

The Role of Troops Raising the National Heritage Flag of the Republic of Indonesia in Forming Youth Nationalism (1946-1973)

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana peran dari Pasukan Pengibar Bendera Pusaka nasional Republik Indonesia dalam membentuk nasionalisme pemuda pada tahun 1945-1973 berdasarkan Tinjauan kritis dalam pers nasional. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode sejarah yang terdiri dari heuristik (pengumpulan data), kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi dengan menggunakan teori nasionalisme. Adapun hasil dari penelitian menemukan bahwa Paskibraka sudah terbentuk sejak HUT RI pada tahun 1946 di Yogyakarta. Para anggota yang dipilih adalah para pelajar yang sedang menempuh pendidikan di Yogyakarta. Antusiasme masyarakat khususnya para pemuda yang berasal dari berbagai daerah di Indonesia menunjukkan bahwa rasa nasionalisme pada awalnya bersifat kedaerahan. Namun, adanya pengibaran bendera pusaka pada HUT RI setiap tahunnya membentuk rasa nasionalisme pemuda. Peran Paskibraka yang lebih fundamental adalah membentuk karakter para pemuda bangsa Indonesia menjadi pemuda yang memiliki rasa nasionalisme yang sesuai dengan Pancasila.

Kata kunci: paskibraka, nasionalisme, surat kabar, upacara bendera.

Abstract

This study aims to find out The Role of National Flag Raisers in Indonesia to Forming Youth Nationalism (1946-1973) based on critical reviews in the national press. The research method used is the historical method which consists of heuristics (data collection), source criticism, interpretation, and historiography using the theory of nationalism. The results of the study found that Paskibraka had been formed since the Indonesian Independence Day in 1946 in Yogyakarta. The participants selected were students currently studying in Yogyakarta. The enthusiasm of the people, especially the youth who come from various regions in Indonesia, shows that the sense of nationalism was initially regional in nature. However, the raising of the heritage flag on the Indonesian Independence Day every year creates a sense of youth nationalism. Paskibraka's more fundamental role is to shape the character of the Indonesian youth to become youth who have a sense of nationalism in accordance with Pancasila.

Keywords: paskibraka, nationalism, newspapers, flag ceremony.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has a very long history with its national emblem, the Red and White Heritage Flag. A flag according to the Big Indonesian dictionary is a rectangular or triangular piece of cloth or paper tied to the end of a level, pole, etc. which is used as a national symbol, association, body and so on. A flag is a piece of cloth that

has a certain size and uses colors and symbols or paintings that have meaning according to their purpose. A flag is a symbol of a country, nation, religion, association, kingdom, presidency, or unity in scouting and military (Rahmawati Fitriani, 2006: 2). In warfare, flags are used as symbols or signs to distinguish allies and opponents. In addition to using

colors, flags also use various symbols such as images of animals and weapons (Rahmawati Fitriani, 2006: 6). Flags come in all shapes and sizes and are made of cloth that is flown on a pole in a house, office building, ship, or as decoration at certain times. Flags are generally rectangular in shape with a ratio of width and length, which is 2: 3 or according to applicable regulations (Rahwati Fitriani, 2006: 8).

Proof of the existence of the Red and White Heritage Flag in Indonesia is the discovery of a flag painting on one of the reliefs in Borobudur Temple. According to the writings of Permaisuri Seri Kehuluan dated 842 AD (in Moh. Yamin, 2017: 149) explained that Borobudur Temple was named "*Bumi Mendjulang*" Temple and was built by Sri Maharaja Syailendra named Samaratungga in 800 AD. In the painting, there is a waving wa'rna symbol and above the sculpture can be read the word "*Pataka*" with ancient Javanese characters which means flag. In addition, the relief depicts three hulubalang people, namely the leader of the army carrying dark-colored pennants. The pennants allegedly symbolize the colors red and white. Then, on other records Borobudur also often mentions *tundjung mabang* (red) and *tundjung maputeh* (white) flowers. The carvings of *tundjung mabang* and *tundjung putih* are also visible in Mendut Temple (Bondan Winarno, 2002: 14).

