India whether Hinduism, Buddhism, and later Islam. Their first footholds were set up in East Indies as a result of commercial ambitions and relations, especially connected to the spice trade. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Indian merchants became the sole main connections between the Asian spice trade and the European continents with other competitors, such as Persian and Chinese merchants.

Along the former dynasties' commercial business structures, Islamic dynasties then transformed most of the Hindu-Buddha kingdoms except Bali. The most notable Hindu-dynasty that transformed to Islam was Mataram located in Yogyakarta. The second new foreign language, Arabic, was then introduced to the natives. This language, however, only disseminated among the noble-ranks and those who converted and studied Islam. Arabic was assimilated and it transformed the Malay language. 21,000 Arabic, Persian and Hebrew words were loaned into Bahasa Indonesia and a greater number into the Malay language (with its variant Malaysian languages). The teaching of Arabic transformed the previous *Padepokan* system. Islamic teaching has its own tradition which remains today. The *Pesantren* system

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<sup>4</sup> Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés*, 59-61 cited by Vlekke, *Op. Cit.*, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Sadtono, "ELT Development in Indonesia: a Smorgasbord in Sadtono (ed.), *The Development of TEFL in Indonesia*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Mestoko, Soemarsono, *Pendidikan di Indonesia dari Jaman ke Jaman*, 25-29.

separated the school for the boys and for the girls. The different marker between those two educational systems was that access to the previous school was only for the noble rank; access to the *Pesantren* was not only for the noble rank but particularly available to the natives who had converted to Islam. This intention, however, in the first phase of its application, only addressed the noble rank. Until the arrival of the European merchants, only the middle rank had been able to access classes in the traditional *Pesantren* system. The teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic among the natives was not an alien system as it used the Malay language as the instruction language in both traditional systems. The interstices between Malay language and its foreign influences such as Sanskrit and Arabic moulded the assimilation among those three languages. The choice of the transliteration of Bahasa Indonesia, however, was not as in the present Latin form (the influence of Latin teaching by Portuguese), but in an Arabic transliteration called *Jawi*, meaning Arabic transliteration read by Malaysians.

The previous sketch of the history of foreign languages prior to the era of European colonialism offers a perspective of hybridity in the formulation of East Indies' identity. The first economic quest for spice trade among the Indian traders had led them to introduce and then conquer the archipelago with Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam which produced a syncretized and hybridized identity of the previous three religions and the languages they brought into Bahasa Indonesia. Despite the three religions, the most notable and primary melting pot was the formation of the Malay language before the arrival of European colonialists. Several historians on Indonesia opted to write that the pre-European colonization was a peaceful one as the apparent arrival of Indian traders had not been accompanied by fleets of soldiers. The establishment of previous kingdoms under Hindu, Buddha, and Islam influences, however, could become an alternative critical approach to the colonization reality within the frame of religious-based missions to be spread to the so-called "pagan" East Indies Archipelago. Indonesia had become a contested field of values where many foreign influences gained footholds. Despite its peaceful approach, the spice trade, in its broader sense, facilitating the economic trade of foreign influences, had consecutively colonized Indonesia. The different and varied approaches used by those foreign influences had been written into the history of Indonesia. Most of the historians' approaches signalled the sole colonizer's stamp on the European economic pursuits. I argue that the former foreign influences of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam reinforced the same economic pursuits together with religious and cultural influences.

Such influences moulded the present Low-Malay language which then was popularly known as Bahasa Indonesia. The High-Malay language was spoken among the high-rank elite at the Courts and used in matters pertaining to the Mohammedan religion. The Low Malay or Pasar was the Market Malay spoken as the everyday language in the community.<sup>7</sup> Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Low-Malay language had become the *lingua franca* that united people in South East Asia in the processes of economic transactions in the spice trade. In the

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<sup>7</sup> Valentijn 1724, II-1: 244 cited by Groeneboer, *Gateway to the West*, 25.

next discussion, the struggle among the three former foreign influences was further contested by the arrival of the European colonialists represented by the economic pursuits of the Portuguese and Dutch, in which the British interfered for only five years, from 1811-1816.

### **European foreign languages (1602-1942): Dutch disengagement with education for the Indigenous Indonesia**

The sixteenth century marked the arrival of the Portuguese, the first Europeans in Indonesia, along with their economic pursuits to search for the source of the spice commodity which previously had been distributed and traded by the Indians, Persians and Chinese to the European mainland. Portuguese was the third foreign language which influenced Bahasa Indonesia significantly in the total amount of the loan words. Besides Low-Malay language, Low Portuguese language was the second *lingua franca* for the transactional trade in South-East Asia in the sixteenth century. High Portuguese language was considered as the language of Christianity and European literature. The view toward High Portuguese language was similar to the view of the European toward Latin. This was considered as the gateway to European culture. High-Portuguese was taught within seminaries which were built by this first European colonizer. This program encountered great difficulty in areas densely populated by Muslims. In the areas which were not affected by Islam's spread, the Christian missions established strong footholds and remain until today. The Muslim areas were usually spread throughout coastal areas of Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the Celebes islands. The arrival of the Portuguese with its missionary activities remained in certain regions which were then consecutively maintained by the Dutch colonizers such as the Highlands of Batak in Sumatra, the Highland of Toraja and Manado in Celebes, Papua and areas of Flores and the Timor islands. The multiethnic East Indies were exploited by the new colonizer's imperial policy, *divide et empera* (divide and conquer). The multiethnic character of the East Indies was used for political ends in conquering the whole archipelago and the archipelago's eventual submission to the Dutch.

The seventeenth century marked the arrival of Dutch in the East India. The Dutch quest was a quest to win over the spice trade in the East Indies which was formerly under Portuguese control. Dutch was introduced as the official language of the colonial government and Portuguese; as well, the Malay language remained the *lingua franca*. In 1602, VOC (Dutch East Indies Company) had taken over control from the Portuguese except the east islands spice producers which then finally fell into the VOC's hands later on. VOC was a chartered private enterprise constituting a state in all but name, complete with its own fleet and army, which gradually expanded its influence and grip on political matters. The VOC was formerly established by seven chambers which represented each state in the Netherlands. Like the British East Indies Company in India, VOC relied and depended mainly on "indirect rule" through the "feudal" characteristics of the former Indonesian kingdoms which had spread throughout the East Indies. VOC used traditional native elites — Kings and their personnel — as vassals while imposing their will and extracting major income under the supervision of Dutch colonial officials. In 1799, VOC was dissolved and awarded to the United Kingdom of

the Netherlands. The political effect being played by the Napoleonic War in Europe had a great impact on the people in East Indies. The Dutch officials in the East Indies were supposed to have practicable and sufficient knowledge of the French language. A small private school for the French language was also opened in 1811.

A few months later, the East Indies archipelago was brought completely under English rule with the assignment of T.S. Raffles as the first English colonial Lieutenant-Governor. English was introduced as the official language of the government. In order to promote Malay to the English officials and English to the indigenous officials, the first English grammar manual as well as dictionary (Malay-English and English-Malay) was compiled and written in 1812 with the effort of W. Marsden. During the short British interregnum 1811-1816, education was left entirely to private initiatives. In 1813, a missionary opened a small school with English and Latin as part of the curriculum, and there may well have been more private schools of this sort during these years.<sup>8</sup> The only educational institution subsidized by the British colonial government was a small school founded by A.D.F. Pahud, a Swiss from Lausanne, father of the later Governor-General C.F. Pahud (1856-61); its aim was to teach “in the first instance Dutch and afterwards English and French grammar”. This school, which numbered 30 pupils by the end of 1815, proved so unprofitable that Pahud migrated to the Netherlands in 1818.<sup>9</sup> Raffles definitely had a low regard towards Malay being spoken in the East Indies and in a speech given to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in April 1813, he remarked:

Essential to notice with regard to our future proceedings is the necessity of encouraging and attaining a more general knowledge of the Javanese language. Hitherto the communication with inhabitants of the country has been chiefly through illiterate Interpreters, or when direct, through the medium of a barbarous dialect of Malays, confounded and confused by the introduction of Portuguese and Dutch. Without a thorough knowledge of this language, it is impossible to form any accurate idea of the modes of thinking or acting among the people of this country.<sup>10</sup>

