

The Internationalization of The Nationalism of Mohammad Hatta

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Abstract

Mohammad Hatta, a distinguished national figure from Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, possessed a strong foundation in religious and modern education, which instilled in him a sense of discipline from a young age. His engagement with various national organizations began early in his life, and he developed acquaintances with prominent figures in the national movement during his elementary school years. Notably, his political activism in Batavia, coupled with his associations with figures like Nazir Pamoentjak, a leading member of the Jong Sumatranen Bond (JSB), and Abdoel Muis of the Sarekat Islam (SI) movement, solidified his position as a resolute and principled figure, particularly concerning matters of religion. During his academic pursuits in Rotterdam, Netherlands, Hatta established a robust political network with individuals and movements advocating anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and anti-capitalism. This network enabled him to champion and advance the cause of national independence on the international stage, a context heavily influenced by the prevailing ideologies of international socialism and communism. This internationalization of Indonesian nationalism introduced Hatta, the Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI), and the broader Indonesian struggle for independence to the global community.

Keywords: *Internationalization of National Ideology, Political Interactions, Religious Education, World Networking.*

1. Introduction

Bukittinggi, situated in the mountainous region of the Dutch territories on the West Coast of Sumatra during the colonial era, boasted stunning natural beauty and a refreshing climate. It was within this cool and picturesque locale that Mohammad Hatta was born on the 12th of August 1902, to his parents, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil and Siti Saleha. This union was a unique amalgamation of backgrounds, with Sheikh Muhammad Djamil being an ulama and Siti Saleha belonging to a lineage of merchants. The convergence of these diverse family backgrounds played a profound role in shaping Hatta's life. Unfortunately, Hatta's time with his father was brief, as Sheikh Muhammad Djamil passed away when Hatta was a mere seven months old. Subsequently, his mother, Siti Saleha, entered into a second marriage with a merchant named Ning. This early upbringing and family dynamics nurtured Hatta into an individual characterized by openness, resolute determination, unwavering commitment, and remarkable adaptability.

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Hatta's early education took place in Bukittinggi, where he received his primary schooling. Following his primary education, his parents decided to enroll him in a French class. However, this venture was short-lived, as the French teacher relocated from the region. Nevertheless, Hatta displayed a remarkable aptitude for languages and swiftly attained fluency in French. This proficiency in French served as a valuable intellectual foundation, enabling him to further explore and understand foreign languages. This linguistic ability proved invaluable when he ventured beyond his hometown to pursue his studies, facilitating meaningful interactions with international friends from various countries.

Following the completion of his primary education, Hatta proceeded to pursue his secondary education in Padang. It is of significance that Hatta attended a public school, not a religious one, which introduced him to a varied mix of people from different backgrounds. During this time, he developed acquaintances, including one with the Assistant Resident Westenneck. Additionally, he was introduced to various movement organizations and associations that were actively advocating their causes within the Padang schools. It was in this city that Hatta began to witness numerous colonial policies that inflicted harm upon the local society. These experiences marked the inception of his involvement in political activism within the national movement, as he felt compelled to address the issues he observed and work toward positive change.

One of the students at Hatta's school in Padang, Nazir Pamoentjak, was looking for new members to continue his association, the Jong Sumatranen Bond (Dutch for "Young Sumatran Association") or JSB, to keep advocating for national independence. JSB was a national movement organization based in Sumatra that was founded in 1917. This organization aimed to introduce and promote national language and culture. Apart from Nazir Pamoentjak, Mohammad Jamin was one of the committee members. When the JSB committee was looking for new members in Padang, they met Hatta and opened a discussion about the organization, which later made Hatta make up his mind to join JSB. The organization received moral and financial support from the local community, especially from a young scholar named Haji Abdullah Ahmad and the leader of the trade group Engku Tahir Marah Sutan (Rose, 1991: 14).

This was the first time Hatta became acquainted with and joined a movement organization. He became the organization's treasurer, which was the fittest position for him as he had been carefully managing his finances since he was a child before moving to Padang. He was strict with his expenses and would mostly save his money. He was thrifty but never stingy – in fact, he would always send some money to his relatives who needed the help. This thrifty attitude made him careful with finances, and as the treasurer of the movement organization, he continued such attitude, hence would not let the organization spend money carelessly. When members did not pay their dues, Hatta would write and notify them to pay their dues (Rose, 1991: 14).

His introduction to JSB opened the door for Hatta to get himself active with the nation's independence movement. Besides JSB, he was also introduced to Abdul Muis, the leader of Sarekat Islam (Indonesian for "Islamic Union") or SI, when the organization was expanding its influence in Padang. Despite knowing such a prominent figure as well as being a devout Muslim himself, Hatta chose to be with JSB and advocate for it. This is because JSB as a movement organization encouraged voicing out the impacts of colonial powers on the local society. Part of the reason for this stemmed from his direct observation of the unjust actions by colonial authorities, particularly the arrest of his uncle (Noer, 2001: 117). His uncle's imprisonment left a lasting impression on him, a stark example of colonial injustice that fuelled his strong determination to combat colonialism.

After completing his schooling in Padang, Hatta continued his studies in Batavia (Jakarta today). Initially, there was a desire from his late father's family to continue his studies at a

religious school. His grandfather intended to send him to Mecca to have the opportunity to take Hatta deeper into the field of religion. From here the religious school will continue to Egypt so that when he returns to Indonesia, he can improve the quality of the surau in Batu Hampar which had indeed declined after the departure of Sheikh Abdurrahman Batu Hampar. But his mother's family and uncle objected because they thought that Hatta was still too young. Then, the choice of going to Mecca and Egypt was no longer discussed much, especially since Hatta had also promised that he would not abandon religious orders and prohibitions (Noer, 2012: 10).

His father's family, which had a strong religious background, wanted Hatta to become a religious scholar or follow in the footsteps of his father's family. However, his mother did not force him to go to a religious school, but instead left it all up to Hatta to choose whether to pursue religious studies or not. His father's family finally agreed to let him choose his future, hence Hatta chose to continue his studies in Batavia.

At the age of seventeen, in 1919, Hatta embarked on his further studies in Batavia. During that era, Batavia was a modern, cosmopolitan metropolis characterized by a marked segregation of its inhabitants. This was deliberately designed since the seventeenth century to suit the power dynamic then (Kehoe, 2015). Batavia as a city was segregated based on race, which made it a discriminatory colonial city in the early twentieth century. The hierarchical system of Batavia was a pyramid with the indigenous people at the bottom of the pyramid, the foreign Easterners in the middle, and the white Europeans on top. Such a system was not only applied in Batavia but also throughout the Dutch colonial territories. Therefore, society's progression was constrained by racial biases and social norms. Indigenous individuals did not have the same level of access to public spaces as their white counterparts. Only white individuals were permitted to attend entertainment venues in these public areas, while people of color (indigenous communities) were prohibited from entering the same entertainment venues frequented by white individuals.

While studying in Batavia, Hatta observed the burgeoning national movement. Various local organizations and associations that advocated for national aspirations were beginning to take shape. These included groups similar to JSB such as Jong Java, Jong Ambon, Jong Minahasa, and many others, serving as hubs for students to express their shared national aspirations based on their regional backgrounds. For example, Javanese intellectuals joined Jong Java, while Ambonese became members of Jong Ambon, and Minahasan gathered within Jong Minahasa. In addition to functioning as a meeting point for people from the same regions within the bustling city of Batavia, these associations also served as platforms for discussions about the colonial political landscape among the educated elite.

