

A STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL CAPITAL OF POLITICAL EDUCATION ON THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

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Abstract-- *This article aims to analyze the historical capital of political education as the nation's capital in the struggle for independence in Indonesia. The method used in this article is qualitative research with a historical approach. The conclusion of this article is a historical event that is very important and significantly influences the formation of the attitude of Indonesian nationalism towards Indonesian independence. The historical roots of Indonesian nationalism began at the beginning of the 20th century with the formation of a national movement container known as the Budi Utomo 1908. The unity of the organization embodied in Budi Utomo became a battering era that had influenced and strengthened the nation's generation which was later manifested in the 1928 Youth Oath declaration. The value of national unity and unity is bound in the statement of the Youth Pledge as a solidity and firmness of the nation, namely "the nation, language and homeland of Indonesia". A multicultural and multi-ethnic nation generation unites in the Youth Pledge and fights for Indonesian independence. The culmination point of the nation's struggle with a solid and integrated attitude of nationalism carved out the nation's generation and incarnated in the era of Indonesia's independence which was proclaimed on August 17, 1945 and made the Indonesian state an independent, united and sovereign nation. National Awakening, Youth Oaths, and Proclamation of Independence as historical capital for the nation's political education in the Indonesian independence movement.*

Keywords: *Historical capital, Political education, Budi Utomo, National Awakening, Youth Pledge, Proclamation of Independence.*

I. Introduction

Political education as a process relating to the formation, awareness, and inheritance of values to the nation's generation. This education is carried out in a structured, tiered, systematic, and intensive manner in order to provide political understanding and awareness. Actually political education can be obtained either directly through concrete actions displayed by national political figures or elites or indirectly through the learning process.

Somantri (2001) illustrates that there are three stages in the implementation of political education, namely: patriotic or traditional political education, institutional political education, and behavioristic political education. Meanwhile, according to Hermann Giesecke (Kartono, 1996) it was stated that political education was related to: "Politische Bildung ist Bildungswissen, Orientierungswissen, Verhaltensweisen und Aktionwissen". In detail the meaning contained in the statement, he interpreted as follows. First, Bildungswissen means knowing and understanding the picture of humans or menbeeld and its development, as well as a picture of the nation's own culture, based on one Menschanschauung (certain humanitarian vision). Second, Orientierungswissen means oriented to the understanding of humanity that can provide goodness, happiness, prosperity, justice, welfare to every citizen and humanity. Third, Verhaltensweisen, namely pointing or directing the behavior of understanding the law, norms, order and all legal regulations to guide political behavior. Fourth, Aktionwissen, which is willing to act or act; able to behave or do politics carefully, precisely and correctly, supported by the principles of truth and justice; preceded by objective reflection and critical insight. Political behavior that is based on and adheres to the principles of truth and justice as universal values.

Part of political education is the history of national independence, especially the Indonesian people. The development of history has carved the political life of the Indonesian people. History has recorded various events experienced, felt, and fought for by the person of the nation since the occurrence of national control by other nations. Some important events that influenced the political life of the Indonesian nation as shown when resisting the Dutch colonial rule in the past, namely the National Awakening of 1908, the Youth Pledge of 1928, and to give birth to the Proclamation of Independence of 1945, although indeed we cannot forget the struggles of the heroes of the previous era. These three events are monumental events leading up to Indonesian independence and can be seen as historical capital related to the nation's political education. History has also been depicted after independence until reforms have now adorned the political face of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, the portrait of Indonesian political education can be traced based on facts or events from the history of past lives to the development of the political life that is lived today. Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze how the historical capital of political education became the capital of the Indonesian nation in the struggle for independence.

II. Method

The study in this article uses a qualitative research method with a historical approach. Qualitative research regarding non-numeric data, collecting and analyzing narrative data. Qualitative research methods are mainly used to obtain rich data, in-depth information about the issue or problem to be solved. Narrative is a research strategy in which researchers investigate to obtain information from individuals or groups of individuals in the references they write. This information is to strengthen the proof of the theme (political education) and is presented in narrative chronology (Sugiyono, 2018; Creswell, 2010). Information and data to be obtained regarding political education. Research using a historical approach, in this case Seignobos (in Gottschalk, 2006) states that "the historical method can be applied to the subject matter of any discipline as a means of ascertaining the facts. That is true". As also stated by Gottschalk (2006) that "the historical method is the process of critically examining and analyzing records and relics

of the past. Imaginative reconstruction from the past based on data obtained through this process is called historiography (history writing)". While data analysis techniques are used to answer the problem formulation and test it using the framework of the Miles and Huberman models, where the activities in data analysis, namely "data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification" (Sugiyono, 2018).