With the intervention of the British occupation (1811-1816) and the occupation of the Netherlands by Napoleon, the East Indies was then under direct control of the Netherlands and became a part of the Netherlands' official and formal empire. The direct takeover only caused much suffering to the East Indies peasants. The natives' education was totally neglected. The nineteenth century was marked by the slave trade and export in the Cultivation System, large plantations and forced cultivations system to enhance Dutch income through the international trade system. Besides spices, two significant indigenous products

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<sup>8</sup> F. de Haan, 1922-1923, *Oud Batavia; Gedenkboek uitgegeven het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen naar aanleiding van het driehonderdjarig betaann der stad in 1919*, Batavia: Kolff. 3 vols., II p. 262 in Groeneboer, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> J. A. van der Chijs, 1902, *Het middelbaar schoolonderwijs te Batavia gedurende de eerste helft van de 19e eeuw, volgens officieele bescheiden*, Batavia: Kolff., p. 3-7 in Groeneboer, *Op. Cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> T.S. Raffles, 1814, “A discourse delivered at a meeting of the Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia, on the twenty-fourth day of April 1813, being the anniversary of the Institution”, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 7, pp. 13-14, in Groeneboer, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

were exploited by the Dutch. The first was petroleum deposits which then brought about the necessity to build the *Royal Dutch Company for Exploitation of Petroleum Sources* in Netherlands Indies in 1883 which was simply known as 'de Koninklijke' and which then merged with British capital becoming Shell Transport and Trading Company in 1907 or simply called as Royal Dutch Shell.<sup>11</sup> In 1920, Shell was producing about 85% of the total oil production in Indonesia. The second product was rubber. By 1930, Indonesia was producing nearly half the world's rubber supply which was the result of the Cultivation System previously imposed by the Dutch colonizer.

During the *Cultuurstelsel*, Dutch imperialism reached its height in collecting income for the Netherlands' crown. On the contrary, the quality of life in East Indies significantly decreased as famine was widespread. This misery was debated among the conservatives and liberals in the centre of the Empire, as liberals urged for a better quality of life for the people of the East Indies. During the Cultivation System, the colonial government introduced a new form of trade system which was imported from the European 'laissez-faire' principle. The introduction of the tax had made the government regulate the system of land administration. The East Indies officers distributed the land to the landowners and the peasants were supposed to rent the lands in the hope that the peasants would produce much more crops and could pay the necessarily imposed tax. The effect was that most of the landowners were those who were feudally connected with the local kingdoms and the Chinese settlers who had a powerful hold on the local trade and economy. The system of liberal economics in the East Indies led to the expulsion of the poor peasants from their land and finally made them paupers. They had become wholly the subjects of the arbitrariness of foreign capitalism. Such views were shared by Governor-general Van de Capellen who said:

Measures, that if seen at three thousand miles distance apparently are liberal, here prove to be highly illiberal in their effect. I must assume that in the Netherlands Liberalism is understood to be the protection of European landowners at the expense of the native population, and that the interests of the latter are completely disregarded to give a few speculators and adventures their chance to succeed in their schemes, then I must declare myself to be an ultra anti-Liberal.<sup>12</sup>

Van de Capellen was one governor-general who understood the principle of the need for a better education system for Indonesians. He saw that Dutch colonial policy did its utmost to improve the material supply from the Indonesians in international trade, but continued to underestimate the people's educational and political needs. The urge to educate the empire was at its height. For this purpose, they founded a new department of government, that of "Agriculture, Arts and Education". Unfortunately, this plan was executed only to address the elite in the East Indies and to fulfil the betterment of the agricultural system so it could be exploited further by its colonial ruler. With the arrival of a western education system, there appeared a discrepancy with the existing local education, those which were in the hands of

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<sup>11</sup> Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 195.

<sup>12</sup> Vlekke, *Op. Cit.*, 275.

the Moslem religious teachers and Hindu-Buddha religious teachers. The two later education systems were mostly confined to religious contents and heavily imposed the teaching of Arabic and Sanskrit. Before the execution of the Ethical Policy, a western-style education for the indigenous population of the East Indies was primarily left to the Christian missions (at first mainly in the Moluccas and Timor, and from 1830s also in Minahasa, North Sulawesi); the non-Christian populations were completely ignored.

Foreign languages introduced in the Dutch colonial education system and private missionary initiatives were Dutch and other European languages such as German, French and English. The four European languages, however, became a contested struggle within the Dutch umbrella of education; what happened in Europe influenced the way the Dutch imposed its foreign language policy. As the previous three main religions taught their language through the *padepokan* and *pesantren*, the Dutch language policy was applied through its church services and colonial government schools. Dutch and the other European languages were only introduced to the elite of the noble ranks (*raja* and *bangsawan*), the Chinese people and indigenous people who had converted to Christianity.<sup>13</sup> Western education was formally introduced to the indigenous Indonesia at the beginning of the twentieth century with the introduction of the Dutch Ethical Policy which was urged by many Dutch liberal movements. Although the Ethical Policy had its root in a humanitarian concern, this rationale was superseded by its economic advantage. During the liberal period (1870-1900) Dutch industry began to see Indonesia as a potential market. This potential market needed to raise its life standard as there was an urgent need for cheap Indonesian labour in the modern market. The former slaves' position in eighteenth century Europe was simply re-stamped as another word, "labours", a concept which was alien to the indigenous. To create obedient labourers, the colonial government needed to elevate their education, especially to support their economic exploitation.

In 1899, C. Th. Van Deventer published an article in the Dutch journal *de Gids*, "*Een eereschuld*" (*A Debt of Honor*), in which he urged the Netherlands government to pay the debt of all the wealth they had exploited from Indonesia by promoting education for the indigenous. Only after his death in 1915, with this impetus, the Netherlands set the Ethical Policy in three schemas: education, irrigation and emigration under Queen Wilhelmina's reign (1890-1948). There were two opposing approaches as to how to execute the education system in Indonesia. The first approach was "elitist" which was supported by the well-known Snouck Hurgronje and J.H. Abendanon. This view departed from the assumption of providing a more European-style education in the Dutch language for westernised Indonesian elites which then would facilitate most of the officials' duties in the East Indies. He further expanded the view that "our rule will have to justify itself on the basis of lifting the natives up to higher level of civilization in line with their innate capacity".<sup>14</sup> The second approach favoured more basic and practical education in vernacular languages for the indigenous lower level. Snouck

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<sup>13</sup> Groeneboer, *Op. Cit.*, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 21-22.

Hurgronje then advocated a bold policy of education that “The Indonesian is imploring U.S to give them instruction; by granting their wish, we shall secure their loyalty for an unlimited time”.<sup>15</sup> One of its policies was imposing the learning of Dutch on the natives as the gateway to the West and learning other European languages as regular subjects, i.e. German, French and English, which were to be introduced in the junior high school.

The language of the Europeans which first introduced in the elite education was MULO-*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (Advanced Elementary Education/Junior High School) in 1914. This was designed for the noble ranked Indonesian, Chinese and Europeans who had finished their respective primary schools (HIS & ELS). In 1937, MULO, which served as a follow-up to the Native School Second Class, introduced foreign languages to the Indigenous East Indies. Local language was used as the medium of instruction, and Dutch was taught as regular subject in addition to English and Malay. According to Koeswandono (78 years old, a MULO graduate) and Dwitjahjo (80 years old, a MULO graduate), a MULO student had to learn Dutch every day, English — a compulsory subject — three to four times a week, and they still had to choose either German or French, and either Javanese or Malay.<sup>16</sup> In the independent Chinese school in Indonesia, English was the favoured foreign language to be taught due to its usefulness in business transactions shortly before the Second World War broke out. The MULO graduates could speak, read and write good English.<sup>17</sup> French was then abolished from the subjects of ELS-*Europesche Lagereschool* (European Primary School) when Napoleon conquered the Dutch in Europe and was replaced with English. This signalled the strong hold of Dutch, English and the German languages. The German language was then also banned shortly after Germany’s occupation of the Netherlands. The teaching of Dutch and English became prominent by the end of World War II. The teaching of Dutch had, however, been banished by two prominent factors, namely the occupation of Japan in Indonesia and the rejection by Indonesian independence fighters, nationalists, of the colonizers’ language. 1945 signalled the victory of English as the only foreign language accepted in the indigenous schools. At that time the teaching of English was considered successful due to the small number of the students, as it apparently only addressed the noble ranks and those indigenous people who converted to Christianity.

