



Being Foreigner in Their Own Land: The Samin Movement in Madiun East Java in Early Twentieth-Century

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Abstract: This article explains that the movement of the Samin community at the end of the 19th century in Java caused a stir in colonial society. Typical of village communities in general, they spent their days in agrarian activities. However, there was a problem, which caused them to migrate to several areas in East Java, including Madiun, and then they were known to have carried out a number of acts of resistance against the local colonial government. This research will use historical research methods, armed with reading a number of documents and archives left by the Dutch East Indies Government. The concept of social movement becomes the locus that is put forward to explore the various activities of the Orang Samin in their new areas. The purpose of writing this article is to show that the end of the 19th century became a period of crisis for Madiun, where various elements of popular resistance emerged to oppose the arrogance of the Dutch East Indies government.

Keywords: migrants; nativeness; protest; resistance

Abstrak: Artikel ini menjelaskan bahwa pergerakan masyarakat Samin pada akhir abad ke-19 di Pulau Jawa menimbulkan kegaduhan di masyarakat kolonial. Layaknya masyarakat desa pada umumnya, mereka menghabiskan hari-harinya dengan bertani. Namun ada permasalahan yang menyebabkan mereka merantau ke beberapa daerah di Jawa Timur, termasuk Madiun, dan kemudian mereka diketahui melakukan sejumlah aksi perlawanan terhadap pemerintah kolonial setempat. Penelitian ini akan menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah, berbekal membaca sejumlah dokumen dan arsip peninggalan Pemerintah Hindia Belanda. Konsep gerakan sosial menjadi lokus yang dikedepankan untuk mendalami berbagai aktivitas Orang Samin di wilayah barunya. Tujuan penulisan artikel ini adalah untuk menunjukkan bahwa akhir abad ke-19 menjadi masa krisis bagi Madiun, dimana muncul berbagai elemen perlawanan rakyat untuk melawan arogansi pemerintah Hindia Belanda.

Kata Kunci: keaslian; migran; perlawanan; protes



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Introduction

The Samin community are a community group from Central Java, Indonesia. They have a unique history and culture that sets them apart from other communities in Central Java. One of the most striking characteristics of the Samin community is their teachings of simple living and their strong rejection of consumption culture and modern thinking. The Samin community are known for their philosophical understanding, known as ngelorod. This term refers to their

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daily life which is filled with simplicity, avoiding violence, and rejecting the control of land (owned by them) by other parties.

Samin teachings stem from their founding figure, Raden Sumanto, who lived in the 19th Century. He emphasized the importance of living in harmony with nature and avoiding the use of violence as a means to an end. In its development, the Samin community often faced pressure and conflicts with the authorities due to their beliefs against land tenure by nobles and Dutch colonization. When the Samin community first emerged, they were often associated with striking mystical and spiritual practices, such as stopping weapons with their bare hands. However, in recent decades, they have endeavored to be more open and involved in modern economic life. Nonetheless, they retain their traditional values and continue to fight for their land rights (King, 1973).

In Samin culture, community and simplicity are highly valued. They live in small groups, often relying on agriculture and traditional craft production to make ends meet. Although their numbers may not be large, the Samin community are a unique and valuable part of Central Java's cultural heritage. They continue to survive and maintain their traditions in the midst of changing times.

There are a number of authors who have researched the Samin community in various scientific disciplines. Moh. Rosyid wrote about the history of the Samin in an article entitled "The Dynamics of the Samin Community from a Historical Perspective: A Case Study in Kudus, Central Java" (Rosyid: 2023). This article reviews the dynamics of Samin community life in Kudus, Central Java. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and references, then analyzed descriptively and qualitatively. The results of the study highlighted the origin of the Samin community, which initially emerged as a reaction to a foreign invasion in Blora, Central Java, led by Ki Samin Surosentiko, and its development until today in Kudus.

Rosyid also looks at two main dynamics in the life of the Samin community, namely the oral and uncontrolled transmission of the teachings of Saminism and changes in their lifestyle in accordance with the dynamics of the times, which have resulted in a decline in the quality and quantity of their lives (Rosyid: 2023). Despite reviewing the historical aspects of the Samin group, Rosyid's analysis is not extended to Madiun, East Java, and is only centered on Kudus.

