

The Struggle of School Students During Tritura Period in West Sumatera

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Abstract: This article explores the role of high school students in West Sumatra during the Tri Tuntutan Rakyat (Tritura: Three Demands of the People) movement in 1966. Utilizing a library research approach it leverages both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include archives and photographs from the Museum Angkatan 66 in Bukittinggi, complemented by historical narratives. Secondary sources comprise relevant books and articles. The research findings highlight that during the height of Tritura, which shook Jakarta and resonated across Indonesia, West Sumatra witnessed significant activism by school-age children, organized under KAPPI (the Indonesian Youth and Students Action Union). These students received overt support from their schools and covert backing from sympathetic Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) members. Schools served as operational bases for KAPPI in various locales of West Sumatra. Notably, one student, Ahmad Karim, became a martyr after being shot during a protest in Bukittinggi's Chinatown, later receiving posthumous recognition as a hero.

Abstrak: Artikel ini mengeksplorasi peran siswa sekolah menengah di Sumatera Barat pada masa gerakan Tri Tuntutan Rakyat pada tahun 1966. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan penelitian kepustakaan, artikel ini memanfaatkan sumber primer dan sekunder. Sumber primer meliputi arsip dan foto dari Museum Angkatan 66 di Bukittinggi, dilengkapi narasi sejarah. Sumber sekunder terdiri dari buku dan artikel yang relevan. Temuan penelitian ini menyoroti bahwa pada masa puncak Tritura, yang mengguncang Jakarta dan bergema di seluruh Indonesia, Sumatera Barat menyaksikan aktivisme yang signifikan dari anak-anak usia sekolah, yang diorganisir di bawah KAPPI (Persatuan Aksi Pemuda dan Pelajar Indonesia). Para siswa ini menerima dukungan terbuka dari sekolah mereka dan dukungan terselubung dari anggota Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) yang simpatik. Sekolah menjadi basis operasional KAPPI di berbagai daerah di Sumatera Barat. Khususnya, seorang pelajar, Ahmad Karim, menjadi martir setelah ditembak saat melakukan protes di Pecinan Bukittinggi, dan kemudian menerima pengakuan anumerta sebagai pahlawan.

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INTRODUCTION

The struggle or the existence of Indonesian youth, especially high school students in many historical opuses, has yet to achieve a specific place. They are the most vulnerable party in every problem in a country or region, even at the family level. In addition, there will be no regeneration whenever the young who are the life continuation *estafette* have gone. However, in many problems, particularly during the struggle, youth are often forgotten for their existence and part in it at a certain time. They who accept the impact of the existing problems and yet take part based on their capacity are almost forgotten from the history literature. Youth and students' participation in witnessing and engaging in the struggle has taught them to take great care of other individuals, parents, religions, and nations. Moreover, some of them are being killed in the struggle, which has caused lots of suffering to their parents



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(Riyani et al., 2021). However, students gain no award for their contribution when the struggle is over and poured into the historiography. Hence, this article reveals students' struggle in West Sumatra during the Tritura period (Three Demands of the People) in 1966.

The Indonesian historiography of numerous problems that started from the pre-independence era to the post-independence era needs to be revised. A total of 6 Volumes of *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* books, which had passed several revisions as the main sources in writing the history learning book at school and higher education, can be recalled as not mentioning children at all. The newest official Indonesian textbook, *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah* (Abdullah et al., 2012), spanning nine volumes, scarcely addresses students' contributions, particularly about the Indonesian Revolution and their post-independence role. Next, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia* (Vlekke, 2016) also skips children's participation in the struggle for the nation's independence. In addition, *Pahlawan-Pahlawan Indonesia Sepanjang Masa* (Junaedi, 2014) this book reveals Indonesia's heroes, which can be grouped into three categories: proclamation, national, and revolution. *Islam dalam Arus Sejarah Indonesia* (Burhanuddin, 2012) was published, but no student participation was mentioned. Bambang Purwanto also mentions frequently in many different scientific forums, including in his scientific writing *Menggugat Historiografi Indonesia* (Purwanto & Adam, 2005), that most the Indonesian history literature, children's participation has yet to achieve appropriate attention from the writer of the history, this similar thing also happened to the woman. Furthermore, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008* (Ricklefs, 2008) also mentions less student participation.