The Red and White flag was flying even before Indonesia gained its independence. The red and white flag began to be raised and introduced at the Youth Congress held on October 28, 1928 in Jakarta. However, at that time when Indonesia was not yet a sovereign country, the youth agreed to take the oath of nationality which until now has become Indonesia's national identity. At the Youth Congress, the youth who joined the Indonesian Youth Force raised the Red and White Flag accompanied by the song Indonesia Raya created by Wage Rudolf Supratman (Bondan Winarno, 2002: 13).

The Indonesian nation, which had a variety of ethnicities and tribes at that time colonized by the Dutch and Japanese, began to fight, one of which was to carry out nationalism actions. This nationalism action is based on the spirit of independence and freedom from colonialism. In this case, nationalism fosters enthusiasm and courage in the Indonesian nation by giving everything for the country. According to Historian William H. Frederick (in Hendri F. Isnaeni, 2013: 184) explained that the Indonesian nation proudly shows national identity which is shown in red and white as a symbol of the republic.

The Indonesian nation instills respect for the Red and White Flag as a symbol of its country's independence. It was the nation that wanted independence that ushered in the national pattern to the

independence movement which culminated greatly in the XX century, especially after 1920 (Moh. Yamin, 2017:191-192). The struggle passed by the Indonesian people both when fighting by holding diplomacy and fighting using weapons that can bring Indonesia to its independence. When the Red and White Flag is seen abroad, it flies with all spirituality and conviction as a symbol of national independence that will surely be achieved (Moh. Yamin, 2017:192).

When Indonesia became independent, the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia was held on August 17, 1945, the raising of the Red and White Heritage Flag by representatives of Indonesian youth, namely Latief Hendraningrat and Suhud Sastro Kusumo was held in the yard of Ir. Soekarno's house on Jl. Pegangsaan Timur No.56 Jakarta (Hendri F. Isnaeni, 2013: 111). The Red and White Heritage flag that was flown at the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia had a non-standard size because the fabric was imperfect and was sewn by Mrs. Fatmawati who was the wife of Ir. Soekarno, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia. Fatmawati sewed the red and white heirloom flag before the proclamation of Indonesian independence. The cloth used by Fatmawati as a red and white heirloom flag was a gift from Shimizu who was the Head of *Sendenbu* (Propaganda

Department) during the Japanese occupation. This cloth was obtained from a Japanese warehouse at Pintu Air in front of the former Kapitol cinema and given to Chairul to deliver it to Fatmawati (Hendri F. Isnaeni, 2015: 126).

In 1946 the Red and White Heritage Flag was raised in Yogyakarta which at that time was the capital of the Republic of Indonesia. The relocation of the Indonesian capital was carried out because of the arrival of NICA which caused Indonesia to experience a physical revolution. During the time of the physical revolution (1945-1950) Indonesia was in a state of martial law. This is due to the instability of Indonesia as a newly independent country (Dika Restu A, 2016: 12). This caused the capital of Indonesia which was originally located in Jakarta to be moved to Yogyakarta which at that time was led by a Sultan named Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX. During the reign of the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta, the Red and White Heritage Flag was only flown at certain times such as ceremonies to commemorate the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17. The Red and White Heritage Flag is stored in a vault so that it is maintained and not easily damaged.

The move of the capital to Yogyakarta made Sukarno as president want to carry out the commemoration ceremony of Indonesia's first Indonesian independence with wisdom and neatly

arranged. Like an independent country, Sukarno then ordered one of his aides named Husein Mutahar who served in the State Secretariat. Husein Mutahar came from the Navy Officer, he was ordered by President Soekarno to prepare a commemoration ceremony for the First Indonesian Independence Day. Husein Mutahar was given the task of designing ceremonial activities such as the procession of raising the Red and White Heritage Flag. The state ceremony of the first Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia was held in the courtyard of Gedung Agung Yogyakarta, on August 17, 1946.