Unlike Rosyid, Muhamad Arif is interested in discussing the Samin community in the context of character education. In 2023, Arif and his colleague wrote an article entitled "The Spiritual Transformation of the Samin Community in Tapelan Village: A Character Education Insight". This paper reviews the religious changes that occurred in the Samin community in Tapelan Village, Bojonegoro, East Java. Initially, the Samin community were faithful followers of the Adam Faith and they used their spiritual beliefs as a way to fight against the injustices imposed by the Dutch colonial administration.

In the 1980s, there was a significant shift in which the Samin community in Tapelan Village switched from belief in Adam's faith to Islam. This research aims to investigate the history of religious change in the Samin community in Tapelan Village with a focus on an educational approach, with the hope that the findings can provide useful insights to strengthen

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national character education.

The research method used by Arif and friends includes four main stages: the collection of historical sources, validation through source criticism, interpretative data analysis, and historical compilation. Religious change in the Samin community can be divided into four important phases, namely reactive resistance to Dutch colonial policies, a period of self-isolation in the teak forest, a phase of skepticism and apathy that continued until the beginning of Indonesian independence, and adaptive cooperation with neighbors that emerged after the 1980s.

In the context of education, the conversion journey of the Samin faith to Islam has the potential to provide valuable lessons in strengthening national character education by emphasizing the importance of religious instruction, honesty, and unwavering loyalty to the state. The religious transformation of the Samin community in Tapelan Village not only records their spiritual journey but also offers an educational perspective that can help strengthen national character education (Arif, 2023). The views expressed by Arif and his friends do not touch on the episode of the Samin movement in Madiun in the colonial period. In fact, the Samin group in Bojonegoro is certainly thought to have connections with those living in Madiun.

Enkin Astrawijaya and colleagues are interested in discussing the activities of the Samin community in protesting against the conversion of their settlement into a cement factory in the North Kendeng Mountains, Pati, Central Java. The article talks about the role of a leader in the Samin community's resistance movement against the construction of a cement factory in Kendeng Mountains, Java, Indonesia, using agency theory.

The application of agency theory can explain why the Samin community, which initially carried out passive resistance to state hegemony, was then able to carry out active and open resistance. As agents, the Samin community became an important factor in active, open, and organized resistance. The agent in question refers to one of the Samin leaders named Gunretno. Enkin and colleagues collected research data through interviews and participatory observation. Interviews were conducted with leaders who acted as agents in acts of resistance, as well as with informants from the Samin community's residential circle and those who supported the Samin community's resistance movement.

Enkin's research results show that agency is a key contributor to interpreting the resistance movement's ideological formulation, network development, stakeholder support, resistance movement advocacy actions, and peaceful demonstrations. The resistance actions of the Samin community increased their credibility, thus contributing to the victory of their movement through legal channels. These findings make an important contribution to social movement theory, particularly in relation to peasant movements and traditional communities (Astrawijaya, et al., 2021). The analyses constructed by Enkin and colleagues are more directed towards an era that is not the focus of the author. He discussed the Samin community in the case of the riots over the plan to revitalize the Samin settlement into a cement factory in 2017. This is different from the author's focus, which only reviews the Samin movement in the colonial

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period, around the end of the 19th Century to the beginning of the 20th Century.

The aim of this study is to reveal the important role played by various forms of popular resistance, especially the Samin movement, in the context of the late 19th Century in Madiun, Java. During this period, the city faced a crisis situation brought about by the dominance and arrogance of the Dutch East Indies colonial government. In fact, various elements of society, including the Samin community, actively involved themselves in acts of resistance against the arbitrary colonial rule. Another aim of this research is to document their role in responding to the crisis situation and highlight how various forms of social resistance became a reaction to the repressive actions of the colonial government.

By using a historical research perspective and exploring documents and archives left by the Dutch East Indies Government, this research seeks to describe in depth how the late 19th century was a time when popular resistance in Madiun reached its peak. The Samin movement and other elements of society played an important role in confronting the arrogance of the colonial government and creating social dynamics that destabilized their power. As such, this research not only reveals the historical significance of the period but also shows how strong the impetus of social resistance was in overcoming colonial injustice in Madiun.