The introduction of the four European languages to the indigenous of Indonesia actually gained much large scale support whether in the Netherlands or its Empire. This policy, however, was not accompanied by active steps from the colonial government. In the 1930 census, the literacy rate for adult Indonesians throughout the archipelago was only 7.4 percent. This makes for a poor comparison with the most ambitious public education programme in a colonised country, that of the United States in the Philippines, where, by 1939, over a quarter of the population could speak English.<sup>18</sup> In the former Southeast Asian British colonies of Malaysia and Singapore, no less than one-third of the total population of

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<sup>15</sup> Vlekke, *Op. Cit.*, 330.

<sup>16</sup> Sadtono, *ELT Development in Indonesia*, 4-5.

<sup>17</sup> Mistar, “Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) in Indonesia”, 73.

<sup>18</sup> Ricklefs, *Op. Cit.*, 203.

23 million now speak English.<sup>19</sup> Although the previous data only showed the literacy rate and language policy, they also reflect how much emphasis was placed on education in general in the colonial empire. The British India in the Malaysia and Singapore, the U.S in the Philippines, and the French in Indochina had spent two to three times more than the Dutch in Indonesia on Education.<sup>20</sup> In spite of its material gain exploited from Indonesia, the Dutch never had a serious commitment to the welfare of the Indigenous East Indies as the public education policies in the East Indies merely addressed the indigenous elite. The result was that UNESCO found in 1947 an illiteracy rate of 88 percent in British India, 40 percent in the Philippines, 80 percent in Vietnam, and a startling 95 percent in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). The possible reason was that the Dutch colonisers' pragmatic language policy was always dictated by practical, economic and financial considerations. This colonial attitude demonstrated vividly that, in practice, welfare was subordinated to a balanced budget.

### **The dawn of English Language Teaching (ELT) & the role of America in the new Indonesia (1942-1965)**

With the turmoil of World War II, the Japanese with the support from its Central Axis (Germany, Italy, Turkey, and Japan) ousted the Dutch in 1942. The Governor-general of the East Indies sought help from its Allies. During the Second World War, many criticisms were directed to the Dutch language policy by Indonesia's Allies — England, Australia, and America. They saw that Dutch policy hindered instead of promoted the spread of Dutch and other European languages. The reality that they had to accept -- that less than two percent of the population could communicate in Dutch at the end of colonial period -- had awakened a further policy which was idealised by the Dutch Minister of Colonies, H.J. van Mook to the East Indies Department of Education while he was in exile in Brisbane:<sup>21</sup>

A common language is the surest measure for spreading culture and loyalty. The British always encourage the speaking of English in their dominion and colonies. We have not done this in the Netherlands East Indies. Let us do it after the war.

The dream was a 'pipe dream' as the teaching of Dutch, English, Germany, and French was banned in the entire archipelago by the new colonizer. The new colonizer, Japan, preferred to be called the "Old Brother" in South East Asia. Within this guise, they conquered the Indonesians. Books and other materials written in Dutch and other European languages were burned. Bahasa Indonesia was then inaugurated as the language of instruction in the schools. From 1942 until 1945 during the Japanese occupation, there were no formal schools teaching any European language although this was still carried out clandestinely. Bahasa Indonesia gained a powerful stronghold to unite the former colonial Indonesia. On 17 August 1945, Soekarno proclaimed the Indonesian Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and the 1945 Constitution proclaimed Bahasa Indonesia as the language of the state in Chapter XV, article

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<sup>19</sup> Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 57-60.

<sup>20</sup> Nieuwenhuis 1923a: 202; Kelly 1978: 102, 119-20 quoted by Groeneboer, *Op. Cit.*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> *Rijks Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie—Indische Collectie*, Amsterdam (National Institut for War Documentation—East Indies Collection), C 050294 quoted by Groeneboer in the Introduction, *Op. Cit.*, 1.

36. This ousted the dream of the Dutch to reclaim the Indonesia by its new language policy after World War II.

The birth of a nation, independent Indonesia, at the end of World War II was followed by further contest from the outside world to re-claim Indonesia whether through political, educational, cultural or economic colonization. The multiethnic religious state continued struggling from within and from outside. Many compromises had to be carried out by the new nation facing the arrival of the global era. One of the hurdles faced by the new nation was the burden of the debt imposed by the former Dutch colonialists on Indonesia. When the United States brokered the final settlement of the Revolution, it sacrificed the new nation's interests for its own purposes. The U.S insisted that the Indonesians accept a deal in which the new nation had to take over Dutch debts of U.S\$ 1,723 million plus interest. The U.S wanted to protect the economic rebuilding of Europe established in the Marshall Plan and to create the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as the basis of their campaign against communism.<sup>22</sup> Instead of the Dutch compensating the Indonesians for almost 350 years of colonial rule, the Indonesian had to compensate the Dutch, based on the fiction that the Indies had been an autonomous entity, not part of the Netherlands.<sup>23</sup> It was scandalously arranged as the trade-off in liberating Indonesia from the total re-invasion of the Dutch military and its ally between 1945 until 1950. Indonesia was faced with great misery during its struggle either from the financial exploitation of the debts and the re-invasion from the Dutch until 1949 when the Dutch finally accepted officially the state of Indonesia. The economic colonization in the young Indonesia nation has been succinctly summed up by an Australian historian, Ricklefs, as follows:

In the economy generally non-Indonesian interests remained important. Shell and the American companies Stanvac and Caltex were strong in the oil industry, and most inter-island shipping was in the hands of the Dutch KPM line. Banking was dominated by Dutch, British and Chinese interests, and Chinese also controlled much of the rural credit. It was clear to informed observers that Indonesians were not independent economically, a fact which was to contribute to the radicalism of the late 1950s.<sup>24</sup>

Alongside the contested field in the economic sector, Indonesia's education sector also suffered the same struggle whereby foreign forces strove to establish their foothold within the curriculum formation of the new Indonesian education system. The new government led by Sukarno regime gave priority to fostering the education sector. The number of elementary school entrants had increased from 1.7 million to 2.5 million between 1953 and 1960 although 60 percent dropped out before completing the school. By 1961 the adult literacy rate had been 56.7 percent for those over the age of ten compared to the poor rate of the Dutch Ethical Policy on Education reform in 1930 which had been a mere 7.4%. Many schools were set up and teachers were enforced in in-training service to meet the demands of the school entrants.

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<sup>22</sup> Vickers, *Op. Cit.*, 133.

<sup>23</sup> Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 443.

<sup>24</sup> Ricklefs, *Op. Cit.*, 291.

The onset of the Dutch Ethical Policy in 1930 had heralded the nationalist schools which were called 'wild schools' by the Dutch. In these classes, nationalist teachers rejected teaching the History of the Netherlands and promoted the History of the People of Indonesia as an effective way to counter the colonial ruler. Curricular reform had provided a different perspective in cultivating an indigenous-modern school system. The notable influence of western-modern teaching was the work of Karl Marx which was introduced by a German teacher and then absorbed by the first Indonesian President Sukarno when he attended Surabaya schools. Marxist influences among Indonesian independent insurgents were strong. One of emerging political leaders Sutan Sahrir even married a Dutch Marxist, Maria Duchateau who compounded Sutan's defiance of Dutch authority. He denounced the inferiority complex that threatened the Indonesian people under Dutch colonization. Many of their movements were joined by other young insurgents from the Islamic front. One notable figure was Haji Ahmad Dahlan who then established Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah, as the leading national 'modernist' social Islamic organization, formed branches throughout the country and approximately 30 million followers today. Founded in 1912, Muhammadiyah runs mosques, prayer houses, clinics, orphanages, poorhouses, schools, public libraries, and universities. Muhammadiyah was set up to meet the educational gap in the Islamic-indigenous Indonesia in Dutch colonial era. Muhammadiyah envied the way the Dutch provided schools only to the Christian-Indonesians. He then adopted western modern schools which provided its pupils additional Islamic teaching. From 1913 until 1918, Dahlan promulgated five elementary schools, *Hooge School Muhammadiyah* for the junior high school in 1919. He then altered the name, *Kweek School Muhammadiyah* and in 1930 he separated schools for boys as *Mu'allimin* and for girls *Mu'allimat*. Focus on Muhammadiyah modern Islamic schools will be explored next.