During Hatta's time studying in Batavia, the organizations that emerged were primarily regional, which hindered their ability to unify educated individuals under a nationwide umbrella organization. Notably, SI, founded in 1911, stood out as a relatively homogeneous movement organization with a considerable following in Batavia. Most of its members hailed from the broader population. Meanwhile, educated individuals tended to congregate within the regional organizations. It is worth noting that SI did not possess a clearly defined national character. Despite their distinct orientations, these movement organizations did not engage in competition or conflicts to expand their influence. Their common primary goal was the attainment of national independence.

Hatta's commitment extended beyond his education; he actively participated in political movements, contributing to the development of national awareness. While studying in Batavia, he continued his political engagement within JSB with a significant presence of committee members from Sumatra, some of whom he had acquainted with during his school years in Padang. Gradually, Hatta's political ideologies and perspectives evolved

within JSB, laying the groundwork for his strategic approach to the struggle for independence.

Studying in Batavia significantly broadened Hatta's engagement with different political groups, which greatly enhanced his understanding of the path to national liberation. This expanded his knowledge, particularly in areas such as capitalism, socialism, and the enduring influence of colonial powers. Hatta's sense of national identity intensified as he actively advocated against colonial rule. His political acumen, refined during his time at JSB, continued to grow. His involvement with political networks expanded rapidly, and he began to emerge as a prominent figure in the national independence movement even before reaching the age of twenty.

2. Method

This research uses historical methods and also did interviews with Mohammad Hatta's family in Jakarta. Collecting works written by Mohammad Hatta in the Leiden Library and National Archief in Den Haag - Netherlands. And also visited the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Religious Background

Hatta's family background is rooted in a lineage of religious scholars, known as ulama. His father was a well-respected scholar, and his grandfather was an influential cleric. This clerical heritage played a significant role in shaping his social surroundings. However, Hatta's early life was marked by parental separation. His father passed away when he was still a child, leaving him without paternal guidance as he transitioned into adulthood. Following his parents' deaths, his mother remarried a merchant and had additional children. As a result, Hatta's immediate family relocated from Bukittinggi to Padang. During his time in Padang, Hatta resided with his parents, who had moved there, while pursuing his studies.

Being part of a family of ulama, religious education was an integral part of Hatta's daily life. From a young age, he was immersed in religious teachings. After attending regular day school and language courses, his parents would continue his education in the afternoon, focusing on reciting the Quran and imparting religious guidance. They instilled the practice of performing the five daily prayers promptly and diligently, stressing the importance of timeliness. Fasting, starting at the age of five, was introduced as an essential obligation, never to be neglected during the fasting month for Muslims. This disciplined approach to life extended to matters of worship, character, and morals, deeply influenced by the teachings of Islam. This influence remained steadfast, even when Hatta was a teenager and studying in the Netherlands, where a more permissive lifestyle was prevalent (Noer, 2012: 10).

Engaging in timely prayers and fasting carries a profound personal significance. The practice of punctual prayer and not squandering time shapes the character of an individual who values and respects time. From his early years, Hatta was unwavering in his commitment to regular prayer. Prayer, in essence, is intrinsically connected to the concept of time. Hatta consistently carried out his responsibilities promptly, understanding that prayer transcends mere worship of the Almighty God. It also signifies the fulfillment of God's commands to promote goodness and benevolence among fellow human beings (Hatta, 1966: 17). Praying five times a day with a pure heart and a clear conscience is crucial because it is only in this state that one can stand before God, offering adoration and submitting their soul entirely while acknowledging His immense greatness. In preparation for facing God, one must purify oneself, free from negative emotions, ill

intentions, and anger. This purification process is embodied in the act of ablution, as prescribed by religious doctrine (Hatta, 2002: 47).

Hatta held a deep appreciation for the value of time. Punctuality was a core principle for him – if he committed to meet someone or perform a task, he ensured he was on time. He regarded this as a rare and important quality. Time, in his view, was intrinsically linked to discipline. Since childhood, Hatta exhibited a disciplined and resolute disposition. This discipline extended beyond punctuality and encompassed his behavior, making him steadfast and unwavering. Hatta's firmness was evident when his family sought his counsel on family matters. He never hesitated when making decisions, openly acknowledging wrongs as wrong and truths as truths. He firmly believed that the interchangeability of right and wrong could disrupt social order. Individuals who are disciplined and resolute may come across as inflexible because they don't readily compromise. Hatta's strong and disciplined personality often left the impression that he was rigid and unyielding. One illustrative incident involves his torn school book. Upon discovering the damage, Hatta became visibly upset, and this anger persisted even after the book had been replaced with a new one. His frustration stemmed from the fact that the book had been torn without prior communication.

Individuals who uphold discipline and hold time in high regard often exhibit honesty in their actions. Hatta's commitment to honesty was apparent from a young age. He not only maintained his dedication to prayer but also cultivated a sincere and truthful demeanor. Hatta had a reputation for never telling lies and consistently aligning his words with his actions. He remained unwavering in his stance, offering the same message to everyone. He never wavered or altered his words in the presence of different individuals. Once he made a decision, he stood by it without regrets. When asked for his opinions, his decisions were consistently fair and garnered widespread acceptance.

Hatta maintained a conscientious approach to his diet, wherever his travels took him. He recognized that the food and beverages one consumes can significantly impact one's health, personality, and actions. Opting for a diet rich in healthy, nutritious foods was a practice he valued, as it bolstered the body's immune system. During his extensive academic journey of almost twelve years in Rotterdam, Netherlands, Hatta adhered to a simple daily diet. He diligently followed the dietary guidelines taught by his religion, even amid the four seasons of Europe. For Hatta, the prohibition on consuming certain foods and beverages, as stipulated by his faith, was unwavering. He remained steadfast and resolute in his commitment, never making exceptions when it came to alcoholic drinks.

Throughout his educational journey in Bukittinggi, Padang, Batavia, and Rotterdam in the Netherlands, Hatta maintained a steadfast commitment to abstaining from alcohol and intoxicating beverages. This practice was unwavering. Whether during his schooling in Bukit Tinggi, Padang, or Batavia, or later when he ventured to Rotterdam, Hatta's dedication to his faith kept him away from alcohol. Even when he arrived in Europe, initially to build connections for the nation's struggle for independence, he remained resolute in his abstinence from alcohol. This applied to his life on campus, during travels, and in various European cities. Hatta's adherence to the principles of sharia law was apparent, but he was not rigid or dogmatic in his approach (Zulkifli, 2019: 130). During his time in Europe as a student, he immersed himself in reading numerous books about the transformation of Islamic society in Turkey and the role of Turkish youth. In meetings with anti-colonial activists in Europe, most of whom were accustomed to alcohol consumption, Hatta did not pass judgment or criticize their choices. He maintained his preference for water, opting to avoid alcohol even though it was the more expensive choice (Zulkifli, 2019: 131).

As Hatta transitioned into adulthood, he maintained a notable distance from personal relationships with women. His time in Batavia during his school years was marked by a

focused commitment to his studies and political involvement, rather than any romantic interests. His approach to women remained unemotional and impartial. Even when he continued his education in Rotterdam, Hatta was unwavering in his dedication to academics and political endeavors. Despite the more relaxed and open social atmosphere in the Netherlands, Hatta did not avail himself of opportunities to mingle with individuals of any gender. He remained resolutely rational and adopted Western thought, yet he did not Westernise, even after years of living in Europe. His focus never wavered from his studies and activities with friends, all in the context of contemplating national independence and establishing both local and international networks. Locally, he maintained communication with the movement circles in his homeland. On the international stage, he closely monitored the activities of the anti-colonial movement in the Netherlands and Western Europe.