Research Methods

The research involved a series of careful stages of historical research methodology. The first stage is heuristics, where the researcher searches for and collects relevant historical sources. This involved searching for old Dutch-language archives and documents relating to the Samin movement and the politics of the Dutch East Indies government in the period. During this stage, the researcher attempted to obtain as much primary data as possible that could support the analysis. The documents that have been found are a number of decrees or besluiten that contain instructions for the arrest or exile of Samin who were caught in Blora or Madiun. The colonial report, called Verslag, is also a primary source containing written information about Samin activities in Madiun. These documents partially date from the period between 1880 and 1930.

The second stage is source criticism, which is divided into two parts, namely external and internal source criticism. External source criticism involves assessing the reliability and objectivity of external sources, such as official archives, historical reports, and colonial records. Meanwhile, internal source criticism is concerned with evaluating the accuracy and credibility of internal sources, such as memoirs or writings produced by members of the Samin movement themselves. This is important to ensure that the data used in the research has historical integrity.

The third stage was the interpretation of old Dutch documents. Here, researchers conducted in-depth analyses of the documents to understand the context, the issues discussed, and the role of the Samin movement in dealing with the politics of the Dutch East Indies Government. This interpretation includes an understanding of the social, political and cultural changes that occurred during this period, as well as the dynamics of the conflict between the Samin movement and the colonial government (Van Opstall, et al., 1980).

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The fourth stage is historical writing, where the results of the analyses and understanding from the previous stages are used to compile an article or research paper. This article reflects the research findings on the activities of the Samin community in Madiun. The results of the research are organized logically and coherently, following a structure that conforms to the norms of scientific writing (Madjid and Wahyudi, 2014; Madjid, 2021).

Research on the resistance of the Samin community to the Dutch East Indies government presents an information-rich social history approach. In this context, the social history approach allows researchers to dig deeper into the motives of the Samin community's arrival in Madiun and how their interaction with the colonial government's interests shaped the dynamics of resistance. Firstly, this research can reveal the initial motives for the arrival of the Samin community to the Madiun region, whether they were related to economic, social, or political factors. This analysis will help understand the role of the Samin settlement in the economic and social context of the region.

Furthermore, the social history approach also allows us to investigate how the Samin community interacted with the Dutch East Indies colonial government, including the extent to which they voiced their interests and dissatisfaction with colonial policies. This can open up insights into how the conflicts and tensions between the Samin community and the colonial government developed over time, as well as how this shaped their resistance. The social history approach of this research can provide a more comprehensive picture of the Samin community's struggle and resistance against the Dutch East Indies government, taking into account the social factors and motivations behind their actions (Stoianovich, 2019).

Research Result

The Samin community, also known as the Samin community, have been recorded in Dutch colonial documents since before 1890. By 1920, the community was identified as inhabiting various regions in Central Java and East Java, including Blora, Bojonegoro, Rembang, Madiun, Ngawi, Grobogan, Pati, Kudus, as well as the Rembang and Semarang regions. They are known for their communal and self-reliant lifestyle, with values that are highly upheld within their community. Samin Surontiko is known as the main ideologue among the Samin. He taught the principles of doing good to others, known as konco katah (friends), as well as the principle of respect for elders, called tiyang sepah (the elders). In addition, Samin Surontiko also upheld brotherhood within their community. This creates a strong ethical foundation for their lives.

One of the striking characteristics of the Samin community is their practice of selfreliance. This can be seen when they refused to use the granary provided by the village government in Blora. This refusal is perhaps an early example of their resistance to government interference and collective control over resources. This action reflects their spirit of independence and non-compliance with colonial authority. Overall, the Samin community is a unique group with strong traditional values and prominent acts of self-reliance. They have a spiritual leader, Samin Soerontiko, who plays an important role in shaping their culture and

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philosophy. Their practice of self-reliance also reflects a spirit of resilience and resistance to the domination of the Dutch colonial government (Jasper, 1918).

The teachings of the Samin community are seen in the very distinctive philosophy and ethics of life that are maintained within their community. These teachings emphasize several fundamental principles that form the basis for the daily lives and interactions of members of the Samin community. Firstly, the principle of "do not seek" illustrates the spirit of self-reliance and hard work. They believe that everything must be earned through one's own labor, emphasizing the importance of effort and honesty in achieving goals.

There are a number of teachings such as the principles that emphasise that Samin community "do not lie," "do not steal," and "do not commit adultery" underlining the strict moral ethics in daily life. Samin community uphold honesty, morality, and integrity in all aspects of their lives. In addition, the principle of "whatever you do, do it patiently" reflects the value of patience in facing various challenges and obstacles in life.

