

Between Hope and Reality of Revolution: The Baso Movement in West Sumatra, Indonesia, 1946 from the Perspective of Collective Behavior Theory

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Abstract

This research investigates the social movement in Baso, West Sumatra, in 1946. This movement is known as the Baso Movement. As in other areas of Indonesia, the Baso area experienced 'violence' after independence. The region experienced acts of violence because the space created by the "new rulers" could not cover the people's disappointment. The Baso movement is interesting to study in the context of changes in the socio-political structure in Indonesia after the independence revolution (1945-1949).

It utilizes the historical method of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. It adopts Smelser's perspective on collective behavior combined with the theory of relative deprivation as an analytical tool to understand the Baso movement.

The findings show that the Baso movement was caused by political, social, and cultural issues that led to violence. The rise of former colonial-era officials into local government in West Sumatra, the prolonged conflict between the Government and the Volksfront, the economic crisis characterized by high inflation, and party conflicts and personal rivalries among local leaders. These realities did not match the high expectations of freedom from colonialism, injustice, and poverty. The gap between hope and reality gave rise to a social movement in Baso as a collective behavior of the Baso community.

Keywords: Revolution, Baso movement, West Sumatra, collective behavior.

Introduction

The revolution in Indonesia played a symbolic role as a struggle for independence, centered on the role of Indonesia's senior leaders. These senior leaders had various ideologies,

such as nationalist, social democrat, communist, and Islamic (Legge, 1993). The Indonesian independence revolution took place from 1945 to 1949 in the form of physical and non-physical revolutions. Indonesia proclaimed its independence *de facto* in 1945, and *de jure* recognition occurred in 1949. The physical revolution was characterized by armed conflict, while the non-physical revolution was diplomatic. The revolution occurred between Indonesia as a newly independent country and the Netherlands as the former colonizer of Indonesia, with the involvement of allied forces who sided with the Netherlands (Ricklefs, 2022).

Indonesia's independence, proclaimed on August 17, 1945, did not immediately bring Indonesia into a fully sovereign state. It took a long struggle to realize the hopes and ideals to escape colonialism. During this struggle, the Dutch became a real opponent because they wanted to return to Indonesia as rulers. Indonesia, as an independent country, was still under pressure from the Dutch, who felt they owned Indonesia, after the defeat of Japan in World War II (Anggraeini, 2022). This period was not just a single conflict between the Republicans and the Dutch; groups of *laskar* and fighters were also actively involved. They represented various political, religious, social and regional entities, so the conflict further branched out and created social unrest (Purwanto et al., 2023).

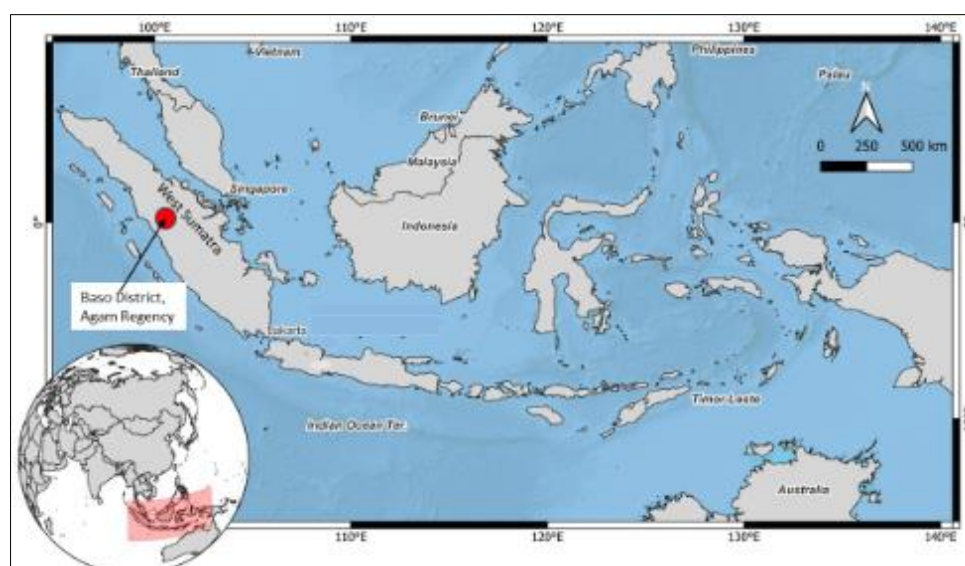


Fig. 1: Location of Baso District in Indonesia

Source: authors, 2023

The Indonesian independence revolution occurred in almost all parts of Indonesia. The most crucial problem that occurred in West Sumatra after the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945, was the waning of trust in the community towards the promises of the revolution (Zed, 1998). The resentment and frustration of the radicals accumulated due to the open compromise between the Republicans and the "common enemies", Britain and the Netherlands; the return of former native Dutch officials to local power; and the deteriorating economic situation. Famine is like a virus that is endemic everywhere. People lack clothes. On the other hand, the new Residency government limped, and its conflict with the Volksfront made the Government need more time to organize the Government regularly. As a result, they lost control of some territories (Kahin, 1979).

A social movement that occurred in the early days of independence was the communist movement of 1946 in Sungai Sarik Baso, Agam Regency. The movement gained public attention significantly as it escalated in the first months of 1946. They carry out terror in the form of kidnapping and killing people they dislike and obstructing their plans. Some of the people who became victims of his atrocities include Demang Azinar in Suliki, Payakumbuh Police Chief Amir Hamzah, and Lanjumin Dt. Tumanggung (BPSIM, 1991; Elvira, 2019).

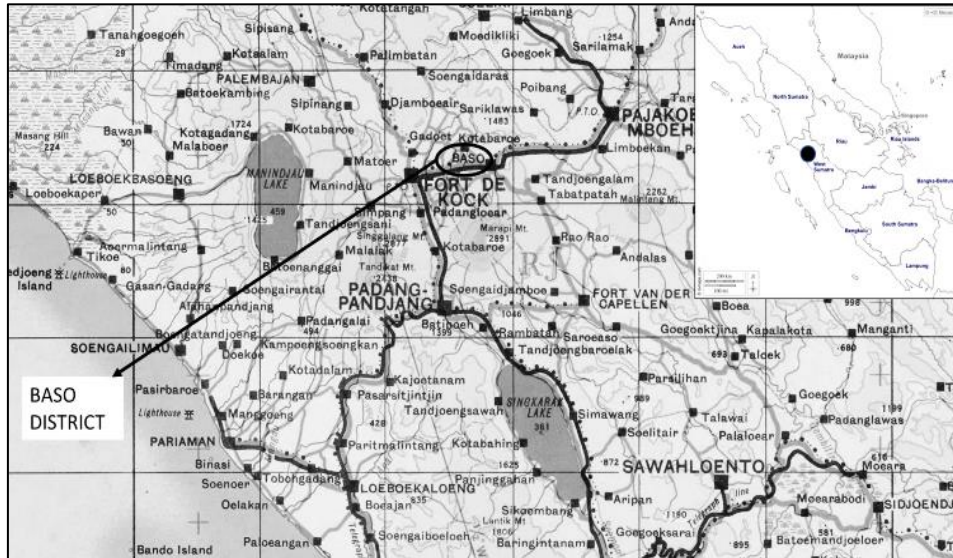


Fig. 2: Location of Baso District, Agam Regency, West Sumatera, Indonesia
 Source: Refer to this map as: HIND 5002, Sheet SA-47/NE_SAWAHLOENTO, First Edition 1944)