3.2. Rotterdam

During his time in Batavia, Hatta's uncle, Ayub Rais, a prosperous trader, consistently motivated him to pursue his education in the Netherlands. Ayub, an insightful bibliophile, routinely purchased books for his nephew and enjoyed strolls with him in Batavia while scouting for literary treasures. One notable acquisition was H. P. Quack's six-volume work on socialism, *De Socialisten*, and N.G. Pierson's two-volume *Staathuishoudkunde*. Hatta read a handbook on socialism during his Batavia school days, later using it as a reference while studying in Rotterdam. The bond between nephew and uncle was incredibly close, and Ayub had pledged financial assistance for Hatta's Netherlands education. Unfortunately, a business setback delayed this plan. Prior to departing for Rotterdam, Hatta made a heartfelt visit to his hometown to bid farewell to extended family members, including those from his late father's side who initially had reservations about his foreign studies but later supported his educational journey in a colonial land.

In August 1921, after bidding farewell to his hometown of Bukittinggi, Bung Hatta set sail for Rotterdam, Netherlands. This period marked a high point in the national movement in various Indonesian cities, including Batavia, Solo, Semarang, Surabaya, Bandung, and Medan. Batavia, in particular, emerged as a focal point for the national movement. During this era, the Sarekat Islam (SI), a mass organization established in Solo in 1911, comprising farmers, laborers, and the economically disadvantaged, gained significant strength in its resistance against colonial authority and capitalism. In Semarang, the Workers' Society, which advocated for the underprivileged, garnered substantial support for its opposition to foreign domination. Meanwhile, in Bandung, study clubs not only served as meeting hubs for the burgeoning movement but also openly criticized the oppressive colonial rule of the time. Surabaya, an industrial city, witnessed the emergence of study clubs, labor organizations, political parties, and the press, all of which openly ridiculed colonial authority. In Medan, the establishment of SI, the growth of the press, and the rise of political organizations that voiced the grievances and hardships of the labor force contributed to a surge in anti-foreign, anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist sentiments. Additionally, movements rooted in regional and ethnic identities served as expressions of resistance against Dutch governance (Agustono, Affandi, & Junaidi, 2021).

Observing the expanding influence and progress of movement organizations in the Dutch East Indies, Hatta remained resolute in his commitment to join groups mobilizing the masses to challenge authority or other national organizations striving to confront colonial rulers at the heart of power. Yet, his loyalty remained firmly tied to JSB. The majority of the organization's leaders hailed from Sumatra, with figures like Tengku Mansur and Nazir Pamoentjak, among others, being of Sumatran origin.

From Batavia, a ship sailed Hatta to Rotterdam, the Netherlands. However, this ship did not head directly to Rotterdam, the Netherlands; instead, it made a prior stop in Paris. On board, there was a passenger of French nationality. During the journey, these two

individuals frequently conversed and met on the ship's deck. The distance between Jakarta and Rotterdam was then approximately three weeks of travel. The ship made a stop in Paris, and the man invited Hatta to explore Paris. He asked him to disembark from the ship because Hatta was fluent in French. This marked the first time this man, born in 1921, set foot in Europe.

Shortly after Paris, the ship continued its journey to Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Rotterdam was a port city famous for the slave trade in the sixteenth century and earlier. In the early twentieth century, it was known as the largest port city in the Netherlands due to its trading relations with the Dutch East Indies. Within this city, one can find the prestigious *Nederlandsche Handels Hoogeschool* (The Netherlands School of Commerce), a well-known institution. Hatta, who had completed his economic studies in Batavia, continued his education in Rotterdam at this institution.

When he reached the port city of Rotterdam in August 1921, he did not immediately find accommodation but was instead invited by a friend to The Hague. There, a temporary stopover location called *Tehuis voor Indische Studenten* (Dutch for 'Home for Indies Students') on *Prins Mauritsplein* Street was arranged for him before settling in Rotterdam. Hatta stayed at this shelter for nearly a week. During his stay, he began expanding his social circle and interacting with a wide range of people in The Hague.

Since his days in Padang and Batavia, Hatta's activities drew significant attention from state intelligence agencies and various other organizations. During his time in the Netherlands, a representative of a theosophical spiritual organization, who enjoyed the sympathy of many prominent figures in the independence movement, attempted to engage Hatta in their organization (Nugraha, 2000). Several young individuals involved in the independence movement, such as Abu Hanafiah and Mohammad Yamin, displayed an interest in theosophy and joined this spiritual organization. Even Soekarno, who was a student at the time, exhibited curiosity about theosophy. Soekarno spent hours in the Theosophical Society's library, to which he had access due to his father's membership, where he engaged with the philosophical ideas of renowned historical political figures (Nugraha, 2000: 52). However, Soekarno was not a formal member of the theosophical organization.

When Hatta journeyed from Batavia to the Netherlands via the Suez Canal, he financed his passage. On September 5, 1921, Hatta reached Rotterdam and was welcomed by an acquaintance, van Leewen from Batavia. Van Leewen was a follower of theosophy and seemed keen on introducing Hatta to this spiritual organization. This Dutchman made an effort to convince him to join theosophy, but Hatta declined the offer. Throughout his journey, Hatta refrained from participating in any movement organization, except for his involvement with JSB during his time in Padang and Batavia.

Shortly after his brief stay in the temporary residence in The Hague, Hatta relocated to Rotterdam. It was in this city that he applied and was accepted as an economics student at the *Nederlandsche Handels Hoogeschool*. His studies at this institution were made possible through a Van Deventer scholarship. Hatta's official enrolment at this institution took place on 19th September 1921. Obtaining the Van Deventer scholarship was a challenging journey for Hatta, but his determination ultimately led him to Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Prior to this, his uncle Ayub Rais had pledged to support his studies in the Netherlands.

Hatta emerged as a modern, educated individual without severing his cultural roots, a delicate balancing act. Straddling these opposing facets was no simple task. Hatta adeptly harmonized these two polarities, embracing his Islamic heritage while pursuing education without forsaking the significance of his rich traditions. He synthesized this choice, transcending his heritage to uphold both religious devotion and modern education, preserving the legacy of his forebears. This equilibrium was a guiding principle for Hatta during his student days in the Netherlands. His astute resolution of the religious and

modernity debate was a testament to his intelligence, rationality, and the guiding force of tradition inherent in his very being, which influenced his every action.

After enrolling as a student at the Netherlands School of Commerce, Hatta encountered his senior, Nazir Pamoentjak, who was in JSB with him in Padang. Nazir extended an invitation to Hatta to join the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Association) or PI. Hatta accepted the invitation and offer from his senior, and together with their fellow students in the Netherlands, they developed PI.

3.3. Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI)

The Netherlands, as a colonial power, offered educational opportunities for aristocratic families and native traders. However, in the colonial territories, particularly in the early twentieth century, the available schools were limited and unable to accommodate the growing demand for educated individuals, which was essential for the expansion of the colonial bureaucracy. In cities like Batavia, Surabaya, Semarang, Solo, Bandung, and Medan, which were colonial satellite cities undergoing urbanization and modernization, various schools were established. Nonetheless, they still fell short of meeting the requirements of bureaucratic expansion due to the sheer scale of colonial interests and the need for educated personnel.

