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HISTORY OF ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM IN INDONESIA

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«Orwell rightly noted that those who control the present control the past. When history adopts the discourse of the victors, concealing and dissolving all past struggles with a simplistic Manicheanism that obscures what was truly at stake, the present reality seems inevitable and inescapable. The future of human societies thus depends on our capacity to wrest this past from the cold grip of the present masters. Voices have been lost. We must try to bring them back to life; to rediscover the living traces of the relay of rebellion that traverses time; to restore them and to pass them on»

Ngo Van, Vietnamese Libertarian Socialist¹

Sociocultural context and general framework for the emergence of egalitarian and anti-authoritarian ideas in the region of South-East Asia & Indonesia

The Southeast Asian region covers vast territories stretching between the Pacific and Indian Oceans: the Indochina Peninsula with its southern tip, the Malacca Peninsula and numerous islands of the Malay (Indonesian) and Philippine archipelagos. Currently, a number of countries are located here – Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, East Timor and the Philippines.

Since ancient times, this geographical area "on the way" from India to China has been at the crossroads of eras, civilizations, cultures and ideological trends. Heterogeneous elements overlapped each other, entered into a complex symbiosis, merged... Local societies based on rice farming, seafaring and trade were built on the basis of a traditional community².

From the second half of the first millennium BC, Southeast Asia became an area upon which “Chinese and Indian influences have been brought to bear”, and, as British historian D. G. E. Hall, wrote, the cultures of both these countries were in an “intense struggle between them for

¹ *Ngo Van*. In the crossfire: adventures of a Vietnamese revolutionary. Oakland, 2010. P.2.

² Historians attribute the cultivation of rice on irrigated lands, the domestication of buffalo and bulls, the rapid development of seafaring, the “irrigation” type of social organization, maternal kinship, religious animism, special forms of theater, music, fabric dyeing, etc. to the characteristic features of the ancient civilization of Southeast Asia. See, for example: *Cœdès G. Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Paris, 1948. P.25–26.

supremacy” for many centuries³. This situation was reflected even in the generally accepted geographical names of the region: “Indochina” and “Indonesia” (that is, “island India”).

Merchants, priests, sailors and soldiers from the ancient centers of civilization in India and China brought new religions and ideologies (Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism), models of political power and its legitimization to the "periphery". From the 14th century, another powerful stream was added to these trends - the spread of Islam, which managed to displace Hinduism and Buddhism in most of the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay Peninsula...

The external influence did not erase the ancient local culture, but rather superimposed it. The specific features of the region also gave rise to the characteristic features of the societies and states that developed there. As anthropologist James Scott has shown, before the European colonial conquest, at least three social models existed in Southeast Asia: monarchies located in rice-growing valleys; trading and maritime powers; and a motley conglomerate of peoples and tribes living in the mountains, hills, and forests. The first model included, first of all, the large states of Indochina and Java; the second – the states and cities of the Malay world. Those who lived under the conditions of the third model often either did not submit to state power at all, or obeyed it formally⁴. But it was not only the latter who remained the unique bearers of disobedience and freedom in the region (like the barbarians in the perception of the inhabitants of Ancient Rome). Even in the despotic monarchies of Indochina, whose rulers were often deified or considered to be the exponents of divine will, the possibilities of state control by the authorities remained limited. No matter what centralizing standards of Hinduism, Confucianism or the ideology of the "Buddha-king" the state was built on, no matter how more or less consistently the supreme ownership of the state on land was carried out, and officials were transformed into the ruling class of society, the power of the court and the government apparatus was by no means so all-encompassing. According to J. Scott, the political and spiritual power of the state diminished with distance from the capital (although the economic influence extended significantly further). And “even the most robust kingdom (...) shrank virtually to the ramparts of its palace walls once the monsoon rains began in earnest. The Southeast Asian State (...) was a radically seasonal phenomenon (...) Not only were armies and tax collectors unable to move far in any force, but travel and trade were reduced to a trivial proportion of their dry-season volume”⁵. Under such conditions, local communities maintained their internal autonomy and lived their everyday lives, only paying taxes to the court and fulfilling established duties.

3 *Hall D. G. E.* A History of South-East Asia. London, 1955. P. 3.

4 *Scott J. C.* The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia. New Haven; London, 2009. P.50–53.

5 *Ibid.* P.61.

Local communities outside the large agrarian states enjoyed even greater independence. As early as the 1920s, the Indonesian political figure Tan Malaka, comparing social relations in Java and among the Minangkabau people of Sumatra, noted that “the Javanese was a slave to his leaders, while the Minangkabau did not know such slavery,” and “in terms of (...) awareness of the concept of freedom, the Minangkabau were significantly ahead of the Javanese”, having – “even before the arrival of the Europeans” – “a clear understanding of personal freedom and a sense of social solidarity.” In other words, “Java was an aristocracy and often a despotism, while Minangkabau was a country of democrats and often communists (in the sense of primitive communism)”⁶.

Only European colonizers established firm state power and genuine private ownership of land in Southeast Asia. They began to penetrate the region in the 16th century – first the Spanish and Portuguese, then the Dutch, English and French. Gradually, step by step, the European powers seized individual territories, provinces and principalities, and then entire countries. By the beginning of the 20th century, only the Kingdom of Siam (modern Thailand) retained formal state independence. All other lands were divided between Great Britain (Burma, Malaya and the northern part of Kalimantan), France (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia), the Netherlands (the Dutch Indies – modern Indonesia), Spain (the Philippines) and Portugal (East Timor). Along with colonial conquests came new cultural trends – European ones, which, however, were accessible primarily to the educated strata of local society.

The colonial power became an additional, even heavier burden on the bulk of the region's population, adding to the oppression from the local nobility. In addition to the significant deterioration in the lives of the peasantry, which was caused by the introduction of the institution of private property, together with the purchase and sale of land, the growth of dependence on moneylenders and traders, colonial discrimination also played its role, condemning the "natives" to inequality and humiliation⁷. Economic development did not serve, in the eyes of the majority of the inhabitants, as a justification for their difficult situation, not to mention the fact that its fruits benefited only a very narrow social stratum. If many representatives of the old nobility sought to regain their lost privileges, and peasants and workers rose up against the difficult conditions of their life and work, then the emerging new intelligentsia raised the question first of limiting and then of destroying colonial rule.

6 *Тан Малакка. Индонезия и ее место на пробуждающемся Востоке / Перевод с голландского. Москва; Ленинград, 1926. С. 8–9.*

7 It is enough to mention, for example, that in the Netherlands Indies, Indonesians were for a long time forbidden to wear shoes, use chairs, speak Dutch, and visit the same swimming pools as Europeans. They were obliged to greet Europeans with bows, etc.; see: *Капица М. С., Малетин Н. П. Сукарно: политическая биография. Москва, 1980. С. 16.* In Burma, the Buddhist population was outraged by the lack of respect for its traditions and customs; for decades, the right of Europeans to enter Buddhist temples without removing their shoes was a stumbling block. In French Indochina, there were various forms of discrimination against the "natives." Throughout the colonies, there was a huge wage gap between Europeans and locals, difficulties in obtaining an education, etc.

The forms and ideologies of social and political protest that developed in the countries of Southeast Asia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, like the entire culture of the region, also developed at the intersection and under the influence of a wide variety of elements, trends, and intentions.

Peasant communities, with their spirit of autonomy, egalitarianism and mutual aid, remained a favourable environment for the maintenance and reproduction of traditional ideas about a just social order that would replace despotic power – now the power of the colonizers. Such views were vague and, in the main, had a religious connotation. In this regard, researchers draw attention to the ideas of social justice and harmony in Buddhism⁸ and the widespread expectation in the Indonesian-Malay world of a “just ruler” (*ratu adil*), with whose arrival a reign of social justice and prosperity will come⁹. The Muslim religion initially spread in the region as a counterweight to the Hindu religion and the ideology of despotic empires. The socio-ethical views of Islam included ideas about social justice, charity and mechanisms of social redistribution, “leveling” or even egalitarianism, in order to avoid extreme wealth and extreme poverty¹⁰. Moreover, the Muslim religious organization was relatively less hierarchical¹¹. Where the colonizers succeeded in introducing Christianity, as for example in the Philippines, revolutionary millenarian and messianic movements on a Christian basis emerged.

Along with the preservation of traditional types of social protest, new social ideas began to penetrate into the countries of Southeast Asia from the beginning of the 20th century – liberalism, democracy, nationalism, republicanism and, finally, socialism. Familiarity with them occurred through European sources, as well as through people from China and India who lived and worked in

8 See, for example: *Sarkisyanz M.* Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution. The Hague, 1965; *Marbett I.* Buddhism and Freedom // *Asian Freedoms: The Idea of Freedom in East and Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, 1998. P.19–36; and others. Donald Rothberg emphasizes, in this regard, that individual salvation in Buddhism is realized in a community of believers, the *sangha*, which retains autonomy in relation to state power. This community follows “on the one hand, the guidelines for monastic life, on the other, the ancient pattern of Asian village life”. In Buddhism, there is a concept of mutual obligations between the monarch and society, but at the same time, the monastic social context was perceived as “separate from the political world of kings and power – a separation, by the way, which was unlike the Brahmanic connection of the political and religious spheres”; see: *Rothberg D.* Buddhism and Social Transformation // *Mysticism & Social Transformation*. Syracuse, 2001. P.168–169. In turn, the Thai social thinker Sulak Sivaraksha noted that the ideal Buddhist society is a conglomerate of loosely connected self-sufficient communities, the relations between which are based not on domination, but on the fact that they share with each other; see: *Choi A. H.-K.* Non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs) and democracy in Thailand: the 1992 Bangkok Uprising. A Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Studies in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Kingston: Queen’s University, 2001. P. 222.

9 See: *Kroef J.M. van der.* The Messiah in Indonesia and Melanesia // *The Scientific Monthly*. 1952. Vol. 75. No. 3. September. P. 161–162.

10 See f. ex.: *Abdelkader A.* Social Justice in Islam. Herndon, 2000; *Ciftci S.* Islam, Social Justice and Democracy // *Politics and Religion*. URL: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-religion/article/islam-social-justice-and-democracy/A83A5183366AE5C511E7E1C3694B2389> (18.10.2019).

11 “Although the *kiai* and *ulama* are important local figures, and some have reputations far beyond their villages, they are linked to others by personal bonds, not organizational structures”, noted historian and political scientist Barbara Harvey; see: *Harvey B.* Diplomacy and Armed Struggle in the Indonesian National Revolution: Choice and Constraint in the Comparative Perspective // *Making Indonesia: Essays on Modern Indonesia in Honor of George McT. Kahin*. Ithaca, 1996. P. 71.

the countries of Southeast Asia. But even these initially “imported” ideas did not remain alien, external borrowings, but were assimilated on new soil. Their elements were intertwined, sometimes merging with each other and with previous views.

The socialist ideas that have spread in the countries of Southeast Asia since the beginning of the 20th century and up to the present day have been very different in their form and content. They can be divided somewhat schematically into communitarianist (in Narodnik’s style), anarchist and Marxist (including social democratic and Leninist). In this book we will be interested primarily in the first and second. In both communitarian socialism and anarchism, unlike Marxism, the emphasis is on social self-organization and decentralization, and an autonomous and self-governing community is considered the basis of society.

As noted by the renowned historian of Chinese anarchism Arif Dirlik, during the first two decades of the 20th century in most countries of East and Southeast Asia, it was elements of anarchism and similar views that dominated the motley conglomerate of “early” socialist ideas that attracted the young radical intelligentsia¹². This was facilitated by both local communal traditions and the popularity of anarchism in Asian countries such as China and Japan, which in many ways served as examples for critics of colonialism in Southeast Asia. Marxism appeared in the region only beginning with the period of the First World War – thanks to the influence of European social democracy and later Russian Bolshevism.

At the same time, unlike China and Japan, the complex national and religious composition of Southeast Asian societies did not allow truly large organizations guided by anarchist views to emerge at the beginning of the 20th century. Most mass social movements and their theorists were inspired by a motley conglomerate of views, where individual elements of nationalism, anarchism, communitarian, religious socialism, and later also Marxism were mixed. Only among the "overseas Chinese" in the region were anarchist groups created, anarchist newspapers published, and the ideas of anarchist communism influenced workers' unions and students. It is worth noting, however, that in countries such as British Malaya, the percentage of Chinese in the population and working class was quite high. The spread of anarchist ideas in this environment was facilitated by the presence of strong socialist tendencies in the Chinese revolutionary movement. Even one of the leaders of the Chinese *Tongmenghui*, who was considered a “moderate” at that time, Song Jiaoren, admitted in 1911: “If you advocate true socialism, it will not succeed unless you support anarchism and communism; neither social democracy nor state socialism are worthy of respect”¹³.

12 *Dirlik A.* Anarchism and the Question of Place: thoughts from the Chinese experience // *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870–1940: the praxis of national liberation, internationalism, and social revolution.* Leiden, 2010. P. 134.

13 Cited in: *Tai H.-T. H.* *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution.* Cambridge, 1992. P. 60.

One way or another, the presence of an anarchist component in the social movements of Southeast Asia cannot be ignored, even if it has been virtually disappearing since the 1930s. Anarchism reappeared on the ideological, socio-political and cultural scene of the region only at the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st centuries, and on a completely new basis and in completely different historical conditions.

* * *

The origins of the egalitarian tradition in Indonesia go back to the traditional village community that existed among many peoples of the archipelago. Over the centuries, it developed self-government skills, which are known under the general term "gotong-rojong" (that is, "joint activity", "community work", "cooperation" or "mutual aid"). The respect of the community members was enjoyed primarily not by those who had material wealth, but by people who made the greatest contribution to the general welfare. "An important manifestation of the *gotong-rojong* ethos in most Indonesian village communities is the institution of *musjawarah*", the Indonesian anthropologist Koentjaraningrat noted back in the second half of the 20th century. "The concept involves the processes that develop general agreement and consensus in village assemblies, which emerge as the unanimous decision or *mupakat*. This unanimous decision can be reached by a process in which the majority and the minorities approach each other by making the necessary readjustments in their respective viewpoints, or by an integration of the contrasting standpoints into a new conceptual synthesis. *Musjawarah* and *mupakat* thus exclude the possibility that majority will impose its views on the minorities"¹⁴.

By the beginning of the 20th century, a system of colonial capitalism had been established in Indonesia (the Netherlands Indies), which was under Dutch colonial rule¹⁵, and after the agrarian laws of the 1870s, private land ownership also began to develop. Thus, on the island of Java, the share of private land ownership increased from 47% to 83% between 1882 and 1932¹⁶. But although communal land ownership was thus in retreat, elements of communal psychology still dominated among a significant part of the population, especially since as recently as 1920, 94.3% of residents still lived in rural areas¹⁷.

14 Koentjaraningrat. Villages in Indonesia. Jakarta; Kuala Lumpur, 2007. P.397. However, the decision-making norms of the gotong-rojong system may not be free of authoritarian elements. According to Koentjaraningrat, the principles of *musjawarah* and *mupakat* imply "the existence of personalities who, by virtue of their leadership, are able to bring together the contrasting viewpoints or who have enough imagination to arrive at a synthesis integrating the contrasting viewpoints into a new conception". Such notions were used by Indonesia's first president, Soekarno, in developing his concept of leader-based "guided democracy."

15 See f. ex.: Sukoharsono E.G. Accounting, Colonial Capitalists, and Liberal Order: The Case of Accounting History in Indonesia during the Dutch Colonial Period and the Mid-to-End of the 19th Century // The Indonesian Journal of Accounting and Business Society. 1995. Vol.3. No.1. August. P.1–28.