The movement is a social movement with a prominent millenarian background. The millenarian movement is a movement that expects the return of the golden age. A kind of *Ratu Adil* movement that manifested with the arrival of the messiah or *Imam Mahdi* (van Bruinessen, 1999). Adherents of the millenarian movement believe that a new society full of hope and happiness will soon arrive (Korver, 1985; Adas, 1988). The movement was not necessarily related to formal religion, but its emergence was related to non-formal religion, such as "ngelmu kebatinan" (learning mysticism) (Korver, 1985).

In contrast to the situation in Java, West Sumatra's religious sects and groups were more oriented towards moral improvement. These religious sects and groups develop exclusively, giving rise to prejudices in the community that often lead to small ripples of social conflict. However, the egalitarian attitude that has become a tradition can prevent more significant conflicts from arising (Noorbani, 2014).

The independence revolution in West Sumatra had a broader movement orientation. Social conflicts were no longer small and easy to overcome, because the people faced were not from the Minangkabau community itself. Social movements were carried out as a resistance to the central people, who were considered unfair and had massively tormented the people.

The movement became important not only because of the nature of the resistance, but the center of the movement, which was only a few miles from the government capital of Bukittinggi, was seen as quite dangerous. The crackdown operation was carried out by Regiment I of the Battalion II of the Division III on instructions issued by Resident Dr. Jamil to Colonel Mohd. Dahlan Djambek. The crackdown took place from April 14 to April 16, 1946, involving nearly 800 soldiers.

The movement was led by Tuanku Nan Putih, and his half-brother Tuanku Nan Hitam was born out of the complexity of issues surrounding the experimentation of building a post-revolutionary government. Internal conflicts that manifest in ideological, political, group, and individual conflicts make the government run ineffectively. Former colonial officials were instead appointed to government positions. As a result, there is dissatisfaction in some people. The Baso movement combines political interests with religious backgrounds (Soetrisno, 2003; BPSIM, 1991).

Dissatisfaction with the central government became the main problem, accumulated from various events that broke the expectations of some Minangkabau people, thus triggering the emergence of social movements in Baso. These problems can be broken down into several research questions. It asks the following.

- 1) How the Baso Movement occurred when the revolution had been won after jointly fighting for independence, and
- 2) Why there was a gap between hope and reality of the revolution that led to a collective movement against it.

This article has methodological novelty with the use of collective behavior theory to understand the tendency of radical movements in their attempt to change the structure after independence.

Theoretical Framework

Psychologically, people always want dynamics or changes in their lives. Change is characterized by struggle or hostility among various social groupings that defend and renew themselves (Kartodirdjo, 1983). Stagnation and boredom become issues to avoid. According to the "Frustrated People Theory," the mass movement received excellent support in its early phases from bored groups of individuals (Hoffer, 1988). A variety of factors might cause the change. It could be economic, political, and so forth. Similarly, frustration can be a result of transition. Boredom, frustration, and oppression provide ideal conditions for the development of reform activities. These events are generally called social movements (Hobsbawm, 1964).

What happens if the revolution promises are not fulfilled, and the revolution fanatics are constantly in crisis? What would happen if, ideologically, the revolution, which needed a "common enemy," lost its disorientation? The question, if simplified, can be interpreted as a gap between hope and reality. There is considerable distance between the ideal of independence and the hope of a better livelihood that was so tempestuous at the beginning of the revolution. Hope is paradoxical. Hope is a feeling associated with the time dimension (Wahyuna and Fitriana, 2020). Meanwhile, reality is a real thing that exists (KBBI, 2019); it is socially constructed (Waters, 1994) through continuous individual actions and interactions (Poloma, 2004).

Even in the context of revolution, the hope of change has become a rationalized myth (Grišinas, 2022). People felt the effects of the revolution. The revolution happened quickly because people, as the object, desired the change they thought was ideal for him (Gunawan, 2019; Reid, 2005). In this situation, a "sense of deprivation" is relatively and collectively experienced. Relative deprivation is the belief that one is disadvantaged compared to others (Tian et al., 2023; Keshavarz et al., 2020). Finally, relative deprivation encourages collective action (Gurr, 1970; Juan, 2022).

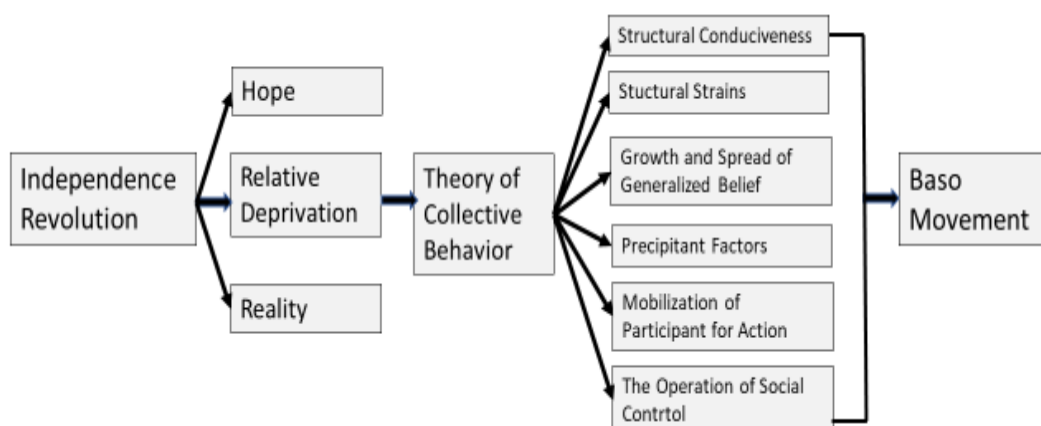


Fig. 3: Conceptual Framework of The Baso Movement

Source: authors, 2023

This paper uses Smelser's (1965) *Theory of Collective Behavior* to analyze the occurrence of social movements. Smelser defines collective behavior as mobilization based on beliefs that redefine social movement. According to Blumer, as quoted by Smelser, collective

behavior is a social movement carried out collectively to organize a new life. Basic frustration becomes a social movement (Gurr, 1970; Zubir, 2002). Some experts have corrected social movements that refer to the Theory of Collective Behavior because they deny cultural dynamics and people's rationality (Moris, 2000). However, this theory is still interesting to be used as an analytical tool, even into today's postmodern era (Johnston and Lio, 1998).