Furthermore, the principles of receiving and giving help emphasize the importance of social solidarity within the Samin community. They emphasize that community members should work to fulfill their own needs and not rely on help from others. However, if a member asks for help, then other members are expected to give it willingly. All of this creates a framework of values and ethics that binds members of the Samin community and is the foundation of their unique culture and philosophy.

The Samin teaching that emphasizes communal ownership is one of the central values in their community. According to the Samin viewpoint, ownership of land or gardens is considered to be communal property that the Samin community can share. This principle reflects the spirit of togetherness and collectivity that is very strong in their lives. However, this view was not always accepted by the Dutch East Indies government, which at one time suspected that this concept of communal ownership was a form of local communism. This view showed a lack of understanding between the colonial government and the values of the Samin teachings (Jasper, 1918).

A concrete example of communal value in action is when Samin Surontiko refused to accept the wages for his work on a road construction project. He argued that the road would benefit the community as a whole, not just individuals (Jasper, 1918). This action reflects the spirit of community service, which is an important part of the Samin teachings. However, this attitude may have been considered strange by the colonial government, which was more accustomed to conventional wage and compensation systems (Breman, 2020).

Furthermore, the refusal to pay taxes and contribute to building village granaries also created conflict with the Dutch East Indies government. The Samin felt that they could manage their own resources without government interference, and this reflected their spirit of independence (Jasper, 1918). However, this view was interpreted as resistance to colonial authority by the Dutch East Indies government. In essence, this conflict reflected a deep disagreement between the Samin teachings that favored communalism and the more conventional colonial views on ownership and tax obligations.

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Especially in front of the native and colonial governments, Samin Surontiko frequently gave the impression that he was standing up for the rights of his people as the head of the Samin community. His disagreements with their views were frequent, even when it came to their proper conduct in front of the Dutch East Indies government. His opinions on economic principles and private rights reveal additional conceptual distinctions. One of the attitudes that has been highlighted is his inability to accept any form of monetary reimbursement as compensation for his services. This reflects the moral and ethical principle of non-gratuitousness, which is one of the central values in the Samin teachings.

The concept of life offered by Samin Surontiko managed to gain significant support from Javanese society at the time. His views and values, including communal ownership and moral principles, appealed to many people. However, these views also created tensions with the colonial government, which had a different approach to ownership and the economy (King, 1977). The impact of these different views was reflected in the actions of the government. Through the Besluit of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies issued on December 21, 1907, Samin Surontiko and eight other Samin were exiled to various regions such as Padang, Bengkulu, and Manado (see Besluit of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies dated December 21, 1907). This action shows how the colonial government responded to resistance and views that it considered a threat to the existing social and economic structures at the time.

After repeatedly engaging in disagreements with Dutch East Indies colonial forces, Samin Surontiko was finally arrested by the colonial authorities. He was then sentenced to exile in West Sumatra, indicating the harsh measures taken by the colonial government against this figure.

Unfortunately, Samin Soerontiko's life journey ended with his death in Kota Tengah, now known as Padang, on September 2, 1914 (Besluit Pemerintah Hindia Belanda dated November 16, 1914, Number 43, and June 1, 1917, Number 23). His death marked the end of his struggle and important role in the Samin movement and resistance to colonial rule. Despite his death, the legacy of Samin Surontiko's thoughts and actions continues to influence the thinking and identity of the Samin community and enrich historical conversations about resistance to colonial domination in his time.

In his letter dated March 16, 1914, addressed to the Resident of Rembang, the Assistant Resident of Blora conveyed significant information about the development of the Samin community. He noted that after the expulsion of the main leaders of the Samin community in 1907, most of the followers seemed to have submitted to the existing social order (Letter of the Assistant Resident of Blora to the Resident of Rembang, dated March 16, 1914). This indicates that the harsh measures taken by the colonial government in exiling key Samin leaders, such as Samin Surontiko, had a significant impact on the community.

The above statement illustrates that the exile of the main Samin leader may have been successful in reducing their resistance and influencing most members of the community to comply with the existing social structure under the Dutch East Indies colonial administration. This reflects the power dynamics and influence of the colonial government on the Samin

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community in that period. Despite the submission of many, the ideological legacy and values of the Samin may have remained alive in the community, albeit in a more hidden or less overtly visible form.