16 See: Аграрно-крестьянский вопрос в суверенных слаборазвитых странах Азии (Индия, Бирма. Индонезия). Москва., 1961. С.120.

17 See: The Population of Indonesia. S.l., 1974. P.98.

Along with communal egalitarianism, among the peasants of Indonesia (especially in Java) there were widespread messianic ideas about the imminent appearance of a “just ruler” (*ratu adil*), with whose arrival a rule of social justice and prosperity would come¹⁸. On this basis, many messianic movements arose, and in the 20th century the idea of *ratu adil* was often identified with socialism.

A reflection of the spontaneous egalitarian, anti-capitalist and anti-feudal sentiments of the “lower classes” was the social movement started in 1890 by the Javanese peasant Surontiko Samin (1859–1914). He propagated a doctrine that he called “the doctrine of the Prophet Adam.” Samin claimed that he did not believe in Allah or any other god, in hell or heaven, or in life after death, since he had not seen any of these. He rejected religious marriage and advocated the free cohabitation of men and women. While recognizing the authority of the authorities and community structures and not opposing the performance of traditional duties, Samin nevertheless called for disobedience to norms and orders that he considered wrong. Thus, he taught people not to pay interest on debts, duties and taxes in cash, to perform work for the common good free of charge and to freely, without any payment, take wood from the forest necessary for building a house if a person had a need for it. In 1906 and 1907, Samin was arrested, along with his disciples¹⁹.



Surontiko Samin

The peasants who joined his movement defended the common lands, refused to pay taxes and perform forced labor and other duties, and boycotted state schools. Rejecting the privileges of the aristocracy, capitalism, trade, and money, they proclaimed the principle of harmony, equality, and justice: “The land, water, and forest belong to everyone” (*lemah pada duwe, banyu pada duwe,*

¹⁸ Kroef *J.M. van der*. The Messiah in Indonesia and Melanesia // The Scientific Monthly. 1952. Vol.75. No.3. September. P.161–162.

¹⁹ Samin de Christen-Anarchist // De Preanger-Bode. Goedkoopste dagblad van Java. Bandoeng, 4.03.1907. No.52. P.5.

kayu pada duwe). Although the Saminists tried to use non-violent methods, they occasionally clashed with the colonial "forces of order." Despite Samin's repression and exile, the movement did not cease²⁰. Samin was illiterate and was unlikely to have been familiar with the ideas of European socialism, but the Dutch authorities called his movement "anarchist-communist"²¹.

The ideas of European socialism penetrated the colony from the metropolis, the Netherlands. Their spread was held back by the narrowness of stratum of Dutch and Indo-Dutch people who could read Dutch, as well as by the practice of preliminary censorship in the Netherlands Indies that was in effect until 1906²². Although the works of Bakunin, Kropotkin and other anarchist theorists were translated into Dutch and published in the metropolis from the 1880s, traces of their acquaintance in the colony are noted much later. True, Kropotkin's name and works were mentioned in the press of the Netherlands Indies as early as the 1880s, but the discussion was about organizational and economic issues, not social revolutionary ones²³.

One of the first critics of the Dutch colonial system, the writer Eduard Douwes Dekker, known under the pseudonym "Multatuli" (1820-1887), was close to anarchism. Working in the colonial administration in the Netherlands Indies from 1842 to 1856, he became acquainted with the cruelty of colonialism and made accusatory speeches, works of art and articles, trying to raise public opinion against the colonizers. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Multatuli's texts had a significant influence on socialists, anarchists and syndicalists in the metropolis²⁴. Multatuli himself was not a member of any political organizations, but he opposed state socialism. "The ideal form of government is the absence of government," Multatuli believed. "What makes it possible to approach this ideal? Reducing the people's need to be governed, that is: development, civilization,

20 For more details, see: *Benda H., Castles L. The Samin Movement // Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Leiden, 1969. Vol.125. No.2. P.207–240. Saminist communities survived in Indonesia even after independence.*

21 Cit. in: *Tollenaere H.A.O. de. The Politics of Divine Wisdom. Theosophy and labour, national, and women's movements in Indonesia and South Asia 1875–1947. Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Sociale Wetenschappen. Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen. Nijmegen, 1996. P.123.*

22 *Yamamoto N. Print Power and Censorship in Colonial Indonesia. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. 2011. P.54. In August 1902, police received information that Greek anarchists Costi (Dosti) and Kamati had arrived in Singapore intending to enter the Netherlands Indies, causing a stir in the colonial press. See: Anarchisten te Batavia // Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Batavia, 7.11.1902. No.256; Nederlandsch Indië: Ongewenschte Gasten // Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad. Batavia, 7.11.1902; Grieksche Anarchisten // De Lokomotief. Semarang, 7.11.1902. No.263.*

23 For example, in 1888, an agricultural journal published in Batavia mentioned an article entitled "The Future Reign of Plenty," which "the famous Russian revolutionary Prince Kropotkin" published in the British journal "Nineteens Century." The article was about increasing agricultural production through the use of modern scientific methods. See: *Tijdschrift voor nijverheid en landbouw in Nederlandsch-Indië. Deel XXXVII. Batavia, 1888. P.505–506. Similar materials appeared also later. In 1905, a scientific publication compared the future forecasts of the British demographer T. Malthus and the "anarchist Kropotkin", who predicted the possibility of a significant increase in food production, capable of feeding a larger number of people; see: Natuurkundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Deel 65. Batavia, 1905. P.102.*

24 *Welcker J.M. Eduard Douwes Dekker // Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeiderbeweging in Nederland. 5. 1992. P.45–58. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/5E1ECE1F-ED0F-4D66-89F3-2726DFACF952> (6.12.2015).*

education, etc. When everyone knows what to do and acts accordingly, any government is superfluous”²⁵. In one of his letters in 1886 he wrote: "No, I am not a socialist! I cannot underestimate the program of this party (...) But I am not a socialist. Not only am I not a socialist, I am an anti-socialist. Socialists want to make the "state" all-powerful, but I insist on reducing as much as possible the interference of the necessary evil called "government""²⁶.



Multatuli

The first known socialist to appear in the Netherlands Indies was Henri Hubertus van Kool (1852–1925), a member of the First International since 1871. He lived in Java from 1876 to 1896, worked as a civil engineer, and in 1887 set up a plantation, part of the income from which he donated to the development of the labor movement in the Netherlands. After returning to the metropolis, van Kool joined the Social Democratic Labor Party (SDAP), was elected to parliament, and defended Dutch colonialism, although criticizing its "extremes"²⁷. In contrast, the Dutch social democrat Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846–1919), who initially also invested in van Kool's plantation, gradually moved away from his previous views and in the second half of the 1890s moved towards anarchist positions, becoming the most prominent representative of the anarchist and anti-militarist movement in Holland and a sharp critic of colonialism. Domela Nieuwenhuis had a significant influence on several prominent figures in the Indonesian social movement at the beginning of the 20th century – most notably Ernst François Eugène Douwes Dekker and Mas Marco²⁸.

Supporters of socialist views in their various forms were present in the Netherlands Indies as early as the 1890s²⁹. In 1914, members of the Dutch SDAP and the Socialist Party living and working in the colony united to form the Indian Social Democratic Association (ISDV). In the Union of Railway and Tram Workers, which was under the influence of ISDV, was founded in 1908

25 *Multatuli*. Volledige Werken. Deel II. Minnebrieven. Over vrijen arbeid in Nederlands-Indië. Brief aan Quintillianus. Ideeën, eerste bundel. Amsterdam, 1951. P.338.

26 Ibidem. Deel XXIII. Brieven en documenten uit de jaren 1884–1886. Amsterdam, 1993. P.651-653.

27 See: *Schrevel M., Schwidder E.* Een socialist “uit onze koloniën“ URL: <http://www.iisg.nl/collections/vankol/intro-nl.php> (10.07.2019).

28 *Tollenaere H.A.O. de*. Op. cit. P.240.

29 Ibid. P.162.

and was the largest trade union in the colony, revolutionary syndicalist sentiments were felt³⁰. In the 1910s, elements of various socialist views began to spread among the Indonesian intelligentsia.

Although the social democracy of the Netherlands Indies in principle adhered to Marxist views, among some of its members there was also a certain sympathy for the peasant community and the possibility of its evolution towards socialism³¹. Even in 1922, one of the leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party, Alimin Prawirodirdjo (1889–1964), spoke of the Javanese community in the most lyrical terms, deploring its destruction by capitalism: "Before 1900, 95% of the population of Java consisted of peasants, united in communities, which for the most part owned the land communally and were organized in a primitive system of Soviets." The communities were dominated by Indonesian nobles who served the colonizers, but "since there was more than enough land and the economic situation of the population was good, political oppression did not cut so deeply into the roots of popular life. The people were content, lived internally simply, clearly and fraternally, were friendly and peaceful"³².

The social situation in the archipelago contributed to such views. The bulk of the "native" population (communal and land-poor peasantry, plantation and urban workers, laborers, day laborers, farm laborers) lived in extreme poverty. The former feudal aristocracy served the colonial authorities, replenishing the stratum of bureaucracy. The Indonesian bourgeoisie remained small and weak in economic terms. The economy of the Netherlands Indies was almost completely controlled by Dutch, and partly by Chinese and foreign capital³³. In these conditions, capitalism was often perceived as an "external," "foreign" phenomenon, closely linked to colonial power and generated by it. Even in the early 1920s, the leader of Indonesian communists, Tan Malaka (1897–1949), insisted that the specificity of his country was that "class domination, due to the complete absence of indigenous capital, coincides with national domination." "Dutch and other foreign capital over the Indonesian proletariat" is how he described the socio-economic situation in the colony³⁴. The leader of the mass anti-colonialist movement *Sarekat Islam*, Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto (1882–1934), speaking at its congress in 1918, proclaimed that the main enemy of

30 *Bima Satria Putra*. *Perang yang Tidak Akan Kita Menangkan: Anarkisme & Sindikalisme dalam Pergerakan Kolonial hingga Revolusi Indonesia (1908–1948)*. Yogyakarta, 2018. H.53–54.

31 This opinion was expressed, for example, by the representative of the left wing of the ISDV, Adolf Baars (1897–1943), in the article "Socialism in India", which was published on October 25, 1915 in the newspaper *Het Vrije Woord*, as well as in the speech of the chairman of the ISDV at the 5th meeting of the organization in 1918. See: *Stutje K.* "Volk van Java, de Russische Revolutie houdt ook lessen in voor U". *Indonesisch socialisme, bolsjewisme, en het spook van het anarchisme // Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*. 2017. No.3. P.438, 439.

32 *Prauiro*. *Kurzer Abriss der Bewegung in holländisch Indien. Januar 1922 // Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории (Russian State Archive of Social-Political History) РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 730. Лист 4.*

33 See: *[Беленький А.Б. Исторический очерк с 1870 по 1949 гг.] // Индонезия. Справочник. Москва, 1981. С.70–74.*

34 *Тан Малака*. *Индонезия и ее место на пробуждающемся Востоке*. Москва; Ленинград, 1925. С.3.

the people of his country was capital, and it was necessary to “wage a struggle against capitalism” by organizing the masses³⁵.

Elements of anarchism and syndicalism in the anti-colonial movement of the 1910s – 1920s

The influence of a very heterogeneous set of different socialist ideas was felt in the 1910s and early 1920s in the views of representatives of both significant Indonesian organizations of the period – the *Indische Partij* and the *Sarekat Islam* movement.

The founder and leader of the *Indische Partij* was Multatuli's great-grandson, E. F. E. Douwes Dekker (1879–1950), of European-Indonesian descent. He was born into a family of bank employees; after finishing school in Holland, he worked as a plantation clerk in Java. In 1899, he went to the Transvaal, fought against the British in the Boer War, was captured, and managed to return to the Netherlands Indies only in 1903; later, he worked as a journalist for newspapers in Semarang and Batavia³⁶. In the following decade, he became one of the leaders of the anti-colonialist movement in the archipelago, putting forward the slogan "India for Indians." During a trip to Europe in 1910–1911, he established contacts not only with Dutch social democrats, but also with activists of radical movements for colonial liberation, including the Indian Shyamaji Krishnavarma, who later described him as a "political anarchist" committed to the tactics of individual acts and assassinations. "He favoured individual acts of anarchy rather than of the combined resistance of the masses," Krishnavarma recalled of his conversations with E. F. E. Douwes Dekker. "He said that individual acts of bombing people and so forth had a greater demoralizing effect on the Government than a revolution by the whole of the Indian nation was likely to have"³⁷.

The magazine *Het Tijdschrift*, published by E. F. E. Douwes Dekker in Bandung, Java, from September 1911, featured articles by foreign leftist and radical authors, including Krishnavarma and the Indian anarchist Har Dayal³⁸. The geographical range of those writing for the magazine was

35 Cit. in: [Беленький А.Б. Исторический очерк с 1870 по 1949 гг.]. С.82.

36 For a biography of E.F.E. Douwes Decker, see: *Glissenaar F.D.D. Het leven van E.F.E. Douwes Dekker*. Hilversum, 1999.

37 Cit. in: *Van Dijk K. The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914–1918*. Leiden, 2007. P.47.

38 In 1913, Indian revolutionary emigrants created the *Ghadar* (Revolutionary Party) organization, led by Har Dayal, which operated in many countries around the world and sought to liberate India from British rule by force. In the Netherlands Indies, *Ghadar* activists sought, with the help of German and Ottoman diplomats and agents, to organize staging posts in Java and Sumatra for transporting weapons, literature, and volunteers to India. Local Sikhs and Ghadarites who had come from the United States distributed the movement's publications; one of the first to receive the *Ghadar* newspaper was Vir Singh. There was a branch of the organization in Batavia. See: *Ramnath M. Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*. Berkeley, 2011. P. 75-78, 191. The newspaper was sent in Dutch envelopes via the Sikh Gurdvar and distributed in the Netherlands Indies by Sikhs and other Indian traders in Medan; see *Harper T. Singapore, 1915, and the Birth of the Asian Underground // Modern Asian Studies*. 2013. No.47 (6). P.1793. In August 1915, the Dutch authorities arrested in Batavia an Indian, a British subject, whose name was reported in the newspapers as "Aselaman" and who was described as an "anarchist." He was accused of spreading anti-British

quite broad: it published materials from France, Germany, the Middle East, North Africa, Russia, Hong Kong... Among the topics that were touched upon on its pages were political, philosophical, religious, cultural issues, birth control, anti-militarism, the views of the German anarcho-individualist philosopher Stirner, the problem of free love and women's freedom. The magazine published an essay on the Spanish libertarian educator Francisco Ferrer³⁹.

Douwes Dekker expressed his greatest sympathy for anarchism and syndicalism in the article "Parliamentarism and Direct Action," which he published in No. 24 of *Het Tijdschrift* on August 15, 1912. This material was a retelling and commentary on the text of the American socialist and activist of the syndicalist trade union *Industrial Workers of the World* E. Higgins, published in the New York anarchist journal *Mother Earth*⁴⁰. Having stated that he himself was not a social democrat or a Marxist socialist, Douwes Dekker emphasized the interest of the oppressed populations of the colonies in the destruction of imperialism and its foundations – capitalism and the state it controls. Socialism proclaims the task of destroying capitalism, but tries to do this through parliament and through reforms. However, Douwes Dekker argues, this is not feasible because "parliamentarism itself is controlled by capitalism". Parliament, reforms, political action - all these are the instruments of capitalism itself, and they cannot serve the cause of its destruction, the cause of socialism. On the contrary, they are initially designed to strengthen and fortify capitalism and the state. The state and capitalism are interconnected and are enemies of the workers. Therefore, reformist socialism is failing. Following Higgins, Douwes Dekker welcomed the emergence of syndicalism - a workers' movement that broke with parliamentarism and with the struggle for political power and began to resort to the revolutionary tactics of direct action, to an economic struggle directly against the very core of capitalism - property, this basis of the might and power of the West, against the capitalist form of production, against industrialism. Even without agreeing with Proudhon's famous phrase "Property is theft", any good fighter will understand where the greatest damage can be done to the enemy⁴¹. People increasingly understand the inadequacy of parliamentary means for the struggle against capitalism, they reject parliamentarism, move from the "politics of words" to the "politics of action" and begin to use correct, syndicalist methods.