Some of the components that underlie the occurrence of social action:

1. Common values or sources of legitimacy.
2. Standard norms or rules for interacting.
3. Mobilization or motivation of individuals to organize organized actions in collective roles.
4. Situational or information facilities, skills, tools, and obstacles in achieving concrete goals.

Several determinants are required for any social action, precisely the necessary conditions to bring about the action. Each of such variables does not operate separately but works collectively to generate an atmosphere or condition sufficient for action. A number of determinants are contained in the *Theory of Collective Behavior*:

1. Structural conduciveness: the atmosphere or climate that allows the socio-cultural structure of the community to take action;
2. Structural strains: these structural tensions can occur when something that is expected does not correspond to reality, even further, the realities that appear turn into threats;
3. Growth and spread of generalized belief;
4. Precipitant factors: structurally conducive, tension and trust have not produced an episode, unless there is already a precipitating factor. This precipitating factor is something dramatic.
5. Mobilization of participants for *action*: leaders, panic, agitation for reform;
6. *The operation of social control*: a kind of social control, a determinant that prevents, disrupts, deflects and hinders the turmoil by preventing episodes of social turmoil and mobilizing the means of the state as soon as episodes of social turmoil begin to occur (Smelser, 1965; Lubis, 2000; Ormrod, 2014).

The term "social movement" was first used in the nineteenth century to describe working-class movements. Social changes and scholarly thinking in the twentieth century broadened the term's meaning and separated it from its historical context. Social movement refers to various occurrences and unstructured collective activity, including religious sect movements, protest movements, and organized revolutionary movements (Kuper & Kuper, 2000).

Di Renzo (1990) also defines social movements as the behavior of some members of society to correct conditions that cause many problems or uncertainty and to create a new and better life. Tarrow (1994) views social movements as collective acts of resistance based on common goals and social solidarity in continuous interaction with certain elites, opponents, and authorities/governments. The definition has four essential parts: collective resistance, shared purpose, social solidarity, and continuous interaction.

Although there are different definitions, these definitions have in common that social movements are non-institutionalized groups of various unrepresented members of society who move in a stream of interaction opposite to the elite or opposition. Social movements aim to create change or may want to maintain an established element among individuals in society (Haris et al., 2019).

Social movements can be studied using the concept of "charisma." The definition of "charisma," according to Weber, is "a certain quality inherent in a person's personality so that it is considered extraordinary, and the person will receive special treatment, as a person endowed with supernatural powers, as a superman who has extraordinary powers or qualities (Burke, 2005). To be recognized in the eyes of the group or followers, a person who is newly established as a leader with charisma requires mythology as a justification. A charismatic leader occupies a high class in the structure of society. He must have skills, courage, devotion, and

holiness, thus greatly influencing his followers' loyalty (Kartodirdjo, 1986). The powerful leadership aspect of social movements makes them easy to suppress if the leaders have been arrested (Zulfan, 2021).

Review of Literature

A critical review of previous researchers' work on the Baso Movement is essential. Discussing some of the findings makes it possible to map the state of knowledge and provide a context for this research's contribution to social movement issues in Indonesia in general and West Sumatra in particular. The Baso Movement, in the study of social movements in West Sumatra, still needs a place in local historiography. Social movements that have a special place in historians' research are the Kamang and Manggopoh Wars and the Silungkang Rebellion. The Baso Movement needs more space in Zed (1998) and the Ministry of Information (1954). However, the movement is indicative of a rare social revolution in this region.

Meanwhile, social movements in the 1946-1950 period, such as the "March 3, 1947 Incident" or the "Nasi Bungkus Demonstration in Bukittinggi 1950", receive more elaborate explanations. Kahin (1979) and BPSIM (1991) provide comprehensive data on the Baso Movement. Elvira's (2019) recent reference to the Baso Movement also needs the update of information in the context of social movements in West Sumatra.

Perspectives on the movement in previous studies are diverse. Kahin (1979) called the movement "a radical factor that could seriously threaten the newly formed government." BPSIM (1991) called it "a communist movement that grew up in the turbulent peak of the revolution." Iskandar et al. (1998), called the Baso Movement, developed when the army command was poorly coordinated.

Reid (1979;2011) mentions the influence of the social revolution in East Sumatra that affected Minangkabau. The word "Minangkabau" is used to refer to the cultural and geographical entity of West Sumatra. After seizing control in Medan, the Tan Malaka-influenced revolutionary group also took similar action in West Sumatra. The difference between the two, of course, is that in East Sumatra, the social revolution was more decisive. Kahin (2005) gives two different perspectives on the Baso Movement. In his interview with Halim, one of the army leaders, if the Baso leaders had not been suppressed, 1948 would have seen a communist uprising in West Sumatra. This contrasts with the view of Tuanku Nan Putih's followers that if their movement failed to remove some former colonial officials, the Dutch might form a Minangkabau state in West Sumatra.

The historical writing about the Baso Movement is interesting to examine from the perspective of political interests, ideology, *zeitgeist* (the spirit of the age), and *kulturgebundenheit* (cultural bonds). Several authors, such as Kahin (1979), BPSIM (1991), Zed (1998), and Halim with various backgrounds, all put the Baso Movement in different perspectives. This difference in perspective is natural in historical writing.

Above sources only cite the army's version of events, from written and oral sources, which clearly states that the PKI encouraged the Baso Incident. PKI is *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesian Communist Party), other sources try to be more neutral by considering Tuanku Nan Putih's political and biographical background during the movement in the 1920s. However, what soon became apparent was the strong influence of Tan Malaka's ideas on the movement's leaders. The belief in socialism paired with religion shaped a more radical Islamic figure.

Kementerian Penerangan (1954), which detailed every event, especially during the independence revolution, missed the event. Other events may have been more critical in Central Sumatra's history, or the Baso Movement's exposure is counterproductive to national unity.

The Baso movement is interesting to see in the discourse of the development of social movement theory. The Baso movement with collective behavior analysis can be categorized as a classic/neo-classical social movement. In this perspective, movements are seen as fragmentary and not connected to movements in other regions, rely on individual leadership, and have more utopian goals (Zulfan, 2021).

Classical social movements are heavily influenced by the thought of Karl Marx. Karl Marx's thinking is the basis for the strength of the ideology of communism and the motivator of the social movement of workers in Germany. The power of Karl Marx's thinking inspired and encouraged change (revolution) in the powerlessness of the workers to oppose injustice and oppression by the capitalists. Ideology is the key to various movements that lead to power (Rujikartawi, 2015; Rusmanto, 2013).

In the Indonesian context, social movements are no longer based on material resistance, but rather on issues of humanity, injustice, politics, the environment and women. Therefore, the ideology that develops changes from class resistance to identity resistance (Nofrima and Qodir, 2021).

In more recent developments, more theories are used to understand social movements, including dispossession theory, resource mobilization theory, political process theory, structural strain theory, and new social movement theories (Sen and Avci, 2016). These theories are useful for looking at the social movement landscape more broadly.