When the Dutch carried out their second military aggression on December 19, 1948, the government of the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta sent a telegram to Sumatra to form an emergency government called the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PDRI) in Bukittinggi. In addition, the government of the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta also ordered the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PDRI) to establish relations with the Sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia in New Delhi, India. President Sukarno summoned Hussein Mutahar to bring the Red and White Heritage Flag to Yogyakarta and save the Red and White Heritage Flag during the second Dutch military aggression. Hussein Mutahar saved the Red and White Heritage Flag by

removing the stitches separating the two parts of the flag. The white part is hidden in his clothes, then the red part is hidden in the clothes bag. Hussein Mutahar successfully carried out his duties in securing the task of the Red and White Heritage Flag. Then one year after the Dutch Military Aggression II Hussein Mutahar sewn back the Red and White Heritage Flag which would be flown in Jakarta after the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty by the Dutch on December 27, 1949 (Hendri F. Isnaeni, 2015: 128-130).

The raising of the Heritage Flag is a symbol of the continuity of the nation's struggle values. Therefore, it is the young men who have to raise the Heritage Flag. The raising of the Heritage Flag in Yogyakarta in 1946 was carried out by five young men appointed by Husein Mutahar consisting of 3 sons and 2 daughters who came from various regions and were studying in Yogyakarta. The five young men are a symbol of Pancasila which is interpreted as the basis of the Indonesian state (Tomi, 2017: 31).

When the Indonesian government was re-implemented in Jakarta, the red and white heritage flag raising activity was held at the Merdeka Palace and flown by flag-raising squads formed and regulated by the Presidential Household of the Republic of Indonesia until 1966. Then, in 1967 Hussein Mutahar was ordered by President Ir. Soekarno to form a heritage flag-raising army. He involved

regional sons in Jakarta and made Pandu or Scout members to carry out the task of raising the heritage flag (Tomi, 2017: 33).

The Pusaka Flag Raising Force is a force tasked with raising the Red and White Heritage Flag on the commemoration of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia every August 17. These Paskibraka members are selected through selection who are then trained and educated on national insight and discipline. Paskibraka members who are young men are one of the ways to realize the cultivation of nationalism values and awareness of defending the country. Paskibraka has a characteristic of a sense of fate and solidarity with the goal of forming brotherhood between young men and women and making youth as pioneers and guides of Mother Earth (Tomi, 2017: 39). A member of the paskibraka candidate is named as "CAPASKA" which means Calon Bearer of the Heritage flag. Then, at the time of assignment on August 17, Paskibraka members were named as "PASKIBRAKA" which means Heritage Flag Raising Troops. Then, after August 17, it was named as Purna Paskibraka which means Alumni of the Heritage Flag Raising Force (Tomi, 2017: 39).

Since the beginning of independence until today, news about paskibraka has always been depicted in newspapers. Newspapers spread in 1946-1973 explained the picture and situation

that existed on the Indonesian Independence Day every year. One of them was the moment when Paskibraka members raised the heritage flag at the peak of the Indonesian Anniversary celebration. Paskibraka is inseparable in every sacred moment of the country. The role of Paskibraka from the beginning is not just to raise the heritage flag as a national identity, but more than that Paskibraka has an important role, one of which is to form a sense of nationalism and apply it in the life of the nation and state. The spirit of nationalism of the youth was burning even before Indonesia's independence. This sense of nationalism is formed in each individual who wants to be free from the colonialism that is being experienced. On this basis, one of the things done by the government involves them in raising the heritage flag as a form of nationalism. Paskibraka is one of the special places for young people who are the next generation of the nation to form an awareness of love for the country and are willing to sacrifice for their country.

Based on the background description above, this study aims to know the History and Role of members of the National Heritage Flag Raiser of the Republic of Indonesia in Cultivating Youth Nationalism in the period 1946-1973.