Only the direct path allows one to strike at the heart of capitalism. "Every opportunity for a strike must be exploited. The strike must be made as general as possible. And yet – this is only the

propaganda and brought to trial, with the choice of deportation or exile to Kupang, in western Timor. The accused was exiled; see Jottings from Java // *The Straits Times*. Singapore, 2.09.1915. No.24892. P.11. In reality, Abdul Selam was a Muslim activist but was a liaison for the Bengali revolutionaries; see: *Harper T*. Singapore... P.1804–1806.

39 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H.45–46.

40 See: *Higgins E.J*. Direct Action versus Impossibilism // *Mother Earth*. 1912. Vol. 7. No.2. April. P.39–45.

41 *Douwes Dekker E.E.F*. Parleментарisme en Directe Actie // *Di Bawah Bendera Hitam*. Kumpulan Tulisan Anarkisme Hindia Belanda. Yogyakarta, 2019. H.22.

beginning. Sabotage is a magnificent means, the trouble is that it can only be used individually. Syndicalism can become the best form of sabotage"⁴².

Partisans of direct action attack the foundation of capitalism – property – while political socialists fight the mirror – the reflection of capitalism in the state. But the state will never surrender itself, says Douwes Dekker. Following Higgins, he repeats Nietzsche's famous words about the state as a cold, all-consuming and bloodthirsty monster – the words, so beloved by anarchists: " (...) and whatever it saith it lieth; and whatever it hath it hath stolen. False is everything in it; with stolen teeth it biteth, the biting one. False are even its bowels"⁴³. Douwes Dekker welcomes the evolution of socialists towards syndicalism and expresses the opinion that on this basis thoughtful anarchism must reconsider its hostile attitude towards socialism⁴⁴.

Douwes Dekker emphasized in his writings that, given the curtailment of workers' rights in Europe itself, he did not believe that parliamentary democracy was suitable for the kind of society he sought to create. He hinted at the possibility of using revolutionary violence, although he added that the revolutionary path proposed did not necessarily involve truly violent methods. In February 1913, Douwes Dekker wrote openly that resistance against colonialism was a moral duty, because no matter how "soft" the regime of the colonialists, this system was always based on inequality, injustice and the privileges of the rulers, and was therefore inevitably a form of despotism and tyranny. He mentioned demonstrations, agitation, revolution, passive resistance, strikes (especially in the communications and transport sectors), boycott and rebellion as methods of struggle. In an article published in issue 13 of the magazine in 1912, Douwes Dekker called Jesus Christ a "glorious anarchist" and a fighter for freedom. He welcomed the revolutionary movements of his time in various countries of the world⁴⁵.

42 Ibid. H.21.

43 Cit.: *Nietzsche F.* Thus Spake Zarathustra. A Book for All and None. Revised. Ingersoll, 2019. P. 35.

44 *Douwes Dekker E.E.F.* Parlementarisme en Directe Actie. H.23.

45 *Van Dijk K.* Op. cit. P.47–50. Members of the *ISDV* described Dawes Dekker as a "nationalist anarchist"; see *Socialisme en Indonesië*. Vol.1. De Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereening, 1897–1917. Bronnenpublicatie. Dordrecht, Cinnamisson, 1985. P.187. The Dutch Social Democratic leader Henri van Kol called him an "anarchist of action" but not a social democrat; see *Schilt J.W.* 100 jaar Indonesische onafhelijkheidsstrijd: Ernest Douwes Dekker en de Indische Partij // *NPO Geschiedenis*. URL: <http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/2014/februari/Ernest-Douwes-Dekker-Indische-Partij.html> (10.12.2015).



E. F. E. Douwes Dekker

In 1912, Douwes Dekker founded the *Indische Partij*. It was seen as a radical party with a socialist ideology⁴⁶. The party advocated the abolition of racial discrimination and the independence of the archipelago; it was banned by the colonial authorities in 1913, and Douwes Dekker and two other of its leaders were exiled to the metropolis, where he maintained contacts with European socialists. In the Netherlands, Douwes Dekker enjoyed the support of the *SDAP*, but already in 1914 the social democrats moved away from this position, due to disagreements on the colonial question. The activists of the *Indische Partij* who remained in the colony transformed it into the *Insulinde* organization, which also declared itself to be socialist and decided to begin translating socialist literature into Malay⁴⁷.

Douwes Dekker returned to the Netherlands Indies in 1918 and in the following months toured the colony almost continuously, giving fiery speeches that sounded quite radical. He was compared to Domela Nieuwenhuis. At the same time, he sometimes contradicted himself. Thus, speaking in Surabaya in the autumn of 1918, Douwes Dekker declared himself an anarchist and a supporter of revolution. However, in a speech given in Bodjonegoro, he rejected anarchism and violent resistance⁴⁸. Back in August of the same year, at a rally in Semarang, he called the socialists

46 Yamamoto N. The Dynamics of Contentious Politics in The Indies: Inlandsche Journalisten Bond and Persatoean Djoernalis Indonesia // Keio Communication Review. 2014. No.36. P.8.

47 Van Dijk K. Op. cit. P.455–456.

48 Overzicht van de Inlandsche pers (hereinafter: IPO). 1918. No. 44. Extremistische bladen. P. 5. The weekly review of the “Native Press”, “IPO” was published from 1917 by the colonial publishing house “Balai Pustaka” and contained a summary in Dutch translation of articles published in the Indonesian press. Initially sent to the Ministry of Colonial Affairs and intended for Dutch officials, from 1921 it became public. Later it was renamed in Overzicht van de inlandsche en maleisch-chineesche pers.

who had moved from *Insulinde* to *ISDV* unconscious anarchists, since, according to him, they behaved like anarchists, speaking out against everyone who ruled⁴⁹.

In 1919, Douwes Dekker founded the *Nationaal Indische Partij*, but after it organized a peasant strike in Surakarta, he was arrested again in 1921. In 1923, the party disbanded. After being released in 1922, Douwes Dekker taught at a school in Bandung, but was subjected to further repression (for example, in 1936 he was sentenced to 3 months in prison; in 1941-1946 he was exiled to Suriname and returned to Indonesia only in 1947).

One of the first anti-colonialists to establish contacts with anarchists in the Netherlands was the journalist Mas Marco (Marco Kartodikromo, 1890–1932). A native of Java, he worked for the railway company in Semarang from the age of 15, but left in 1911 because of racial discrimination and moved to Bandung, where he began working as a journalist. After settling in Surakarta, he joined the *Sarekat Islam* movement and in 1914 took over the publication of the newspaper *Doenia Bergerak*, the organ of the “Native Journalists’ Union” he founded, which also included members of *Insulinde*. For publishing anti-Dutch articles, Mas Marko was arrested in 1915 and spent 100 days in prison, after which he became the head of the newspaper *Saro Tomo*, close to *Sarekat Islam*. In late 1916 and early 1917, he was in the Netherlands as a correspondent for the Batavian newspaper *Pantjaran Warta*. While working in the metropolis, Mas Marco maintained close ties with the newspaper *De Wapens Neder*, published by the *Internationale Anti-Militaristische Vereeniging* (IAMV)⁵⁰. This international anti-militarist association was founded as early as 1904; its organizer and informal “leader” was Domela Nieuwenhuis, and many anarchists were members of it⁵¹. The organization actively supported the campaign against the introduction of military conscription in the Netherlands Indies, which was launched during the First World War by the left-wing circles of the colony, *Insulinde* and the left wing of *Sarekat Islam*. Returning from Holland to Batavia, Mas Marco took up the post of editor of the newspaper *Pantjaran Warta*, and in February 1917 he published a series of sharp articles against plans to strengthen the defense of the Netherlands Indies and to call up the “natives” for the militia, under the general title “For Solidarity and Equality”. While declaring that the main task of such a militia would be to carry out repressions in the interests of the colonial authorities and capitalists, he called for conscious evasion of conscription. Mas Marco published a cartoon in the newspaper, drawn by the artist of *De Wapens Neder*: it depicted a fat Dutch colonizer, knocking a skinny Javanese to the ground and demanding that he defend the islands. Next to it was a second picture: a Javanese stabbing the received bayonet into the colonizer's backside. This was a hint that armed Indonesians would turn their bayonets against

49 Bima Satria Putra. Op. cit. H.98.

50 Tollenaere H.A.O. de. Op. cit. P.174.

51 For information on the activities of the IAMV in the first decades of the 20th century, see: Jong A. de. Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Krieg dem Kriege // Die Internationale. Berlin, 1930. August. Nr.10. S.225–231.

European colonizers. The prosecutor demanded that the newspaper be closed down, but Mas Marco took all the blame on himself and was sentenced to two years in prison⁵². After his release in February 1918, he became a functionary of *Sarekat Islam*, while continuing his journalistic work. Mas Marco declared, for example, in the pages of the newspaper *Sinar Djawa* on May 11, 1918, that Islam and socialism had the same goal: the salvation of humanity⁵³. In an article he published in the same newspaper on August 14, 1918, he quoted Domela Nieuwenhuis⁵⁴. Although in the following years his political orientation increasingly shifted towards the left socialists and communists, he also concluded his speech in his defense at his trial in December 1921 with a quote from Domela Nieuwenhuis⁵⁵.



Mas Marco

A powerful growth of socialist sentiment occurred in Indonesia during the First World War, under the influence of the anti-war movement and especially the general revolutionary upsurge in the world after the start of the revolution in Russia. ISDV members were also active in the colonial army and navy, the *Bond voor Minder Marine Personeel* (BVMMP; Union of Lower Ranks of the Navy), and during the First World War, in the Union of Soldiers and Sailors, which in November 1918 organized the uprising of soldiers and sailors in Surabaya and the formation of the Council of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies. Despite the hegemony of social democracy in this movement, there are also references to the influence of anarchists, although it is not entirely clear from the sources whether this referred to conscious supporters of anarchist ideas, or whether this definition simply served to designate radical and "subversive" sentiments. As the Dutch researcher K. Stutje noted in

52 *Tollenaere H.A.O. de. Op. cit.*. P.174–176; *Van Dijk K. Op. cit.* P.469.

53 *Soe Hok Gie. Di Bawah Lentera Merah: riwayat Sarekat Islam Semarang, 1917–1920.* Yogyakarta, 1999. H.80.

54 *Bima Satria Putra. Op. cit.* H.160.

55 *Maier H.M.J. Phew! Europeesche beschaving! : Marco Kartodikromo`s Student Hidjo // Southeast Asian Studies.* 1996. Vol.34. No.1. June. P.207. In the 1920s, Mas Marco joined the Indonesian communists, then criticized them from the position of *Sarekat Islam*, was expelled, but later returned to the party ranks, although he never became a Marxist. In 1926, he was arrested and exiled to New Guinea, where he died in a camp.

this regard, during that period it was constantly used "in a negative sense, rather as a denunciation of a political strategy that was considered ineffective, disorganized and untimely"⁵⁶. The authorities, the press and right-wing social democrats often referred to the left-wing ISDV activists as "anarchists".

Reporting on a demonstration by naval sailors in Surabaya on May 7, 1916, which was caused by dissatisfaction with poor treatment, food and medical care, lack of hygiene and resentment of war profits, the local newspaper *Soerabajasch Nieuwsblad* mentioned that a certain "very young sailor with apparently anarchist ideas" tried to persuade his comrades not to hesitate to break the law. The demonstration was held without the approval of the leadership of the sailors' union and was accompanied by clashes with the police; five people were wounded in the shootout. The Social Democrats had a hard time getting the protest to stop; in the subsequent repressions, one of the organizers was sentenced to eight months in prison and 47 sailors were dismissed⁵⁷. The leadership of the *BVMMP* union criticized its Surabaya branch for not dissociating itself vigorously enough from the uprising, and the leader of the Dutch SDAP, P. J. Troelstra, complained that the union leadership had lost control, as a result of which "anarchist elements among the personnel were given a free hand"⁵⁸. The party declared the need to fight against "anarchist elements" in the Soldiers' Union⁵⁹, and the commander of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army, C. H. van Rietschoten, called for counteraction against the military joining unions and associations that conduct "propaganda in a purely anarchist direction"⁶⁰.

The presence of anarchists in the colony during this period can also be found in the press of the time. For example, on September 4, 1918, an article appeared in the newspaper *Sinar Hindia* criticizing the Theosophical Society, a movement very popular in the reformist circles of the colony; the article was signed "Anarchist"⁶¹.

A certain influence of "nihilistic" tendencies was felt in the *Sarekat Islam* in the late 1910s.⁶² H.J. Kiewiet de Jonge, a Dutch administrator and publisher of the newspaper *Indische Stemmen*, noted in September 1919 the pluralism of this movement, which includes "anarchists, socialists, nationalists (bourgeois), clerics, etc."⁶³ A member of *Sarekat Islam* and one of the future leaders of

56 *Stutje K.* "Volk van Java...". P.440.

57 *Blom R.L., Stelling Th.* Niet voor God en niet voor Vaderland. Linkse soldaten, matrozen en hun organisaties tijdens de mobilisatie van '14 - '18. Amsterdam, 2004. P.741-743.

58 *Ibid.* P.745-746.

59 *Ibid.* P.780, 782.

60 *Ibid.* P.809.

61 *Tollenaere H.A.O. de.* Op. cit. P.217.

62 *Soe Hok Gie.* Op. cit. H.34.

63 *Tollenaere H.A.O. de.* Op. cit. P.298-299. It is also worth noting that the editorial board of the organ of the "left" wing of *Sarekat Islam*, the newspaper *Sinar Hindia* on February 3, 1921 (No. 24) responded to the death of Kropotkin with words of condolence: "Let us, brothers, striving for freedom today, highly and with honor preserve the memory of Prince Kropotkin, a supporter of "kaum burukh"" (the working class). Quoted from: *Wijen Prins Kropotkin // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche pers.* 1921. No.6. P.13.

the Communist Party of Indonesia, founded in 1920, Raden Darsono (1893–1976) published sensational articles in the *Sinar Djawa* newspaper, close to *ISDV*, in April 1918. The author denounced the “devil’s money,” predicting its disappearance and the establishment of “just governance” (permintah sama rasa sama rata), reminiscent of the arrival of a just ruler in the beliefs of the ancients⁶⁴. In the issues of March 28 and April 2, 1918, *Sinar Djawa* published an article by Darsono, “Russian Nihilists,” which, despite the incorrect spelling of some Russian surnames, provided the main facts of the history of the confrontation between the Narodniks and the state in Russia in 1874–1878. The armed actions and assassination attempts of the participants of “*Land and Freedom*” were assessed as justified resistance of Russian youth against government terror, repression, and suppression of civil liberties⁶⁵. On March 27, 1919, a new article by Darsono appeared in the *Sinar Hindia* newspaper, which replaced *Sinar Djawa*, in which he spoke enthusiastically about the Russian “nihilists,” including Bakunin⁶⁶. At the same time, Darsono stated: “We are not anarchists or nihilists” and we strive to “avoid violence as much as possible”⁶⁷. Already on April 3 of the same year, he explained the terror of the “nihilists” by their lack of faith in God and justice. Although the growth of poverty and misery can lead people to brutality, “we, as social democrats, do not hate the government or anyone else,” relying on economic and historical progress, Darsono emphasized⁶⁸. As a social democrat, he wrote in the newspaper *Sinar Hindia* on May 20, 1919, he would not wish to resort to anarchist methods and would not join the anarchist current unless he was forced to do so by persecution⁶⁹.