Research focusing on the history of high school students' struggles in Indonesia is sparse, indicating a need for more in-depth exploration in this area. The limited studies available often overlook the historical context and long-term patterns of challenges faced by these students. This lack of historical perspective can hinder a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of high school students' experiences and struggles in Indonesia. Furthermore, there is a need for historical research that examines the changes and continuities in the challenges faced by high school students, providing insights into their evolving educational and social conditions over time.

One important contribution of students occurred in 1966. They established the Indonesian

Youth and Students Action Union (KAPPI) on 9 February 1966. This was a significant element in the anti-communist movement following the September 30th Movement (G-30S). Along with the ranks of university students united in the Indonesian Students Action Union (KAMI), the KAPPI members held demonstrations in front of the Merdeka Palace, demanding President Sukarno be held accountable for the G-30S event. KAPPI represents a significant aspect of student activism in Indonesia, showing that high school students have actively participated in the country's political and social movements.

Despite students' significant role in Indonesian history, particularly during transitional periods like the shift from Sukarno to Suharto, research has predominantly focused on *mahasiswa* (college students) rather than *pelajar* (high school students) (Anwar, 1967; Erlina, 2020; Hasudungan, 2019; Rissam, 2018; Tria, 1969). This discrepancy in research attention means that high school students activities, contributions, and experiences during crucial historical moments remain less documented and understood. The emphasis on college students may overlook the broader spectrum of student activism and involvement, including the impactful roles that high school students have also played in shaping Indonesia's political and social history.

METHOD

This research uses archives, documentation, and biography as research sources. The primary source of this research is archives and documentation in photographs displayed at Museum Angkatan 66, located at Jalan Ahmad Karim No.12, Benteng Pasar Atas Village, Guguk Panjang District, Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, Indonesia. In addition, we used the stories of historical actors written in their biography, like *Pelaku Dan Saksi Sejarah Angkatan 66 Sumatera Barat Bertutur Tentang Tritura* (Actors and Witnesses to the History of Angkatan 66 West Sumatra: Talking about Tritura) (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018), *Dari Patoga Jelajah Dunia: Autobiografi, Perjalanan, Penurunan dan Pendakian Terjal Kehidupan Saifullah* (From Patoga Exploring the World: Autobiography, Journey, Decline and Steep Ascent of Saifullah's Life) (Saifullah, 2020), and *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. Maidir Harun: Lika-Liku Kehidupan Anak Seorang Petani Lubuk Alung* (70 Years of Prof. Dr. Maidir Harun: The Ups and Downs of the Child of a Lubuk Alung Farmer) (Harun, 2020). After gathering archival, photographic, and biographical materials for historical research, the next steps involve critical eval-

uation and synthesis. We assess the sources for credibility and relevance, acknowledging any potential biases. Then, we contextualize the information within the broader historical landscape to understand its significance, cross-checking details across various sources (corroboration) to ensure accuracy and construct a nuanced narrative. Then, we interpret the data to understand the historical phenomena's implications and develop a well-founded argument or thesis.

WEST SUMATERA BEFORE TRITURA

In the 1960s, President Sukarno of Indonesia introduced the concept of Nasakom, an acronym that stands for three political ideologies: Nationalism (*Nasionalisme*), Religion (*Agama*), and Communism (*Komunisme*). Nasakom was an attempt to unify these diverse political forces within Indonesia to create a stable and harmonious society. Sukarno envisioned Nasakom as a way to blend these ideologies into a single national framework, aiming to foster cooperation and prevent conflict among the different groups supporting each of these ideologies. This policy was part of Sukarno's broader strategy of guided democracy, where he sought to balance and control Indonesia's various political and social forces, maintaining his position and stabilizing the country during intense political rivalry and ideological division (Cribb & Kahin, 2004).