METHODS

This research uses historical methods. This method critically examines and analyzes

past records and relics based on the data obtained. This research method goes through several stages carried out in accordance with historical research methods consisting of several stages ranging from the Heuristics stage (data collection), Criticism, Interpretation to Historiography which will explain and analyze this research. So that this study emphasizes more on the History and Role of the Heritage Flag Raising Force (Paskibraka) at the National level in Forming Youth Nationalism in 1946-1973 based on the point of view of contemporary print newspapers.

This study uses historical methodology by going through several stages, namely data collection (heuristics), source criticism, interpretation (interpretation), and historiography. Data collection in this study used literature studies, analysis from contemporary newspapers and analysis of several videos related to the study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

History of the National Heritage Flag Raising Force of the Republic of Indonesia in Shaping Youth Nationalism (1945-1973)

1. The Age of Physical Revolution (1945-1950)

After the proclamation of Indonesian independence, Indonesian youth broadcast news about independence through various newspapers. Almost all daily newspapers in Java in the newspaper published on

August 20, 1945 contain news of the proclamation and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The press during the revolution had characteristics, one of which was to fight for the recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia by embracing the international world to support the proclamation of independence and carry out the transfer of power from Dutch hands. The struggle was diplomatic. The fourth basic force of Pancasila has the equivalent meaning of armed guerrilla action against the Dutch.

According to David T. Hill (in Gita Widya L.S, 2011: 23) various newspapers at this time carried propaganda wars, the results of the writings of a series of Indonesian journalists who later proved to be able to produce accomplished politicians, one of which was Adam Malik who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice President during the New Order era.

Since 1945, the press has broadcast the Indonesian Anniversary ceremony. The celebration of the one-year anniversary ceremony of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1946 which at that time was held in the Square of the Capital City of the Republic of Indonesia, namely the Special Region of Yogyakarta. During the reign of the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta, the Red and White Heritage Flag was always kept in an iron chest and only flown during

state ceremonies, commemorating the proclamation of independence on August 17.

It was during the first anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesian young men and women who raised the Red and White Heritage Flag. These young men and women were representatives appointed directly by Husein Mutahar to raise the Heritage Flag which amounted to 5 people. Husein Mutahar was at the time an aide to the president. He was given the task by the president to elect young Indonesians to raise the heritage flag. The young men were in Yogyakarta because they were studying in the student city. The five young men are interpreted as the basic symbol of the country, namely Pancasila. One of the young women appointed to be a member of the heritage flag raiser in 1946 was Poin Dewi who at that time was a student from West Sumatra.

In celebration of the first Indonesian Anniversary, Yogyakarta attracted the arrival of young people from all over the country who wanted to participate in filling the development of this newly independent country. Young men and women from various islands in Indonesia gathered to participate in the commemoration of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The youths use land transportation in the form of trains to get

to Yogyakarta. They are very enthusiastic to participate and be involved in a sacred moment for their country.

This proves the sense of nationalism that began with the multicultural Indonesian people gathered together. They have a strong sense of nationalism because of their pride and love for their homeland. The Bendera Pusaka raising ceremony held in the courtyard of Gedung Agung was held again on August 17, 1947, 1948, and 1949 with each taking turns featuring young people from other parts of Indonesia.

The youngsters who was in charge of raising the Heritage Flag in 1946-1950 under the name of the Heritage Flag Hoisting Squad. The Heritage Flag Hoisting Troops wear white uniforms. The uniform used by the members of the Heritage Flag Hoisting Force has a meaning, which is to create a graceful and dashing impression.

The Heritage Flag Raiser in 1946-1950 was named the Heritage Flag Raising Team, this is because the Heritage Flag Raiser was carried out by scouting members. Husein Mutahar chose Scouts because it was easy to train. The scouting members are already trained in marching rows. Therefore, until now one of the trainings conducted by the Heritage Flag Raising Force (Paskibraka) is marching exercises.

2. The Age of Liberal Democracy (1950-1959)

Liberal democracy is a democracy that gives the widest freedom to its citizens. In 1950 the form of government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) was changed to a parliamentary government and used the Temporary Basic Law (UUDS) or also referred to as the 1950 Constitution as the highest legal basis of the country. Based on the 1950 Constitution, the government carried out by the cabinet is parliamentary in nature is the cabinet responsible to parliament. In this system, the rise and fall of a cabinet depends on the support of parliamentarians.