Social movements consist of two types: movements to initiate the change process and movements as a reaction to the changes. In reality, social movements are often "reactive" social movements, such as protest movements carried out by the people because of threats to their lives due to economic and social changes (Kartodirdjo, 1986). Another type of social movement was proposed by Aberle (1966), who classified social movements into four types based on the magnitude of the desired social change and the type of social change desired, namely alternative, redemptive, reformative, and transformative movements. The various types of social movements can be influenced by the strength or lack of frequency of intensity of social interactions that have a broad impact on achieving the targets, goals and objectives of social movements (Haris et al., 2019).

Social movements are purposeful and organized groups of people who address the creation and reproduction of inequalities, rights and access issues, seeking to change sectoral policies. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, social movements have acted in articulation with governments and private companies and through other actions formulated in their networks, as providers of services to the poor and vulnerable populations most affected, often filling the gaps created by unfulfilled policies (Gutberlet et al., 2023).

Collective behavior and social movements have been instrumental in driving social change, including regime change, and impacting the policy space in many societies. In Nigeria, labor and civil society groups played the role of collective behavior. They demanded a return to democratic rule after years of statist hegemony. The social movement forced the ruling military rulers to accept and surrender to democratic rule. Collective behavior effectively drives social change to realize political ideals (Imhonopi et al., 2013).

Social movements in Venezuela and Argentina emerged as a reaction to the government's (state's) failure to perform its social functions. The state is considered to have neglected the social problems of its people. Collective behavior in Venezuela was driven by the middle class and in Argentina by unemployed workers (Kestler, 2023).

One of the issues in social movement discourse is the development of social movements in the form of transnational activism. These social movements work through two main mechanisms: diffusion of movements across borders and international mobilization. For example, the church revolution in Europe was carried out by Protestants against Catholics to the anti-slavery protest movement (Tarrow, 2005).

The cases in some of these countries can be reflected in the context of the Baso Movement. This movement combines a type of movement as a reaction to changes that occur and an effort to change existing conditions. As a traditional movement, the Baso Movement is a local movement that has yet to have networks with other regions in Sumatra or at least in the context of West Sumatra. This condition is one of the reasons why the Baso Movement can be easily defeated.

Although the current research clarifies various aspects of the Baso Movement, there are still gaps. First, the Baso Movement is often a strictly political movement with little to do

with social, economic, and cultural dimensions. Secondly, the Baso Movement is only a means of action expression and tends to ignore psychological expression.

Research Methodology

This research uses the historical method. Garraghan (1957) defines historical method as a systematic set of rules and principles for collecting historical sources effectively, assessing them critically, and presenting a synthesis of the results used in written form. This research uses the historical method, which consists of four stages. The first stage is heuristics or efforts to find sources for the object under study.

The data is obtained through library research. The source search was conducted on written sources. Written sources are archives, printed official sources, documents, books, and others. Literature study in the library of the Faculty of Letters (now Faculty of Cultural Sciences) of Andalas University, West Sumatra Regional Library, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Padjadjaran University, National Archives Jakarta, and National Library Jakarta. In the libraries in Jakarta and Bandung, the many references related to the independence revolution and social movements in several regions in Indonesia were found. Meanwhile, in Padang, there were more references closer to the events of the Baso Movement related to local history in West Sumatra.

The next step is the critique, carried out by making comparisons from several sources or by comparing with previously existing facts. Criticism based on existing sources will test whether the Baso Movement is a communist movement or more religious. The third step is the interpretation stage, the stage of decomposing data into facts that require a framework and basic understanding of the object of research and is carried out with the help of concepts and theories. The final stage is the writing of history. The facts that have been interpreted are written in systematic and chronological writing.

Findings and the Discussion

A Short Biography of Tuanku Nan Putih and Tuanku Nan Hitam

An important figure of the Baso Movement Abdul Rahman Tuanku Nan Putih was born in 1898. He first studied at a religious school in Sianok, and then studied religion under Sheikh Daud Rasyidi from Balingka. Tuanku Nan Putih was an influential scholar in his area. He has been involved in the movement to fight for Indonesian independence since the 1920s. He became a member of Sarekat Islam (SI). SI in Minangkabau began to break up in 1916 due to doctrinal differences. Modern Islamists refer to themselves as "SI white cards", while traditional religious groups led by Sufis are called "SI red cards". Then Tuanku Nan Putih joined the communist faction Sarekat Rakyat in the 1920s (Ricklefs, 2022).

Sarekat Rakyat with its communist ideology did have a strong appeal to the movement at that time. Communist activists promised farmers more land and fair labor principles. To the workers they promise a future without classes, no employers, and workers (Mansoor, 1970). In the end, this condition then led to the eruption of the Silungkang Communist Rebellion of 1927 (Zed, 2004). In the movement, Tuanku Nan Putih was a loyal adherent of Tan Malaka's ideas.

Another figure who played no less important role in the Baso Movement was Tuanku Nan Hitam. Tuanku Nan Putih half-brother and father Boerhan Malin Kunieng, better known as Tuanku Nan Hitam was born in 1915. He returned to Baso when Japan lost the war. Previously Tuanku Nan Hitam settled in Bangkinang and married there. After the Japanese defeat, he and his family returned to Baso. Tuanku Nan Hitam is known as a brave hero. His arrival in Baso created a more radical atmosphere. Although Tuanku Nan Putih was also a supporter of Tan Malaka's idea of hundred percent independence, Tuanku Nan Hitam understood it by the imperative of radical measures. His radical style gained sympathy from the local people, especially the youth. In a short time, Lord Nan Hitam managed to gain influence in the community of followers of Lord Nan Putih. Some of his followers began to join the front "front" around Padang, others committed acts of violence in areas around the Baso region (Kahin, 1979).

Escalating Anarchy

In early 1946, West Sumatra experienced tensions caused by various events, both social, economic, and political. Some of the events that triggered internal tensions include:

1. British troops had entered the city of Padang with Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) soldiers inside;
2. The conflict between former Dutch officials during the Dutch East Indies Government and the fighters who fought the Dutch;
3. Arbitrary actions of specific individuals or organizations that have exceeded reasonable limits;
4. The formation of Volksfront in West Sumatra which always informs the situation that is different from the announcement of the local government, so that conflicts arise;
5. The Rp. 100, - note issued by Japan is still used as official money; and
6. The emergence of political parties, including the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), led by a section of committees (Zed, 1998).

The source of general discontent arose from promises of independence that did not soon come true. The information brought by the illuminator of the proclamation that spread the news of independence, as well as explaining the meaning of the word "independence", caused a belief in changing fortunes among the people. In an effort to strengthen support for the news content of the proclamation, they asked for a religious fatwa. Nevertheless, sometimes the expected fatwa is not as desired. Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Parabek was once asked for his fatwa on religious law fighting against Dutch colonialists. Inyik Parabek explained, "According to religious teachings if the enemy is impossible for us to fight, we must not wage jihad. Sinful people who issue jihad fatwas are many victims who fall in vain. Jihad fatwas can only be issued if it is certain that we will win" (Zed, 1998).