Since the Nasakom ideology was being implemented, the influence of *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesia Communist Party, PKI) was becoming bigger all over Indonesia. The influence started from the lowest level of the government to the national level. In West Sumatra, PKI and its assisted organizations conducted numerous political terrors. Higher education is also inseparable from PKI terror. Even the chancellor of Andalas University was terrorized by PKI students because, in the election of the head of the student council, PKI student representatives lost to HMI candidates (Zed et al., 1998). This fact proved that PKI's influence is very strong in West Sumatra. In response to this strong influence, after G30S/PKI took place in Jakarta, a platoon of soldiers of Kodam Siliwangi brigade from Pekanbaru came to protect Colonel Poniman in Padang, who served as Chief of Staff of the Regional Military Command III /17 August as the person who is anti to PKI. This reinforcement worries that bad things might happen to Colonel Poniman since many were close and involved with the PKI Field in the ranks of Kodam III/17 August (Zed et al., 1998).

The soldier's fear was inseparable from the

post-West Sumatra condition after PRRI (The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) in 1958, which became a great chance for PKI to spread widely. The freedom of PKI in developing its influence in West Sumatra in society since they were left by the PRRI force, including as the losing group, and PRRI members were also frequently interrogated by the members of PKI. In response to that situation, most people were forced to support PKI. In addition, most of *nagari* government in which its previous *walinagari* (the head of the village) were members of PRRI were being replaced with the new one due to the support of PKI and a group of the society who sided with the central government. Moreover, after PRRI, the Masyumi party, the biggest party in West Sumatra, was disbanded by President Sukarno since it was considered to be engaged with PRRI (Suryanegara, 2013). Since then, PKI has become more flexible in flapping its wings to the society in West Sumatra. Indeed, numerous people who previously were members of PRRI lost their lives or were violated before G30S/PKI occurred (Zed et al., 1998).

On the other hand, a hard life afflicts Indonesian people due to the high price of goods. The money is available, but there is no reasonable price for goods. It was hard to obtain rice. The populace was forced to consume corn, rice, and *gaplek* (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). In order to obtain rice, kerosene, and cigarettes, people needed to line up. Fuel prices quadrupled; hence, the transport cost is higher.

Meanwhile, in the country cabinet, there was an increase in members. This condition has forced Indonesian people to take to the streets to sue the government for three things. The three things demanded by the populace were lowering the price of goods, cabinet reshuffling, and disbanding PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) and its community organizations. The fiery Tritura (Three Demands of the People) happened in 1966. Tritura quickly penetrated Indonesia, with no exception in West Sumatra. The people who took to the streets to sue the government were adults and children who were KAPPI members (the Indonesian Youth and Students Action Union). Those children were students at (4 years PGAN and six years PGAN, Sumatera Thawalib, SMA, SMA PSM, STM, SMEA, SAA, and SMP PSM) and were supposed to be safe and sound studying at their school and fully guarded by their teachers. However, they went to the street to voice their desires to the Indonesian people. These children were supposed to be safe and sound, surrounded by their parents or guardians, considering that they were vulnerable to the unstable conditions

of the country. However, these children actively fought for the Indonesian people's aspirations. They were not afraid of being scolded by their parents and teachers because they left school. These children were one of the foremost groups at that time.

The students, as a group that is supposed to get appropriate education, care, and mental psychotherapy (Anglin, 2013; Alfarisi, 2019), took active participation in conducting protests facilitated by the organization that they established, KAPPI (The Association of Educated Youth of Indonesia). KAPPI almost has branches all over Indonesia (Suryanegara, 2013). The event took place in Jakarta, and many different regions in Indonesia also happened in West Sumatra. The school students were taking part in conveying the aspirations of Indonesian people through the organization they established together.