Although the left-wing current in *Sarekat Islam* declared its sympathies for Marxism and later joined the Communist Party, the actual views of its representatives in 1917–1920 were rather a mixture of elements of various socialist theories. Researcher Soe Hok Gie (Shi Fuyi) noted that *Sinar Djawa* and *Sinar Hindia* almost never published Marxist theoretical articles, and socialism and communism were understood as egalitarianism. In an article by Karjadipa in *Sinar Djawa* on December 21, 1917, Proudhon was mentioned among the thinkers, without any criticism⁷⁰. It is characteristic that, in response to the assertion of the *Sarekt Islam* activist Fakhruddin that communism was invented by Bakunin, Darsono stated on February 14, 1921 in the pages of *Sinar Hindia* (article “Communism and Islamism”): “It is not Bakunin who is the author of this science; this science is already several thousands years old”. Already Plato and Jesus Christ were representatives of communism, Marx and Engels became its “gurus” in a modern form, and

64 Van Dijk K. Op. cit. P.482–483.

65 См.: *Onosrad [Darsono]*. Nihilis Rusia // Di Bawah Bendera Hitam. H.25–34.

66 Soe Hok Gie. Op. cit. H.88.

67 IPO. 1919. No.3. Maleische Java bladen. P.19.

68 Bima Satria Putra. Op. cit. H.82.

69 Rechterlijke anarchisten // OIP. 1919. No.21. Maleische Java bladen. P.9.

70 Soe Hok Gie. Op. cit. H.88.

Bakunin was more of an anarchist than a communist⁷¹. And on January 22, 1924, an editorial in *Sinar Hindia* expressed admiration for the program of the 19th century French revolutionary Auguste Blanqui⁷²...

As the leader of the Indonesian Socialist Party, Sutan Sjarir (1909–1968), later noted, “Both in Sarekat Islam and in the nationalist movement, a small group of socialist oriented leaders came forth who, in the beginning of their search for more knowledge about socialism, turned to the Dutch socialists who were in Indonesia, and to Dutch literature on socialism (...) Socialism was to these young leaders, the doctrine of justice for mankind; the doctrine against oppression and exploitation; and, above all, it was the doctrine which did not recognize race-discrimination: it stood for a world without racial conflicts, for a world of all and for all, a world of proletarians, once capitalism had been overthrown by the oppressed and exploited”. “They never read “Das Kapital”. But the writings of the emotional socialists, like Domela Nieuwenhuis, Henriette Roland Holst, and even Bakunine (and about him) were read avidely. They were, actually, attracted to a kind of libertarian and even of anarcho-socialism”⁷³. Socialist literature in Dutch was collected in the libraries of the *Nationaal Indische Partij* and the Communist Party; it was also read by leaders and members of *Sarekat Islam* who spoke the language⁷⁴. The popularity of Bakunin's ideas in colonial Indonesia was also mentioned in the 1950s by the Secretary of the International Department of the British Labour Party, Saul Rose⁷⁵.

One of the most colourful figures on the far left flank of *Sarekat Islam* in 1918–1919 was undoubtedly Arga (Argavijaya).

A native of West Java, Arga was briefly a member of the social democratic organization *Hindia Bergerak*, which was created for the Javanese on the initiative of *ISDV*, in 1917, and also wrote articles for *Pantjaran Warta*. Serving as a sailor in the Royal Netherlands Indies Navy, he became famous for his speech on 25 August 1918 at a three-thousand-strong rally in Makassar on the island of Celebes (Sulawesi)⁷⁶. This *Sarekat Islam* protest action was part of the campaign against the program of strengthen the defense of the Netherlands Indies. As a member of protest movement, Arga called for the plan to create a militia of Indonesians to be thrown out “with all our might and as soon as possible” “to the very ends of the earth”⁷⁷. On November 30, 1918, the naval

71 Crawford O. Translating and Translitterating Marxism in Indonesia // Modern Asian Studies. 2020. P.14

URL:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343082007_Translating_and_Translitterating_Marxism_in_Indonesia/fulltext/5f1a51ee45851515ef44c754/Translating-and-Translitterating-Marxism-in-Indonesia.pdf (9.08.2020).

72 McVey R.T. The Rise of Indonesian Communism. Jakarta; Singapore, 2006. P.431.

73 Sjahrir S. Indonesian Socialism. Rangoon, 1956. P.27.

74 Semaoen. The Indian Movement in Dutch India. Report to the Congress of the nations of the Far East. Moscow, January 1923 // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 731. Лист 40. Among the socialist authors mentioned in the report was the libertarian educator Francisco Ferrer.

75 Rose S. Socialism in South Asia. Bombay, 1959. P.144.

76 Tollenaere H.A.O. de. Op. cit. P.222.

77 IPO. 1918. No.46. Extremistische bladen. P.2.

command dismissed him for “unmilitary behavior.” The *Sarekat Islam* movement included him in the editorial board of its newspaper *Oetoesan Hindia*, which was published in Surabaya. Arga also headed the Indonesian sailors’ union, *Sinar Lautan*⁷⁸. This organization was founded in 1914 because the Union of Lower Ranks of the Navy accepted only Europeans. *Sinar Lautan* intended to join *Sarekat Islam*, but the naval command did not allow this⁷⁹. Arga began to actively collaborate with the newspaper *Oetoesan Hindia* and also took up the translation of Kropotkin into Malay⁸⁰.

In 1919, Arga emerged as one of the most radical activists and propagandists of the leftist movement. The former sailor turned journalist declared that *Sarekat Islam* had the full “right and duty to fight capitalism”⁸¹. The actions of the capitalists are “criminal,” Arga wrote, they “kill people,” “suck” all the juices out of the people and oppress them. He spoke out against the participation of the leader of *Sarekat Islam*, Tjokroaminoto, in the work of the consultative parliament created by the colonial authorities, the Volksraad. This body, Arga argued, represents the rich, sugar planters, sugar refiners and other capitalists, and most *Sarekat Islam* organizations are against it. The activist called on workers and peasants to cooperate with each other and follow the example of European workers – and then one day “those who are governed today will govern tomorrow”⁸². The last phrase was a clear play on the line from The Internationale: “We are nothing, now let’s be all!”

On April 3, 1919, a radical weekly, *Sri Soerapati*, named after the hero of the guerrilla war against the Dutch colonialists, Suropati (1660–1706), was launched in Malang, East Java. Sudirjo Atmodjo became the editor-in-chief of this local newspaper of *Sarekat Islam*, and Arga took over as editor in Surabaya. In a series of articles in the first three April issues devoted to the problem of power, Arga attacked the states with their authoritarian rule that always oppress and exploit the people. Calling for the example of striking workers in Brangkale to be followed, he predicted the arrival of “Bolshevism” in the Netherlands Indies. Apparently, like many other radical leftists in the world at the time, Arga did not distinguish much between Bolshevism and anarchism, as he wrote in the newspaper about the teachings of the Russian anarchists, of Proudhon and his followers⁸³.

Together with the left-wing *Sarekat Islam* activists close to *ISDV*, Arga was one of the organizers of the Indonesian trade union movement in Surabaya, the second largest city and largest port in the Netherlands Indies, in 1919. In February, he created and headed the local union of

78 IPO. 1918. No.52. Maleische Java bladen. P.15, 24.

79 Van Dijk K. Op. cit. P.571–572. However, *Sarekat Islam* chairman Tjokroaminoto became an adviser to the *Sinar Lautan* union.

80 Tollenaere H.A.O. de. Op. cit. P.222.

81 IPO. 1919. No.3. Maleische Java bladen. P.24–25.

82 IPO. 1919. No.15. Extremistische bladen. P.9.

83 IPO. 1919. No.15. Extremistische bladen. P.7–9; No.16. Extremistische bladen. P.5; No.17. Extremistische bladen. P.1.

typesetters⁸⁴. Arga was elected chairman of the workers' society *Sinar*, which united workers in this city⁸⁵. From March onwards he lectured at courses for workers, which were held twice a month to train wage workers in the practice of labour action and to study the problems of the working classes⁸⁶. With his help, unions of drivers and coachmen in Malang and of clerks in Surabaya were organized in the spring⁸⁷. Arga gave speeches at meetings and rallies of *Sarekat Islam*, campaigned on housing issues and on forced purchase of rice from peasants⁸⁸.

On 17–21 July 1919, Arga attended a meeting of the *Revolutionary Trade Union Center* (RTUC) committee in Bandung, a body that was to prepare the formation of a pan-Indonesian union of workers' unions. In addition to him, trade union leaders from *Sarekat Islam* and *ISDV* attended the conference: Surjopranoto, Alimin, Subakat, Suwandono, Prawira Sugando, Kadirisman and Sugono. The draft charter was sent by Semaun (1899–1971), a left-wing leader of *Sarekat Islam* from Semarang, a member of *ISDV* and the future first chairman of the Communist Party (in 1921–1922). During the discussion of the founding documents, Arga insisted that one of the principles of the trade union center should be the overthrow of the existing government, but his proposal was rejected during the vote. Nevertheless, the participants accepted the formulation that the trade union association opposes the capitalist regime and strives for the “transformation of society”. The chairman of the *RTUC* was elected Sosrokardono, member of *ISDV* and *Sarekat Islam*; one of the secretaries was Arga, who also proposed to put forward a direct demand for the establishment of a minimum guaranteed salary⁸⁹.

The trade union association, the creation of which was proclaimed in Bandung, corresponded to a unique semi-syndicalist concept of Indonesian “counter-power” – a “true Volksraad” consisting of two “chambers”: the “higher” one, of RTUC, and the “lower” one made up of delegates from Indonesian political organizations. If this plan is realized, Sosrokardono explained, “we will be able to achieve by ourselves a government for the people of Indonesia ourselves, and will be able to change the capitalist society into a socialist one”⁹⁰. However, this plan was never implemented.

84 IPO. 1919. No.6. Maleische Java bladen. P.27; No.13. Maleische Java bladen. P.22; No.26. Maleische Java bladen. P.25.

85 IPO. 1919. No.16. Maleische Java bladen. P.18–19.

86 IPO. 1919. No.14. Maleische Java bladen. P.28.

87 IPO. 1919. No.16. Maleische Java bladen. P.19; No.17. Maleische Java bladen. P.20, 24.

88 IPO. 1919. No.19. Maleische Java bladen. P.27–28; No.20. Maleische Java bladen. P.9, 28; No.29. Maleische Java bladen. P.6; No.31. Maleische Java bladen. P.10–11.

89 IPO. 1919. No.30. Maleische Java bladen. P.7–8.

90 *McVey R.T.* Op. cit. P.43–44. At the founding congress of the trade union association on December 25, 1919, at the suggestion of Alimin (a member of *ISDV*), the revolutionary-socialist provisions were removed, and the trade union center was renamed the Working Class Association (*Persatuan pergerakan kaum burukh*). After the expulsion of the communists from *Sarekat Islam* in 1921, a split occurred in the trade union movement, and for a time two separate trade unions were formed: one was under the control of the Communist Party, the other of *Sarekat Islam*; see: *McTurnan Kahin G.* Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia. Ithaca, 2003. P.75–76; *Заказникова Е.П.* Рабочий класс и национально-освободительное движение в Индонезии. Москва, 1971. С.82–83.

In the summer of 1919, Arga left Surabaya and returned to his native province of West Java. He headed the *Sarekat Islam* subcommittee in Rangasbitung in the Bantam (Banten) region⁹¹ and carried out agitation among the local population⁹². On September 5, under his editorship, the press organ of the Bantam *Sarekat Islam*, *Mimbar*, began to be published. The newspaper was published twice a month⁹³. But already at the end of October, Arga announced that he was leaving the editorial board and was no longer associated with the Bantam organization of *Sarekat Islam*⁹⁴. The reason for the break was disagreements with another of its leaders, Hasan Djajadiningrat from the moderate wing. Arga announced that he was leaving politics, although in 1921 he returned to the ranks of *Sarekat Islam*⁹⁵.

According to Kiewiet de Jonge, two wings emerged in *Sarekat Islam* in 1919: “the socialist and the bourgeois, or as the proletarian and the small capitalist one”. He warned that “a class struggle amongst themselves would be very fatal” for the organization⁹⁶. Indeed, in 1921 a rupture occurred – communist supporters were expelled from *Sarekat Islam*, and the organization split. From then on, the Communist Party of Indonesia acted independently. The wing of *Sarekat Islam* that broke away with it formed the *Sarekat Rajat* organization.

However, anarchist ideas were known and apparently discussed in Indonesian nationalist circles. Tjokroaminoto, in his book “Islam and Socialism” (1924), reviewed the various socialist currents, mentioning in particular anarchism and syndicalism, and pointing out that anarchists strive for the means of production to belong to professional associations of workers.

According to Indonesian Muslim activist Buya Hamka (Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, 1908–1981), in the 1920s, at the political school that operated at the boarding school in the Chokroaminoto house in Surabaya, students were taught, among other things, the ideas of

91 IPO. 1919. No.23. Maleische Java bladen. P.20.

92 IPO. 1919. No.34. Maleische Java bladen. P.12–14; No.35. Maleische Java bladen. P.10.

93 IPO. 1919. No.36. Extremistische bladen. P.6–7.

94 IPO. 1919. No.43. Extremistische bladen. P.2.

95 IPO. 1919. No.48. Maleische Java bladen. P.8–9. In October 1919, Arga organized a Bantam community in Batavia, then worked in a "people's lecture hall". In February 1920, he was detained and interrogated by the police on charges of embezzlement. In May, he suddenly announced that, at the request of his family, he was giving up public activity and intended to go abroad to study theology. From the summer of 1920, Arga worked in the police as a criminal investigator. But after the death of his rival Hasan Djajadiningrat in late 1920, he returned to the ranks of *Sarekat Islam* in early 1921, but in July of the same year he left for Europe. However, Arga only got as far as Singapore, where he intended to first study English, but after a car accident he returned to the Netherlands Indies. In the autumn of 1922, he was elected chairman of the *Sarekat Islam* organisation in Serang and actively contributed to its strengthening and expansion of propaganda work. Subsequently, he worked as a journalist and newspaper editor. See: IPO. 1920. No.10. Maleische Java bladen. P.4–5; 1920. No.22. Maleische Java bladen. P.6, 16–17; 1920. No.26. Maleische Java bladen. P.7–8; Overzicht van de inlandsche en maleisch-chineesche pers. 1921. No.5. P.1; No.6. P.4; No.10. P.7; No.14. P.42–43; No.21. P.376; No.23. P.467; No.25. P.522, 535; No.27. P.15; No.29. P.114; No.31. P.237; No.32. P.282; No.35. P.412–413; No.41. P.92; No.50. P.489, 496; и др. Ср.: Williams M.C. Communism, Religion and Revolt in Banten. Athens (Ohio), 1990. P.124–125, 129–130, 135–136.

96 Tollenare H.A.O. de. Op. cit. P.298–299.

communism, socialism, and nihilism. “It was then that I first heard the names of Karl Marx, Engels, Proudhon, Bakunin, etc.,” he remembered⁹⁷.