Although these modern Islamic schools were obviously in an ambivalent position in projecting Dutch as the source of knowledge as well as oppression, they were able to raise the indigenous sense of independence as shown in their willingness to become teachers of those 'wild schools' and were willing to do it voluntarily. Such schools were so widespread that in spite of the Dutch's suspicion, the colonial administrators were not able to suppress their influences among the indigenous. The schools, however, could not abandon the teaching of European foreign languages within the paradox of the educational system. From the onset of the Ethical Policy, Muhammadiyah's modern Islamic education, that combined western and Islamic teachings, is prevalent until today. The former Dutch universities in Indonesia were transformed into state-owned universities and many of the Islamic universities are now mostly run by Muhammadiyah. Almost all of the schools and universities in Indonesia then adopted the teaching of English as the sole significant foreign language.

Four years after Indonesia's independence, English Departments also started to be founded at the university level. Table 2 shows that the first English Department was established in the private nationalist-initiative university in Jakarta called Universitas Nasional Jakarta in 1949. Table 1 show that the state-owned University of North Sumatera then

followed a similar step in 1952. On the first of October 1954, the famous English Department of IKIP Malang (now Universitas Negeri Malang) was established, followed by Politeknik Negeri Manado in the same year. Other state-owned universities such as Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh established English Department in 1961, Universitas Sriwijaya Palembang and IKIP Jogjakarta (now Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta) in 1964 and Universitas Diponegoro Central Java in 1965. During three-and-half-year Japan interregnum (1942-1945) and Sukarno era (1945-1965) there were approximately seven state-owned universities which established English Departments. Despite promotion by the government, the propagation of establishing English Departments was mostly led by Christian and Catholics missionaries who then established Universities in several Christian-Catholics social enclaves in Indonesia, such as Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atmajaya Jakarta in 1961, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana Salatiga in 1962, Universitas Kristen Petra Surabaya in 1963, Universitas Kristen Tomohon Sulawesi in 1964, as well as Universitas Katolik Sanata Darma Jogjakarta and Universitas Klabat Manado North Sulawesi in 1965. The only modern Islamic institution which established an English Department was Muhammadiyah, i.e. Universitas Muhammadiyah Dr Hamka (formerly IKIP Muhammadiyah Jakarta) Jakarta in 1958. More focus on the English Departments in Muhammadiyah Universities will be explored in the next section.

English Departments were established mainly by the government (Table 1) and private initiatives in which Christian, Catholic and Muhammadiyah religious institutions (Table 2) played central roles in the propagation. There were four Christian Universities that established their forerunner English Departments. The first Christian university was Universitas Kristen Satyawacana (UKSW) that was located in the Highland of Salatiga Central Java and established on November 30, 1957 by 10 Church Synods from Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Irian Jaya (now Papua), Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat and Nusa Tenggara Timur. Satya Wacana was drawn from Sanskrit, means "faithful to the Word of God". The English Department was established four years after the university was founded on May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1962. Secondly, Universitas Kristen Petra (UKP) Surabaya East Java was established by PPPK Petra (Petra Christian Education and Teaching Association) which is a Christian union established on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1951 with the purpose to provide education from the level of kindergarten to senior high schools. On September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960, the committee of University Establishment Planning Preparation was formed with the duty to establish universities which were consisted of mainly Christian-converted Chinese Indonesians; drg Tan Tjiaw Yong, Gouw Loe Liong, drg Tan Gie Djien, Tjoa Siok Tjoen, Lie Ping Lioe and Kwee Djien Kian. The first department founded was the Faculty of Letters and the English Department was initiated on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963. The third was Universitas Kristen Tomohon. Tomohon was one of the towns in Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Tomohon was renowned as a Christian town since the Dutch reign. Many Dutch missionaries lived there and opened schools and clinics. The earlier clinic, now called Rumah Sakit Umum Gunung Maria which is now the biggest hospital in North Sulawesi, was established on February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1930, by Marianheuvel Ziekenhuis. One of the most famous universities established was Universitas Kristen Indonesia Tomohon (UNKIT) by GMIM (Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa). The English Department was established at 19<sup>th</sup> of

October 1964. The fourth Christian university was Universitas Kristen Klabat (UNKLAB). It was established on October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1965, by Gereja Masehi Advent Hari Ketujuh Uni Kawasan Timur Indonesia through Yayasan Universitas Klabat. The English Department was established at 7<sup>th</sup> October 1965, exactly the same year of the establishment of the university which offered two years program of Theology and English Education.

The second initiatives were taken by Catholics missionaries who built two prominent Catholics universities, i.e. Atmajaya and Sanata Dharma. The first was Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atmajaya in Jakarta which was established on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1960, by Yayasan Atma Jaya in which Cardinals in Java and young Catholics intellectuals met to establish the foundation in June 1950. Most of them were Catholic-converted Chinese Indonesians; Ir JP Cho, Ir Lo Siang Hien-Ginting, Drs Goei Tjong Tik, IJ Kasimo, JB Legiman SH, Drs FX Seda, Pang Lay Kim, Tan Bian Seng, Anton M Moeljono, St Munadjat Danusaputro, JE Tan, Ben Mang-Reng Say. Atma Jaya stemmed from a Sanskrit word, which means 'the glory of soul'. The English Department was established in the Faculty of Education on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961. The second university was Universitas Katolik Sanata Darma in Yogyakarta. In 1955, Catholic Priests of the *Order of the Society of Jesus* Central Java and other Catholic intellectuals decided to establish a teacher training college. With the support from the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Father Kester, the Superior Jesuit Missionaries, united the diploma courses in Education under de Britto Foundation in Yogyakarta and in English under the Loyola Foundation in Semarang into a higher learning institution called PTPG Sanata Dharma on October 20, 1955. English departments were established among other three departments of Education, History and Natural Science. *Sanata Dharma* is a Sanskrit phrase, means "the true dedication" or "the real service", the dedication and the service have been devoted to the nation and the church (Pro Patria et Ecclesia).

Besides English being propagated by Christian-Catholics missionaries, the indigenous nationalists and modern Islamists also played significant roles in the promotion of English Departments. The first English Department in Indonesia was established on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1949, in the second oldest university in Indonesia, Universitas Nasional (UNAS) Jakarta by prominent western-educated indigenous nationalists: R Teguh Suhardjo Sastroswignyo, Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana, Soedjono Hardjosoediro, Prof Sarwono Prawirohardjo, Prajitno Soewondo, Hazil, Kwari Katjabrata, Dr Djoehana, RM Soebagjo, Adam Bachtiar, Ny Noegroho, Drs Adam Bachtiar, Dr Bahder Djohan, Dr Leimena, Ir Abd Karm, Prof Dr Soetomo Tjokronegoro, Ali Budiharjo Poerwodarminto, Soetikno, Ir TH A Resink, Dr Soemitro Djojohadikusumo, Noegroho, Soejatmiko, HB Jassin, Mochtar Avin, L Damais, A Djoehana, Nona Boediardjo and Nona Roekmini Singgih. The establishment of the university was aimed to cater for graduates from senior high schools (Dutch MULO) who did not want to enter into Dutch colonial *Universiteit van Indonesie/Universiteit van Nederlands-Indie*, established in 1946, and which was then transformed by the government into the state-owned university called Universitas Indonesia (UI) in February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1950, when the Dutch handed the university to the new Indonesian government. The first Faculty of Letters was actually established by

the Dutch in 1920 in which several Dutch intellectuals and western-educated indigenous nationalists worked together to initiate *Faculteit der Letteren en Wijsbegeerte* in the House of Rechts Hogeschool which could only be realized twenty years later on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1940. Instead of Dutch and other European languages, Bahasa Indonesia was opted for as the first language department in the university to cultivate the nationalist spirit in achieving independence. Bahasa Indonesia was also the language of instruction in three other departments, namely Social Sciences, History, and Science on Nations. In 1942, the Japan colonizer came and established their own education institutions in the university, and surprisingly did not ban the Faculty of Letters while banning the teaching of Dutch and other European languages. In 1954, Dutch and Chinese Language Departments were established. The English Department was established later on.

The second English Department established by private initiatives was initiated by modern Islamic organization, Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah, which founded Universitas Muhammadiyah Prof Dr Hamka (UHAMKA) on 25 Rabiul Awal 1377 H/18 November 1957 in Jakarta. UHAMKA was formerly known as IKIP Muhammadiyah Jakarta with initial name PTPG (Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru). The founders were Arso Sastroatmodjo and HS Projokusumo. Similar to the Christian and Catholic universities which were based on the teaching of the Bible as well as Pancasila and UUD 1945, UHAMKA as a modern Islamic university, was based on Islamic teaching (Al Quran and As-Sunnah) as well as Pancasila and UUD 1945 (the founding law of Indonesia). A year after, the English Department was established in 1958 in the Education Faculty.