The Indonesian press during the liberal democracy period supported policies and programs organized by the government (Andi Suwirta, 2008: 268). Although the press during the liberal democracy period was created to support the policies and programs organized by the government, the implementation of the Heritage Flag Raising in 1950-1959 was always broadcast by newspapers of various genres. One of them is the nationalist Merdeka newspaper.

On the VII Indonesian Anniversary, the raising of the Heritage Flag was carried out by 4 princesses and 5 young men escorted by the presidential team. The political and economic conditions that existed in Indonesia at that time did not make the people lose

their sense of nationalism. They still participate in the construction of the country. At the time of the lowering of the Heritage Flag at the Merdeka Palace was carried out by 20 young men.

Then, it was known that at the celebration of the IX Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia in 1954 members of the Pusaka Flag Hoisting Team consisted of 8 sons and 9 daughters escorted by 4 guards from the Presidential Guard Force. The members of the Heirloom Flag Hoisting Team wear all white clothes and wear red and white sash ready to raise the Heritage Flag.

3. The Age of Guided Democracy (1959-1966)

Guided Democracy according to Tap MPRS No. VII / MPRS / 1965 is a peoplehood led by wisdom in representative consultations with the essence of consultation for mutual cooperation consensus among all progressive revolutionary national forces with the axis of nasakom with characteristics: presidential dominance, limited role of political parties, and growing influence of PKI (Arif Wijaya, 2014: 140).

The commemoration ceremony of the XV Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia was the first ceremony held during the guided democracy period. Then, the raising of the Heritage Flag on the XVIII Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia in 1963 was held at

the Gelora Karno Main Stadium (GBK) Jakarta. In this case, President Soekarno also inaugurated the Gelora Karno Main Stadium (GBK) to introduce it to the world. On the XVIII Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia in 1963, the Pusaka Flag Hoisting Team raised the Red and White Heritage Flag for the first time at Gelora Karno.

The Heritage Flag Hoister formed a 17-8-45 squad dressed all in white with peci and a measuring rope on the right shoulder. The use of black peci as an attribute used by each Paskibraka member imitates the dressing style of president Ir. Soekarno. The formation of raising the heritage flag has the meaning of Indonesia's independence day, which is August 17, 1945. The implementation of the Indonesian independence ceremony at Gelora Karno was the most lively independence ceremony since Indonesia's independence.

In 1964, President Ir. Soekarno invited 10,000 students to enliven the XIX Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia. On the XIX Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, the daughter of President Ir. Soekarno became one of the members in charge of raising the Red and White Heritage Flag, namely Megawati Soekarnoputri. Megawati is tasked with carrying the tray on which contains the Red and White Heritage Flag both when the Heritage Flag will be raised and returned after the time when the lowering

of the Heritage Flag is carried out. Then, at the celebration of the XXI Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia in 1966, President Soekarno's daughter, Rachmawati Soekarnoputri, also became a member of the Heirloom Flag Hoisting Force. Although in 1965 there was a G-30S/PKI incident, the celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day in 1966 was still carried out as in previous years. After this incident, the community was invited to strengthen Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation.

4. The Early Period of the New Order (1967-1973)

The New Order period was a transition period from the old order government led by President Soekarno to President Suharto. The New Order period was marked by the issuance of Sukarno's warrant to General Suharto on March 11, 1966 known as SUPERSEMAR (Eleven March Warrant). Officially on February 20, 1967 President Soekarno handed over his power to Suharto which was confirmed at the MPRS Special Session stipulated in MPRS decree No. XXXIII/MPRS/1967 which contained the revocation of state government power from President Soekarno and appointed Suharto as Acting President of the Republic of Indonesia (Hendra Permana, 2018: 8).