The future Indonesian president Soekarno, who also passed through the boarding school at Tjokroaminoto's house, became acquainted with Bakunin's works in the 1920s in Bandung, thanks to the librarian and social democrat Marcel Koch⁹⁸. In 1932, Soekarno considered it necessary to devote two articles to the polemic with anarchism, both under the same title, “Anarchism,” which he published in the magazine *Fikiran Ra`jat* of *Partai Indonesia*. Soekarno presented the main provisions of the anarchist doctrine in a relatively objective manner, although in the first of them he called anarchism an individualistic theory, which, in his opinion, values the individual more than society, in contrast to Marxism, which is based on communalism or collectivism and gives priority to society over the individual⁹⁹. Noting that anarchism fights against private property, capitalism, law, state, government, militarism, patriotism, formal marriage and advocates individual freedom, voluntary association, stateless socialism, free love and the unity of mankind, Soekarno considered the anarchists' rejection of the state and laws unacceptable for his movement¹⁰⁰. He argued that the position of anarchism is negative in reality (“pendiriannya memang sudah negatif”). Soekarno did not believe that people could voluntarily unite and interact without any laws, rules and prohibitions. Besides, he insisted, the poor had no time for high ideals: they were concerned with their own survival¹⁰¹.

Soekarno particularly emphasized that the Indonesian nationalists' boycott of the colony's representative institutions and the tactics of "non-cooperation" with the authorities they resorted to

97 “Waktu itulah mulai mendengar nama Karl Marx, Engels, Proudhon, Bakunin, dan lain-lain”, see: *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H.64–65.

98 See: *Giebels L.* Soekarno, Nederlandsch Onderdaan: Biografie, 1901–1950. Amsterdam, 1999. P.61–65, 79–81.

99 See: [Soekarno]. Anarchisme // *Fikiran Ra`jat*. Madjallah-politik popoelèr. 8.07.1932. No.2. H.11–13.

100 “Berbedah dengan kaoem sosialis jang menghendaki persamaän hak atas prodoeksimiddelen dengan djalan pemerentab ke Ra`jatan, dus mereboet kekoesaän doeloe dalam pemerentahan, kaoem anarchisme maoe djoega persamaän hak atas prodoeksimiddelen, tapi dengan djalan berdamai bersama-sama diantara Ra`jat, dan boeat ini katanja perloe sekali Ra`jat itoe haroes Merdeka semerdekanja, artinja tidak ada barang satoe jang boleh mengikatnja. Kaoem sosialis maoe mendjalankan maksoednja dengan djalan pemerentahan keRa`jatan dan dengan atoeran-atoeran dalam wet-wet, tetapi kaoem anarchisme dengan djalan menghilangkan segala wet-wet dan menjampingi kebelakang semoea pemerentahan dengan membiarkan Ra`jat sendiri memilih maoe berkoempoel atau tidak, zonder ada jang memerintah atau jang mengoemasainja. (...) Mereka mengkehendaki soepaja tiap-tiap manoesia itoe mengatoer oeroesan dirinja sendiri-sendiri dan mengasihkan kesempatan pada orang lain boeat mengoeroeskan keadaännja sendiri (...)” [“Unlike the socialists who want equal rights to means of production by way of government for the people, and so seize power first in the government, the anarchists also want equal rights to means of production, but by way of mutual agreement among the people, and for this they say it is absolutely necessary that the people must be as independent as possible, meaning that no one can bind them (...) The socialists want to carry out their purpose by means of government of the people and by means of rules in the state, but the anarchists do away with all rules and push all governments aside, leaving the people to decide whether or not to unite, without anyone ruling or controlling them. (...) They want each individual to rule his own affairs and give others the opportunity to control their own conditions (...)”. See: *Marhaen Indonesia [Soekarno]*. Anarchisme // *Fikiran Ra`jat*. 18.11.1932. No.21. H.9.

101 *Marhaen Indonesia [Soekarno]*. Anarchisme... H.8–11. See also: *Mahesa Danu*. Bung Karno Dan Anarkisme. URL: <http://www.berdikarionline.com/bung-karno-dan-anarkisme/> (18.12.2018).

had nothing in common with anarchism¹⁰². But even later, when speaking about socialism, the "father of Indonesian independence" repeatedly referred to Bakunin, "although he was an anarchist." Soekarno brought Bakunin's ideas about collectivism closer to the principle of "gotong-royong"¹⁰³.

Sympathy for Bakunin's revolutionary rebelliousness was also felt on the radical flank of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). According to K. Stutje, "with the advent of the PKI as the most important left current in the Netherlands Indies, the ghost of anarchism did not disappear. Not only was the government in the 1920s in the grip of the "red ghost", but also within the PKI and among the Indonesian communists living in exile at that time, there arose during this period a tendency towards uncontrol of its own members and even a fear of it"¹⁰⁴. The party leadership tried to identify Bakuninism with terrorism and, accordingly, to distance itself from anarchism.

Following the bombings in Surakarta and Semarang in 1923, a special public meeting was held at the *Sarekat Islam* premises in Semarang in October 1923 to discuss the differences between Marxist communism and anarchism. The chairman, Abdul Rahman, said that the colonial authorities themselves were creating anarchism by blocking the opportunities for the communist and popular movement to develop. Since the government was blocking all avenues for it, "many anarchists (non-communists)" were falling into "mata gelap" (amok)¹⁰⁵. Party leader Darsono gave a lecture at the meeting on Marx's communism and Bakunin's anarchism. He also accused the anarchists of believing that the fate of the masses could be changed by killing a dozen government officials, and declared that government repression was paving the way for such sentiments¹⁰⁶. Claiming that anarchism teaches that a group of 100 or 200 people can seize power if they have the courage to blow up kings and ministers with bombs, the speaker explained: "With regard to the person who threw the bombs, it can be said that it is someone who is truly daring and who does not shrink from arbitrary actions. I pay homage to people who have demonstrated the courage to want to deliver mankind by these methods. But the bombing can not be approved by the Communists (...)"¹⁰⁷. Darsono warned the communists against any terrorist acts, declaring that the PKI should follow Marx's communism and not Bakunin's anarchism¹⁰⁸. In June 1924, party representatives in

102 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H.166–167.

103 "Socialism means that there are many cars, there are radios, there are aeroplanes, there is asphalt, there is tap water, there is electricity, there are cinemas, there are books, there are libraries, there is scientific medicine, there is aspirin, there are elementary schools, there are high schools and universities, there are tractors, there is irrigation and so on – all of them in quantities to fill the minimum needs, and all of them (I borrow the words of Bakunin, although he was an anarchist) "in the atmosphere of collectivity". Technical equipment and especially a mature spirit of *gotong-royong* – these are the mainstays of the socialist way of life", Soekarno wrote. See: *Soekarno*. To My People. Jakarta, 1989. P.13.

104 *Stutje K*. "Volk van Java..." P.444–445.

105 See the summary of the report on the open meeting published in the *Sinar Hindia* newspaper on October 29, 1923: *De P.K.I. // Overzicht de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 1923. No.45. P.264.*

106 *Ibid*. P.266.

107 *Shiraishi T*. *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926*. Ithaca, 1990. P.277.

108 *McVey R.T*. Op. cit. P.187.

Moscow, in a review submitted to the Comintern, declared: "It is necessary that the international solidarity of the proletariat prevent capital from breaking the mass movement in Indonesia and turning it into an anarchist movement"¹⁰⁹.

Thus, even in the statements of party leaders, the emphasis was placed on the differences between anarchism and Marxism not in the questions of the forms of organization of the future free society, but on the difference in tactics and methods of struggle. In an article published on March 31, 1921 in the communist newspaper "Soeara Rajat", Mahatma Moerti claimed that some anarchists have very similar or the same goals as communists, although there are also anarchists who oppose "communization". The real difference between them is that anarchists are oriented towards the path of carrying out uprisings, while communists are oriented towards organized actions¹¹⁰.

As for the system of Soviets, which the PKI advocated for, party leaders repeatedly brought it closer to the institutions of the peasant community. The Chairman of the Party, Semaun, in a report to the Congress of the Peoples of the Far East in January 1922, repeated the thesis about traditional communal land ownership in Indonesia and stated: "'Local civil power belonged to the elder, elected at the meeting and assisted by a committee consisting of elderly peasants. The "open village meeting" was a kind of Soviet, in the primitive sense of the word, and was the highest administrative and legislative authority in the village (...)". These "Soviets" were at the same time administrative units of the country¹¹¹.

There was even less clear awareness of the differences between the ideas of the various socialist currents among many ordinary activists of the PKI. The party members obviously had little understanding of the subtleties of Marxist-Leninist theories. Indonesian Communist representative Semaun, responding to a questionnaire from the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow in September 1926, reported: "'The situation with pamphlets cannot be called good. We have only 25 small pamphlets in Malay (...), and only the Communist Manifesto and the pamphlet of the Peasants' International have been translated. Due to the lack of translators and funds, none of the works of Comrades Lenin, Stalin, Zinoviev, Bukharin have been translated, and only a few of their articles have been published in our organs (...) Of course, there are books (Marx's Capital, etc.) and pamphlets (Gorter, Rolland-Holst, etc.) in Dutch, but given that only a few comrades speak Dutch, the number of readers of these works is small"¹¹².

109 Краткий обзор положения в Индонезии с ноября 1922 по май 1924 г. Москва, 8 июня 1924 г. // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 701. Лист 8.

110 См.: Socialisme en anarchisme // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 1921. No.13. P.26.

111 See: *Семаун*. Индусское движение в Нидерландской Индии. Доклад Семауна Конгрессу Народов Дальнего Востока. Москва, январь 1922 г. // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 731. Лист 43.

112 Анкета товарища Семауна в Коммунистическом университете трудящихся Востока. Ответ на вопрос №4 // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 740. Лист 136.

Meanwhile, the growing repressions, the breaking of strikes and arrests pushed the communists to more radical actions, which were perceived at the time as "anarchist". A discussion about changing tactics began.

In November 1925, an article signed by "D.S." appeared in the Batavian communist newspaper *Njala* about the history of the people's and communist movement in Indonesia, in which the author warned that "some comrades" had begun to focus more on trade union activities, pushing political issues into the background¹¹³. In response, the Surabaya newspaper *Kemadjoean Hindia*, discussing the possibility of a syndicalist anti-parliamentarian workers' movement emerging in Indonesia, noted that desperation might prompt political and economic workers' associations to change tactics. But, it argued, this would not lead to syndicalism, but to a movement that could be called anarchist¹¹⁴. The compiler of the minutes of the meetings of the congress of the railway and transport workers' union on December 25-26, 1925 in Surakarta attached to it a list of 32 union and PKI activists who displayed dangerous "anarchist" tendencies¹¹⁵.

In 1925–1926, the PKI took a course towards organizing uprisings and a general strike, although Tan Malaka continued to object to "putschism" and independent actions by members inclined to "anarchist" actions¹¹⁶. The secret "Double" or "Dictatorial organization" was created in December of 1925 in order to prepare for a revolutionary uprising¹¹⁷. However, the creation of insurgent groups was essentially a local initiative. The Comintern warned the PKI against rebellion, but by the autumn of 1926 the party leadership had already lost control over the activists, among whom spontaneous anarchic rebellious sentiments were growing. Semaun complained to the Comintern Executive Committee in November 1926 that he feared complete disorientation and a split in the party: "The next increased terror will make the position of our Party more difficult in this situation, of 'we do not know what to do now'. The result will be split of our Party into anarchistic groups and reformistic socialism, fighting each other, and last but not least, everybody will give the fault that there was not much international help from Comintern"¹¹⁸.

Although the PKI continued to consider itself a Marxist party committed to Bolshevism, the only representative of the foreign revolutionary movement whose statements were systematically

113 См.: Naar syndicalisme? // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 1925. No.49. P.491–493.

114 См.: Syndicalisme // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 1925. No.50. P.547–548.

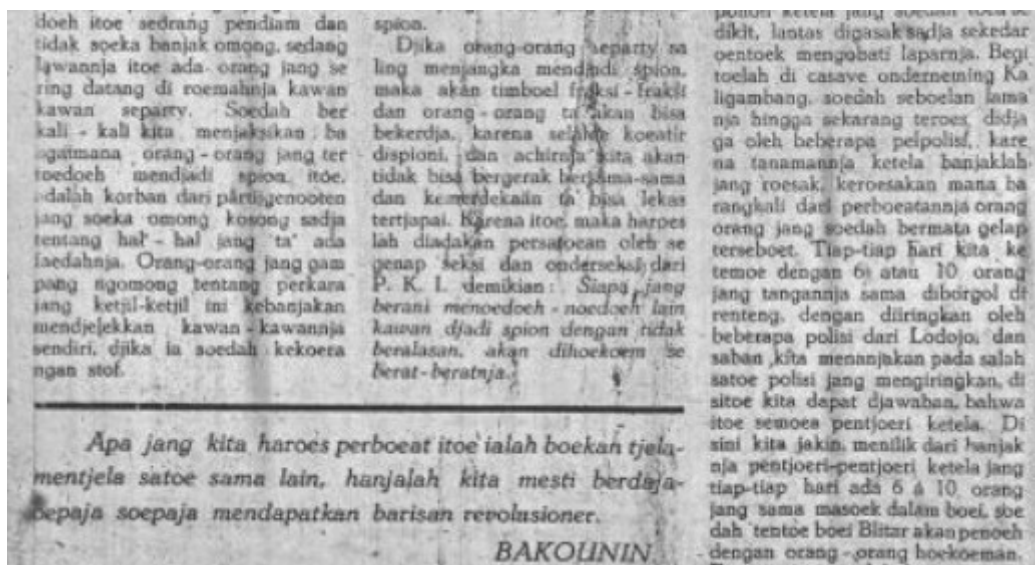
115 *McVey R.T.* Op. cit. P.470.

116 *Ibid.* P.320. In January 1926, Tan Malaka, while in Tokyo, wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Spirit of Youth," in which he sharply attacked the Social Democrats, anarchists, and syndicalists; see: *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H.136–140.

117 *McVey R.T.* Op. cit. P.313. The US-American historian Harry Benda stated that behind the decision to go on the uprising, which was approved at the KPI conference in Prambanan on December 25, 1925, stood "Bakunin's rather than Lenin's ghost"; see: *Benda H.J.* Review of "The Rise of Indonesian Communism" by R.T. McVey // *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 1967. Vol.26. No.2. February. P.343.

118 Semaun – to the ECCI, Moscow (Middle-East Secretariat). 16.11.1926 // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 743. Лист 34.

quoted on the front pages of the party newspaper *Api* January 1926 onwards was Bakunin¹¹⁹. From January 2, 1926, the newspaper published his quotations on the nature of revolutionary action, placing them on the front page and in italics; such attention was not given to the statements of any other political thinker. The editor-in-chief of *Api* during this period was Herujuwono, one of the main supporters of armed action¹²⁰. Also known as Herujono, Heromuljono and Heropropranoto, he was an activist of the PKI in Semarang, headed the party section in Pekalongan and worked as a propagandist in Tegal. In September 1926, he was elected vice-chairman of the rebel "Committee of Supporters of the Indonesian Republic" (Komite Penggalang Republik Indonesia) in Batavia - an illegal body engaged in coordinating preparations for the uprising - as a representative of the trade unions, was appointed chief propagandist, and in November was appointed responsible for the uprising in West Java¹²¹. In early November, Herujuwono met with railway union leaders who promised to call a general strike.



Quote from Bakunin in the newspaper *Api* (1926)

119 *Заказникова Е.П.* Рабочий класс и национально-освободительное движение в Индонезии. Москва, 1971. С.185. Iwa Koesoemasoemantri ("S. Dingley") who studied the events in Indonesia in the Peasants' International, noted in 1927: "Moreover, both in the Communist Party and in Sarikat Raiat, very strong anarchist deviations are observable. Many comrades read the works of Bakunin instead of those of Marx; and even the organ of the Communist Party and of Sarikat Raiat at Semeran, 'Api' (fire), frequently quotes from Bakunin, as for instance, its issue of January 8th, 1926"; see: *Dingley S.* The Peasants' Movement in Indonesia. Berlin, 1927. P.57. He also noted that there was a Muslim revolutionary current in the party and Sarekat Rajat, particularly strong in Surakarta and Padangpanjang, as well as a syndicalist "deviation," which was criticized in the party newspaper Nyala in 1925. The pamphlet was written at the end of 1926.