Several factors caused tensions in West Sumatra, coupled with terror news that began to be heard in Baso. According to army reports, the act of terror was rumoured to have been carried out by the newly established PKI in the Baso District in the form of criminal acts. Acts of terror committed include kidnappings and killings of their opponents or people they dislike in the Baso area; theft and robbery of other people's property in the Baso area; and acts of kidnapping, murder, and robbery in other areas, the proceeds were then taken to Baso. Then, the victims who were taken to Baso were cruelly killed.

Kidnappings and murders, robberies and thefts were committed against the public who were not their group, both in the Baso area and in the surrounding areas. Baso became a scary area, especially for government officials. They are reluctant to come to the area even for official business. If they visit Baso in such a dire situation, it is equivalent to giving their lives. Kidnappings and killings outside the area mainly targeted several officials who were considered their enemies, including officials who collaborated with the Dutch to suppress the Silungkang Communist Rebellion of 1927. Some of the officials who were victims of the Baso Movement's terror can be named, among others:

1. Demang Azinar in Suliki and an aide who was declared missing and never heard from further. At first, it is not known who kidnapped him, but it was later rumoured that Baso's PKI did it.
2. Soldiers rescued Payakumbuh police chief Amir Hamzah. According to evidence, this arrest was masterminded by elements outside the army police, namely Baso's PKI. Army troops carried out this rescue action under the leadership of the Commander of Battalion II in Bukittinggi, namely Major Abdul Halim. He deliberately came to Payakumbuh to carry out an act of liberation; and
3. A former member of the Volksraad during the Dutch era, Lanjumin Datuk Tumenggung, was declared missing from his home in Bukittinggi. At first, it is not known where he went, but later, it can be concluded that Lanjumin was kidnapped and killed by Baso's PKI (BPSIM, 1978).

According to army reports, the followers of the Baso Movement had a communist ideology with the movement based in Baso, a sub-district located not far from the city of

Bukittinggi. According to the results of investigations by the Central Sumatra Investigation Agency (BP) Division II TKR/TRI, and the West Sumatra Community Flow Investigators (PAM) in (Husein et al., 1978), there are several situations in Baso that are likely to lead to greater anarchist action. TKR is Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (People's Defense Army) and TRI is Tentara Republik Indonesia (Army of the Republic of Indonesia). Some situations in Baso can be explained as follows:

First, in Baso, an environment of living together with their own rules has been created. Practically, legitimate government regulations do not apply in that place. The one who rules and gives orders is the head of the organization. Second, from the existing phenomenon, their leaders are carrying out coaching actions to a group of people, people in Baso District and its surroundings. They form communes, and their members live in dormitories with their own rules. Third, their lives in dormitories are like communists who are based on equal taste. What exists is common property. There is no recognition of private property. Men and women live together freely, and there are no rules that bind them and no moral boundaries that distinguish between a conjugal relationship and a relationship outside of it. Both wives and husbands can get along freely, as wives or husbands together. Fourth, in the areas of these communes, there are many livestock, such as buffaloes. In general, these animals are stolen goods from other areas. Then found piles of textiles which came from former Japanese warehouses. In the territory of Tuanku Nan Putih, the property was declared as their joint property.

The movements of the followers of Tuanku Nan Putih in his communes continued to grow. It is alleged that they have a more extensive goal, which is to build great power, and Baso is used as its base. Until March, their movements had not experienced interference and obstruction from any party. The Government refrained from immediately conducting armed operations because the young followers had been exposed to Japanese soldiers. After the proclamation, they fought against the Allies on the Padang Front (BPSIM, 1979).

The Baso movement is increasing when the Government is engulfed in conflict, and the revamping of the army command has yet to be completed so that it has not reached all residencies. To achieve their goals, they carried out several strategic actions, namely: First, the education of cadres, which instilled hatred towards the current Government, in Baso in particular. Second, they conducted army exercises using the expertise of four former Japanese soldiers and these four men were used as trainers. Third, they also used the services of Japanese experts who were assigned to lead the armament workshop (BPSIM, 1978).

Indonesian Soldiers Destroying the Baso Movement

The Baso movement caused public unrest in Baso and its surroundings. This concern has been conveyed to the local Government of West Sumatra. If the leader of the Baso Movement is willing to be invited to negotiate, of course, there is no bloodshed. Government envoys sent to Baso to persuade against actions that lead to anarchism are always rejected. It is said that the messenger who came to Baso was even killed. Hearing the report he received, the local Government immediately took action to crush the movement that was considered against the law. A squad of police was ordered to Baso several times to maintain order. However, it did not work because the power of the state tools sent was different in number to the strength of the Baso followers (Joenoel, 2003).

In a situation when the Government has not been running well due to the Government's conflict with the Volksfront, the presence of armed opposition groups and its position not far from the capital of the Republic, Bukittinggi is seen as dangerous. The Government is unlikely to tolerate popular forces trying to take advantage of the chaotic situation. Fears of widespread anarchy in East Sumatra led the Government to take further precautions by fighting the movement before it threatened (Reid, 1987).



Fig. 4: Soldiers from the Bukittinggi Battalion who crushed the Baso Movement in 1946
Source: <https://historia.id/politik/articles/gerakan-baso-di-sumatra-barat-DrRIg/page/1>

The Government took even stricter action. Doctor Moh. Djamil, as a resident of West Sumatra at that time, ordered the commander of the Third Division of TRI, namely Colonel Mohd. Dahlan Jambek, to quell the Baso movement. Then the order was handed down to the commander of the I Regiment of the Third Division, namely Colonel Syarif Usman, and finally passed on to the II Battalion of the I Regiment. However, the commander of the Second Battalion of the I Regiment objected to carrying out the task, which he considered insignificant. Finally, it was the Bukittinggi Battalion that carried out the order (BPSIM, 1978).

At that time, the commander of the Bukittinggi Battalion was held by a young officer named Major Abdul Halim. Before taking operational action, Major Abdul Halim exchanged opinions with two of his staff, namely Captain Abu Nawas and Captain Ramawi Izhar. They were then consulted with the four company commanders, namely Captain Hasan Basri, Captain Kamarudin, First Lieutenant Amirullah, and First Lieutenant Muchtar.

The initial stage of operational action carried out by Major Abdul Halim and his men was to arrange a strategy to find the latest information, about the condition of Baso. He and his troops then pretended to dismiss several soldiers from the Baso area and its surroundings. After getting information about the final condition of the destination area, he immediately arranged the following strategy. Before action was taken, news came that Baso's PKI would attack and seize the city of Bukittinggi on April 17. This led to allegations that Baso's PKI had great power, thus adding to the tension of an already tense atmosphere. Then more decisive action was immediately taken by developing a solid operational strategy (BPSIM, 1978).