High aristocratic families and merchants sent their children to continue their education in the Netherlands, with some receiving scholarships from the Dutch colonial government and others bearing the expenses themselves. These colonial children predominantly pursued studies in philology, law, and economics, with their campuses located in Leiden, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Delft. As the twentieth century began, the traditional, affluent native elite increasingly chose to send their children to the Netherlands for education. This trend led to an influx of indigenous students from various regions of Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Java, pursuing their studies in the Netherlands (Soenario, 1970: 14). Between 1923 and 1925, there were approximately 100 Indonesian students at Dutch universities, including Leiden, Delft, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Wageningen, Utrecht, Breda, and others.

In the past, the increasing number of Indonesian students living in the Netherlands often struggled to connect and communicate with each other due to the considerable distances between different cities. Without these interactions or meetings, their shared geographical location seemed inconsequential. Living alone in a colonial country with distinct seasons proved to be less enjoyable, as the absence of communication with fellow compatriots created an atmosphere of silence and persistent loneliness for these Indonesian students. Additionally, the cultural disparities between the colonial and colonized regions further compounded this sense of isolation, fostering a profound feeling of loneliness in the absence of meaningful interactions (Poeze, 2008).

Indonesian students in the Netherlands were eager to come together, meet their peers, and share meals with fellow Indonesian students. They recognized the importance of combating loneliness and isolation in a foreign land with distinct seasons, which could potentially lead to cultural alienation. To address these challenges, they decided to establish a social organization as a platform for engaging in various social activities. The Indonesian students reached a consensus and enthusiastically supported the formation of a social organization.

The idea of establishing a social association in a colonial country did not emerge in isolation but was deeply connected to the larger socio-political landscape. At the outset of the twentieth century in the Dutch East Indies, national movements like Boedi Oetomo were gaining traction. Boedi Oetomo, initially Java-centric and rooted in Javanese culture, was a national awareness movement with a focus on promoting education and raising national consciousness. Despite its Java-centric origins, Boedi Oetomo embodied the spirit of national independence and educational advancement.

News of Boedi Oetomo and the proliferation of other social movements in the Dutch East Indies reached students studying in the Netherlands. The resonance of the national movement's struggle in the Dutch East Indies was felt by these students. Driven by a longing to connect, discuss their homeland's situation under the grip of colonial capitalism, and contribute to their nation's well-being, they conceived the idea of establishing a social association. This concept was inspired by the growing national awareness movement.

The notion of forming an East Indies social association garnered the attention of colonial authorities both in the Dutch East Indies and other colonial countries. These officials welcomed the idea, hoping it would foster stronger cooperation between the colony and the colonial country, ultimately strengthening their relations. The colonial government not only allowed but supported the creation of an East Indies social association. The inaugural meeting took place on Hoogewoerd Street, Leiden, with Soemitro as the chairman and R. Hoesein Djajadiningrat as the temporary secretary. The *Indische Vereeniging* (Dutch for 'Indies Association') was founded, with R. Soetan Casajangan Soripada serving as the Chairman, and R. M. Soemitro as the Secretary and Treasurer. Members hailed from various Dutch universities or schools, including Amsterdam, Haarlem, Wageningen, The Hague, Leiden, and Delft. This marked the inception of an Indonesian social association in 1908 (Nagazumi: 1).

The *Indische Vereeniging* (IV) as a social association had a dual mission: to promote the shared interests of the Indies in the Netherlands and to foster and maintain connections with the Dutch East Indies (Soenario, 1970: 68). In their pursuit of these objectives and to advance common interests while strengthening ties between the Indies' community in both the colonial country and the colonial territories, students organized various cultural events and artistic activities. These events often featured traditional Javanese dance, which captured the attention of the Dutch audience. During Notosuroto's tenure, as well as under the leadership of individuals like Abdul Rivai, Radjiman, and Notodiningrat, the organization regularly conducted cultural activities. These initiatives often involved collaborations with the nobility to serve social interests in the Dutch East Indies (Nagazumi: 3-4).

Annually, the IV held elections to select new leaders, providing a platform for members from various locations to come together. These gatherings were often timed to coincide with the celebration of Eid, fostering stronger bonds and connections among the community. In such an environment, the conscious spirit of nationalism within the organization could naturally flourish, and the quality of their struggle would improve. This transformation positioned them as a vanguard in the growing independence movement, realizing their sacred mission. Unsurprisingly, conservative Dutch perspectives consistently perceived the nation as unprepared for independence. Their anxiety and frustration mounted as they viewed the students, to whom they had provided educational opportunities in the Netherlands, as ungrateful (Soenario, 1970: 68).

The goal of the IV to promote the Indies, particularly in terms of culture, consistently garnered a positive response, particularly when Javanese dances were performed on various occasions. These events captured the interest of the Dutch community, given their deep appreciation for culture. Initially, the Dutch had facilitated the formation of this social association, and once established, as it engaged in various socio-cultural activities, it began to receive comprehensive support from both Dutch government agencies and influential Dutch figures (Soenario, 1970: 118).

The Dutch continued to seek to maintain social ties between IV and the Dutch East Indies for political reasons, to ensure that students studying in the Netherlands remained under the guidance of influential individuals. From its inception until the 1920s, IV exclusively focused on social and cultural activities. There were no political discussions or inquiries about the political situation in the colonies. The founders intentionally excluded politics

from the organization's objectives. This is evident in their social activities spanning decades since the organization's establishment, consistently prioritizing cultural events and, as a result, gaining wholehearted support from both Dutch government agencies and influential Dutch figures (Soenario, 1970: 118).

The recognition of Javanese culture within Dutch society during that period was quite understandable as the Dutch government maintained effective social ties with the IV. The organization refrained from criticizing the political policies of the colonial powers in the colonies. In the realm of politics, IV adopted a highly conciliatory approach towards the colonies and their rulers. This accommodating stance engendered sympathy and support for IV, to the extent that a significant number of Dutch individuals were willing to provide financial support as donors (Soenario, 1970: 75).

The original focus of the Indische Vereeniging centered on social and cultural activities proved unable to shield itself from the multifaceted impacts brought on by evolving political circumstances. Concurrently, developments within the colonies, stemming from the colonial countries' colonization, led to suffering, poverty, and the emergence of resistance movements that proved unstoppable. From the early twentieth century onward, the establishment of national organizations like Boedi Otomo, Sarekat Islam, and the Indische Party (IP) actively opposing colonial governance was widely recognized, monitored, and resisted by the entire colonial populace.

The spread of intellectual awareness continued to gain ground among small groups of students, yet there were no discernible indications of these awareness efforts coalescing into a movement, as seen among their counterparts in the colonies. These students opted not to raise awareness by opposing political policies in the colonies or by criticizing influential Dutch individuals who were supportive donors of the organization. Initially, IV's leadership charted a moderate course, and following Soebardjo's recommendation, the organization changed its name from Indische Vereeniging to Indonesische Vereeniging (or Perhimpunan Indonesia; PI) in 1922.

The differentiation between the names Indische (Indies) and Indonesische (Indonesia) is quite evident. While the former carries more colonial and imperial undertones, the latter places a stronger emphasis on the name of the colony itself, bearing more substantial cultural and political implications. Culturally, the name change suggests that the organization's management would no longer confine its activities to mere social gatherings aimed at dispelling nostalgia while disregarding political issues in the colonies. While social activities and gatherings would persist, the meeting agenda would now encompass discussions on political developments. Politically, the name change signifies that the organization's focus would gradually shift towards addressing the contemporary politics of Indonesia, a colonial territory that remained underdeveloped and impoverished. This change reflects a growing awareness of Indonesia's state as a colonized nation, one that has been systematically disempowered and deceived over time.