120 *McVey R.T.* Op. cit. P. 478. Bakunin was also quoted in *Api* to support the ideas expressed in the articles. For example, the editorial "Espionage in the Party" in the issue of January 14, 1926, ended with a phrase from a Russian anarchist about not making accusations and reproaches against each other; the main thing is to try to adhere to the revolutionary line; see: см.: Spionage dalam Partai // Di Bawah Bendera Hitam. H.35-40.

121 *McVey R.T.* Op. cit. P.334, 341, 483-484; *Заказникова Е.П.* Рабочий класс... С.198-199. The Insurgent Committee is also known as the "Committee of the Revolution" and the "Executive Committee of the Revolution" (Comité van de Revolutie; Uitvoerende Comité van de Revolutie; Comité Pemberontak).

Commenting on the growing wave of arson, explosions and assassination attempts, the Palembang newspaper *Kemoedi* stated on October 4, 1926: "The communists have disappeared... the anarchists are coming"¹²². The movement is no longer communist, the Javanese newspaper *Pemberita* declared in early autumn, the "ultra-communists" have thrown off their communist clothes and replaced them with anarchist and even nihilistic ones¹²³.

The authorities' discovery of the rebels' plans and the arrests that followed prevented the uprising in most of the targeted areas. It began in West Java on November 12, 1926, and in Silungkang in Sumatra on January 1, 1927, but was suppressed. Herujuwono was among those arrested and exiled. The PKI returned to the Comintern line.

Hundreds of activists who were repressed during the suppression of the uprising were sent to the Boven-Digoel concentration camp in West Irian. But even among them there were radicals who did not want to toe the party line. Camp prisoner Mas Marco spoke of a former communist, Subidio, a leader of the exiles from the "C" settlement, whom he called "an anarchist". Subidio enjoyed great popularity among his comrades and during the struggle for prisoners' rights in early 1928, he advocated the use of sabotage, contrary to the position of the communists¹²⁴.

A peculiar attempt by some activists of the defeated PKI to direct the labour movement toward syndicalism was the activity of the trade union center "Union of Indonesian Workers" (Sarekat Kaum Buruh Indonesia, SKBI) with its center in Surabaya. It was formed in July 1928, headed by former members of the PKI: the dismissed postal worker Marsudi, journalist Sudjiman, shoe seller Mohamad Abas and teacher Sunarjo. The branch created later in Medan was headed by the former leader of Indonesian students in the Netherlands, Iwa Koesoemasoemantri.

The union proclaimed its commitment to the principles of "honesty, justice and equality," "the hegemony of the working and peasant classes," and "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Its stated goal was a society in which workers would be free from foreign and domestic capitalism. The organization expressed its readiness to cooperate with any party that shared its revolutionary goals.

The SKBI succeeded in gaining influence among railway workers and tram drivers, dockers and port workers, taxi drivers, mechanics, printers, traders, carters, tailors and farmers in Surabaya, and established branches among the railway workers of Bangil (East Java), the oil workers of Cepu (Central Java), in Pekalongan, Batavia, the tobacco workers of Banjuwangi and Kudus (Central Java), in Medan, etc. By July 1929, the union had about 700 members, including 617 in Surabaya.

122 Cit. in: Is't niet de schaduw der anarchisten...? // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 16.10.1926. No.42. P.110-111.

123 See: De communistische beweging // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 18.09.1926. No.38. P.531.

124 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H.160-161.

However, in 1930, the authorities crushed the SKBI, arresting dozens of its leaders, including Marsudi and Koesoemasoemantri¹²⁵.

Although the SKBI expressed its willingness to cooperate with political parties, it proclaimed the motto: "The trade union movement is everything, political parties are nothing." Criticizing national reformism, it advocated economic struggle by organizing strikes, demonstrations, etc. The communists claimed that "radical elements" of the SKBI "pushed the trade union movement in a syndicalist direction"¹²⁶.

However, the ghost of anarchism continued to frighten both the colonial authorities and the anti-colonial opposition in the Netherlands Indies. For example, commenting on the dissolution of the radical nationalist *Partai Indonesia* (Partindo) in 1936, its "Defense Committee" in Yogyakarta warned the colonial administration: banning the party meant the death of the organization, and this death could open the way for "anarchist proletarian action"¹²⁷. Debates on various concepts of socialism continued in Indonesian circles. As one of the leaders of the Communist Party, Njoto, recalled in 1964, in the late colonial period, both the works of theorists recognized as "orthodox" in the Comintern and the works of Dutch and German social democrats, Bakunin, Trotsky and Bukharin were imported into the Netherlands Indies¹²⁸.

Anarchist Agitation Among Chinese in Indonesia

Despite the interest of independence supporters and some communists in anarchist tactics or even individual ideas, Indonesian anarchist groups apparently never emerged during the colonial period.

Chinese anarchists tried to spread revolutionary ideas among the Chinese population of the Netherlands Indies. A significant number of Chinese lived and worked in the colony: over 560,000 out of 45 million inhabitants of the archipelago in 1905; about 810,000 out of 53 million in 1920 and 1.2 million out of 61 million in 1930.¹²⁹ Although some of them were merchants, moneylenders and small entrepreneurs, many were hired workers on plantations (Sumatra), mines (Borneo, Belitung), in transport, etc.¹³⁰ However, their position in Indonesian society remained peculiar: there

125 See: *Inglison J.* Workers, Unions and Politics: Indonesia in the 1920s and 1930s. Leiden; Boston, 2014. P.105–117.

126 See: De Vakbeweging in Indonesia: Haar rol in de bevrijdingsstrijd van Indonesia (1934) // ПГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 759. Лист 120.

127 See: De volksbeweging // Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers. 12.12.1936. No.50. P.788.

128 Cit. in: *Ford M.* Workers and Intellectuals: NGOs, Trade Unions and the Indonesian Labour Movement. Honolulu, 2000. P.41.

129 См.: *Furnivall J.S.* Netherlands India. A Study of Plural Economy. New York, 1967/2010. P.408.

130 See, for example: *Phoa Liong Gie.* The Changing Economic Position of the Chinese in Netherlands India // Chinese Economic Activity in Netherlands India. Singapore, 1992. P.18; *Fernando M.R., Bulbeck D.* Statistical Section // Chinese Economic Activity... P.87, 89. At the end of the 19th century, 90% of wage workers in

was a distance between them and the Indonesians. As Chinese journalist Kwee Kek Beng noted in 1948, the Chinese in Indonesia “are too Chinese to be indigenous Indonesians, but they are also too assimilated into Indonesians to be 100% Chinese”¹³¹.

The work of Chinese anarchists in the Netherlands Indies began before the First World War. Zhang Ji (1882–1947), a future member of the Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists (1907–1908), was in Java from spring to autumn 1906, where he taught at the *Sishui xuetang* school in Surabaya, helped to create revolutionary organizations among Chinese immigrants, and conducted agitation. He studied the history of overseas Chinese and their resistance against the Dutch colonialists. These texts were published in the revolutionary newspaper *Zhongguo ribao* published in Hong Kong¹³².

*Zhang Ji was originally from Cangxian County in Hebei Province. After receiving a classical Chinese education, he went to Tokyo University in 1899 and in 1900, together with other students from China, founded the Youth League, which opposed the Manchu Qing Dynasty. Zhang Ji participated in the Chinese student movement in Japan, worked closely with such émigré figures as Zhang Binglin and Zou Rong, and wrote for the Shanghai opposition newspaper **Su bao**. Returning to China after being expelled from Japan in 1903, he taught in Changsha and became close to Huang Xing, one of the leaders of the anti-Manchu group, the China Revival League. In 1904, Zhang Ji wrote an essay “Anarchism and the Anarchist Spirit”, in which he advocated assassination tactics and identified them with anarchism. After the uprising plans were discovered, he fled to Shanghai and then to Japan, joined the Tongmenghui, editing its journal **Min bao** with Hu Hanmin, and carried out revolutionary work in Southeast Asia. Zhang Ji was one of the founders of the Chinese anarchist group in Tokyo, and translated into Chinese the syndicalist Arnold Roller's work on the general strike and Errico Malatesta's “Anarchy”. He lived in France from 1908 to 1911, and after the overthrow of the monarchy he returned to China, briefly joined the socialist*

the Netherlands Indies were Chinese contract workers, but later they began to be replaced by cheaper Javanese labor and others; see: *Saptari R., Elmhirst R. Studying Labour in Southeast Asia: Reflections on Structures and Processes // Labour in Southeast Asia. Local Processes in a Globalized World. Oxon; New York, 2004. P.22. As a result, the number of Chinese workers on the plantations of East Sumatra decreased from 53-56 thousand in 1906/1913 to 28 thousand in 1920, while the number of Javanese workers increased from 34 thousand in 1906 to 209 thousand in 1920. See: Thee Kian Wie. Colonial extraction in the Indonesian archipelago: a long historical view // Colonial Exploitation and Economic Development: The Belgian Congo and the Netherlands Indies Compared. London; New York, 2013. P.50.*

131 Cit. in: *Yamamoto N. The Chinese Connection: Rewriting Journalism and Social Categories in Indonesian History // Chinese Indonesians and Regime Change. Leiden, 2011. P.93.*

132 *Zhongguo minguo shi. Vol.7. Chengdu, 2006. P.216; Yi Jinhong. Zhang Ji you Xinhai geming. Changsha: Hunan Normal University, 2002. P.19. URL: <https://max.book118.com/html/2015/0902/24531724.shtm> (8.02.2019); Karl R.E. Staging the World. Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Durham; London, 2002. P.168. Before leaving for Southeast Asia, Zhang Ji headed the publication of *Min Bao*, the printed organ of the *Tongmenghui* in Japan. The exact date of his departure from Japan is unknown: historiography mentions the winter of 1905 and even March 1906; see: *Дамье В.В., Лиманов К.А. Учжэнфучжуи: История анархизма в Китае. Москва, 2020.С.44.**

party of Jiang Kanghu, and then joined Sun Yatsen, but soon parted ways with him over his disagreement with the plan to form a political party. After spending several years in Europe, the United States, and Japan, Zhang Ji returned to China, again joined Sun Yatsen, and in 1920 became the head of the Kuomintang branch in northern China. In the 1920s and 1930s, he held responsible posts in the Kuomintang, fighting against the communists and their influence. From 1937, Zhang Ji dealt with the history of the Kuomintang, and in 1947, he headed the National Institute of History. He died in Nanjing.



Zhang Ji

The activists worked in close contact with like-minded people in China, the Philippines and British Malaya. Initially, revolutionaries of various views grouped around Chinese reading rooms (xiubaoshe), which began to open throughout the Indonesian archipelago from 1909 and served as a kind of political association in opposition to the Dutch and Chinese authorities. They initiated the creation of newspapers such as *Hoa Tok Po*, *Soematra Po*, etc.¹³³ After the overthrow of the monarchy in China in 1911, the anarchists concentrated on organizing the labour movement and spreading the ideas of social revolution. They carried out their work, in particular, through branches of the Chinese "Workers' Party" (Gongdang), which, in essence, acted not as a political union, but as a kind of workers' association or trade union organization. On the initiative of the liaison office of the "Workers' Party" in the South Seas (Southeast Asia), which was based in Singapore, its branches were created in the cities of the Netherlands Indies: Makassar (Celebes Island), Batavia, Surabaya (on the island of Java) and Kupang (western part of the island of Timor)¹³⁴.

The first anarchist cells appear to have emerged between 1914 and 1916, as indicated by Ou Xi's "Review of the Anarchist Movement in the South Sea Countries." This report, published in a Chinese anarchist publication in 1927, mentioned that in the Dutch East Indies there were "many comrades who were doing their utmost to spread the propaganda of the *Minsheng* in the ports of the

133 For more details see: *Claver A. Dutch Commerce and Chinese Merchants in Java. Colonial Relationships in Trade and Finance, 1800–1942.* Leiden; Boston, 2014. P.197–198.

134 *Socialisme en Indonesië.* Vol.1. P.41.

Southeast Asian islands"¹³⁵. The paper *Minsheng* (Voice of the People) was founded in 1913 in southern China by the anarchist Shifu and was published until 1916 and in 1921. It was also widely distributed among Chinese outside China.

Former activist of Sun Yat-sen's *Tongmenghui*, Bai Bingzhou (Pai Ping-chou), who previously headed the Batavian newspaper *Hoa Tok Po* (Chinese Bell), and Wang Yuting, who arrived from Kuala Lumpur in 1918, published the anarcho-communist paper *Cheng Li Bao* (Zhenli bao; Voice of Truth) in Semarang on the island of Java¹³⁶.



Chinese Anarchists Wang Yuting and Fu Wumen

*Wang Yuting (Ong Yu-ting, 1892–1967) was born in Quanzhou, Fujian Province. In 1908 he went to work in Malaya, where in 1912 he joined the **Tongmenghui**, transporting weapons for the revolutionary movement in China and for the struggle against the regime of Yuan Shikai. During World War I he became an anarchist communist. In 1918 Wang Yuting moved to Semarang on the island of Java, where he published the anarchist newspaper **Cheng Li Bao**. In September 1919 he was arrested by the Dutch authorities and deported to Hong Kong. After 1919, together with Fu Wumen, he published the anarchist workers' newspaper **Pingmin Ribao** in Manila, Philippines. In 1922 he returned to Quanzhou and worked as teacher. Later, he participated in the publication of the **Minzhong Ribao** newspaper in Xiamen, and then worked for a film company in Singapore and*

135 *Ou Xi*. Nanyang wuzhengfuzhui yundong zhi gaikuang // Wuzhengfuzhui sixiang ziliao xuan. Vol. 2. Beijing, 1984. P. 722.

136 *Yong C.F.* The Origins of Malayan Communism. Singapore, 1997. P.19.

Shanghai. In 1929–1930, Wang Yuting studied in Japan. In the 1930s, he worked as a correspondent in the Philippines, founded the Chinese newspaper **Qianqu Ribao** in Manila, and conducted anti-Japanese propaganda. In 1938, he went to Hong Kong and joined the Communist Party of China. In the late 1930s, he worked in Burma, then carried out illegal work in southern China. In 1946, he joined the China Democratic League in Hong Kong. In 1949, he participated in the preparations for the establishment of the PRC. Subsequently, he was a member of the National Political Consultative Conference and held posts in organizations working with overseas Chinese¹³⁷.

In the Deli area (Medan) on the island of Sumatra, in 1918, Shifu's brother, Liu Shixin (Lau Shek-sam, 1895–1992)¹³⁸, began editing the newspaper *Soematra Po*¹³⁹.

*Liu Shixin, like his older brother Shifu, was a native of Xiangshan County (present-day Zhongshan County) in Guangdong Province. He studied at the Guangdong Agricultural School and the Military Preparatory School. In 1912, Shixin took part in the creation of the anarchist group **Huiming xueshe** (Crowing Rooster Society), and from July 1914 he headed the Anarchist Communist Association in Guangzhou, then collaborated on the editorial board of the journal **Minsheng**. From the autumn of 1915 until the beginning of 1918 he was in Singapore, where he worked as a teacher in a Chinese school. In 1918, Shixin was deputy editor of the Shanghai anarchist workers' journal **Laodong**, and after its closure, he went to Medan on the island of Sumatra, where he headed the newspaper **Soematra Po** until the spring of 1919. After March 1919, he was arrested by the Dutch colonial authorities for spreading the ideas of anarcho-communism and the Russian revolution and was expelled from the Netherlands Indies. From the summer until the end of 1919, Liu Shixin participated in the publication of the newspaper **Minfeng** in Guangzhou. In December 1919–1920, he contributed to the newspaper **Minxing** in Zhangzhou (Fujian Province) and worked as secretary of the education bureau in the administration of General Chen Jiongmeng. After returning to Guangzhou, he taught at a girls' school. In October 1920, Shixin headed the editorial board of the anarcho-syndicalist journal **Laodongzhe**. In March 1921,*

137 Wang Yuting // Baike Baidu. URL: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E7%8E%8B%E9%9B%A8%E4%BA%AD/9260286> (13.01.2021).