The operational strategy that will be carried out is to attack directly to the destination, namely Simarosok village, Sungai sarik, Ujungguguk, Kototinggi, Pincuranputi, and places south of the Bukittinggi-Payakumbuh railway road, with the Simarosok-Barulak-Pincuranputi-Kototinggi line and the capital of Baso District. The attack would be carried out for 3 days, from April 14 to April 16, 1946.

The first attack on April 14, 1946, was carried out in the early hours of the morning at around 03:00. Several dozen trucks containing almost all elements of the Bukittinggi Battalion marched quickly towards Baso. The number of army members deployed reached 800 people. The first destination was the place of Baso's PKI leaders, namely Tuanku Nan Putih and Tuanku Nan Hitam, on the Sungaisarik, which Kamaruddin's company carried out. When he arrived at his destination, the first thing he did was break all the resistance made by Baso's PKI members. Then, check one of the surrounding houses and suspicious places. Then, they go to the communes and warehouses by besieging them. Different types of weapons were found, such as knives, swords, spears, rifles, machine guns, bombs, and hand grenades. Furthermore, the confiscated weapons were collected and carried by the army as evidence of preparations for resistance.

Arrival of a large army caused great shock, both to the residents of Baso and its surroundings and to those belonging to the Baso's PKI organization in the communes. The

hustle and bustle were coupled with the screams of women in the villages where the attack was operated. With all the strength at hand, the operation went well. The two PKI leaders, Baso and hundreds of their members, were arrested and taken to Bukittinggi. They were divided into two parts: some were handed over to the army police, and some were housed in a battalion dormitory located behind the hospital (BPSIM, 1978).

The offensive continued the next day, April 15 to April 16, 1946. During the three days of surgery, the results obtained were very satisfactory. Baso's PKI movement could have been crushed before it made a more significant movement. The leader and his followers, numbering in the hundreds, were arrested and questioned. They consist of young people, both men and women. In addition, four Japanese army trainers, one of whom was former First Lieutenant Sriguchi, were also captured. According to other information, some followers of the Baso Movement were imprisoned in Bukittinggi, some were tortured, and many were killed, including three Japanese officers. The fate of Tuanku Nan Putih and Tuanku Nan Hitam, although likely to have been killed, is unknown. His family never accepted the surrender of the body by the army. The crackdown on the Baso movement, according to Abdul Halim, who was the commander in the operation, was the most extensive police action carried out by the army against terror and anti-revolution elements in West Sumatra (BPSIM, 1978).

Impact of the Baso Movement

Every armed battle always takes a toll on both sides of the conflict. Likewise, the army's crackdown on social movements in Baso caused casualties and property. On the Baso's PKI side, 113 people were killed, while the TRI (Army of the Republic of Indonesia) only a few soldiers were injured. Property casualties were experienced by the people of Baso and its surroundings, especially people's houses in villages that became the route of operations to suppress movements by the army.

TRI's success in suppressing the Baso movement has had a positive impact, both for the Baso community and its surroundings and for the local government of West Sumatra. The people of Baso and its surroundings are very grateful, because they are free from pressure, threats, and fear. They were very grateful to the soldiers by giving gifts and handing over some cattle. However, the division commander refused to accept everything in a good way, so that the public could understand it (BPSIM, 1978).

The local Government of West Sumatra felt the impact of the next movement. The swift action in giving orders to crush the Baso movement had a positive impact on increasing the prestige of the Government in the eyes of the people because it was the largest police action ever carried out by the army government. During the time of the physical revolution in Central Sumatra, operations to crack down on social movements in the form of terror or security disturbances had never happened as much as the events in Baso.

Then, there was a further impact in the form of a firm reaction from the West Sumatra PKI Committee Section. Not long after the army's success in the Baso's PKI crackdown operation, a statement was issued stating that the West Sumatran PKI had nothing to do with the Baso's PKI. Their organization was separate from the social movement carried out by the Baso's PKI. This statement received the opposite reaction from the Government. As soon as the statement came out, the Government arrested all Volksfront officials and members.

After the arrest of Volksfront administrators and members, West Sumatra's condition was more stable. It is not known with certainty whether there is a correlation between the Baso event and the existence of the Volksfront. However, what is certain is that the crackdown may have come from the central Government as well as the arrest of Tan Malaka and his friends in Java. The next step can be read as leading to the arrest of Volksfront members in West Sumatra (Kahin, 1979).

The last phenomenon can be explained by information about the Central Government's mission to quell riots in Sumatra. On April 17, a delegation came from the capital Yogyakarta, to Bukittinggi, led by Defense Minister Amir Syarifuddin. According to Abdul Halim, this arrival is a sign that the central Government supports the crackdown on the Baso

movement by TRI. Then, this delegation met with the leaders of the Volksfront. The Volksfront tried to convince Amir Syarifuddin of their loyalty to the republic.

The Volksfront's declaration of allegiance drew the opposite reaction from delegates. Amir Syarifuddin even gave orders to Resident Djamil to arrest all administrators and members of the Volksfront. Resident Djamil then arrested Chatib Sulaeman and five of his friends. Resident Djamil's actions apparently needed more support from the local people. On May 17, Volksfront sympathizers arrested Resident Djamil, who refused to accept the Volksfront's offer to reconcile (BPSIM, 1978).

The conflict between Resident Djamil and Volksfront was finally resolved by compromise. The commander of the Bull Division, Dahlan Djambek, gave the order to release the detained Volksfront figures with assurances that Resident Djamil was also released. At a meeting on May 20, the Volksfront again declared its allegiance to Syahrir's cabinet and ordered the release of Resident Djamil. After his release, two days later, Resident Djamil issued an order to release the six detained Volksfront officials.

The conflict is not over. On June 2 and June 20, the Komite Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Committee) or KNI held meetings with the Volksfront and the Resident government. The result was a compromise between the two opposing sides, i.e., the power of the Volksfront in the economic sphere was reduced but retained the top position in the KNI. It was also agreed that Resident Djamil would be replaced. On July 20, the Resident of West Sumatra was replaced by a person who received ninety percent support from the KNI, namely Mr. St. Mohammad Rasjid (BPSIM, 1978).

Analysis of The Theory of Collective Behavior Structural Conduciveness

The context of internal conflicts that occur in the Minangkabau mind can be understood through cultural explanations. According to Navis (1983), to understand the behavior of the Minang political movement, references must be made to the philosophy of "alam takambang jadi guru" (nature unfolds to be a teacher). It gives the interpretation that the position of every person, every group of people, is equal to others. This similarity makes everyone encourage each other to increase their self-esteem and dignity. Because of this racing instinct, their activities became prominent during political movements.



Fig. 5: Mosque and Minaret in Kotobaru Baso

Source: <https://historia.id/politik/articles/gerakan-baso-di-sumatra-barat-DrRIG/page/1>

Such a Minangkabau mindset must be confronted with the fact that the communal and collective system of society opposes the existence of free individuals. The condition gives rise to constant psychiatric conflicts. On the one hand, their philosophy demands a significant individual role. On the other hand, its social system does not tolerate one more than another. Conflict is something that is embedded in his system of thinking, but consensus is expected.