*Table 1: English Departments established by State-Owned Universities (1942-1965)<sup>25</sup>*

| Year of Establishment | State-Owned Universities  |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1952                  | Universitas Sumatera Utara  |
| 1954                  | IKIP Malang, now Universitas Negeri Malang, East Java <sup>26</sup><br>Politeknik Negeri Manado |
| 1961                  | Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh  |

<sup>25</sup> Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, 2005, *Rekapitulasi Perguruan Tinggi dan Program Studi*, Jakarta: Dirjen Dikti; and Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan PU.Sat Muhammadiyah, 2006, *Direktori Perguruan Tinggi Muhammadiyah (PTM): Profil Universitas, Sekolah Tinggi, Politeknik, dan Akademi Muhammadiyah se-Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Diklitolitbang Muhammadiyah, Pp.: 1-56.

<sup>26</sup> *KeputU.San Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 93 Tahun 1999 tentang Perubahan Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (IKIP) menjadi Universitas* (Edict of President RI No 93, 1999 about the change of IKIP [Institute for Teacher Training and Education] into University), Pp: 1-2.

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1964  | IKIP Yogyakarta, now Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta <sup>27</sup><br>Universitas Sriwijaya, Palembang |
| 1965  | Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Central Java   |
| Total | 7 English Departments in State-Owned Universities  |

Table 2: English Departments established by Private-Initiatives Universities (1942-1965)<sup>28</sup>

| Year of Establishment Private-Initiatives Universities |  |
|--|--|
| 1949   | Universitas Nasional Jakarta   |
| 1958   | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Dr Hamka, Jakarta</b>                                  |
| 1961   | Universitas Katolik Indonesian Atmajaya, Jakarta                                   |
| 1962   | Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga, Central Java                           |
| 1963   | Universitas Kristen Petra, Surabaya, East Java                                     |
| 1964   | Universitas Kristen Indonesia Tomohon, North Sulawesi                              |
| 1965   | Universitas Katolik Sanata Darma, Yogyakarta<br>Universitas Kristen Klabat, Manado |
| Total  | 8 English Departments in Private-Initiatives Universities                          |

The success of establishing the English Departments in Indonesian universities instead of other departments of European languages was also partly due to the program initiated by America through the Ford Foundation. Sukarno and Indonesia was in position of being an ‘in-between’ nation in the Cold War between the capitalist pole and the communist pole. 1950 witnessed the emergence of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) as well. Sukarno strove to unlearn western imperialism and stoked anti-western sentiment in the nation. From 1950 until 1965, the Indonesians became the terrain of these two opposing foreign influences with the internal tools of the nationalist sources. Sukarno’s regime was regarded by the U.S as tending to the left wing, especially Sukarno’s ultra-nationalist vision for education. Sadtono and Mistar reported that the teaching of English language had to be terminated due to pressure from the communists.<sup>29</sup> Thomas *et al* reported that “for political protection, Mr. Soenardjo Haditjaroko, director of the Foreign Language Institute had to state publicly that teachers should not compel their students to study English outside classroom, though

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, 2005, *Op. Cit.* and Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan PU.Sat Muhammadiyah, 2006, *Op. Cit.*, Pp.: 1-56.

<sup>29</sup> Mistar, *Op.Cit.*, 72-73 & Sadtono, *Op. Cit.*, 10.

privately he fully supported such activity".<sup>30</sup> The result of this anti-western policy was that English language programs declined in priority in the nation's educational policy.

Ford launched its effort to make Indonesia a modernizing country in 1954 with field projects from MIT and Cornell countering the communist influences. The U.S power through the Ford foundation had launched the establishment of English as the most important foreign language to be taught in Indonesia's universities and schools. Alongside the 'spontaneous' rise in influence of English after World War II, English teaching programs in Indonesia were also supported explicitly by the U.S. After the Americans took control of the Philippines in 1900, the American language policy saw the total rejection of the Indigenous Languages and English was immediately introduced as the language of instruction in all schools.<sup>31</sup> The choice of English was therefore clearly motivated by the cultural negotiation of the U.S, but also by the tempo in which the imperialistic aspirations had to be realized in education.<sup>32</sup> The campaign of English language teaching in Indonesia occupied a central place in the policy developed by the U.S to counteract the influences of communism during the Cold War.

FKIP Universitas Airlangga Malang (altered presently as IKIP Malang, and then UNM—Universitas Negeri Malang) developed a project in August 1960, *The English Language Teacher Training Project* (ELTTP). The Ford Foundation backed the project by sending American professors to teach there as well as financial and technical assistance. The program was to promulgate the core of English language teachers who would serve as the basis of ELT in Indonesia. They were sent to America to study and obtain an overseas degree:

No wonder that those who went to the U.S could get their master and doctoral degrees without too much difficulty. A number of ELTTP graduates now hold high positions in different parts of Indonesia, four are currently Rectors (Dr Muhammad Diah, UNRI Rector, Drs Agus Kafiar MA, UNCEN Rector, Dr Moh Ansyar, IKIP Padang Retor, Dr Nuril Huda, IKIP Malang Rector.<sup>33</sup>

These graduates were becoming prominent people in the education system in Indonesia. It was reported that the two prominent U.S professors in charge of the program were pure linguists who had never been to Indonesia, so their program was arcane, unrelated to the needs of TEFL (Teaching English as Foreign Language) in Indonesia. The Ford insitute sent a new American professor who had sufficient knowledge of TEFL to improve the situation. Ford assisted further the development of English syllabi, instructional materials, and manuals for secondary schools which were then published in 1956.<sup>34</sup> The dawn of a more widespread English language teaching movement in Indonesia was thus developed largely under the auspices of the U.S. Despite the alien factor, English language has played a major role after

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<sup>30</sup> Thomas et al, *Strategies for Curriculum Change*, 316.

<sup>31</sup> Groeneboer, *Op. Cit.*, 5-6.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Sadtono, *Op. Cit.*, 11.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas, RM, "Indonesia: The English-Language Curriculum" in Thomas et al, *Strategies for Curriculum Change*.

the World War II in Indonesia's foreign language sector, especially with the arrival of the mass communication era. Indonesia could not deny or escape these powerful influences in the international arena. This has led to Indonesia's decision to maintain the teaching of English in formal schools which had been stamped by the Dutch junior high school system. Until the 1980s, German and French were still taught in the senior high schools as optional subjects. The world-wide-web internet wave since the 1990s has further strengthened the emergence of English as the International language.

### **Suharto Regime: English Language Teaching (ELT) gaining its stronghold (1965-1998)**

The onset of the 1965 revolution raised the spectre of the so-called PKI members and many other innocent citizens into a brutal massacre which cost around one million lives. Curriculum developments in schools succumbed to the negative image of the so-called PKI and communism. School textbooks were designed under the aegis from the perspective of the one sidedness of the Suharto regime as much a product of the Cold War as of its own trajectory since the Revolution. Education was strictly monitored by the Government which was installed at all levels of the education system. During Suharto's reign, High Javanese language gained more political weight compared to other languages. After several years of decline during Sukarno's presidency, the English foothold was gaining power in Indonesia. The former Ford program was continued in the era of Suharto who advocated "openness" to his "New Order" of Indonesia to replace the Marxian insurgency. Despite exercising constant and close supervision of the Leftist movements, the Suharto regime also suppressed the political insurgency from the Islamic groups which were called Right wing. Islam in Indonesia will never be a single narrative. Suharto's frame of political action was how to maintain and play those two poles in a beneficial position into his mastery. The two poles were always being contested opposite to western capitalistic values. In the era of Sukarno, the teaching of Dutch was terminated. And, in the 1990s, facing the end of Suharto reign and the arrival of the internet, German and French were no longer taught in Indonesian senior high schools. Suharto's regime advocated the literacy of foreign languages as its main prerequisite. English then played the most dominant role among other western languages such as German and French. In the last phase of Suharto's reign, Indonesia issued Law No 2 Year 1989 about National Education System which enforced English language as one of the obligatory subjects in the Elementary Education in Chapter IX, Kurikulum, Verse 39, Point 3, Article m<sup>35</sup>:

The content of elementary educational curriculum should contain (minimally) the following subjects:

- a. Pendidikan Pancasila (Pancasila Education);
- b. Pendidikan Agama (Religious Study);
- c. Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan (Civic Education);

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<sup>35</sup> *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 2 Tahun 1989 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional*, Pp. 1-4.