III. Results and Discussions

Historical capital as a value of cultural wealth in historic events that carve the life of the nation. Historical capital as a monumental event regarding the values or energy possessed by the Indonesian people in delivering and bringing changes to the order of national life as a foundation for achieving independence. Important and strategic monumental events were born by the predecessor generation, namely 1) National Awakening; 2) Youth Pledge, and 3) Proclamation of Independence. How the three historical values carved out the life of the Indonesian people and made Indonesia an independent and sovereign country, and finally received recognition from other nations in the world.

National Awakening

How a nation obtains its birth to become an independent state, apart from colonialism is not born just like that but through a long and long process of struggle. The movement and struggle of a nation that starts towards the achievement of independence becomes a major and important capital. The first historical capital, namely the National Awakening. Indonesian nationalism began to develop neatly and systematically seemed to begin with a national revival. Kahin (1995) in his book "Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia" revealed that the first organized nationalist-cultural movement was initiated between 1906 and 1908 through the efforts of a retired Javanese doctor, Mas Wahidin Soediro Hoesodo, who tried to improve the Javanese nation through Western knowledge and its own cultural heritage. In his movement, he received help and support from the sons of nobles who studied at medical school in Batavia (now Jakarta), namely Raden Soetomo and Raden Goenawan Mangoenkusumo, who later emerged as prominent nationalist leaders, so in October 1908 an organization was formed. named Boedi Oetomo.

Regarding Boedi Oetomo, Miert's view (2003) in his book "Een Koel Hoofd en Een Warm Hart: Nationalism, Javanism en Jeugdbeweging in Nederlands-Indie, 1918-1930" stated that Boedi Oetomo was founded on May 20, 1908 by the student STOVIA (indigenous medical school), a school for indigenous medical education in Batavia in the colonial era of the Dutch East Indies. Boedi Oetomo was the largest and most influential moderate organization in the second and third decades of the last century, which evoked a spirit of "nationalism". Among its founders were people who later became well-known national leaders, namely Raden Soetomo, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, and his brother Goenawan Mangoenkoesoemo. They were urged by Javanese doctor Wahidin Soedirohoesodo who had explored various cities in Java to encourage the awakening of the Javanese nation.

Indonesian historian and former LIPI chairman, Abdullah (2001) in his book "Nationalism and History" suggested that Boedi Oetomo was the first modern organization to gain recognition of colonial power. Since its inception, Boedi Oetomo is an organization that operates for emancipatory purposes, who want to raise their dignity

and leave behind. As a historical reflection of “National Awakening”, he asserted that with awareness, or more precisely, knowledge, this is precisely what we should always celebrate “May 20, 1908” as “national awakening day”.

Nationalism is the spirit of nationalism and national struggle, that is, the struggle carried out by one nation against another nation due to acts of oppression and colonialism. Isjwara (1999) stated that nationalism as a manifestation of national consciousness contains ideals which are inspirations that encourage and stimulate a nation. Nationalism as a national consciousness is manifested in the history of each nation. Nationalism and nation can theoretically be distinguished but impossible to be separated. Nationalism is a spiritual flow and the effect and manifestation of that flow are nation. Calling nationalism simultaneously reminds us of its component namely nation.

Hertz (Isjwara, 1999) mentions that there are four kinds of nationalist ideals, namely as follows: 1) The struggle to realize national unity which includes unity in the political, economic, social, religious, cultural and alliance and solidarity; 2) The struggle to realize national freedom which includes freedom from foreign dominion or interference from the outside world and freedom from internal forces that are not national in nature or who want to exclude the nation and state; 3) The struggle to realize loneliness (separateness), distinction, individuality, authenticity (originality) or privilege; 4) The struggle to realize the distinction between nations, which includes the struggle to gain honor, authority, prestige and influence.

The opinion of Kartodirdjo (1994), Indonesian historian and author of the book “Indonesian National History” revealed that the concept of nationalism as an ideology which includes the principles of freedom, unity, equality, and personality as the orientation of the collective life value of a group in its efforts to realize political goals, then in national movements are concerned with the focus of issues of identity awareness, the formation of solidarity through the process of integration and mobilization through organizations. Nationalism is a nationalist movement based on ideology, ideals, identity awareness with a group action (common interest) toward change, improvement, and finally is the achievement of independence.