Concurrently with this name change, the organization's leadership launched the periodical magazine *Hindia Poetra* (literally 'Indies Youth'). This publication served as a platform for the organization's committee to express their perspectives on various subjects, including the state of the colonies. The *Oetoesan Hindia* publication was released periodically, and a substantial portion of its content was in Dutch, intended for the Dutch community as its target audience. The presence of *Hindia Poetra* heightened PI's awareness of the political and economic challenges facing the colony. The articles in this publication were notably critical and found an attentive readership among students in the Dutch colonies at that time. The writings in *Hindia Poetra* functioned as a catalyst for the exchange of ideas and thoughts among students in the Netherlands, contributing to the burgeoning wave of national awareness among these students.

By the time the Indische Vereeniging (IV) changed its name to Indonesische Vereeniging (PI) in 1922, Hatta had already been in Rotterdam, Netherlands. Notably, individuals like

Nazir Pamoentjak, Singgih, Arnold Mononitu, Sartono, and Iwa Kusumasumantri were among the first to pursue their studies in the Netherlands. These young people had previously been active in movement organizations such as JSB and Jong Java before departing for the Netherlands, and as a result, they held a different mindset compared to their peers in IV who had not engaged in political activities. Those who had actively participated in movement organizations within the colonial territories while continuing their studies in the colonial countries retained their political awareness and commitment to their national spirit. Under the influence of the Tiga Serangkai and the influx of politically conscious students from the colonies to the colonial countries, PI increasingly adopted a political orientation. This political orientation primarily revolved around the pursuit of national independence. The adoption of the name *Indonesische* for the organization and the arrival of politically conscious students from the colonies catapulted this organization to take significant steps in formulating a path towards national independence.

As Iwa Kusumasumantri and Nazir Pamoentjak assumed leadership roles within PI, the discussions surrounding national independence escalated significantly with each passing day. Communication and solidarity among students in the colonial countries grew stronger. This heightened sense of unity in championing their national identity inevitably stirred discomfort among influential Dutch individuals and the Dutch government regarding the organization's evolution. In particular, the decision to change the name from *Indische* to *Indonesische* raised suspicions among colonial authorities in the colonies and influential figures in the Netherlands. They began to harbor concerns that PI was being infiltrated by external influences.

The activities of the individuals from the Dutch East Indies residing in the Netherlands and students studying in various Dutch cities did not come under political oversight from the colonial governments in the colonies or the colonial countries. One former Dutch colonial official, Westenenck, who had previously worked in Padang, later assumed a position as a supervisor for colonial affairs. This role included monitoring student movements. Westenenck commented that PI had transformed into an extremist organization.

Under the leadership of Iwa Kusumasumantri, the focus of PI shifted from being primarily about gatherings and a means to alleviate cultural alienation experienced in a colonial country. Instead, it revitalized students' political awareness regarding independence. While this path was not without risks, it resulted in a breakdown in the socio-political relationships between PI and influential individuals who had been a source of donations for the organization. In the pages of *Hindia Poetra*, the members of PI no longer exaggerated their appreciation for the colonial country but began to express ideas about national independence. During Iwa Kusumasumantri's chairmanship, the PI movement adopted an increasingly political orientation, advocating for independence. This shift in direction and strategy was supported by other politically conscious administrators. The change in direction and strategy found support among members and became a catalyst for PI to begin criticizing and condemning political policies in the colonies.

Following Iwa Kusumasumantri's tenure as chairman, PI was led by Nazir Pamoentjak, with A. A. Maramis serving as Secretary, R. Soewarno as Treasurer, Soekiman as Commissioner, and Mohammad Nazif as Archivist (*Indonesia Merdeka*, 1924). Since its inception, PI had a streamlined leadership structure with never more than ten administrators. The management team rotated with each election, allowing former chairpersons to take on different roles within the organization.

Nazir Pamoentjak had known Hatta and introduced him to the movement organization while they were both in Padang. Nazir had first studied in the Netherlands and later reconnected with Hatta when Hatta continued his studies in Rotterdam, Netherlands.

Despite their prior acquaintance, Hatta was not immediately invited to join PI when Nazir assumed a leadership role in the association. During Nazir's leadership, he actively advocated for the independence movement and began to establish connections with international movement organizations. His term as the leader was relatively short, and PI subsequently underwent a leadership change. Soekiman Wirjosandjojo became the new Chairman, with Soerono as Deputy Chairman, Arnold Mononutu and Soenarjo as Secretary I and Secretary II, and Mohammad Hatta and Mohammad Nazif as Treasurer I and Treasurer II, respectively. Boediharto and Mohammad Joesoef assumed the roles of Commissioners.

Hatta, who had previously served as Treasurer I in 1922–1925, then became Chairman of PI in 1926. Under Hatta's leadership, significant changes in the direction and strategy of the PI movement became more pronounced. The organization openly voiced criticism against colonial power during Hatta's tenure as Chairman of PI. Additionally, the former advocacy magazine *Hindia Poetra* underwent a name change, becoming *Indonesia Merdeka* (literally 'Independent Indonesia'), reflecting the evolving goals and principles of the organization.

Indonesia Merdeka became PI's primary platform for expressing open resistance by students in the Netherlands, a space that they couldn't utilize in the colonies due to the severe political suppression and threats posed by the colonial rulers against members of the independence movement. The objectives of *Indonesia Merdeka* were threefold: (1) The foremost goal was the liberation of the colonial territories, with a call for awakening based on the collective strength of the nation through nationalist actions; (2) The movement emphasized the need for the active participation of individuals from all societal strata in the struggle for independence. Collaboration among people from all walks of life was essential to achieve this common goal; and (3) *Indonesia Merdeka* aimed to critique and address issues related to the colonial government, particularly those that served the interests of both the colonizers and the colonized.

Hatta was known for his unwavering commitment, steadfastness, authoritative demeanor, unwavering integrity, seriousness, and lifelong dedication to devising strategies for the nation's liberation. He, along with his like-minded ideological companions, engaged in political activities through PI. However, his primary focus was on reading, writing, and discussions related to national independence. He often spent extensive periods at the discussion table, passionately advocating for the nation's struggle for freedom. When he was not engaged in discussions, he dedicated his time to reading and staying abreast of developments in colonized countries across the world. He would also write his opinions, which were frequently published in various newspapers. Hatta's writings consistently advocated for democracy, delved into the political situations in colonial countries, criticized colonial policies, and highlighted his political stance in the pursuit of independence. He frequently contributed to socialist magazines, alongside notable figures like Semaun, who critically addressed the ills of imperialism and capitalism. Beyond student activist writers, prominent European socialist and anti-imperialist authors also contributed to these socialist publications. The writings in these socialist magazines served as essential readings and references for anti-imperialist figures in colonial territories around the world.

Hatta's political stance against the colonial political landscape grew increasingly vehement, which drew the ire of colonial authorities. Despite being under constant scrutiny by colonial police, Hatta showed no fear in facing individuals who monitored his political activities. His activism aligned with the growing influence of *Indonesia Merdeka* as a platform for advancing national independence and critiquing colonial politics. The activists contributing to *Indonesia Merdeka* were known for their sharp and critical analyses of colonial political policies, and the publication itself became a powerful tool for challenging the colonial establishment. It posed a significant challenge to colonial power.