STUDENT ACTIVISM DURING THE TRITURA MOVEMENT IN WEST SUMATRA

West Sumatra, renowned for producing many national figures in the Republic of Indonesia, is deeply intertwined with the history of the Tritura movement. During that time, the same condition that happened to most regions in Indonesia also happened in West Sumatra, where the price of primary goods was very high. Meanwhile, in the cabinet, there was an increase in the number of cabinet members (they were paid by the country with public money). On the other side, the existence of communists in Indonesia had caused Indonesian people to feel restless, particularly after the tragedy of G30S/PKI. In West Sumatra itself, the existence of communists has long been seen before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. During the "Silungkang Resistance," which was motorized by the people of Silungkang in 1926 – 1927, the communists started coordinating the right time to begin the movement (Marzali, 2020). Therefore, when Tritura took place in 1966, the effort to vanish, communist people, and the movement of Three Demands of the People also took place in West Sumatra.

All elements of society joined hands to free West Sumatra from that very hard condition and the communists. The children also participated actively, even though they were afraid. However, they were willing to save the country based on Pancasila from the grip of the communists amid rising prices for basic commodities and an unstoppable increase in cabinet members; hence, the children took to the street with full awareness. Under the organizations called KAPPI and PII, the children from many

different schools joined themselves in the fierce struggle. Saifullah, one of the retirees Professor of Imam Bonjol Padang Islamic State University, revealed in his autobiography book that during Tritura, he was a student of 4 years PGAN of Bukittinggi (Islamic Junior High School level) in his last education year (Saifullah, 2020). He recalled joining the fierce struggle since he started knowing PII and KAPPI.

KAPPI, one of the components of Generation 66 that destroyed G30S/PKI in West Sumatra, was initially formed in Bukittinggi. The responsibility as the chairperson was handed to Makmur HP (Makmur Hendrik), a student of STM Bukittinggi, through a discussion conducted on the 3rd floor of SMA B Bukittinggi, and the responsibility as the vice of chairperson was handed to Masfar Rasyid (PGA) (Hendrik, 2018). The secretary position was handed to Kasmin Syawal, a student of SMA PSM Bukittinggi (Zen, 2018). The discussion only took half an hour to form the organization committee in Bukittinggi. KAPPI was motorized by PII (Indonesian Islamic Student) Bukittinggi/ Agam and was chaired by Masfar Rasyid, a student of Thalib Parabek Bukittinggi, even though he had never experienced the committee of KAPPI previously. However, he actively encouraged his fellows to join KAPPI Bukittinggi's buffetings in April 1966 as the students' response toward the country's chaotic situation after G30S/PKI. Then, the students started their move, which was initialized with the installation of posters of AMPERA and Tritura at the fence and the wall of SMA B Bukittinggi, which was a place for them to discuss the form the organization committee which later became the office of KAPPI. Days after the installation of the posters, word spread that Sutan Syahril, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia who was treated in Geneva, Swiss, passed away on 16 April 1966 (Junaedi, 2014). With no doubt but respect, the chairperson of KAPPI Bukittinggi, Makmur Hendrik, together with the other members of KAPPI, took to the street to the shopping complex and to the market to ask the merchants to put up the flag at half-mast to pay tribute to the deceased. Due to the students' invitation, a half-mast flag was put up in Pasar Atas, Pasar Bawah, and schools in Bukittinggi (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). Two days later, the Indonesian government assigned Sutan Syahrir as National Hero, followed by Bukittinggi.

Instead of a poster installation, they also conducted demonstrations in Bukittinggi to convey the populace's demand. In a big demonstration party on 14 September 1966 located in Chinatown

Bukittinggi, Ahmad Karim, a student of Public STM, died from being shot (Djas, 2018). After being shot, he was carried to Public Hospital (RSUD), which is now called Armen Mukhtar Hospital. Syarifuddin Djas, who was studying at the same school as Ahmad Karim, who witnessed the shot, recalled that he was very shocked and stupefied (Djas, 2018). Ahmad Karim was bloodstained in the laps of his KAPPI friends who were together to convey for Tritura. Sorrow and a deep sense of emotion enveloped the students who took part in the demonstration. However, the sorrow and sadness did not dissipate their enthusiasm at that time. Bravely, without being tired and scared, they continued fighting. In that big demonstration, there was hundreds of students participated originated from many different schools in Bukittinggi (STM/Secondary Technical School, SMA/Senior High School B, SMA II, SMA III, PGA, SMA PSM, SMEA, SGKP, students of Midwifery School, also the student of SMP/Junior High School). The news about the shot of Ahmad Karim, the Secondary Technical School student, is widely spread. As the effect of the shot, the struggle and enthusiasm of the students in Bukittinggi got stronger and tougher. SyarwanDjas, a figure of PII, and his fellow friends heard on Australian radio news about the shot of Ahmad Karim (Djas, 2018). They were on Belle Abeto after attending the PII XI conference in Bandung in August 1966. They were the representatives of West Sumatra. They were very shocked and gasped.