During the New Order era, president Suharto upheld the value of nationalism, one of which was by applying the single

principle of Pancasila. The single principle of Pancasila is the principle by which all community organizations and political parties make Pancasila the only ideology of the nation. This was done as a form of rejection of ideologies outside Pancasila such as communism that had developed in the old order era. Nationalism that existed during the New Order period emphasized more on the nation's ideology.

In 1967 at the beginning of Suharto's leadership as president called Husein Mutahar who at that time was serving as Director General of Youth and Scout Affairs at the Ministry of Education and Culture. Husein Mutahar was given the task of compiling procedures for raising the heritage flag. One of his tasks is to form the ceremonial procedures of the heritage flag into an army consisting of three groups, namely as follows:

- a) Group 17 is a group that serves as a front accompaniment or guide.
- b) Group 8 is the group that serves as the core group carrying the Heritage Flag.
- c) Group, which is a group that serves as a bodyguard (KEMENPORA, 2015: 7).

The three groups are symbols of the date of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia, which is August 17, 1945. Paskibraka members at each level have a different number. At the national level, Paskibraka was formed into two armies, namely the morning army and

the afternoon army which numbered 17+8(+7) because members came from 32 provinces (Idik Sulaeman, 2005: 128).

Each group is numbered according to the existing formation. Troop 17 consisted of 17 Paskibraka members whose positions were located at the front. Troop 17 is led by a Group Commander and acts as a troop escort and guide. Furthermore, troop 8 whose position is located behind troop 17. Troop 8 is referred to as the core force, due to its duty as heirloom flag bearer. This heritage flag bearer consists of two princesses escorted by four members of the TNI. Then, the 45th army whose position was located behind the 8th army. Troop 45 consisted of guards and was led by a Paskibraka Company Commander carrying weapons.

At first Husein Mutahar planned to involve students from AKABRI (Academy of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) as guards for Troop 45, but this was undone because the AKABRI students at that time lectures were on holiday and accommodation was not possible due to the political situation that occurred in Indonesia. In the end, the guards of Team 45 were taken from PASWALPRES (Presidential Guard). Husein Muntahar involved regional sons and daughters in Jakarta and became members of Pandu/Scouts to carry out the task of raising the Heritage Flag. They have been selected and involved in every heritage flag raising since 1950.

In 1968, the Indonesian Heritage Flag was not flown for the first time at the Proclamation celebration. The heritage flag was flown for the last time in 1967. This is due to the age of the heritage flag that is old and feared to be damaged if it continues to be used every year. The heritage flag became a silent witness to Indonesia's independence achieved by the entire nation with endless struggle.

Since August 17, 1968, the heritage flag-raising officers have been young delegates from each province. However, the raising of the heritage flag in 1968 involved Paskibraka retirees (alumni) in 1967 to replace some provinces that did not send their envoys to the national level. The reason for this was that the transportation that existed at the time was not possible. The unstable political situation in Indonesia due to the change of government is also the reason some regions do not send young men and women envoys to the central government.

The flag was replaced with a duplicate flag made at the PT. Ratna in Bogor, under the provision of Bandung Textile Research Institute. This duplicate flag was distributed to all provinces in Indonesia to be raised (Bondan Winarno 2002: 58). This is in accordance with the Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia Number 62 of 1969 concerning Duplicate Heritage Flags

and Original Manuscripts of the Proclamation of August 17, 1945.

Then, in 1972 the raising of the Heritage Flag was carried out by students from all over Indonesia. These students were chosen to represent their regions who each sent one son and one princess to raise the red and white heritage flag at the Merdeka Palace on the Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia which lasts until now. Formasi procedures for the ceremony of raising the Heritage Flag on the commemoration of the Indonesian Independence Day in 1972 using formations 17, 8, and 45 accompanied by troops of the Indonesian National Army Army, Air Force and Navy.