PI's persistent and vocal actions against colonial powers led to the disapproval of its top officials towards Hatta. While donors in the Netherlands had previously sympathized with and supported the idea of harmonious relations between the colonizers and colonial countries, the shift in the organization's name from IV to PI and its increasingly assertive stance in criticizing colonial authority caused donors and influential individuals to distance themselves. This change disrupted the once-harmonious relationship between the two parties.

PI held the firm belief that fostering harmonious relations with colonial countries would not lead to substantial change. Instead, they maintained that the struggle for national independence required a political approach aimed at challenging colonial authority. This involved mobilizing the strength of the people, promoting the idea of independence, and collaborating with anti-colonial movements. PI recognized that the path to independence had to be direct and could not be realized through collaboration with colonial powers. Their journey towards achieving independence was deeply rooted in the ideology of nationalism, which served as their guiding principle. While the road to independence remained lengthy and challenging, PI was committed to organizing and engaging the people as they advanced towards this goal.

PI's ideology is based on four key principles. First, national unity is a central pillar of PI's ideology. This framework was established during Hatta's leadership and is deeply rooted in both Islamic and socialist principles. Hatta, as a Muslim, did not view Islam as the primary ideology for the movement. Instead, he explored various ideologies like communism, Marxism, and socialism, commonly embraced by student activists in the Netherlands, but was not swayed by them. In the context of Indonesian society, Islam was not considered compatible with the foundational ideology of the nation.

Second, solidarity is another fundamental principle of PI's ideology. PI recognized the importance of mutual solidarity to end the political conflict between colonial and colonial countries. The sharpening of conflicts between colonized countries and colonial powers was seen as essential for building unity in the struggle against colonial authority.

Third, non-cooperation was a resolute stance adopted by PI. They firmly believed that independence could not be achieved through collaboration with colonial countries. Any cooperation with the colonial government, particularly when it involved appointing colonial citizens to public positions, was viewed as detrimental to the path to independence. Such collaboration was seen as weakening the nation's struggle. PI advocated the need for a determined stance of non-cooperation with government institutions.

Fourth, independence was a core principle in PI's ideology. PI emphasized the importance of achieving independence through the nation's strength. This required maximizing the economic, political, cultural, and social resources of the people to ensure their independence in the liberation struggle. Self-reliance in all aspects of life became a potent force in challenging colonial power. Economic, political, cultural, and social resources originating from within the people served as powerful tools in establishing and securing independence.

These four ideologies formed the core principles guiding PI's path to national independence (Ingleson, 1975: 9-10). The PI ideology's four elements were crafted by Indonesian intellectual students studying in the Netherlands. These elements were influenced by their encounters with anti-colonial figures who adhered to ideologies like Marxism, Leninism, and socialism. Additionally, the Swadeshi movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and the restrictive colonial environment in the colonies, characterized by limited freedom of assembly and association, played a significant role in shaping this ideology. When PI introduced this ideology in the colonies and on the global stage, it was met with a warm reception. In the colonies themselves, the presence of the PI ideologies acted as a powerful force, rallying resistance against colonial rule. Notably, Bandung,

Soekarno, and his associates, while Soekarno was away in the Netherlands, formed a new political party known as the Indonesian National Party (PNI), which was greatly influenced by the PI ideologies.

PI played a crucial role in providing intellectual support for the birth of PNI. During the 1920s, following the Dutch government's suppression of the Communist Party, which had revolted, the radical political landscape experienced a void. As 1927 approached, Soekarno, who had initially organized a study club in Bandung, recognized the need to rekindle the national movement and thus initiated the formation of the PNI. The establishment of the PNI was significantly influenced by PI, which Hatta envisioned as evolving into a cadre party. Initially, several PI members who had returned to the Dutch East Indies aimed to create a party to fill the void left by the Communist Party after its failed 1926 rebellion, which was swiftly suppressed by the colonial government. With the communist leaders exiled to Boven Digul, there was a sense of political disorientation and a lack of clear leadership within the country's movement. In response, PI members set the stage for the formation of a new party. However, differences in ideological perspectives between Soekarno and Hatta led to a divergence in their paths. Consequently, the PNI emerged with Soekarno as its leader, standing apart from the direction Hatta and his associates had envisioned for the party within the broader movement.

3.4. Internationalization

Hatta's arrival in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and his involvement with the PI, followed by his leadership in this organization based outside the colonial territory, brought significant changes to the nationalist movement. As the leader of the movement organization, Hatta handled organizational tasks effectively, and in line with this, the organization's activities became more widely known due to the continuous dissemination of his political views and positions in Indonesia Merdeka, which were smuggled into the colonial territory. The PI's publication, Indonesia Merdeka, was read widely among the nationalist community, even though it had to be read clandestinely.

Upon arriving in Rotterdam, Hatta was taken to a boarding house for Indonesians in The Hague. In The Hague, Hatta adapted to his new Western environment. The boarding house was quite decent, clean, and centrally located in The Hague. It had easy access to public transportation, which encouraged people to move around in public spaces. Hatta spent more than ten days in this boarding house. After spending ten to twelve days there, he moved to Rotterdam to attend the Rotterdam School of Economics. As a student, Hatta was active in various organizations and activities for the struggle for national independence. His days were filled with thoughts about the nation's independence. During his studies, he dedicated his time to political activities and became involved in the nationalist movement. In the Netherlands, he frequently interacted with anti-colonial, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-fascist movements to expand his network. Alongside building connections with anti-colonial movements in the Netherlands, Hatta also followed international anti-colonial movements to convey the colonial situation of the colonial territories to the international community. To introduce the colonial situation of the Dutch East Indies, he explained it through his critical writings published in various newspapers or publications. He contributed his writings about colonialism, the colonial situation, and his critical analysis of colonial power. These writings were published in Indonesia Merdeka. Hatta realized that it was necessary to disseminate critical thoughts about colonial power, capitalism, and imperialism in the colonial territories to raise the militancy of the republican movement in cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Semarang, and others.

Hatta had close relations with socialist and communist circles. This was because socialists and communists were staunchly anti-colonial and anti-capitalist, and Hatta had held anti-colonial and anti-capitalist views since his days as a student. Hatta's alignment with

socialist and communist ideologies deepened his understanding of left-wing (socialist) thought. His close relationship with international socialist and communist movements was not only due to meetings with these radical and critical groups but also because he expressed his political views in socialist newspapers. The Socialist newspaper *Vrijheid* was widely read among anti-colonial, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism circles. While in the Netherlands, Hatta wrote for Dutch-language newspapers. His views and political thoughts were widely read in the Netherlands and Europe. Leading Dutch and European socialists and communists also wrote for this newspaper. Hatta's sharp critiques of colonial power in the colonial territories, published in *Vrijheid*, elevated his status among anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist circles worldwide. As a nationalist activist from the colonial territories, Hatta became a prominent figure in the Dutch East Indies.

Hatta did not write alone. Semaun, an international communist figure in exile in the Netherlands, also contributed to the *Vrijheid* newspaper. Hatta had a close relationship with Semaun. When the communist rebellion broke out in the Dutch East Indies in 1926, the communist party was crushed, and hundreds of communist leaders and sympathizers were arrested and exiled to Boven-Digoel in South Papua. The destruction of the communist party brought about changes in the nationalist movement. After the absence of the communist party, there was no longer a radical nationalist movement. SI, which could rally masses and resist colonial power, was gradually disintegrating due to internal divisions.