The Minangkabau people succeeded in idealizing their customs and philosophy of life through the perspective of dynamism and anti-parochialism so that it is not only relevant but also encourages the process of progress or modernization. Minangkabau's claims of "cultural universalism" provide an element of inclusiveness or an element of openness at the heart of Minangkabau culture. Through the institutionalization of conflict, new elements that come inevitably can be integrated into customary structures. The idea of nationalism can be well accommodated into such claims of "cultural universalism". A special feature of the independence revolution in West Sumatra was the absence of tribal sentiments. West Sumatra has prepared itself to welcome the newly liberated country. The population of West Sumatra has a relatively homogeneous ethnic group composition, and its wandering tradition causes the population to be familiar outside the region.

Zed (2004) when tracing the causes of the Silungkang rebellion, mentioned three factors that are interrelated with each other and process in the long term. The three factors are the penetration of the money economic system, the intensifying colonial penetration, and the reaction of indigenous elements of *alam Minangkabau* (world of Minangkabau). When there are crises that to some extent cause disharmony and eventually grow shocks in society. The three factors then gather in a container called the "Minangkabau socio-cultural environment". In the case of the Baso Movement, these three factors metamorphosed when a common enemy was lost and then lost relevant symbols.

Structural Strain

The promises of the independence revolution about improving life delivered by the illuminators are still imprinted in the memory of the people. However, in the months after August 1945 in West Sumatra, there was an intensity of political competition between individuals, groups, political parties, and ideologies. The political revolution that was expected to bring about fundamental changes in daily life did not become a reality. At that time, all components of the revolution felt that they were winners. Disillusionment with the outcome of the revolution made hostility with the Dutch – to borrow Navis's (1983) term – disappear like a mist in the sun. The perceived enemy of society is the reality of life far removed from the hope that grew during the tumult of the revolution. The absolute apathy of the people manifested in the form of discontent is increasing, seeing the use of officials of the Dutch era.

For the people, the revolution is the boundary between people who really want independence and those who are pro-colonial. The stigma is recorded powerfully, mainly because it is sharpened in radical groups. Still, at the beginning of the revolution, free thinking, full of the spirit of freedom, quickly triggered radical actions. Radicalism has a place in revolutions rather than people who choose the moderate line. The Baso movement grew in the precondition of a strong tension between hope and reality. For Tan Malaka's followers, one hundred percent independence is a dead price. Freedom from all counter-revolutionary factors. One of them is to be free from those who felt a good life in the colonial period.

Growth and Spread of Generalized Belief

For Tuanku Nan Putih, who had experienced the loneliness of life in exile because of his involvement in the 1927 Silungkang rebellion, the struggle was a black and white choice. Although in the Silungkang rebellion, the elements of radical nationalism were more prominent than the communist teachings, seeing the continuity of history, it is undeniable that Tuanku Nan Putih combines religious teachings with socialist beliefs. During the movement, all schools of thought and ideology emerged together in the container of national struggle. The Silungkang rebellion is a clear example. When the crackdown was carried out, not only communist figures were suppressed, but influential scholars.

The vague and mysterious story of Tan Malaka greatly influenced the minds of mystics such as the Syattari group. The propagandists who followed Tan Malaka always saluted in these meetings by pressing their fingers together like military salutes but by placing them parallel to the bridge of his nose, then turning to the right by greeting the Prophet Muhammad,

and then turning to the right by greeting Tan Malaka. This faction also often referred to itself as "the local Islamic PKI" and later became "Murba Islami".

The role of Tuanku Nan Hitam in the context of the Baso Movement cannot be called the second role because Tuanku Nan Hitam drives the radicalism of the movement. Community building is an effective way to foster and develop the ideology of resistance. In Sungaisarik, an area in Baso, Tuanku Nan Putih conducts communal cadres. According to information, on the Sarik River, there are communes or dormitories where men and women mix freely. At first, Tuanku Nan Putih built an agricultural area in Baso by employing coolies of former *romusha* workers who worked in Logas (near Pekanbaru) and who worked to build a foundation in Gadut. For ex-romusha coolies, the attempt to resettle them was seen as a form of severe psychological healing due to the Japanese occupation. Similarly, like the people employed in Gadut, of course, they owe my lord a debt of gratitude for not being sent to Logas.

Precipitant Factors

The followers of Tuanku Nan Putih and Tuanku Nan Hitam carried out kidnappings and assassinations against their opponents or people they did not like in the Baso area. Their enemies are, of course, the officials of the colonial era who are now, after the proclamation, again trusted to take office in addition to committing acts of theft and robbery of other people's property in the Baso area. They also carried out acts of kidnapping, murder, and robbery in other areas, then the proceeds were taken to Baso, and the people who were kidnapped were then cruelly killed.

Mobilization of Participants for Action

The Baso community cannot be separated from the leadership influence of Tuanku Nan Putih and Tuanku Nan Hitam. With the image of the clergy and the background of the movement, the two masters' brothers had a strong attraction to their followers. The charisma possessed by both of them was able to pump the spirit of resistance against people who became colonial henchmen. Weber in (Burke, 2005) defines charisma as "a certain quality inherent in a person's personality that causes him to be considered extraordinary and treated as someone endowed with supernatural powers, a superhuman or at least has an exceptional power or quality".

The pattern of traditional leadership in Minangkabau does not lie in charisma but in loyalty to its cultural pattern. However, *mamak* or ruler has power; it is more of a symbol. It is consensus that determines everything. In other aspects of leadership, the leadership of scholars is different from the upstream. Ulama has advantages over the ruler and the ordinary people. In the concept of anthropology, scholars are saints whose simplicity, breadth of knowledge, and piety are role models for society.

Tuanku's position in Minangkabau society is highly respected. My two masters succeeded in forming loyalty and a spirit of sacrifice as a form of ideology of resistance in their followers. As Navis (1999) said, because of the cultural pattern of *nagari-nagari* and *luhak* groups, the Minang ego emerged, which boasted of the privileges or advantages of each. As a result, the charisma of scholars, in general tends to be limited to the same environment where they live. This trend, for example, can be observed in the naming of the name of the village or Nagari where each scholar lives, such as Inyiek Parabek, the name for Sheikh Ibrahim Musa, Inyiek Padang Japang for Sheikh Abbas Abdullah, Inyiek Candung, the name Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli, Sheikh Batuhampar the name Sheikh Abdurrahman.

Tuanku Nan Putih is known as an influential scholar in the Baso area. The not-too-long time to build mass mobilization needed to have worked more effectively. The exclusivism he built did not create the carrying capacity of the movement, which in the end became so limited that it was easily conquered.