National awakening is seen as the nation's political education, through which National Awakening raises strength, unity, togetherness, and awareness in nationality. Indonesian political education is carried out as a formation of “group awareness”. Kahin (1995) notes that “political boundaries tend to determine national consciousness”. Kahin revealed that there are some of the most important factors that support and influence the growth of Indonesian nationalism. First, the growth of an integrated nationalism is the high degree of religious homogeneity in Indonesia, where more than 90 percent of the population is Muslim. Islam is not just an ordinary bond, but it really is a kind of in-group symbol to fight foreign bullies and oppressors of a different religion. This means that the homogeneity of religion as a group symbol has awakened national unity and awareness. Religion provides an important role towards the revival and unification of the nation. Wertheim's affirmation (1999) that “... Islam as an isolation of unifying pre-nationalism, ... contributed to the change of a passive reaction to Western influence into an active reaction of Indonesian nationalism”. Second, another important integration factor is the development of the unitary language of the Ancient Indies, the Malay language of the Market, into a national language. This language entered the market and helped the flow of Islam to break the tendency of Indonesians to have petty nationalism.

According to Wertheim (1999) that modern education, although still at a very basic level during the colonial period, has spread the same pattern of thought in various remote areas of the islands. The origins of the same

Indonesian language have contributed in efforts to build a national language. The Malay language, which is mainly used in Sumatra and the surrounding small islands, along the coast of Borneo and on the Malay peninsula, provides the largest contribution to the Indonesian language. Third, the integration of Indonesian nationalism is usually seen as a result of the Volksraad (People's Assembly), the highest representative assembly for all of Indonesia. The existence of the Volksraad means uniting all Indonesians from various islands and awakening their awareness of issues and relations with the Netherlands in general, and tends to develop a more convincing unity, which combines their nationalism more closely. This fact is also stated by Hans van Miert (2003) that the Volksraad was indeed the first national podium from which the nationalists could express their complaints and desires. This has strengthened the direction of the rise of the nation. Fourth, the growth and spread of nationalism is strongly stimulated by ways of spreading ideas due to the development of a newspaper that uses everyday language and radio. In addition, it is also driven by the large increase in geographical mobility of the population and ideas caused by the pattern of 20th century economic organization in Indonesia and the transportation facilities that are a consequence.

Organization, in this case political organization through the struggle of the nation plays an important and strategic role in the effort to achieve its political goals. National struggles and movements shown by the heroes of the past often stumble and experience obstacles and are always broken when fighting the Dutch colonial government, one of the reasons is because the organizational strength is not enough to be built physically only through war and bloodshed and sweat, but also must be based on the organization building that is neat and systematic. In this perspective, Kartodirdjo (1994) states that: the formation of the first organization was a milestone, not because of the format or scale of its activities, but the quality of communication among its participants. It cannot be denied that in Boedi Oetomo (hereinafter abbreviated as BO) the need for identity and solidarity is expressed, and also the symbolization of his collective consciousness. The formation of an organization makes "collective consciousness" more visible, while facilitating the processes of "togetherness" including a shared perspective and conception of the condition of colonial society. From this perspective it is very meaningful to establish the BO on May 20, 1908. Collective awareness has found momentum with its institutionalization which is very instrumental in the development of collective action on the one hand and on the other hand is expressive as a manifestation of the formation of a collective orientation in the face of colonial dominance and its discrimination.

National awakening is the first milestone in strengthening the nation's political education and at the same time providing valuable political learning for the Indonesian people and should continue to be nurtured and passed on continuously to the nation's generation so as not to forget its history. National awakening can be seen as a milestone in political education because there is a process of the nation's struggle to fight the Dutch colonial government and there is communication and political socialization built in the Boedi Oetomo organization. There is an indication of the content of political education, this can be revealed from the affirmation of Kartodirdjo (1994) who revealed the conclusions about BO as follows: 1) In the face of the colonial order the educated managed to raise awareness of the socio-political environment and self-awareness; 2) Collective awareness focused on the ideology of nationalism can overcome negative identities to be used as a collective identity as a symbol of new solidarity; 3) The BO organization as a new solidarity structure functions to carry out innovation and transformation from traditionalism and communalism to modernism and its associations; 4) If BO as an organization is a form of institutionalization of

activities according to social and political relations in accordance with modern society, so it functions instrumentally, besides that BO also functions very expressively in various sentiments and interests of educated groups as the protagonists of nationalism; 5) Although BO is generally formally not oriented to political values, as an association structure it creates social space and political arena in which political socialization is held; 6) Inherent in pluralistic society is the existence of differential awareness based on differences in orientation of values, attitudes, and interests, so that the establishment of BO is immediately followed by the establishment of various organizations with various forms of symbols and ideologies. Thus, even though the Boedi Oetomo organization is not politically oriented or as a political organization, all its activities represent and create social and political space for its citizens, especially in the form of political socialization.