Semaun, who was in exile in the Netherlands, realized that the communist rebellion had weakened his party and halted his political activities. The destruction of the communist party in the Netherlands became a topic of discussion within the leadership of the PI. Hatta regretted the actions of the communist party against colonial power, which had weakened the nationalist movement. At the very least, it accelerated the colonial government's efforts to suppress the nationalist movement. Recognizing the void left by the radicalism of the nationalist movement, Hatta reinvigorated the PI with his political programs to confront colonial power more vigorously. Observing the political activities of the PI, Semaun entered into a political convention with Hatta and acknowledged the PI as the foremost nationalist organization in the struggle for independence. This political convention angered Stalin, who summoned Semaun to Moscow and punished him by limiting his political activities within the international communist movement.

In the 1920s, international communism led by Moscow played a significant role in the global movement. International communism became the mainstream movement on a global scale. Its influence extended not only to Europe but also penetrated the colonial territories in Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In 1925, Hatta received an invitation from the anti-colonial movement in Bravielle, Paris. In meetings with international activists, Hatta opposed colonialism and imperialism. He also explained the situation in his own country in meetings with political activists who were anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist. This meeting in Paris expanded Hatta's political circle and brought him closer to international movement organizations.

Hatta realized that the strategy of the independence struggle required support from the international movement. During the 1920s, international communism dominated the world's movements, and Hatta needed to align closely with this movement to seek and strengthen political support on the international stage. Without aligning with international communism, the struggle for the nation's independence would not gain support and recognition in the global community. During the 1920s, figures leading the anti-colonial resistance movement established political relations with international socialist or communist movements. Internationalization of the national movement was a necessity because the world at the time was influenced by the ideas and thoughts of international socialism and communism. Almost all figures in the anti-colonial resistance movements

in the colonial territories of Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America maintained political relations with the international socialist and communist movements.

Indonesian students who joined the PI in the Netherlands did not miss the opportunity to internationalize their political movement among anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist circles. As the Chairman of the PI, Hatta expanded international networks by engaging himself and several members of the organization in international anti-colonial and anti-capitalist movements in Europe. In the early 20th century and leading up to the 1930s, international movements against colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism were predominantly dominated by international socialism and communism. The ideological influence of these movements made its way to the nationalist movements in the colonial territories. The thoughts of international socialist and communist activists were consistently published in various international media, which were the preferred reading materials of socialist and communist circles. One of these socialist-communist movements opposing colonialism and imperialism was the League Against Imperialism.

Hatta, as the Chairman of the PI, was instrumental in organizing the internationalization of the nationalist movement. He sent Arnold Mononutu to Paris to build support and communication with international anti-colonial movements. Arnold Mononutu lived in a modest hotel that he rented as an office to facilitate his interactions and communication with international figures. This small, multistorey hotel on the outskirts of Paris became the PI's secretariat outside the Netherlands during the 1920s. Arnold Mononutu, a student funded by his parents who worked as a high-ranking colonial bureaucrat, shifted his focus from a life of partying and dancing with European women to political activities upon joining the PI. Before his involvement with the PI, he enjoyed a comfortable student life, often engaging in the dazzling world of the Netherlands. He was indifferent to politics in his home country.

However, Arnold Mononutu's political stance shifted once he became involved with the PI. He abandoned his party lifestyle and fully immersed himself in political activities, with a particular commitment to the PI. Like other PI officials, he had a close relationship with Hatta. Hatta entrusted Arnold to represent the PI in Paris, acting as an ambassador without a nation, similar to an ambassador representing his country's government functions. Arnold Mononutu's role in Paris was to expand the PI's connections with international anti-colonialism and to internationalize PI nationalism as a nationalist movement.

Internationalizing PI's nationalism involved more than just placing and representing the PI's struggle in cities that often hosted meetings of anti-colonial movements. Hatta attended meetings with anti-colonial activists in Berlin and Germany on various occasions. Oppressed and anti-colonial movements in the colonial territories always received support from the international resistance community. The support of international movements from various ideological backgrounds could only be achieved when nationalist movement figures resided or attended international anti-colonialism meetings in Europe. If figures leading the struggle for national liberation had no interactions with international anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements, they might only hear the thoughts of prominent figures in their movements through publications disseminated and read in their colonial territories. However, this did not mean that it was unimportant. The dissemination of the ideas of world-renowned figures could provide fresh ammunition for the independence movement in the colonial territories.

In order to internationalize nationalism and take advantage of this opportunity, Hatta also attended meetings with anti-colonial and anti-imperialist activists whenever he had the opportunity. He moved from one European country to another. As a political activist from the colonial territories, his political activities were always under surveillance by Dutch secret police or intelligence to detect what Hatta was doing with international movement

figures. Surveillance and espionage by Dutch secret police and intelligence agencies had become a common secret in imperial countries.

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (or simply Chatto) was an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist fighter from India who worked as a laborer in Berlin. Before coming to Europe, he had fought for his country's independence in India, which was under British rule. Chatto was a prominent figure in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist circles in Europe. He also influenced Jawaharlal Nehru to attend the League Against Imperialism in Brussels in 1927, and their relationship continued after Nehru returned from this global meeting. In propagating the anti-colonial movement in Europe, Chatto never stayed in one place for long. He was always on the move to avoid being monitored by international secret police. His constant relocation indicated that his life was not secure and that he was constantly under surveillance by intelligence agencies. At times, for the sake of his safety, he did not even know where to stay for security.

While Hatta's experience differed significantly from Chatto's, it was not without the shadow of Dutch secret police surveillance. From the moment he arrived in the Netherlands and devoted his life to advocating for the nationalist movement on the international stage, Hatta was never free from the watchful eyes and hands of the secret police. He was constantly tailed by intelligence agents at every meeting with international anti-colonial activists. Once, during a political event with the anti-colonial movement in Europe, Dutch police searched his residence and confiscated important documents as evidence of his alleged involvement in anti-Dutch government activities. This search and seizure by Dutch police led to Hatta's arrest and detention on 23rd September 1927, in The Hague, the Netherlands. He was released on 22nd March 1928. In 1927, Hatta joined the League Against Colonialism, an international organization with socialist ideologies. His arrest and detention led to political turmoil in the international anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism movements. Prominent international socialist activists, especially Dutch lawyers, joined forces to defend Hatta politically. During his six-month imprisonment, Hatta did not remain idle and continued communicating with his legal team. While waiting for the outcome of his legal defense, he wrote a defense speech known as the Indonesia Merdeka defense speech in 1927. This defense speech, which criticized and ridiculed colonial rule in the colonial territories, secured Hatta's release from prison. The Indonesia Merdeka defense speech was distributed and read among the nationalist movement, boosting the spirit of resistance against colonial rule for the nation's independence.

During his time as the Chairman of the PI, Hatta went through a transformation. He became more serious and determined in his efforts to develop a strategy for the internationalization of the nationalist movement. He capitalized on the international networks of the PI by engaging himself and several PI officials in the international anti-colonial and anti-capitalist movements in Europe. In the early 20th century and leading up to the 1930s, the international movements against colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism were dominated by international socialism and communism. Figures leading the struggle for national liberation in the colonial territories were closely connected with international movements, and this influenced the ideologies within the nationalist movements in the colonial territories. The thoughts of international socialist and communist activists were consistently published in various international media, which were the preferred reading materials of socialist and communist circles. One of these socialist-communist movements opposing colonialism and imperialism was the League Against Imperialism.