- d. Bahasa Indonesia;
- e. Membaca dan Menulis (Reading and Writing);
- f. Matematika (termasuk berhitung);
- g. Pengantar Sains dan Teknologi (Introduction on Science and Technology);
- h. Ilmu Bumi (Geography);
- i. Sejarah Nasional dan Sejarah Umum (National History and General History);
- j. Kerajinan Tangan dan Kesenian (Art);
- k. Pendidikan Jasmani dan Kesehatan (Sport);
- l. Menggambar (drawing); serta
- m. Bahasa Inggris (English Language)

The previous attitude toward English as the only foreign language that should be taught at the elementary level was changed in 2003 during the Megawati presidency who was the well-known daughter of the former first President Sukarno. Sukarno was popular due to his strong proposal for national identity as an important discourse in education. During his daughter's presidency, the attitude toward English was neutral compared to Suharto. Indonesia issued a similar law on the education system, Law No 20 Year 2003 about the National Education System which did not mention any foreign language. Even English as a compulsory subject was not also issued for elementary education. In this law, the use of the instruction language, that is Bahasa Indonesia, was clearly stated, and any foreign language (Bahasa Asing) subject was also supported by not mentioning "Bahasa Inggris" in the Law of Republic of Indonesia No 20 Year 2003 about the National Education System, Chapter VII, Bahasa Pengantar (Language Instruction), Verse 33, Point 1-3, Article (3)<sup>36</sup>:

#### Bahasa Pengantar (Language of Instruction)

##### Pasal 33

- (1). Bahasa Indonesia sebagai Bahasa Negara menjadi bahasa pengantar dalam pendidikan nasional (Bahasa Indonesia as state language is the language of instruction in the national education).
- (2). Bahasa daerah dapat digunakan sebagai bahasa pengantar dalam tahap awal pendidikan apabila diperlukan dalam penyampaian pengetahuan dan/atau ketrampilan tertentu (Local dialects could be used as medium of instruction in the introductory level if necessary).
- (3). Bahasa asing dapat digunakan sebagai bahasa pengantar pada satuan pendidikan tertentu untuk mendukung kemampuan berbahasa asing peserta didik (Foreign

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<sup>36</sup> Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional, Pp. 1-46.

language could be used as medium of instruction in particular subjects to support learners' competency).

Law 20, 2003 also stated that the curriculum contained in the elementary and high education level only mention Bahasa Asing/Foreign Language as one of the obligatory subjects instead of "English language" as stated in the previous Law 2, 1989 during Suharto's presidency.<sup>37</sup> The apparent attitude toward English during Suharto's presidency culminated in the statement issued by the Government Regulation No 55 Year 1998 about Basic/Elementary Education about the Change of Government Regulation No 28 Year 1990 about Basic/Elementary Education. It stated in Chapter 14 a,<sup>38</sup> as follows:

- (1). Bahasa pengantar dalam pendidikan dasar adalah Bahasa Indonesia (Language of Instruction in the basic education is Bahasa Indonesia).
- (2). Bahasa Daerah dapat digunakan sebagai bahasa pengantar dalam tahap awal pendidikan dan sejauh diperlukan dalam penyampaian pengetahuan dan/atau keterampilan tertentu (Local Dialects could be used as medium of instruction in the introductory level when it is necessary to deliver particular sciences and/or skills.).
- (3). Bahasa Inggris dapat digunakan sebagai bahasa pengantar sejauh diperlukan dalam penyampaian pengetahuan dan/atau keterampilan tertentu (English language could be used as medium of instruction when it is necessary to deliver particular sciences and/or skills).

The Suharto regime's support for English language was different at the senior high school level and the higher education level. It issued regulations which mentioned "Foreign Languages" instead of "English language".<sup>39</sup> At the practical level, however, English language was becoming an obligatory subject. The former edicts show the clear support Suharto had toward English language teaching. During the formation of the New Order, Bahasa Indonesia was challenged by the advocacy of teaching English throughout Indonesia, to adapt to the liberal free market principles to which the Suharto regime adhered. The teaching of English as a foreign language, however, posed insurmountable obstacles due to high illiteracy rates, lack of English teachers and suitable teaching materials. The boom in capitalism during the Suharto era, however, supported infrastructural support to the schools and universities. The 'hard-factors', however, were not accompanied by beneficial 'soft-factors' such as curriculum development. Curriculum in Indonesia displayed a strong tendency to copy directly from the U.S. When the communicative approach was introduced in the U.S, the curriculum in Indonesia advocated it as well. The development of the English curriculum in Indonesia was

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 1998 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 28 Tahun 1990 Tentang Pendidikan Dasar.*

<sup>39</sup> *Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 56 Tahun 1998 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 29 Tahun 1990 Tentang Pendidikan Menengah; Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 57 Tahun 1998 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 30 Tahun 1990 Tentang Pendidikan Tinggi; and Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 60 Tahun 1999 tentang Pendidikan Tinggi.*

never in an independent position. Its position was strongly influenced by what happened outside Indonesia. In other words, the legacy of teaching English in Indonesia was always not in Indonesian hands. The curriculum makers anyhow supported such a perspective inasmuch to support their own legacy of the teaching of English and the development of the curriculum being applied in universities and schools. Such a legacy was then taken over by the Ministry of Education who played the main role of establishing the legacy of teaching English to Indonesia.

In 1968, an English Language Project was set up by the Ministry of Education which consisted of two sub-projects: the English Teachers Upgrading Project (ETUP) to upgrade the junior high school teachers and the English Materials Development Project (EMDP) to prepare materials for the senior high school.<sup>40</sup> This core project then developed further the dissemination of a number of projects on in-service training and materials development. In 1985, as a follow-up to the former project being supported by many of the U.S universities in the scholarship schema, the PKG Approach (*Pemantapan Kerja Guru*—strengthening teachers works) in ELT at the secondary school was launched which was funded by loans from the World Bank and UNDP. Further assistance was developed under the schema provided by the Ford Foundation and Ministry of Education to build the Standard Training Course (STC) in Jogjakarta Central Java and Bukittinggi West Sumatera. STC was a successful project in which many qualified English teachers were produced. After the decline of teaching English in the Sukarno era under the threat of the Communist Party, English teaching in the Suharto era was strongly supported by the U.S government schema through its Ford Foundation. The popularity of TOEFL compared to IELTS in Indonesia was also a strong indicator of the American English influence in the development of ELT in Indonesia.

*Table 3: English Departments established by State-Owned Universities (1965-1998)<sup>41</sup>*

| Year of Establishment | State-Owned Universities  |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1966                  | Universitas Gajah Mada, Yogyakarta, Java  |
| 1969                  | Universitas Tanjung Pura, Pontianak, Kalimantan   |
| 1976                  | Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Central Java<br>IKIP Malang, now Universitas Negeri Malang, East Java |
| 1978                  | Universitas Mulawarman, Kalimantan  |
| 1981                  | Universitas Tadulako, Palu  |

<sup>40</sup> Djojosoekarto, *A Study of Several Development Factors in the Revision and Updating of the National English Language Program in Indonesia*, 17-27.

<sup>41</sup> Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, 2005, *Rekapitulasi Perguruan Tinggi dan Program Studi*, Jakarta: Dirjen Dikti; and Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan PU.Sat Muhammadiyah, 2006, *Direktori Perguruan Tinggi Muhammadiyah (PTM): Profil Universitas, Sekolah Tinggi, Politeknik, dan Akademi Muhammadiyah se-Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Diktilitbang Muhammadiyah, Pp.: 1-56.