At the end of the 19th century, Madiun was one of the cities that was quite busy with the arrival of various groups of migrants. The social conditions in Madiun at that time reflected the dynamics that occurred in various regions of Java, where rural communities tried to achieve a better life by seeking opportunities in the city. One group that stood out was the Samin community, known for their unique beliefs and practices. They came to Madiun in the hope of improving their lives through better employment (Lindblad, 2011).

Migrants from various regions, including the Samin community, brought significant changes to the social situation in Madiun. Their presence enriches the cultural and social diversity of the city but also creates new challenges. Differences in cultural beliefs and practices can cause tensions between the indigenous and migrant populations. However, over time, many migrants managed to find decent jobs and became an integral part of the Madiun community.

Although the Samin community may have faced initial difficulties in adjusting to city life, they brought with them values of perseverance and self-reliance that were important in achieving prosperity. Some of them managed to find work as laborers, farmers, or traders, while others may have chosen more creative professions according to their talents and interests. Their presence in Madiun enriched the city with various skills and traditions, which later became part of the city's identity (Bosma, 2014).

In the first half of 1908, a man known as Wongsorejo, originally from the Blora area, came to the Madiun area to support the ideas of his former teacher, Samin Surontiko, who lived in Bedoho village, Jiwan Onderdistriek. Wongsorejo diligently spread Saminism to a number of villages in Madiun, including Bedoho, Ngetrep, Bibrik, Gading, Sidorejo, and Nangkrik in the Jiwan Onderdistriek. In addition, he was also active in Tiron and Pelempayung villages in Balerejo Onderdistriek, Madiun Afdeeling.

Over time, the followers of Saminism led by Wongsorejo grew. They had managed to gather around 100 followers who adhered to this ideology. Saminism itself is a social and religious movement that advocates liberation from dependence on the Dutch colonial government and the existing social order. It emphasizes the values of simplicity, social justice, and local autonomy. With Wongsorejo's perseverance and enthusiasm in spreading the teachings of Saminism, the movement continued to grow and develop, influencing many individuals in a number of villages in Madiun. The Saminism movement not only reflected resistance to colonization but also symbolized the spirit of social change and freedom at the time (Jasper, 1918).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the indigenous government and the colonial government jointly made efforts to foster the Samin followers in Madiun. The main objective of this collaboration was to restore their awareness of the social and religious values that were prevalent in society at the time. Samin followers were often accused of being reluctant to pay taxes and to worship in accordance with the teachings of Islam, which were commonly adopted

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by the surrounding community. During 1908–1914, there is no evidence to indicate any antitax movement or disobedience in worship, particularly in an Islamic context, among the Samin followers in Madiun. No invitations or calls to join the Samin teachings were detected during this period. This illustrates that the government's fostering efforts had a positive impact, and the Samin followers may have better reintegrated into society (Jasper, 1918).

In 1914, Proyodikromo, also known as Sagi, from the village of Plosorejo in the Balerejo Onderdistriek, is known to have become a teacher of the Samin teachings and managed to gain 45 followers. The Samin teachings have led to groups of followers in several villages, including villages such as Simo, Tapelan, Bulakrejo, and Mrau in the Caruban Distriek. This reflects the significant spread of Samin teachings in the region.

In addition, through Besluit of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies dated August 18, 1908 No. 12, it was noted that several Samin figures, such as Wongsorejo, Karnawi, and Kartomenggolo, were exiled to the Bagan Siapiapi area in East Sumatra and Pasar Tais in Bengkulu (Besluit of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies dated August 18, 1908 No. 12). This step can be considered an attempt by the government to limit the influence of the Samin teachings in the East Java region by exiling its leaders. On July 17, 1915, through Besluit Governor General No. 35, Proyodikromo was exiled to Banjarmasin. This action demonstrated the government's commitment to controlling the spread of the Samin teachings by isolating important figures such as Proyodikromo to a more distant region. It also reflects the government's efforts to mitigate the influence of the Samin teachings in society.