Students of SMP PSM (Syafhelmi SB), a third-grade student at that time, along with his three friends, heard about the clash between the army and the demonstrator. When they heard that, they rushed out of the schoolyard and headed to the tragic event location (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). on their way, they heard the sound of the shot. Soon after they arrived, they watched crowds at a point where Ahmad Karim was being shot. Ahmad Karim, who died in conveying the Tritura, was assigned as Triturapatriot/Generation 66 (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). The very next day after the shot, his dead body was buried in the grave of the patriots of GulaiBancah. His bloodstained clothes were placed in the office of KAPPI SMA B Bukittinggi as proof and symbol of KAPPI's struggle.

Following the large demonstration, the KAPPI Bukittinggi movement continued with house visits, targeting residences suspected of sheltering PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) members. One night, a KAPPI member named Abdullah Achmad Tanjung, a SMA III/SMA Teladan student

in Birugo, purposefully visited a house to bring its occupants to the KAPPI office for interrogation. The occupants were a heavily pregnant woman and her frightened child. Knowing the situation, Tanjung kindly informed them that he and his team were conducting a routine check and allowed them to return home. Subsequently, the KAPPI members proceeded to their second office at Pasar Atas, opposite the Maco Stalls selling dried fish, at 48 Lorong Saudagar Street (Tanjung, 2018).

RumahTua (the old house) is the second office for KAPPI Bukittinggi (non-official) and is often used to plan KAPPI's actions. In addition, this second office of KAPPI also functioned as a *surau* (a smaller Islamic worshiper place). Members of KAPPI and teachers who were sympathetic to the students and had great fighting spirit often stayed overnight in this building. Thus, the teachers who decided to stay overnight aimed to deliver learning materials on a night shift to their students participating in the demonstration and could not learn during the day. One of the intended teachers was Syarifudin "*sunguik*" an SMA III Field geography teacher (Tanjung, 2018). At that time, the teachers in Bukittinggi supported each action the students conducted to convey Tritura.

In Solok, the situation for students was markedly different. Many students feared participating in the Tritura movement at a local school because the principal did not endorse it. An illustrative case involved Sukidi and his peers from the Public SMEA of Solok. Despite their fear, Sukidi was tasked with bringing a can of red paint and a small brush to inscribe messages on store walls. Although not yet a KAPPI member, his strong desire to support Indonesia and voice public sentiments led him to join KAPPI's activities in Solok City during the Tritura movement (Tanjung, 2018).

KAPPI's presence in Solok City was notable for writing Tritura slogans and wall demands, especially targeting Chinese stores and street corners. Key KAPPI activists in the Solok City/Solok sub-district included Rafli Bidin, Syarifuddin Hamid, Zainal MS, and Thamrin H. Although there were only a few students officially recognized as KAPPI activists in the area, their impact was significantly visible in the various actions they undertook. KAPPI had representatives in each Senior High School (SLTA), with students awaiting instructions from their school coordinators before participating in demonstrations, often marching from their schools to Solok City's Lapangan Merdeka (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018).

Students' movement in Padang was similar to

that in Bukittinggi and Solok. Before the formation of KAPPI, which facilitated the students in conveying the aspiration of the populace to the government, they spontaneously conducted action in China Town and Pondok Region. In May 1966, KAPPI in Padang was formed, chaired by Bahrum Yonda Djabar, a student of Public Technical Secondary School, and the mass director was Noegroho Dja-joesman, a student of SMA (Senior High School) DB (Adlan, 2018). However, prior to the formation of the KAPPI committee in Padang, KAPPI member registration was conducted to allow an appropriate listing of schools that joined KAPPI. The registration place was in the yard, where a piano class was conducted in front of SMEA 2, now known as Sudirman Street (Adlan, 2018). Schools such as SMA and the equal six-year PGA of Padang and SMP were accepted as KAPPI members and the Ampera Paramilitary Troop of Ichwan Ridwan Rais. However, after the death of Ahmad Karim in Bukittinggi, the name was changed to Ampera Paramilitary Troop of Ahmad Karim.