Youth Pledge

Along with the development of the educated, namely their understanding and awareness of nationality for the independence movement. This has carved national values formed in a container as the next struggle capital. The second historical capital in the nation's political education is the Youth Pledge. The Youth Pledge is a political statement declared at the Second Youth Congress, October 28, 1928 and this can be seen as the unification and awareness of the nation's politics. Simultaneously with the Youth Pledge and for the first time the song "Indonesia Raya" by Wage Rudolf Supratman was played or echoed by the audience who were greeted with applause (Silalahi, 2001). This further strengthened political unity and awareness among the nation's generation at that time. The Youth Pledge as a monumental event affecting the nation's generation among Indonesian youth.

The Youth Pledge Event, according to historian and author of "Indonesian National History" Notosusanto (1984) is the culmination of the process of strengthening Indonesian nationality and is an expression of the maturity of Indonesian nationalism. The event began with a number of youth associations. In 1915 a regional youth association was formed, namely Tri Koro Darmo, which later changed its name to Jong Java. This was followed by the establishment of other youth associations, namely Jong Sumatranenbond, Jong Minahasa, Jong Ambon, Jong Celebes, Jong Batak, Sekar Roekoen, and Betawi Pemoeda. In 1925 in Jakarta the Indonesian Student Association (PPPI) was formed and in 1927 in Bandung the Jong Indonesia association was formed which later changed its name to Pemoeda Indonesia. With the formation of several youth associations, this reflects the strengthening of the process of strengthening Indonesian nationalism.

At the Second Youth Congress on 27 and 28 October 1928 in Jakarta, where "hearing speeches held at the density", then can trigger something that feels much more important, based on "the density of taking the leadership" namely the Youth Pledge as follows:

First, we Indonesian poetry and poetry acknowledge the blood of satoe, the land of Indonesia;

Secondly, we Indonesian poetry and poetry acknowledge the Indonesian nation;

Third, We poetra and Indonesian poetry support the Indonesian language, Indonesian (Notosusanto, 1984: 88).

Like Boedi Oetomo, the Youth Oath, even from the two, there is a historical thread that connects in the formation of nationalism, from “cultural nationalism” to “political nationalism”. “Political nationalism” is a modern desire driven by the ideals to pioneer the future, not to dig up old heirlooms. The statement on nationalism, citing Ernest Renan's opinion about the nation as an embodiment of “le desir d'etre ensemble”. Isn't “Youth Pledge” an example of par excellence from this very simple theory? “Nation” and “homeland” are not something that just happened, but based on recognition and agreement resulting from a deliberate intellectual upheaval (Abdullah, 2001).

In a historical perspective, why is it that October 28, 1928 is celebrated as the “Youth Oath” and gained one strategic place in the nation's historical awareness. According to Abdullah (2001) that the events of the “Youth Oath” were symbolically regarded as being officially stamped “the will to unite”. The Youth Pledge has even become one of the nation's myths of concern that must be maintained. Abdullah called the Youth Pledge “sacred oath”. Youth Pledge as a monumental event in the history of the nation's struggle that is able to unite and tie the unity and strength of the nation as a united Indonesian nation.

Another assertion was stated by Suratman (2008) that the “principle of unity” which was locked in the promise was simply formulated, “one homeland, one nation, one language”, but the implications are complex and fundamental.

First, the final end of the joint direction to be pursued is a new national house called Indonesia.

Second, judging by the pledge participants who are so complete and diverse, there is of course a mutual recognition between them that the unique existence of each (group, region, creed, political flow, culture, etc.) will get a respectable place in a new home called Indonesia.

Third, if the process of formulating the pledge is traced, there is certainly a mutual recognition that the place of honor for each of the components of the nation's character is not stratified but equal and equal.

Fourth, from the process also, it can be concluded that there is a shared imagery among the participants that at home in Indonesia later national decisions will be taken based on the compromise of the parties concerned.