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|       |   |
|-------|---|
| 1982  | Universitas Bengkulu, Sumatera  |
| 1983  | Universitas Jember, East Java<br>Universitas Andalas, Padang  |
| 1984  | Universitas NU.Sa Cendana, Kupang<br>Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Manado<br>Universitas Negeri Medan<br>Universitas Palangka Raya<br>Universitas Riau, Pekanbaru  |
| 1990  | Universitas Terbuka, Jakarta  |
| 1993  | Universitas Jambi   |
| 1996  | Universitas Pattimura, Ambon<br>Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung<br>Universitas Lambung Mangkurat, Banjarmasin<br>Universitas Negeri Gorontalo, Gorontalo<br>Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta<br>Universitas Cendrawasih, Jayapura<br>Universitas Haluoleo, Kendari<br>Universitas Negeri Makasar<br>Universitas Mataram<br>Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha, Singaraja<br>Universitas Negeri Padang<br>Universitas Negeri Semarang<br>Sekolah Tinggi Seni Surakarta-STSI, Central Java |
| Total | 29 English Departments in State-Owned Universities  |

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Table 4: English Departments established by Private-Initiatives Universities (1965-1998)<sup>42</sup>

| Year of Establishment | Private-Initiatives Universities   |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1967                  | Universitas Sarjana Wiyata Taman Siswa, Yogyakarta   |
| 1970                  | Universitas Simalungun, Medan  |
| 1971                  | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Palu</b>   |
| 1976                  | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara</b>   |
| 1979                  | Universitas Tidar Magelang, Central Java   |
| 1980                  | Universitas Islam As-Syafiyah, Jakarta   |
| 1981                  | Universitas Wijaya KU.Suma, Surabaya<br>Universitas Balikpapan   |
| 1982                  | Universitas Jabal Ghafur, Medan<br>Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, West Java<br>Universitas Advent Indonesia<br>Universitas Muria KudU.S, Central Java<br>Universitas Mahasaraswati, Denpasar, Bali<br>Universitas Islam Riau, Pekanbaru<br>Universitas Indraprasta PGRI, Jakarta   |
| 1983                  | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Tapanuli Selatan</b>   |
| 1984                  | Universitas Abulyatama Aceh<br><b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Central Java</b><br><b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Ahmad Dahlan, Yogyakarta</b><br><b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, East Java</b><br>Universitas Dr Soetomo<br>Universitas Warmadewa, Bali<br>Universitas Katolik Widya Mandira, Kupang<br>Universitas Lancang Kuning, Padang<br>Universitas Mahaputra Muhammad Yamin, Solok |

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

- Universitas Siliwangi, Tasikmalaya
- 1985 Universitas Serambi Mekkah
- Universitas Wiralodra, Bandung, West Java
- 1986 Universitas PGRI Palembang
- Universitas Universitas Darma Persada
- Universitas Kristen Cipta Wacana, Surabaya, East Java
- Universitas 17.08.1945 Surabaya, East Java
- Universitas Ibn Khaldun, Bogor
- 1987 Universitas Gajayana, Malang, East Java
- Universitas Sisingamangaraja XII, Medan
- Universitas Nadlatul Wathan
- Universitas MU.Slim Makasar
- Universitas Satria Makasar
- Universitas Sawerigading, Makasar
- Universitas Muhammadiyah Palu***
- Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang***
- 1988 Universitas Sintuwu Maroso, Sulawesi Tenggara
- 1989 Universitas Batanghari, Jambi
- Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta***
- Universitas Muhammadiyah Jember***
- 1990 Universitas Islam Jember, East Java
- Universitas Darma Agung, Medan
- Universitas Sisingamangaraja XII, Tapanuli Utara
- 1991 Universitas Samudra Langsa
- Universitas Muhammadiyah Bengkulu***
- 1992 Universitas Dayanu Ikhsanuddin, Makasar
- Universitas Kristen Indonesia Toraja
- Universitas Muhammadiyah Mataram***
- 1993 Universitas Islam NU.Santara, Bandung
- Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Bandung

|       |  |
|-------|--|
|       | Universitas Panca Sakti, Tegal, Central Java               |
|       | Universitas Islam Kadiri, East Java                        |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Ponorogo, East Java</b>        |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Pontianak</b>                  |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Makasar</b>                    |
| 1994  | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Palu</b>                       |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Palembang</b>                  |
| 1995  | Universitas 45 Makasar                                     |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Purwokerto</b>                 |
| 1996  | Universitas MU.Slim NU.Santara, Medan                      |
|       | Universitas PGRI Kupang                                    |
|       | Universitas NU.Santara Manado                              |
|       | Universitas Islam Darul Ulum, Surabaya                     |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Ahmad Dahlan, Yogyakarta</b>   |
|       | Universitas Widyatama, Bandung                             |
|       | Universitas Gunadarma, Jakarta                             |
| 1997  | Universitas Kanjuruhan, Malang, East Java                  |
|       | Universitas PGRI Adi Buana, Surabaya                       |
|       | <b>Universitas Muhammadiyah Bengkulu</b>                   |
| 1998  | Universitas Graha NU.Santara, Padangsidempuan              |
|       | Universitas Pasundan, Bandung                              |
|       | Universitas Galuh, Ciamis, West Java                       |
|       | Universitas Katolik Widya Mandala, Surabaya                |
|       | Universitas Wijaya Putra, Surabaya                         |
| Total | 77 English Departments in Private-Initiatives Universities |

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15 English Departments were established during the Sukarno era (Table 1 & 2). Table 3 and 4 show the Suharto regime – remarkably -- established seven times more with around 106 English Departments throughout Indonesia of which 29 English Departments belonged to state-owned universities and 77 English Departments were private initiatives, especially those established by Christian-Catholics missionaries and modern Islamic institutions, most notably

by Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah has established one fifth of all private initiatives: 14 Muhammadiyah universities; Christian-Catholics initiatives have established around one tenth of all Indonesian private universities. The remaining seventy percent were initiated by other traditional Islamic institutions such as NU, Hindu-Buddha religious institutions, and other indigenous nationalist and local institutions. During the Suharto regime, more than fifty percent of the English Departments that were established by the government and private initiatives played a seminal role in disseminating the emergence of teaching English into Indonesian universities.

During the Suharto era and after his fall, the number of private universities has grown rapidly and it has been necessary to coordinate each university under one Koordinasi Perguruan Tinggi Swasta/Kopertis (Private High Education Coordinator). The total number of the English Departments in Indonesia up until 2006 was 121, and the English Departments in each Kopertis are as follows: Kopertis Wilayah I (Medan, North Sumatera) has around 12 English Departments; Kopertis Wilayah II (Palembang, Sumatera) has 4; Kopertis III (Jakarta) has 8; Kopertis Wilayah IV (Bandung, West Java) has 18; Kopertis Wilayah V (Yogyakarta) has 14; Kopertis Wilayah VI (Semarang, Central Java) has 11; Kopertis Wilayah VII (Surabaya, East Java) has 22; Kopertis Wilayah VIII (Denpasar, Bali) has 7; Kopertis Wilayah IX (Makasar, South Sulawesi) has 15; Kopertis Wilayah X (Padang, West Sumatera) has 4; Kopertis Wilayah XI (Banjarmasin, Kalimantan) has 3; and, finally, Kopertis Wilayah XII (Ambon, Maluku) has 3. From the previous distribution of the English departments in each province in Indonesia, it is clear that the development of teaching English in Java is fostered more than in the outer Islands. Of 121 English Departments in private universities, more than half of the numbers are located in Java and less than half of the numbers are in the outer Islands of Java. The discrepancy of the distribution of the English Departments has hindered the development of English language especially in the eastern part of Indonesia as it apparently only has one twelfth of the number of all English Departments. The policy of stressing the development in Java during the Dutch reign was continually adopted during Suharto regime, although he had started the program of decentralization in 1992, the progress of the outer Islands still faces many obstacles. From 1992 onward also marked around half number of the entire English Departments establishment in universities. The growing number of the English departments was also supported by the government's attitude toward English language education in the post-Suharto era. During Abdurrachman Wahid's (G.U.S Dur) presidency in 2000, he advocated for the Minister of Education, Yahya A. Muhaimin, being also a Muhammadiyah elite leader, to issue edicts on the regulation of core curriculum in the Indonesian universities. The edict stated that English language teaching could become the part of institutional curriculum of particular faculties outside of the English Department:

(2) In the MPK group, institutionally, could be Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Inggris, Ilmu Budaya Dasar, Ilmu Sosial Dasar, Ilmu Alamiah Dasar, Filsafat Ilmu, Olah Raga dan sebagainya.

*(Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional No 232/U/2000 tentang Pedoman Penyusunan*

*Kurikulum Pendidikan Tinggi dan Penilaian Hasil Belajar Mahasiswa, Chapter IV, Verse 10).*

Contrary to the Sukarno era, the result of Suharto's pro-western policy and favourable political situation to a free market economy made the English language program more important in the national educational policy. The Post-Suharto era witnessed the apparent support from the government toward English language teaching. Even outside of the government policy, formal education schema, informal language courses grew rapidly from the 1980s onward. Informal English language courses are innumerable in Indonesia nowadays. During the Suharto era, English language teaching whether in formal or informal education was gaining its stronghold.