Proyodikromo, who had been accused of sedition in Madiun, was charged with influencing local people not to pay taxes. On the other hand, in Caruban Distriek, a Samin leader named Kromokario is also facing similar charges of inciting the local population to avoid paying taxes. This charge reflects the non-compliance of some members of the Samin community with taxes, which is one of the controversial issues often associated with Samin teachings. Despite Proyodikromo's exile, Samin followers who had embraced the teachings still held firmly to the principles of the Samin teachings, including their reluctance to pay taxes. They probably saw the tax as a symbol of colonial oppression and refused to comply with it as a form of protest against the Dutch colonial regime. Even when confronted by Dutch officials who asserted tax obligations, Samin followers remained adamant in their belief that they should not pay taxes.

This crackdown reflected the determination of the Samin followers to carry out the principles of their teachings, regardless of the consequences that might be faced. It also reflected the tension between the Dutch colonial government and the Samin community, which refused to submit to rules that they considered unfair. Thus, tax-related conflicts became one of the aspects that complicated the relationship between the colonial government and the Samin followers during this period (Jasper, 1918).

From the findings above, a number of insights were gained to explain the model of the Samin community's protest movement in Madiun. They showed a unique form of protest by resisting silently without overt physical resistance. One of the most obvious forms of protest is

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their non-compliance with the obligation to pay taxes and wedding fees. By not paying taxes, they consider this action a way to express disapproval of the colonial government and the system that they consider unfair. The economic conception held by Samin adherents differs from the prevailing notion among Javanese people during that period, as does the concept implemented by European governments. They ran their own economic system, which may have contradicted the existing economic norms at the time. This made them appear as a distinct group and created tensions with the colonial government.

Although the Samin movement did not adopt physically offensive resistance, the colonials were always suspicious and kept an eye on the Samin community establishment. Therefore, the government tried to implement a guidance program called "*Masyarakat Kembali*" as an attempt to reduce the influence of the Samin teachings and close the gap in their spread. In addition, the Samin movement specifically targeted the weak economy, which led the government in the Madiun and Ngawi regions to respond by providing economic assistance in the form of loans. The aim was to inhibit Samin's economic strategy, which was considered a threat to the economic stability of the region. Thus, the conflict between the colonial government and the Samin followers reflected the social and economic tensions that existed at the time.

The difficulty of the Dutch East Indies Government to suppress the Samin movement can be explained by several factors related to the motivation of the Samin community's resistance and the methods used in their resistance. One of the main factors was that the Samin movement used non-violent methods of resistance. They did not commit physical rebellion or violent acts against the colonial government. Instead, they expressed their disobedience through actions such as non-payment of taxes and refusal of marriage fees. This made it difficult for the government to motivate violent action or repression against them without the risk of increasing sympathy for the Samin movement. Another difficulty faced by the Dutch East Indies Government was in identifying and arresting members of the Samin movement. Samin followers often operated in small decentralised groups, making it difficult for the colonial authorities to identify and arrest them. They also used secret methods of communication, making it difficult for the authorities to effectively monitor their activities.

In addition, the Samin movement often gains support and sympathy from the surrounding local communities (Iman, et al., 2023). Locals may feel marginalised or oppressed by colonial government policies, and this can create an emotional bond with the Samin movement. This local support makes it more difficult for the government to suppress the Samin movement without facing strong resistance from the community. Overall, the combination of non-violent resistance methods, difficulties in identifying and arresting movement members, and local support made the Dutch East Indies Government face a major challenge in their efforts to suppress the Samin movement at the time.

Conclusion

The Samin non-violent movement in Madiun is a significant social phenomenon in Indonesian history. It took place in the early 20th century and became one of the unique forms

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of resistance because it did not involve armed conflict. The Samin followers, who followed the teachings of Samin Surosentiko, rejected violence as a means of social and political change. They upheld the principles of non-violence and simple living as a form of resistance to Dutch colonialism. Although the Samin movement was not militant, the Dutch East Indies Government considered it a serious threat. This was due to the Samin's non-compliance with colonial rules and regulations, as well as their resistance to exploitation and oppression by the Dutch authorities. As a result, the Samin movement faced a crackdown and close surveillance from the authorities. In the context of Indonesian history, the Samin non-violent movement reflects the diversity of resistance tactics used in the struggle against the colonisers. Although it did not succeed in achieving independence in its own right, the movement demonstrates the importance of nonviolent resistance in paving the way towards Indonesian independence, which was finally realised in 1945.

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