138 See: *Guang Xushan, Liu Jianping*. Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhui shi. Changsha, 1989. P.152; *Lu Zhe*. Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhui shigao. Fuzhou, 1990. P.189; *Hu Qingyun*. Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhui sixiang shi. Beijing, 1994. P.111; *Yong C.F.* The Origins... P. 15.

139 *Soematra Po* (*Somuntaplap Po*; *Sumengdala Bao*) paper was founded in 1908 by members of the *Tongmenghui*; see: *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu*. Vol.6. Beijing, 1999. P. 474. Other studies give the date of the newspaper's foundation as 1909; see: *Claver A.* Op. cit. P. 197. From the end of 1914, it was published by the Kuomintang, first as a weekly, and after 1924 as a daily newspaper under the name *Sumatra Pin Po* (Sumatra People's Newspaper). After World War II, it oriented itself toward the China Democratic League. In 1960, it was closed by the Indonesian authorities. See: *Yao Errong*. Kanran qian ying he liang shu huaqiao baoguan shilue. URL: http://www.gzxxws.gov.cn/gzws/cg/sqml/cgtdgmsq/200808/t20080826_4081_6.htm (8.02.2019).

he took part in the restoration of the anarchist **Minsheng she** (People's Voice Society) in Guangzhou, but in August of the same year he went to study in France, where he entered the Franco-Chinese Institute at the University of Lyon, actively participated in the activities of the Work and Leisure Society and its journal **Gong Yu**. After returning to China, Liu Shixin worked for some time as an editor of the **Minzhong** journal in Xiamen, then as secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Administration of Agriculture and Industry. In April 1926, he played a significant role in the creation of the Revolutionary Workers' Federation of Guangdong Province, and was elected its chairman. In 1927, after the split between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, Shixin was accused of pro-communist sympathies and dismissed from the Bureau of Agriculture and Industry. In 1931, Liu Shixin attended an anarchist conference in Hangzhou; from 1930 he served in various economic positions in the Secretariat and Construction Committee of the Zhejiang Provincial Government. From 1936 to 1938, he served as the director of the Guangzhou Municipal Social Affairs Bureau, gathering around him a group of old anarchists. From May 1940 to 1944, Shixin headed the National Overseas Chinese Middle School, which was located in Yunnan and Guizhou provinces. After 1944, he worked briefly as an adviser to the Ministry of Communications in Chongqing, and in 1946–47 as a deputy director of the Ministry of Social Affairs in Guangzhou, director of the Hangzhou Agricultural and Industrial Bank in Hangzhou and assistant director of the Shanghai Agricultural and Industrial Bank, which were part of the structure created by the anarchist veterans Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui. In 1948, Shixin took the position of manager of the World Book Publishing House (*Shijie shuju*), which also belonged to Li Shizeng's group. After the victory of the CCP, in 1950 he went to Hongkong, where he taught at the school of the Donghua Hospital Group. After retiring in 1966, he settled in Beijing.



Liu Shixin

According to Liu Shixin's memoirs, he went to Southeast Asia in the summer of 1918 with a group of six or seven people. They initially stayed in Singapore, from where they then moved to Sumatra "to propagate socialism, without any general plan or organization, with very naive

practices." They soon attracted the attention of the local police, who labeled them "bushiwei" ("Bolsheviks")¹⁴⁰.

By 1919, small groups of the Singapore-based anarchist *Chan-she* society (Zhenshe / Zhenli she; South Sea Truth Society) had formed on the islands of the Indonesian archipelago; they distributed anarchist materials¹⁴¹. The central figure in the *Chan-she*, according to Chinese researcher Li Danyang, was Liu Shixin¹⁴². In April 1919, the Chinese workers in Semarang created the "Labour Party" ("Workers' Party"), which in fact stood on anarchist positions. Its newspaper was the above-mentioned *Cheng Li Bao*, published twice a month. Active agitation in this newspaper was carried out by the anarchist Goh Tun-ban (Wu Dunmin), who lived in British Malaya. During interrogation, he explained to the British authorities in Selangor that the newspaper was published by the "Workers' Party" with the aim of "promoting human rights". In reality, he openly propagated anarchist ideas in this publication. Thus, in an editorial on the occasion of May 1, 1919, he greeted the working class of the whole world and the gains of the socialist movement, declared that in order to achieve "a free and happy land of mutual aid communism", workers must shake off "the enslaving shackles of the rich", and called for the implementation of anarchism¹⁴³.

*Goh Tun-ban came from Yongchun in Fujian Province, from a relatively well-off family. According to some sources, he received a private education, according to others, he studied in Japan. Having joined the Kuomintang, he worked for some time at its headquarters. In December 1917 or early 1918, Goh arrived in Kuala Lumpur; he maintained correspondence with Sun Yat-sen. In June 1918, at a meeting with the anarchist Lin Qinshan (1892–1976) and Lin Jianhun, they decided to begin publishing a Chinese newspaper in Kuala Lumpur, where the Chinese press had not been published for several years. A circle of young intellectuals who shared the ideas of social justice and anti-authoritarianism rallied around Goh Tun-ban. Maintaining contacts with local Kuomintang circles, he received financial assistance from nationalist-minded Chinese merchants and began publishing the newspaper **Yik Khuan Po** (Yiqun Bao; Newspaper for the Benefit of the People) in March 1919. It was officially founded on March 23, 1919, and its first issue appeared the following day. At first, the circulation was about 1,700 copies. The publication was published under*

140 Liu Shixin. Guanyu wuzhengfuzhui huodong de diandi huiyi // Wuzhengfuzhui sixiang ziliao xuan. Vol. 2. P. 935. See also: *Guang Xushan*, Liu Jianping. Op. cit. P.152; *Lu Zhe*. Op. cit. P.189; *Hu Qingyun*. Op. cit. P.111; *Yong C.F.* The Origins...P. 15. Chinese anarchist Tan Zuyin confirmed that Liu Shixin "went to Indonesia to edit the Sumendala Bao"; see: Fang Tan Zuyin. URL: <http://www.xzbu.com/1/view-328258.htm> (8.02.2019).

141 Китайские анархисты и интернациональный анархический конгресс // Анархический вестник. Берлин, 1923. №5-6. С.76–77; *Gandini J.-J.* Aux sources de la révolution chinoise: les anarchistes. Paris, 1986. P. 170.

142 Li Danyang. AB hezuo zai Zhongguo ge'an yanjiu: Zhen(li) she jian jita // Jindai shi yanjiu (Modern Chinese History Studies). 2002. No.1. P..50.

143 *Yong C.F.* The Origins...P. 23–27.

the patronage of the Kuomintang, but the leading positions in it were occupied by the anarchists Goh Tun-ban, Wu Tianqiu and Lin Qinshan. In July 1919, Goh Tunban was arrested by the British colonial authorities, put on trial, and in November of the same year, deported to China. After his expulsion from Malaya, Guo Tunban served as director of the **Guomin Ribao** (National Newspaper) in Xiamen, helped found the **Yongchun Xinbao** (Yongchun New Newspaper) and **Ximing Bao**. He edited the **Guomin Ribao** in Makassar (Netherlands Indies), but was exiled by the authorities back to China, where he served briefly at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief in Guangzhou, and then settled in his native Fujian Province and served as a staff officer in the local militia (mintuan) under the command of Yu Cifu. In 1932, Goh Tun-ban was briefly arrested at the request of the Japanese consul for approving an assassination attempt on the Emperor of Japan. After his release, he returned to Yongchun and led the local mintuan militia, which was defeated and disarmed. He died of illness shortly thereafter¹⁴⁴.



Collection of articles by Goh Tun-ban with a portrait of the author

A prominent activist, Chung Pheng (Zhen Feng), who was familiar with the activities of the Gongdang and had a good reputation in Singapore, Penang and other parts of Malaya, was sent from Singapore to assist in the publishing work¹⁴⁵.

In the same year, Bai Bingzhou and Wang Yuting founded the newspaper *Sanbaolong yuebao* (Voice of Semarang), which was published until 1922.¹⁴⁶

144 Zheng Hongxing (*Teh Hong Heng*). *Cong Yinni dao Malaya: "zuijin de daolu": Malaya gongchandang jiangdang beijing ji qi lishi yiyi*. Guoli Taiwan daxue wenxue yuan lishi xuexi shuoshi lunwen. Taipei, 2017. P.41–45.

145 Report respecting Bolshevism and Chinese Communism and Anarchism in the Far East // *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print. Part II. From the First to the Second World War. Series E. Asia, 1914-1939. Vol.26. China, October 1921 - February 1922*. Bethesda, 1994. P.74.

146 *Wenshi ziliao cunqao xuanbian: shehui / Zhungguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi; Quanguo weiyuanhui; Wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui. Vol. 25. Beijing, 2002. P. 21.*

Anarchist work was also carried out through local branches of the Chinese "Workers' Union" or "Workers' Party" (Gongdang) in Surabaya and other cities¹⁴⁷. According to British intelligence, the Dutch Indies authorities had major problems with Chinese anarchist societies in Java, Sumatra and Celebes in the 1918–20s. During the police searches, many documents were confiscated indicating the connection of local Chinese anarchists with societies in China itself and Singapore¹⁴⁸. As early as 1918, according to the East Coast of Sumatra Institute, activity was noted in workers' organizations whose "economic motives" were "politically based". Particular attention was paid to the distribution of Chinese and Malay newspapers that expressed "revolutionary and socialist ideas". Unrest on the plantations was accompanied by repeated attacks on Dutch administrators¹⁴⁹. The Guangdong Mechanics' Union in China, which was strongly influenced by anarchists, united 27.2 thousand members in the Netherlands Indies in 1921.¹⁵⁰

In response to the increased propaganda activity, the Dutch authorities arrested the editors of *Soematra Po* in March 1919, including Liu Shixin and other anarchists in Medan, and Chung Pheng in Makassar, Celebes. The arrests were based on documents found during a search in Semarang, where a letter from the *Chan-she* in Singapore to the Semarang branch and two circulars were confiscated. These documents, British intelligence claimed, revealed "the policies of the party headquarters in Canton and its methods of organization"¹⁵¹.

The Sumatran newspaper *Oetisan Melayu* (issue of September 16, 1919) reported some details about the group that led *Soematra Po*. The journalistic investigation was conducted after the arrest of a Chinese editor who had come from Singapore (apparently, it was Liu Shixin). The newspaper called *Soematra Po* the organ of the "Bolshevik New Party," which was in fact anarchist. According to its program, the organization strove for universal equality, but, unlike the Social Democrats, it allowed the use of violence, including assassination, arson, and revolution¹⁵².

After 52 days in prison, Liu Shixin was expelled from the Netherlands Indies for spreading ideas of anarcho-communism and the Russian revolution, after he was returned back to Guangzhou¹⁵³. Wang Yuting and Bai Bingzhou, who had been arrested in Java, were expelled to Hong Kong in early September 1919.¹⁵⁴ Chung Pheng and other most active agitators were also deported from the country¹⁵⁵.

147 Report respecting Bolshevism... P.72.

148 Ibid. P.72, 74.

149 *Stoler A.L.* Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870–1979. 2nd. ed. Ann Arbor, 1995. P.62–63.

150 Китайский союз рабочих металлистов гор. Кантона. Доклад делегата этого союза // РГАСПИ. Фонд 514. Опись 1. Дело 8. Листы 22–26.

151 Report respecting Bolshevism... P.74.

152 IPO. 1919. No.39. Maleische bladen in de buitenbezittingen. P.2.

153 *Ou Xi*. Op. cit. P.722; *Yong C.F.* The Origins...P.15.

154 *Yong C.F.* The Origins...P.19.

155 Report respecting Bolshevism... P. 74. According to British intelligence, during a search carried out by the Dutch authorities in Semarang in 1919, documents were confiscated, including circulars from the *Chan-she*

On March 20, 1920, the Netherlands Indies news agency Aneta reported new information from Medan: "The *Deli Koerant* reports that the police have arrested two editors and the administrator of the Chinese newspaper *Soematra Po*. Extensive and compromising material has been seized, which serves as evidence of Bolshevik propaganda. More arrests are to follow"¹⁵⁶. In 1920, colonial authorities suppressed or banned Chinese revolutionary organizations; some of their leaders were deported and the press was subjected to closer surveillance¹⁵⁷.

Despite these persecutions, the anarchist movement was not immediately defeated. The influence of anarchists among Chinese workers was evident during the 1920 Deli Railway Company strike in Sumatra. One of its leaders and inspirers was the anarchist communist Zhang Shimei¹⁵⁸ from Fuzhou (in the Chinese province of Fujian), who came to Medan from Singapore. The details of his biography, given in various sources, differ¹⁵⁹.

The strike, which became the largest strike of workers in Indonesia at that time and the first serious strike on the island of Sumatra, began suddenly, "from below", on September 2, 1920. The workers did not wait for the results of negotiations between the management and the trade union and went on strike, demanding a 50% wage increase. The union expressed support for the strike only after hesitation, the following day¹⁶⁰.

Society to the local branch and directives from the Workers' Party in Guangzhou. After this, Chung Pheng, who was arrested in Makassar, and Liu Shixin, who was arrested in Medan, were expelled from the Netherlands Indies.

156 Bolsjewistische Propaganda // Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad. Batavia, 20.03.1920. No.185. P.2;

157 Willmott D.E. *The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia 1900–1958*. Jakarta; Kuala Lumpur, 2009. P.21.

158 Also known as Zhang Hungcheng, Cheung Hong-seng, Cheung Hong-sen, Wong Teck-chai, Huang Decai, Chung Wansen, Chung Ximei. See: *Hara F.* *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Cmintern Files.* / ISEAS Working Paper. 2016. No.1. P.22, 28, 29, 142.

159 Historian C.F. Yong (Yang Jinfa), who studies overseas Chinese, gives two different dates in his works. According to one version, Zhang was engaged in anarchist work in Singapore in 1919–1920 and only in 1921 did he come to Medan, where he organized a railway workers' strike, was arrested by the Dutch authorities and spent 3 years in prison, was expelled in 1925 and returned to China; see: *Yang Jinfa.* *Xin Ma Hua zu lin dao ceng de tan suo.* Singapore, 2007. P. 214. However, in the same book he provides other information: Zhang was known to the British authorities in Malaya in 1919 as an anarchist, in 1920 he went to Java and in the same year organized a railway workers' strike in Semarang, after three years of imprisonment in 1924 he returned to China; see: *Ibid.* P. 263. Chinese anarchist sources indicated that Zhang led an electrical workers' strike in Sumatra in 1920 and was sentenced by the authorities to 6 years in prison; see: *Ou Xi.* *Op. cit.* P. 722. Obviously Zhang Shimei took part in the strike in Medan, since a major strike of Semarang railway workers did not occur until 1923; see: *Ingleson J.* "Bound Hand and Foot": Railway Workers and the 1923 Strike in Java // *Indonesia.* 1981. No.31. April. P.53–87.