KAPPI's activities in Padang included a series of targeted demonstrations, starting with removing Chinese-language shop signboards in Chinatown on 13 June 1966. They then proceeded to Belakang Tangsi and M. Yamin Street areas, continuing their campaign to remove Chinese signboards. The group later moved to the Pasar Raya (Central Market) before returning home. Additionally, KAPPI held a demonstration in the yard of Kodim (Military Area Command), calling for the dissolution of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) and its affiliate organizations.

Professor Maidir Harun, a notable historical figure who later became a retired professor at UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, provided insights into this period. He has held various esteemed positions, including Dean of the Adab Faculty, UIN Imam Bonjol Padang Chancellor, and Head of the Research and Development Center and Religious Affluence of the Religious Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia.

During that period, I was a student at PGAN Padang, studying for six years. Driven by my deep love for my homeland, I joined the struggle alongside my friends who were part of KAPPI. We participated in various demonstrations, including marches to Chinatown, the Regional Office of the Religious Ministry of West Sumatra, and the Kodim III office of the August 17th Commander. I also served in night shifts at the West Sumatra KAPPI office on M. Yani Street in Padang, among other activities (Harun, 2020).

Students' activism in Padang had a ripple effect, inspiring their counterparts in nearby regions like South Pesisir. The formation of KAPPI in Padang led to the establishment a similar entity in South Pesisir, with its inception in early June 1966 in Painan, the district's capital. This new branch was led by Dasril Ilyas, a Senior High School student from Painan, with Bahri B, an SPG student, serving as the vice-chairperson and Yusril Chan, an SMEA student, the secretary. Leadership roles, especially those of mass directors, were filled by students from various educational institutions, including Darizal Basyir from SMP, Ismail Janali from SPG, and others from SMA, SMEA, and SMEP, indicating a broad-based student involvement in the movement (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). The school principals and their teachers supported the students' movement in South Pesisir. Therefore, in conducting their actions, those students were fearless. They actively monitored the restrictions on the flow of rice from South Pesisir to the outside region. They also took part in the team of court against public cars carrying overcapacity to prevent more damage to the road. They also actively participated in cleaning up the rest of the PKI members in their region. At the funeral of Ahmad Karim in Bukittinggi, one of KAPPI members who was shot during the demonstration, KAPPI of South Pesisir directed its members to attend the funeral. Nine buses containing students from South Pesisir headed to Ahmad Karim's final resting place. The Regent, Zaini Zen, supported this activity.

The response of students in Padang Pariaman about the struggle of the people after the tragedy of G30S/PKI was to take off the PKI signboards. In June 1966, the Student Association of SMAN Pariaman obtained a mandate from the Consulate KAPPI of West Sumatera to form the KAPPI of Padang Pariaman. The chairperson of KAPPI Padang Pariaman was St. Masykura Badar, and the members were Maflihun Muluk, Isbullah Oedin, Syahril Muluk, dan Ismet Aljazali. Sekretaris M. Yanis Yahya, the treasurer was AhmadinAlgamar, the mass director bureau was Nurmansyah AG, the Financial/Fundraising bureau was Nasrul Khatab, the security bureau was Sugeng Sungkono, the consumption/accommodation bureau was Rustam. The health/First Aid Kid bureau was Djasmar Nur.