The Youth Pledge signifies strength and emotional unity among young people who have one soul, namely the spirit of Indonesian nationality. They are not compartmentalized in the interests of groups, regions, beliefs, political or cultural streams. They are united and united in Indonesian national homes. Suharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia during the New Order administration stated that “the Youth Pledge is a very monumental milestone”. It is said to be monumental, because the Youth Oath contains inspiration of patriotism or heroism. The Youth Pledge was the culmination of a national revival that began at the birth of Budi Utomo 20 years earlier. The Youth Pledge is the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the movement and struggle of our nation, a chapter of history that is based on the determination of national unity that overcomes the diversity and diversity embodied in the archipelago. The Youth Pledge has laid the basic framework which must be filled with political and cultural struggles, which must be developed in the framework of the formation of an Independent Indonesian Nation and State. The Youth Pledge proves how big the role of the young generation of the Republic of Indonesia as the sons of his era who voiced the voice of the conscience of his people who craved freedom and independence from the shackles of

colonialism. Through the Youth Pledge, in 1928 Indonesian youth had pioneered national unity, by keeping away all the differences in class, ethnicity, social position, religious beliefs and other differences.

Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia

The third historical capital in the nation's political education is the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence. At that time on August 17, 1945 before the Proclamation was read, Bung Karno gave a short speech and in the final speech section stated, "Only a nation that dares to take fate in its own hands, will be able to stand strong". Next read the text of the Proclamation as shown below (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008; Silalahi, 2001).

PROCLAMATION

We the Indonesian people hereby declare Indonesian Independence.

Matters concerning the transfer of power, etc., are carried out in a thorough manner and in the shortest possible time.

Djakarta, day 17 months 8 years 05

On behalf of the Indonesian people

Soekarno/Hatta

(Soekarno's signature)

(Hatta's signature)

After reading the Proclamation, Bung Karno stressed: "We are now independent. There is no one bond that binds our homeland and our nation! From now on we compile our country! Negara Merdeka, the Republic of Indonesia is independent, eternal and eternal. God willing, God bless our freedom". The Proclamation of Indonesian Independence is a monumental event that is very important and determines the nation's existence and self-recognition in the international community. According to Mardojo (Darmodiharjo, 1991) that the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence when examined further, apparently contained several aspects, namely: replaced with a national legal system (Indonesia); b) From a political-ideological standpoint, the proclamation meant that the Indonesian people had succeeded in breaking away from all the shackles of colonialism and at the same time building new housing, namely the state housing of the Republic of Indonesia which was free and fully independent.

The Youth Pledge had influenced the political awareness of the nation to give birth to Indonesian independence which was sparked on August 17, 1945. At that time the Proclamation was echoed, the Red and White flag was planted and at the same time the national anthem of Indonesia was sung. The roar of Indonesian Nation blanketed the Indonesian people who had been dreamed of from the past. Therefore, the unifying factor was tied to the ownership of the "Red and White flag and the national anthem of Indonesia Raya". This has provided moral values as well as being a nation's political education in achieving the ideals of independence. Any nation in the world has these attributes and becomes a moral force in binding citizens' unity. Indirectly became a political education for their

respective people. The national attribute becomes the glue of the citizens in resisting the inhumane actions of the invaders.

Radja Tjantik stated the importance of national attributes for independence published in "Greater Asia, 7 April 1945" (Darmosugito, 1982), namely:

"(1) the flag, (2) the national anthem, (3) the language of unity, and (4) the homeland".

This is the symbol of unity that is always present in an independent nation. If one of the four does not exist, then the nation cannot be truly independent.

After we have the two colors and the song "Indonesia Raya" returned from the hands of the Old brothers, then our blood which has been frozen for 300 years will immediately become hot.

But why does it stay hot, why doesn't it boil? Isn't it what we expect that our blood boils, so that it can swell and overflow so that it wet our homeland?

"Why doesn't the blood boil?" that's our question.

"Where is the search for fire to boil blood?"

Indonesian, the language of unity, that is a terrible fire!

The binding of national unity was strengthened by the basic ownership of the state and the constitution that had been born and agreed upon. Pancasila as the basis of the state and the 1945 Constitution as the constitution of the Indonesian State. The 1945 Constitution serves as a guideline in regulating statehood and government. How are state buildings established, government institutions owned, and state goals being achieved? This is a nation's political education that should be instilled and passed on to citizens so they can understand, realize, and be able to carry it out in the life of society, nation and state. Thus the culture of democracy can be upheld.

IV. Conclusion

National Awakening, Youth Oaths, and Proclamation of Independence as historical capital for the nation's political education. These three historical capitals are the common thread in the movement to achieve Indonesian independence. The three historical capital is a monumental and strategic event that significantly influences the struggle for the Indonesian independence movement. All three have fundamental values that are meaningful for the nation's political education and this must be passed on to the nation's generation so that they can understand and be aware of the nation's historical roots regarding Indonesia's independence.

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