### **Brief sketch of the development of National English Syllabus**

As early as 1950, when a foreign language was to be chosen for the school curriculum nationwide (either Dutch or English), policy makers in Indonesia were well aware that English could serve a very important role as a tool in the development of the country, both for international relations and scientific-technological advancement. English was chosen over Dutch despite the fact that the Dutch had colonized Indonesia for three and a half centuries. As is very well recorded in the Indonesian history, the official status of English in the country has been "the first foreign language" and the political stance of Indonesia's government is quite firm: "English is not and will never be a social language nor the second official language in Indonesia" (Sadtono, 1997:7).

With English being given this status, the objective of English language teaching (ELT) in Indonesia is to equip students with a working knowledge of the language. While this instructional objective may appear self-explanatory, in the context of formal schooling, the notion of "working knowledge in English" has been approached in different ways throughout the history of ELT in Indonesia. For instance, in the 1975 English syllabus, while the final goal of teaching was said to be the development of communicative competence in English, the actual English teaching focused almost exclusively on the mastery of linguistic patterns without giving proper attention to their use in communicative situations.

Quite predictably, the mismatch between the goal of ELT and the means being used to achieve it led to disappointment in both ELT theorists and practitioners. In the 1984 syllabus, which served to correct the 1975 syllabus, the notion of "working knowledge in English" was then approached by restoring the true goal of English teaching, that is, "meaningfulness and communicative functions" (Ministry of Education and Culture 1986 and 1987 cited in Huda, 1999). In actual classroom practice, however, the notion of "communicative competence" was misinterpreted and taught by most teachers as "oral skills". This misunderstanding, in turn, caused controversy among English teachers and experts.

Building on the lessons learned from these two failed attempts, current ELT in Indonesia adopts communicative language principles under the 1994 English syllabus, which brings to the forefront the notion of “meaningfulness approach”. Huda (1999) has interpreted this approach in two ways: 1) meaning-based instruction, and 2) meaningful instruction. Meaning-based instruction starts from the notion of language as a means to express and understand meaning. As meaning is determined by language scope and is also defined by social contexts. ELT should be targeted to develop students’ ability to understand and express meaning in the context of language used for communicative purposes. Language learning is meaningful if students learn expressions at the discourse level as opposed to isolated words. To this end, the presentation of learning materials must be in the context of specific situations because meaning changes in different contexts.

The second interpretation of the “meaningfulness approach” is that instruction should be meaningful to learners. Language instruction is meaningful if it is relevant to a learner’s needs and demands. The relevance of English instruction to the needs of learners as a group is ensured when what is being taught to — and engaged by — learners is somehow related to what they think is important and useful. To this end, the selection and presentation of learning materials should be made with reference to what is generally of interest to learners (horizontal relevance) and/or what is likely to be needed by learners in the near future (vertical relevance). To make the whole learning activity authentic, all language components and linguistic macro skills should be integrated, and treatment of any linguistic aspect or skill is to be made in the context of the whole discourse.

While, at the theoretical level, the goals seem reasonably clear, remaining at issue here is how classroom teachers as front-line players can translate the ideas as originally conceived by the syllabus designers. The issue of teachers’ ability to translate principles into classroom practice becomes important because it is the classroom teachers who will determine what happens — and does not happen — in the classroom. Another issue of concern is the kind and focus of the tests administered to assess the relative success of the instruction. The issue of test format and emphasis is important because we have learned from research and experience that grade is important to both teachers and students. That is to say, tests, as research has established, will drive instruction. The biggest challenge then is to empower classroom teachers so that they are productively involved in the design of course syllabi and assessment instruments.

## **Conclusion**

The previous brief sketch of the arrival of European languages to Indonesia raised the spectre of the dominant roles of Dutch colonization in introducing English language into the Indonesian education system as early as the twentieth century before World War II broke out. The dominant role being played by Bahasa Indonesia was gained through two main movements, the anti-Dutch movement which led to the Sovereignty of Indonesia as a state and through the banning of Dutch and other European teaching by the Japanese colonizer, subsequently followed in the era of the Sukarno presidency. The power of Bahasa Indonesia,

which formerly was only spoken by seven percent of Indonesian people in Riau Sumatera, was supported by its position as a constant 'melting pot' during its formative period in which Sanskrit, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, and English become main sources of vocabularies via their loan words. The Latin transliteration system being introduced by the Portuguese was then adopted into the formation of Low-Malaya language into Bahasa Indonesia. Such objective support from the many interfaces other languages rejoice in laid the basic unity of Indonesia as a *multi-ethnic* nation. Javanese which was spoken by the majority of Indonesian was not adopted. Bahasa Indonesia increasingly played a significant role in the formation of symbolic nationalism and the discourse of identity in Indonesia. To most of Indonesian people, their first language will be their respective dialects, and the second language will be Bahasa Indonesia, and their foreign language will most likely be English.

The development of English language teaching in Indonesia has always experienced its 'ups and downs'. First it was introduced by the private initiative of the short English *interregnum* (1811-1816) and then by the colonial Dutch government with the onset of the Ethical Policy in 1930s. The education policy, however, was elitist in which the schools only accepted noble ranks, Chinese people and those who had converted to Christianity. The teaching of four European languages, Dutch, German, French, and English could only be accessed by the upper class. The popular education was then advocated by two main other institutions, the nationalists and the modern Islamists as proposed by Ahmad Dahlan in Muhammadiyah. The two types of institutions were considered "wild schools" (by the Dutch) and barely copied Dutch (Western) education system with additional Islamic teaching for Muhammadiyah. Almost all of the education system which now prevails in Indonesia was formerly adopted from the Dutch system. Muhammadiyah schools and universities also adopted the teaching of English into their curriculum. Although English language teaching declined during the Japanese colonial era and Sukarno era, it then gained a stronghold during the Suharto era when he adopted a free market system into the Indonesian economy through its apparent policy toward the adoption of English as the only foreign language to be taught in schools and universities.

The major support of the teaching of English in Indonesia was mainly initiated by three major factors: (1) Government's positive attitude toward English language due to the adoption of a capitalistic economy; (2) private initiatives promoted by (a) western-educated nationalist indigenous actors; (b) Christian as well as Catholics missionaries; and (c) modern Islamic institutions, i.e. Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah played significant roles in propagating the education to the neglected-indigenous population; (3) finally support from the U.S via the Ford Foundation which promulgated the soft core of the English department curriculum and in-service training for teachers of English. Although Dutch colonial government support to the education during the Ethical Policy was considered little, the impact of creating western-educated indigenous nationalists and a modern Islamist elite was influential in creating their own ideological education institutions which then spread over Indonesia and touched a more popular ground at the level of mass education. The private initiatives from nationalists and

religious missions' movements were then continued after Indonesia reached its Independence. During the Japan and Sukarno reigns, English teaching was not so enhanced due to the anti-western policy set by both political actors. During Sukarno's reign, however, the U.S had helped in designing the syllabus of English teaching via the Ford Foundation in the hope that in the course of the Cold War, the more left-leaning Indonesian president would not adopt communism into the new state. The first seed disseminated through in-service training for English teachers and materials development were imported within the paradigm of American English. Almost all of Indonesian universities advocated the entrant for universities' teachers as the TOEFL test rather than IELTS. American English paints the color of Indonesian English nowadays since the policy adopted by Suharto was in accordance with the U.S in the post Cold-War era. Being not colonized by the British, Indonesia adopted American English rather than British English which had been adopted in Malaysia. The stronghold of English language in Malaysia was dated formerly before World War II when the British colonizer spent much of its financial effort to educate the Empire. Compared to Indonesia, the Dutch spent the least on education among the European colonizers in South East Asia. This resulted in double jeopardy in the formative era of education in Indonesia where most of the people were not literate. The fostering of education was strongly emphasized during Suharto's reign when he adopted a capitalistic policy in developing the country's economy. English became the sole choice of foreign languages to challenge the global power from the 1980s onward. From the onset of the 1980s, the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) expanded overnight and spread over to Indonesia. The quality of TEFL in Indonesia is, however, still a work in progress.

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