In July 1966, in the field yard at the front of the Regency Office, Police Day/Bhayangkara was held. At that ceremony, the head of KAPPI, St. Masykura Badar, and Maflihun Muluk were present. After the ceremony, both were invited to chat by the Regent of Padang Pariaman Y.B. Adam

in the SMPN (Public Junior High School)¹ Pariaman yard. In that discussion, the regent persuaded KAPPI Padang Pariaman not to demonstrate to him due to the regent's close relationship with PKI. However, the KAPPI Padang Pariaman committee was not interested in how the regent persuaded them. The regent indeed offers several benefits to the KAPPI committee. Days after the discussion, the demonstration took place, and the demand was to ask the Governor of West Sumatra to dismiss the Regent of Padang Pariaman. About a week after the demonstration, the Regent of Padang Pariaman, Y.B. Adam, was dismissed (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). The braveness of KAPPI Padang Pariaman in conducting the demonstration was inseparable from an appropriate preparation by preparing 60 persons as special troops from KAPPI. These 60 children were junior high students possessing robust physical and mental abilities, making them dependable and resilient.

In Sawahlunto, known as the charcoal city, students from Public Senior High School and Public Junior High School actively participated in the Tritura movement, similar to other areas in West Sumatra. They seized control of the Chung Hua Chung Hui office in Pasar Usang, which subsequently became the KAPPI headquarters for Sawahlunto City. Additionally, KAPPI occupied another PKI office in Pasar Usang, leading to the flight of PKI leaders from the city and the arrest of some, including M. Lasim Sar, a teacher.

In Tanah Datar, revered as one of the *luhak nan tuo* (old lands) in Minangkabau, students were notably active in the Tritura movement. KAPPI significantly facilitated student activism, with key members hailing from Public Senior High School and Aditiawarman Senior High School. These students enjoyed strong support from both the school principal and teachers. The KAPPI committee in Tanah Datar was formed in March 1966, led by Chairperson Refinus HB, Secretary Sulaiman Daud, Special Troops Commander Sarinal, and Vice Commander Fauzi Idrus (Putra, 2020).

Meanwhile, Dasril was responsible for the documentation. The inauguration of the KAPPI committee was conducted at the National Building in Batusangkar by the chairperson of West Sumatera KAPPI, Riza Adlan (Djalal & Hendrik, 2018). The Regent of Tanah Datar and Muspida (Regional leadership deliberations) also provided full support for the presence of KAPPI in Tanah Datar. KAPPI posts in Tanah Datar were posted by the Public Senior High School of Batusangkar, and the members included junior high school students.

They picket every night, and the activity of KAPPI in this region was focused on social control. However, the facts in the field were in contrast to the expectation since, in Tanjung Sungayang region, the former supporters of PKI put up a fight. They opened fire on the special troops of KAPPI. The incident invited the authorities' involvement since KAPPI reported the case to the police.

Those were the struggles conducted by students in some regions in West Sumatra during Tritura. They fight tirelessly, without ulterior motives, without fear, and without surfeits. Their days as students were filled with different kinds of struggles, and sometimes, they felt scared, just like some students experienced in one of the schools in Solok. However, they did not give up easily in that kind of condition. Surreptitiously, they participated in the struggle with their friends from many different schools.

The spirit of the students who were actively engaged in the struggle of Tritura can be analyzed by employing the history driving force by Kuntowijoyo (2013). He stated that the forces driving history are economy, religion, institution (politics), technology, ideology, society, and the like (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). An abstract force is unseen on the surface but very determinant among the movement forces. For example, when someone is fishing in the swift stream, it may break the fishing line. This person probably will say the stream is swift; hence, it is obvious that the fishing line broke up. Nevertheless, perhaps this person has forgotten that the cause of the swift stream is the uneven land position, which allows the stream to be swift. Similarly, it applies to students' engagement during Tritura in general and West Sumatra.

The fact on the surface and the populace's demand at that time indicated the occurrence of economic demand. The people were suffering due to the very high price of primary needs. There was also demand for institutions/politics since the cabinet members were extinct. The social demand occurred because people were restless after G30S/PKI. Those three things caused the populace to move and take to the street without any exception, and the same thing happened to students. However, in the abstract, religious factors were the most determinant factors; thus, this encouraged the students to take to the streets to convey the rights of the populace at that time. The force of religion has become the driving force of history, which was of vital importance at that time. The students joining KAPPI were mostly PII-originated (Indonesian Islamic Students). The Consulate in Bukittinggi con-

sisted of PGAN Jirek, PGA Penampung, PGA Foundation, and Islamic Junior High School (Rasyid, 2018). Instead, the scholars and students' organizations based on Islam, namely HMI, are also one of the front groups in the struggle of Tritura in West Sumatra (Zed et al., 1998).