In 1946 the raising of the Red and White Heritage Flag was only carried out by five young men. This is because the situation and circumstances are not possible because Indonesia is still experiencing physical revolutions that occur in various regions. However, after the situation of Indonesia began to stabilize, the raising of the Red and White Heritage Flag was raised by members of Paskibraka with the TNI, one of which was on the commemoration of the Indonesian Independence Day in 1972. Members of the Pusaka Flag Raising Force from 1967 to 1972 were high school teenagers who were representatives from 26 provinces in Indonesia. One of the regional representatives who became members of Paskibraka was AAA Agung from SMAN 1

Denpasar, Bali and Nila Canola from SMAN VI Jakarta.

Each province is represented by a pair of teenagers called the Heritage Flag Scrapper Squad. In 1973, Idik Sulaeman coined an acronym for members of the Heritage Flag Raising Force, namely "Paskibraka". Paskibraka consists of several syllables, the syllable "Pas" comes from the word Troops, the syllable "Kibra" comes from the word Flag Raiser and the syllable "Ka" comes from the syllable Pusaka (KEMENPORA, 2015: 08).

In addition to coining the term Paskibraka, Idik Sulaeman helped Hussein Mutahar to perfect the concept of Paskibraka training coaching and created Paskibraka uniforms, Paskibraka Corps emblems, member emblems, inaugural marks in the form of red and white garuda badges and proficiency kendit.

The Role of the National Heritage Flag Raising Force of the Republic of Indonesia in Fostering Youth Nationalism (1946-1973)

1. The Period of the Physical-Liberal Democratic Revolution (1946-1959)

Paskibraka in Indonesia has been born since the first Indonesian Anniversary, where young men and women from various regions who were enthusiastic about Indonesian independence came to Yogyakarta which at that time was the capital of the Republic of Indonesia. Some of these young men and women were even

elected members to raise the Heritage Flag.

Youngers in Indonesia actually already have the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them even since the colonial era of western nations in Indonesia. One of the customs carried out by western and Japanese nations is to pay homage to the flag has a meaning as respect for the nation and country. Since the pre-independence era, Indonesian heroes have used the flag as a symbol that will form a sense of nationalism for the Indonesian nation. Pfrom the beginning of independence to the period of liberal democracy, members of the Bendera Pusaka Team are young men and women who live in Jakarta and its surroundings. This is due to Indonesia's unstable condition in various aspects. One of them was the tray bearer on the Indonesian Anniversary in 1955 named Rubiati and Emi Sustia as the tray bearer on the Indonesian Anniversary in 1959.

A member of the Heritage Flag Hoisting Team in the early days of independence until the time of liberal democracy was not entirely young people who were at the high school level. The members of the Pusaka Flag Hoister even work as civil servants in Jakarta. This was due to inadequate state facilities and infrastructure such as transportation which made it impossible to bring in young people from various regions in Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia's

economic condition, which at that time was experiencing difficulties, became one of the obstacles.

The training ceremony of raising the Heritage Flag carried out by the Heritage Flag Hoisting Force at that time was carried out for a whole month, in the first week they trained in the afternoon, then one week before the implementation they were trained from morning to evening. When viewed from the pattern of training carried out by the Heritage Flag Hoisting Team at the beginning of independence to liberal democracy, at this time there is no training pattern such as the cultivation of national insight. However, they are taught to always keep their heads up at difficult situations at any time. The meaning of raising their heads teaches them to have a strong and strong personality in facing difficult situations later. This will later show the quality and quantity of a heritage flag raiser.

2. The Period of Guided Democracy and the Early Period of the New Order (1967-1973)

During the Guided Democracy era, the Director General of Youth Affairs and Scouting, Ministry of Education and Culture led by Husein Mutahar was involved to hold an activity held by the Directorate General of UDAKA in the form of Pancasila Scout Training in 1966. This exercise was piloted in 1966 and 1967

which was included in the trial curriculum of the Heritage Flag Hoisting Force. Its members consist of Scout Enforcers from the Front Group in DKI Jakarta. This became the forerunner of Paskibraka at the high school level. Since 1969 members of the Heritage Flag Raising Force have been young men from the high school level (Idik Sulaeman, 2005: 26).