Operation of Social Control

As the terror intensified, the Government made efforts to prevent further flare-ups. At first, a messenger was sent so that Tuanku Nan Putih would not continue his terror. However,

the advice was not heeded, and even the messenger was killed. So, the army force was then deployed to crush the "rebels". Looking at the form of the raid carried out, it seems that the Baso Movement was not prepared to anticipate the army's attack. The followers of the Baso Movement appear to have committed acts of terror and are not yet an organized armed force.

Kahin (2005) mentions people targeted by the Baso Movement, who had worked for the Dutch and Japanese governments exerted influence on civil and military leaders to fight the followers of Tuanku Nan Putih. The principle of struggle of Tuanku Nan Putih, who firmly adheres to the teachings of religion and the belief in socialism, humiliates these people. Azwar Mangiang, a police officer who participated in the crackdown operation, expressed respect for Tuanku Nan Putih clerics who are close to the common people. Concern for the fate of the people stems from the teachings contained in the holy book of the Qur'an. The Baso movement arose in a situation of the split of clerical figures in the previous period. Some clerics are engaged in Islamic parties and Muhammadiyah organizations, and some take the path of radical socialism. Muhammadiyah, in the struggle phase, was less involved in political movements. Another analysis, though not strong enough to argue, is that a religious, socialist, and communist conspiracy destroyed the Baso Movement.

Baso Movement: Image and Relative Deprivation

An interesting aspect to observe and seems to have become a law of history is the image of violence surrounding it. Communism, whether on the part of those who support or oppose it, has always generated a strong image of violence. When Tuanku Nan Putih's followers matured their movement, they committed acts of theft, arrest, and murder against colonial officials. In contrast, the army cracked down on the movement in a ruthless manner.

The stigmas attached to the Baso Movement create a strong impression of state pressure. Many studies related to social movements show state pressure and propaganda to stigmatize the perspective of power. The propaganda aims to suppress and create polarization (Lukito et al., 2022). Framing approaches with progressive left-wing movement actors seem more prominent than right-wing actors (Caiani, 2023).

Both Tuanku Nan Putih's followers and the army presented the revolution as a means to legitimize their actions. For the followers of the Baso Movement, the revolution had to be driven by radical and uncompromising means, especially the violence they directed at the so-called colonial henchmen. For the army, the perpetrators of anarchy had committed anti-revolutionary acts in the sense that they did not support the legitimate course of government.

The Baso movement must indeed be seen in the context of its time when radical nationalism had a place in the movement. In the present context, it is difficult to understand how the figure of Tuanku Nan Putih as a cleric at the same time advocated and implemented the values of communism. If it is because he cannot control his followers who are affected by the agitation of Tuanku Nan Hitam, is it possible that acts of violence can proceed without his blessing? This question is indeed tautological as well as full of speculation. In fact, the army firmly branded the movement as the PKI Baso movement.

This study is interesting to read as a comparison with the communist movement in several periods of 1927, 1948 and 1965, which are often compared. A challenge for those who want to see communism not from its roots but from national roots that encompass all elements of the movement with political, religious, and social forms. The Baso movement was different from the communist movement in the later phase. The difference can be seen in its spirit, nature and framework, as well as the context of historical experience.

Attempts to understand the Baso Movement must be read from more than just political problems. Culturally, the movement arose due to changes in the Minangkabau mindset. The internal conflict was an attempt to find relevance in understanding the ideals of the proclamation, as Tan Malaka echoed with the independence of one hundred percent. In the body of the Baso Movement, there are two lines of thought: first, Tuanku Nan Putih, who wants a more moderate way, and second, Tuanku Nan Hitam, who prefers revolutionary acts of violence. As seen in the movement's actions, radical groups receive more support.

Table 1: The gap between hope and reality behind the 1946 Baso Movement

Source: Authors

The Ideals of independence	Hope	Reality
Protecting the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian bloodshed	As an independent nation, there can be no compromise with the colonialists	such an open compromise between the Republicans and the "common enemies", namely Britain and the Netherlands
Promoting general well-being	People not related to the colonizers filled the local power	the return of former native Dutch officials to local power
Educating the nation's life	The economic situation immediately improved	The economic situation continues to worsen
Participate in implementing a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice	100 percent independence	Negotiations with the colonials
(Preamble of 1945 Constitution)	The union of the factions of struggle	The opposition of moderates and radicals

The interpretation of reality is never singular. The ideological background and political position of the perpetrator determine the variety of views. For the Government and the army, the perpetrators have committed intolerable acts. They are rebels who want to undermine the authority of the Government. If not immediately suppressed, then the group's actions will seep into the East Sumatra region, which at the same time began to experience upheaval. Moreover, the Baso area – a hot spot of resistance – is not so far from Bukittinggi, the most important area after the independence revolution in West Sumatra. Perhaps, in the view of the army, if it is not fought, the Baso's PKI will get bigger and bigger until, in time there will be a communist rebellion throughout West Sumatra. Meanwhile, the followers of Tuanku Nan Putih, their efforts to eliminate former colonial officials from the local Government as an effort to stop the Dutch project to establish a Minangkabau state. Thus, there is a problem of interpretation that must be seen from the zeitgeist (soul of the age) of the revolutionary period full of euphoria of radical actions.

There may be many different perspectives on the characteristics of the Baso Movement. As a protest movement against the ways in which problems were handled after the proclamation of independence, their impatience dragged them into a situation that was counterproductive to the ideals of independence. Even though Tan Malaka, who is the source of inspiration for Baso followers, does not teach so. "As long as people believe that independence will be achieved by putch or anarchism, it is only the dream of a feverish man", Tan Malaka said in Massa-Actie (2013), highlighting the failure of the Silungkang Communist uprising of 1927.

Conclusions

This paper concludes that the 1946 Baso Movement was born from complex socio-political problems after independence. When people had just woken up from the dream of independence, they faced a reality that did not match their hopes. Expectations were high for a state of freedom from colonialism-related leaders, stability, justice, and prosperity. These hopes were confronted with the reality of, among other things, the ascendancy of former colonial-era officials to local government in West Sumatra, the prolonged conflict between the government and the Volksfront, an economic crisis characterized by intense inflation, and party conflicts and personal rivalries among local leaders.

The Baso movement experienced radicalization when the security forces did not sufficiently control their actions. As a result, they had the opportunity to establish their own 'sovereign territory' in Baso, independent of government control in Bukittinggi. In the communes, the followers of the Baso Movement were subject only to the authority of Tuanku

Nan Putih and Tuanku Nan Hitam. The authority of the local government had reached its lowest point.

This research has limitations because it still uses general sources often referred to by researchers. The perpetrators' views also need to be explored for a more balanced explanation. As far as the author can trace, the perpetrators or witnesses have died. Living witnesses from the army did not say much more. This may be due to the psychological problems of local people, who see the movement as a latent symptom of ideology.

Practically, this research helps to understand the symptoms of emerging social movements in Indonesia. The gap between hope and reality in a revolution will drive radical movements. History as a post-event never repeats itself, but the patterns of social movement events can become repeating patterns in history if the elements that allow the movement to occur are sufficient.

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Conflicts of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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