Baharuddin Zen, one of the Tritura activists, revealed that KAPPI and KAMI (The Association of Islamic Students Action) were shoulders to shoulder, moving in one direction to clean the community from the elements of communist ideology, to strengthen the unity and the association of the nation, to get rid of hypocrisy and foul play on the elements like the community, instance, and the other groups (Zen, 2018). Thus, the explanation provided by Baharuddin Zen indicated that the religious force had become an important element of Tritura's driving force in history, so the students from many different schools were united in each action in West Sumatera then. Even though Ahmad Karim, one of their fellows in the struggle, had lost his life in that incident. The unwavering willingness and enthusiasm of the students to liberate the populace from the influence of the PKI were formidable. This resolve was deeply rooted in their belief that martyrdom in battle would be rewarded with paradise in the afterlife, reflecting the strong Islamic faith prevalent among the students who were educated in the religion at their schools.

Historically, from the era of Islamic kingdoms to the present, it is undeniable that Indonesia, and West Sumatra in particular, has been predominantly Muslim. This demographic faced significant challenges and obstacles with the rise of the PKI, whose growing influence and deep-rooted presence in rural areas posed a threat. The ideology propagated by the PKI was seen as perilous, with the potential to undermine the foundational principles of Pancasila and disrupt the traditional life philosophy of the West Sumatran people, especially the *adat* principle of "*Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*" (Custom based on Sharia, Sharia based on the Quran). (Hakim, 2017). Anthony Reid described that the military could also encourage the Muslim community and the other Youth communities to kill the leader and the sympathizer of PKI at the domestic level (Reid, 2018).

The other reason why the most important historical driving force is religion in the event of Tritura was that PKI had become stronger in West Sumatera, so the populace was forced to agree as the followers or the sympathizers of PKI to avoid the problem. To obtain license permission to operate public transportation on certain routes, the

driver must first become a member of SBKB (Motor Vehicle Labor Association). SBKB was one of the platforms employed by PKI to attract more members and sympathizers in West Sumatra (Zed et al., 1998). For those who believe strongly in the value of Islam religion, this would be uneasy since the consequence of disobeying PKI is that their family will suffer from starvation. However, the students were providing support in the struggle of Tritura; hence, the mass also supported and sometimes provided rice for the students who were joining the demonstration.

CONCLUSION

In the Tritura period, high school students in West Sumatra demonstrated remarkable activism and commitment to societal and political change. These young individuals, often overlooked in historical narratives, were at the forefront of the struggle against economic hardship and the encroaching influence of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Their participation was not merely incidental but a profound assertion of their agency and a testament to their deep-seated patriotism and love for their homeland. The students' involvement was driven by a confluence of factors. Economically, the soaring prices of necessities compelled them to demand change. Politically, the increasing dominance of the PKI, perceived as a threat to the foundational Pancasila principles, galvanized their actions. Social unrest, spurred by the aftermath of the G30S/PKI movement, created a milieu where the students felt a pressing need to restore stability and order in their society. The death of their peer, Ahmad Karim, during a protest became a pivotal moment, intensifying their resolve rather than deterring their spirit. This tragic event underscored their risks and highlighted the sacrifices they were willing to make for their cause. Their actions went beyond mere protest; they were a significant force in the social and political landscape, challenging the status quo and advocating for a future aligned with their ideals and aspirations. Their engagement in the Tritura movement was not an isolated episode of youthful exuberance but a critical chapter in the broader narrative of Indonesia's struggle for sovereignty and identity. These students, through their courage and actions, underscored the potential of youth to influence the course of history, shaping not only their immediate environment but also contributing to the national discourse on freedom, justice, and national integrity.

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