The selected youths are outstanding students. They are students who are selected to actively participate in an organization. Then, the selected youths have good achievements and go through selection that is carried out in stages. High school students are chosen because they have not been affected by political issues, and they are easily shaped in character and personality. They also still have the spirit of nationalism so that the task of the state is to shape them into young people who love their homeland and have a high sense of discipline.

This was manifested at the Indonesian Anniversary ceremony in 1968, where the raising of the Heritage Flag was carried out by young representatives from several regions. Although not all regions from Indonesia send their regional representative youth to the national level, the implementation of raising the Heritage Flag is still carried out. The meaning of the appointment of youth representatives from each region shows that independence is the responsibility of the entire Indonesian nation. These young people are

the generation that will lead Indonesia in the future. Therefore, the role of the Heritage Flag Hoisting Force on every Indonesian Anniversary is not only as a Pusaka Flag raiser. Moreover, these youths act as symbols of the nation's responsibility to participate in every national development.

The youth have a role as the driving force of the revolution in Indonesia because they have diverse backgrounds, are the most passionate, and courageous even though they are less educated, popular and always rebel against the establishment including the leadership of the elderly. The flag ceremony in Indonesia is an activity that reflects the values of Pancasila and the cultural values of the nation. The discipline that exists in flag ceremony activities is a very important value. In this case, discipline in flag ceremony activities is expected to be a character embedded in the soul of Indonesian youth.

The important role of the youth, especially as members of Paskibraka, is the spirit of unity and unity towards the nation and a sense of pride for having done a noble duty, it is hoped that it can be spread back to their home regions. One of them is by serving the country. The skills possessed will be useful for them when they plunge directly into the community and form a perception where they become agents of change in their environment based on Pancasila and the

1945 Constitution. Many Indonesian Purna Paskibraka participate in the development of the country by becoming representatives of the people in the seat of government. One of them is Megawati Soekarnoputri.

CONCLUSION

After the proclamation of Indonesian independence, Indonesian youth broadcast news about independence through various newspapers. One of the news conveyed to the public is news about the Indonesian Independence Day which is carried out by the state every year. The celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day has been carried out with great fanfare. Young people from various regions participated in the celebration of the Indonesian Anniversary, even one of them became the raiser of the Heritage Flag which is the identity and pride of all Indonesian people. The raising of the Heritage Flag during the early days of independence, liberal democracy, and guided democracy was carried out solemnly even though the country's situation was experiencing threats from within and outside the country.

Pengiraiser Bendera Pusaka underwent several name changes, initially named Regu Tim Raising Bendera Pusaka in the early days of independence until liberal democracy. Then during the guided democracy period until the beginning of the new order changed its name to the

Heritage Flag Hoisting Team and changed to the Heritage Flag Raising Force (Paskibraka) in 1973. The raising of the Heritage Flag in the early days of independence used a formation of 5 young men and women who symbolized Pancasila, then this formation was developed at the beginning of the new order in 1967 with the formation 17-08-45 whose meaning refers to the date, month and year of independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

The implementation of the Indonesian Anniversary ceremony in 1946-1973 was carried out by young people from various regions. Their main task was to raise the Heritage Flag, but more than that Paskibraka at this time had an important role, namely they had a considerable responsibility in defending the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. They are taught to always hold their heads high even in difficult situations. They have a role to unite and instill the spirit of nationality and nationalism in the Indonesian people, especially to their environment.

As agents who bring change, youth have a very strategic function and role so that it needs to be developed their potential and role through awareness, empowerment, and development as part of national development. In this case, the reason teenagers are chosen as members of Paskibraka is because they are in a phase of growth and age that is good

enough so they are still easy to direct and have not been influenced by political ideas. Paskibraka activities are not just raising or lowering the Red and White Heritage Flag, but more than that as members of the heritage flag raiser, Paskibraka members are taught to cultivate the spirit of nationhood, love for the homeland and defend the country, leadership and leadership, discipline and noble ethics in the framework of *character building* the young generation of Indonesia.

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