3.5. League Against Imperialism

In the early 20th century, the global movement against colonialism and imperialism gained significant momentum. This was especially true after activists from international communist, socialist, and anti-colonial movements came together to establish the Anti-

Imperialism League in February 1927. The primary goal of this league was to create an international organization that would unite various forces against imperialism and colonial oppression (Stolte, 2020: 18). The formation of this international organization was closely linked to the rising influence of international communism, socialism, and anti-colonialism. It involved building connections with anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa. A pivotal figure in this effort was Willi Muzenberg, a German communist leader. The international forum created by this league was open to participants regardless of their racial background. It was coordinated by a white individual from Germany, with the International Secretary being a person of color from India (Louro, Stolte, Streets-Salter, & Tannoury-Karam, 2020: 19). Muzenberg had strong ties to activists in the anti-colonial movement living in Europe. Activists of these movements were frequently meeting in European cities like Paris, Berlin, and the Netherlands.

Before the formation of the League Against Imperialism, key figures from the international socialist and communist movements were reaching out to anti-colonial figures in Asia and Africa. These invitations were extended not just to anti-colonial leaders from the colonies but also to individuals from colonial regions. On 10th February 1927, the League Against Imperialism held a congress at the Egmont Building in Brussels. This congress brought together 174 delegates from 31 colonized countries and 134 organizations (Louro, Stolte, Streets-Salter, & Tannoury-Karam, 2020: 17).

The congress spanned five days and offered a platform for hundreds of participants from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. They came to debate and discuss matters related to anti-colonialism and imperialism. These participants were free to voice their opinions, thoughts, and criticisms about the conditions in their homelands. What united them was a profound sense of solidarity, born from their shared struggle against colonialism and imperialism. During these five days, they felt like a global family, all standing up to challenge foreign oppression (Louro, Stolte, Streets-Salter, & Tannoury-Karam, 2020: 17-18).

When the Anti-Imperialism League invited representatives from the Dutch East Indies, it was not the mainstream anti-colonial movement in the colonies that was involved in the struggle for independence through labor unions, the press, political parties, and various organizations. Instead, the league invited PI, led by Hatta, who was then residing in the Netherlands. Hatta did not attend the congress alone; he brought several leaders from his organization to actively participate in the event. The funding for the Indonesian delegation, led by Hatta, was provided by the international communist movement.

During the five-day congress, Hatta emerged as a vocal advocate for anti-colonialism. He openly criticized Dutch colonial authorities, highlighting the suffering, poverty, and racism they had imposed on the Indonesian people. His speeches passionately condemned Dutch colonial rule, and it was during this event that he introduced the term “Indonesia” for the first time to a global audience. This marked the beginning of the term “Indonesia” being widely recognized internationally (Louro, Stolte, Streets-Salter, & Tannoury-Karam, 2020: 17-18).

When Hatta introduced Indonesia at the international congress in front of hundreds of participants, he did so in fluent French, showcasing not only his command of English and Dutch but also his proficiency in French. Consequently, when Hatta and his delegation took the stage, they did not hold back. He delivered a scathing critique of colonial rule, emphasizing the urgent need for the nation's liberation struggle. This moment marked a significant step in the internationalization of Indonesian nationalism, resonating powerfully within the walls of the Egmont Palace in Brussels in 1927. Hatta's internationalist approach to nationalism only served to bolster his influence in the worldwide anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements.

The League Against Imperialism Congress was not just a gathering of prominent anti-colonial figures. It also drew those who opposed capitalism and imperialism, including

the renowned scientist Albert Einstein, who observed the intense intellectual debates and resistance against colonial dominance. The discussions revolved around the aspirations for the liberation of Asian and African colonial territories from imperial rule. During the League Against Imperialism Congress, anti-colonial activists from around the world embarked on their journeys to Brussels, despite the political risks involved. These figures representing their respective nations found common ground in alignment with prevailing global ideologies of the time, particularly international socialism and communism. It was through this socialist perspective that they scrutinized the conditions of the colonies in this global congress.

During the League Against Imperialism Congress, representatives from the anti-colonial, anti-imperialism, and anti-capitalism movements in Asia and Africa came together for direct discussions regarding the colonial conditions in their respective regions. The congress addressed the common plight of Asian and African lands that had suffered under foreign rule, causing widespread suffering among their populations. This shared experience fostered a profound sense of solidarity among the congress participants, representing colonized nations, and this unity was voiced on the international stage. The reverberations of this solidarity and its influence grew stronger, particularly as the outcomes of this gathering were disseminated to colonial nations through clandestine publications, bolstering the resilience of national movements in these colonies. This was a point of convergence where local dynamics (in the colonies) intersected with global currents.

Just as other prominent figures in the national movements did, Hatta engaged with international socialist and communist figures while discussing the matter of colonial Indonesia, which he articulated for the first time within the context of the global national movement. During this congress, Hatta had his initial encounter with Jawaharlal Nehru, a leading figure in India known for his stance against colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. Nehru, who was still relatively young at the time, was initially in Switzerland, accompanying his ailing wife. While in Switzerland, he received an invitation to attend the League Against Imperialism Congress, to which he and his wife made their way. It was at this congress that Nehru and Hatta crossed paths, forging camaraderie in their shared battle against colonialism and imperialism. Together, they also worked to internationalize the national movement within the global anti-colonial movement forum. This internationalization of the nationalist movement marked Hatta as both an instigator and a disseminator of the Indonesian nationalist movement on the international stage.

4. Conclusion

Hatta and PI were inseparable forces in the internationalization of the Indonesian nationalist movement. Ever since his time studying in the Netherlands, Hatta was willing to put his studies on hold for the cause of liberating the nation from colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. Hatta's political associations within the mainstream of the international movement were crucial, especially as he became a member of the Joint Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism, which elevated his position.

Hatta, who had forged a friendship with Jawaharlal Nehru after the League Against Imperialism Congress, went on to become a prominent leader on the frontlines of the anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa. His name resonated throughout the global anti-colonialism community. With a political network established during his time in the Netherlands (Europe) and active participation whenever he received invitations to speak in English, Dutch, and French at international socialist forums while promoting the Indonesian national struggle, Hatta became a leading figure of the Indonesian national movement in the international arena.

With the presence of Hatta and associates like Arnold Mononutu, who acted as an unofficial ambassador in Paris, assisting Hatta in promoting the internationalization of the national movement in Europe, the Indonesian nationalist struggle gained strategic importance and a strong voice in the international anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist movements.

The political landscape in the colony (Dutch East Indies) changed as the Dutch colonial government suppressed the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party or PNI) and the Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party). The direction of the nationalist movement was no longer as radical, as its leaders were exiled to remote locations like Boven-Digoel, far from the center of the national movement. As the nationalist movement approached the end of the 1920s, it waned and lost its direction. Hatta sent Sjahrir, even though he had not yet completed his studies, to establish a new party, the Indonesian Nationalist Education, dubbed as PNI Baru (New PNI) in 1930. The strategy and actions of the PNI Baru involved creating a cadre-based party rather than a mass party. Shortly after Sjahrir founded the PNI Baru, Hatta completed his studies and returned to the Dutch East Indies, taking over Sjahrir's position and becoming the Chairman of the PNI Baru.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank the Rector of the University of Sumatera Utara for giving permission and grants for Sabbatical Leave at KITLV Leiden University for the academic year 2022. This research was funded by Direktorat Riset dan Pengembangan Masyarakat Kementerian Riset dan Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia (Research Directorate and Societal Affairs, Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education Republic of Indonesia) Scheme No. 1/UN5.2.3.1/PPM/KP-DRTPM/P/2022.

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