160 See note 57 to chapter 6 in the book: *Tan Malaka.* *From Jail to Jail.* In 3 Volumes. Vol.1. Athens, 1991. P. 194.



Deli Railway in Sumatra (late 19th century)

The strike was initiated by the contracted coolies, many of whom were Chinese. They conducted a secret agitation among the workers and eventually 5,000 coolies and 10,000 other workers on the 500-kilometer railway line, including skilled workers, office and postal workers, telegraph operators, etc., joined the action.

Fearing that the strike would lead to an uprising, the authorities moved troops into Medan. The building where the strikers held their regular meetings was targeted with artillery. The overseers were given weapons. At the very beginning of the strike, the authorities arrested 10 contract coolies, accused of agitation and breach of contract. However, hundreds of other workers demanded that they be arrested as well, claiming that they were fed better in prison than at work. In the end, the detainees had to be released, as there simply weren't enough places in the prisons!¹⁶¹

The railway strike was a self-organized action that no political party could control. The communists had not yet managed to create their own group there. A de facto split occurred in the local organization of the *Nationaal Indische Partij* (NIP): some of its members supported the strike; others, connected with landlord-bourgeois circles, opposed it¹⁶². A support committee was formed in Medan, which included Indonesians and Europeans: representatives of the NIP, the plantation workers' union, the chamber of commerce, etc. Its members assisted in collecting funds and food for the strikers¹⁶³.

The general strike on the railway met with a broad movement of solidarity among the population. Although no strike fund was created, a massive collection of funds was launched. Neighbouring peasants helped as much as they could, voluntarily supplying the strikers with food and delivering rice and other products to the strike committee. In turn, the participants in the strike

161 *Tan Malaka*. Die Contractkulis in Indonesien (Deli und die Contractkoelis). 1923 // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 733. Лист 115; *Заказникова Е.П.* Профсоюзное движение в Индонезии в 1919–1926 гг. // Юго-Восточная Азия: очерки экономики и истории. М., 1958. С.157; *Заказникова Е.П.* Рабочий класс... С.91.

162 *Tan Malaka*. Die Contractkulis... Лист 15.

163 *Tan Malaka*. From Jail to Jail. Vol.1. P.194–195.

carried out agitation among the coolie workers of the tobacco plantations, meeting with them in markets and other public places. They also persuaded them to quit their jobs, stating that if all 300 thousand coolies went on strike, the authorities and entrepreneurs would be left without money, supplies and transport would cease, and it would be possible to achieve both higher wages and better working conditions, as well as the abolition of forced contracts¹⁶⁴.

Faced with the threat of a general strike across the entire East Sumatra region, the railway company made concessions, promising a 30% wage increase. But on September 11, the strikers rejected the offer. The next day, management announced the dismissal of the most active supporters of the strike, promising to save the jobs of those who returned to work. This led to a split in the strikers. European workers acted as strikebreakers, others began to return to work, and on September 14, train service resumed. Between 800 and 1,000 workers were finally dismissed, and 2,500 to 3,000 returned to work on September 21. Despite the defeat of the strike, it was possible to achieve a wage increase of 30% since 1921.¹⁶⁵

The authorities did not forgive Zhang Shimei for his role in the railway strike. He was arrested, but it was known that he spoke excellent Malay, and the administration was afraid that Zhang would continue his anarchist propaganda even in prison. So he was exiled to New Guinea. In 1923, he obtained royal amnesty and was deported to Singapore¹⁶⁶. The colonial authorities of Netherlands Indies expelled Goh Tun-ban, who worked in Makassar as editor of the newspaper *Guomin ribao* (National Newspaper) in the early 1920s¹⁶⁷.

The decline of anarchist work in the archipelago was caused not only by repression, but also by the disappearance of the movement in neighboring Malaya, although a branch of the syndicalist Hong Kong Mechanics Union was still active in 1926–1927.¹⁶⁸

However, in the late 1920s and 1930s, Chinese anarchists maintained contacts in the Netherlands Indies. Activists from China came to the Indonesian islands. For example, the famous journalist Fu Women, who headed various Chinese anarchist publications between 1918 and 1924, arrived in Surabaya in September 1928, where he worked as editor-in-chief of the newspaper

164 *Idem*. Die Contractkulis... Лист 15–16.

165 *Idem*. From Jail to Jail. Vol.1. P.195.

166 *Ou Xi*. Op. cit. P.722. According to C.F. Yong, Zhang Shimei returned to China in 1924, where he joined the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1925. In December 1927, he took part in the unsuccessful communist uprising in Guangzhou and was included in the Kuomintang's wanted list, after which, in January 1928, by decision of the CPC, he was sent to British Malaya to create the Provisional Committee of the South Seas Communist Party. He was appointed party secretary, but on March 8, 1928, he was arrested in Singapore and in May of the same year sentenced to life imprisonment. His subsequent fate is unknown. See: *Yong C.F.* The Origins... P.17.

167 During his stay in Makassar, Goh Tun-ban, a supporter of Sun Yat-sen, came into conflict with local community leaders who supported Sun's opponent, federalist General Chen Jiongming, in 1922–23. See: *Zheng Hungxing (Teh Hong Heng)*. Op. cit. P. 44–45.

168 *Стабурова Е.Ю.* Анархизм и рабочее движение в Китае в начале XX в. // Китай: государство и общество: Сборник статей. М., 1977. С. 213.

Dagong shang bao until 1929 and founded the agency *Zhaowa meiri dianbao*¹⁶⁹. However, during this period he was already connected with Chinese nationalist circles. In 1936–1939, the poet and anarchist educator Liang Piyun (Liang Langguang) headed the Sudong Middle School in Medan, founded a monthly magazine of the same name, 8 primary schools and a kindergarten¹⁷⁰. In the same city, anarchist Chen Junleng taught in 1938–39. He taught courses on international and social issues, organized fundraising campaigns, and organized anti-Japanese demonstrations until he was expelled by the colonial authorities¹⁷¹.

In the late 1930s, Japanese Esperantist and anarchist Yatabe Yuji, known in China as "Wu Ximing", arrived in Indonesia with his wife Li Dulian, who had previously studied at Fujian Minsheng Agricultural School and was associated with anarchists...¹⁷²

Some Chinese anarchists remained in Indonesia after independence. Liu Chuan, who arrived in Java in the late 1940s, organized a Chinese school in Tjeribon with a friend. They maintained contacts with the American anarchist educator Harry Kelly (1871–1953) and Rudolf Rocker, whom they approached for help in 1950, planning to publish anarchist pamphlets in Chinese. The project failed; the group planned to move elsewhere and open a film company, but further traces of it are lost...¹⁷³

Liang Piyun, who became the editor of the Chinese magazine *Huaqiao daobao* in Jakarta in 1952 and headed the publication of the magazine *Hoju bao* (Torch) in the Indonesian capital from 1963 to 1966, also resumed cultural and educational work in independent Indonesia. He actively participated in the work of the Jakarta Overseas Chinese Association, helped train Chinese teachers and facilitated the return of Chinese to mainland China. After the military coup in 1965 and the massive nationalist anti-Chinese campaign that began, he was forced to leave Indonesia in 1966.¹⁷⁴

Dutch Anarchists and the Anti-Colonial Movement in Indonesia

169 *Liang Yingming*. Fu Wumen – Xinjiapo huawen baoren. URL: <http://www.chinaqw.com/node2/node116/node117/node163/node820/node825/userobject6ai46284.html> (22.05.2019).

170 *Cheng C.M.B.* The Land of the Lotus Flower: A Haven for the Diasporised // *Revista de Cultua – Review of Culture*. International Edition. Macau, 2017. No.55; *ZhengJinshu*. Liang Piyun xiansheng de feifan rensheng // *Fujian yanhuang zongheng*. URL: <http://www.fjsyhz.com/zh/ywyh/2373.html> (17.02.2021).

171 *Changdao jiaoyu jiuguo de Chen Junleng / Minjian Guangzhou shi weiyuanhui // Guangzhou wenshi ziliao*. Guangzhou, 1988. Issue 56. URL: http://www.gzxxws.gov.cn/gzws/gzws/ml/56/200809/t20080917_8723_1.htm (15.02.2021).

172 See: *Su Junze*. Shijieyu yundong zai Quanzhou // *Shijieyu xuexi – Elerno: lernado de esperanto*. URL: <http://www.espero.com.cn/old/epch/Cel/9/9-2/9--2-008.htm> (7.01.2019).

173 *Rocks M.W.* Beyond the Bounds of Revolutions: Chinese in Transnational Anarchist Networks from 1920s to the 1950s. A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Graduate and Postgraduate Studies (History), the University of British Columbia. Vancouver, 2020. P.257–258.

174 *Cheng C.M.B.* Op. cit. P.69: *Liu Lian*. Liang Piyun: Biographical Notes and Comments on his Works by his Contemporaries // *Review of Culture*. English Edition. Macau, 1999. No.34-35. January – June. P.251–258.

The Dutch anarchists did not organize their branches in the Netherlands Indies, with the exception of the Christian anarchists and Tolstoyans, who carried out their work through the movement *Rein Leven* (Chaste Life). This movement in the Netherlands was founded in 1901, on the initiative of Christian anarchists, and in 1908 it was transformed into a formal association. The official goal of *Rein Leven* was to propagate and disseminate the ideal of moral purity and sexual abstinence, which, according to its adherents, was supposed to free man from the pressure of animal instincts and turn him into a conscious creator of a new, free and harmonious world. However, the leading representatives of the movement did not limit themselves to questions of relations between the sexes. The most prominent member of the *Rein Leven*, the Christian anarchist Dirk Lodewijk Willem van Mierop (1876–1930), organizer of the *Vrije Menschen Verbond* (Union of Free People, 1907) and the *Bond van Religieuze Anarcho-Communisten* (Union of Religious Anarchist-Communists, 1920), from 1907 published the monthly newspaper *Levenskracht*¹⁷⁵. From its pages, systematic agitation was carried out for anti-militarism, pacifism, refusal of military service, non-violence, vegetarianism, a healthy lifestyle and natural medicine¹⁷⁶. Thanks to this publication, the ideas of Christian anarchism and Tolstoyanism gained a certain popularity in the intelligentsia circles of the Netherlands Indies. From the very beginning, the *Rein Leven* movement included members from the colony, who subscribed to and distributed the *Levenskracht*. On March 15, 1915, a commission was established to prepare the work of the movement in the Netherlands Indies, with the aim of establishing contacts between its members and studying the moral state of the people on the spot. Contacts with the metropolis were strengthened after the arrival of the activist of the *Rein Leven*, M. Ehrbecker, in the Netherlands Indies; regular reports from the archipelago began to appear in the *Levenskracht*, and the members of the movement began to interact more closely with each other. In March 1923, the participants of the *Rein Leven* in the Netherlands Indies formed a local group, but little is known about its work¹⁷⁷. In the Netherlands, the *Rein Leven* movement ceased to exist in 1930/1931.

The anarchist movement in the Netherlands condemned the colonial policy in the Netherlands Indies from the very beginning. The *Internationale Anti Militaristische Vereeniging* (*IAMV*) was the first of the Dutch revolutionary organizations to proclaim the slogan of "separation of India from Holland" (*Indië los van Holland*) when it was founded in 1904. It published

175 *Hoekman P.* Dirk Lodewijk Willem van Mierop // *Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeiderbeweging in Nederland*. 6. 1995. P.142–147. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/8749DD55-7ED7-40E5-A629-96EEEEB93561E> (10.07.2019).

176 See: *De Groot A.* De lust tot last: De Rein Leven Beweging als pionier in de strijd om de nieuwe mens // *Groniek. Onafhankelijk Gronings historisch studentenblad* 26. Groningen, 993. No.120. P.55–64. In the early 1920s, the movement had 625 members.

177 *Idem.* De weg tot de kuisheid voert door de nuchterheid. De Rein Leven Beweging in Nederland, 1901–1930. Scriptie M.O.– B. Geschiedenis; Noordelijke Leergangen. Groningen, 1983. P.56. By 1929 there were only three working groups left in the movement - in Amsterdam, The Hague and the Netherlands Indies; see: *Ibid.* P.62.

pamphlets directed against the colonial regime and regularly reported in its press on the repressions against anti-colonialist and popular movements in the colony¹⁷⁸. Anti-militarist anarchists constantly opposed sending a fleet and troops to the Netherlands Indies.

One of the Dutch libertarian activists who attempted to establish links with Indonesian anti-colonialist circles was the left-wing socialist and later Christian anarchist pacifist Johan Gerart Westerweel (1899–1944). In 1923–25, he worked as a teacher in southern Sumatra and Batavia and was subject to police surveillance for his “illegal activities” – apparently contacts with local radicals. Westerweel refused to submit to conscription into the auxiliary corps of the Indian Militia, for which he was interned and then sent back to the Netherlands. There he collaborated with religious anarcho-communists and anti-militarists, writing articles on the colonial question for the publications *De Vrije Communist* and *Bevrijding*. However, his attempts in 1925–1926 to establish interaction with Indonesian students in the Netherlands were futile¹⁷⁹.

Later, Dutch anarchists managed to establish contacts with Indonesian students¹⁸⁰ who were studying in the metropolis and were united in a radical association – the *Perhimpunan Indonesia*. This organization, created in 1908 as the *Perhimpunan India* and renamed in 1922, began to advocate for the independence of Indonesia and proclaimed the tactics of “non-cooperation” with the colonial authorities. Its leader from 1926 to 1930, Mohammad Hatta (1902–1980), the future first vice-president of independent Indonesia, was a supporter of interaction with leftist and anti-colonialist forces in the Netherlands¹⁸¹, without giving preference to any one of them. His own ideas about the future country, which he formed during these years, were inspired by the theories of George Cole's "guild socialism", in some respects close to libertarian socialism, and the communal traditions of the Sumatran Minangkabau people. Hatta saw an independent Indonesia as a country of "popular sovereignty" (*kedaulatan rayat*). The "people", from which he excluded the aristocracy, were to unite in self-governing and maximally decentralized communities, the federation of which would constitute the Indonesian state¹⁸². He considered all-round cooperation (of production in the villages and of consumers in the cities), with the expropriation of the property of the imperialists. At the same time, Hatta had a pragmatic attitude to the question of interaction with the left forces in the metropolis. “The anti-parliamentary anarchists are increasingly narrowing, and their influence today

178 See: *Jong A. de*. Het revolutionaire anti-militarisme in Nederland // Handboek voor de vredesbeweging: De radicaal-pacifistische stromingen. Den Haag, 1954. P.211–213.

179 *Schippers H.* De Westerweelgroep en de Palestijnse pioniers: Non-conformistisch verzet in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Hilversum, 2015. P.37–41.

180 See: *Rocker R.* Anarcho-Syndikalism. London, 1989. P.165.

181 For contacts between Indonesian students in the Netherlands and leftist organisations and the international anti-colonialist movement, see, for example: *Stutje K.* Indonesian Identities Abroad. International Engagement of Colonial Students in the Netherlands, 1908–1931 // *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*. 2013. Vol.128-1. P.151–172.

182 See: *Mrázek R.* Sjahrir. Politics and exile in Indonesia. Ithaca, 1994. P.74.

is insignificant, while the parliamentary-oriented social democrats are becoming stronger and stronger,” he noted in 1931.¹⁸³

The collaboration between *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (*PI*) and anarchists in the Netherlands in the late 1920s was established through two circumstances: joint participation in the international League Against Imperialism and an active campaign in support of the arrested *PI* leaders in 1927.

The League Against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression (or League Against Imperialism and for National Independence) was founded at an anti-colonial congress in Brussels in February 1927. Although the initiative came from the communists, it was hoped that through the participation of various left-wing forces and representatives of anti-colonial movements it could acquire a more independent character. Among the Dutch delegates to the congress, in addition to communists, left-wing socialists, social democrats and Christian pacifists, were the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists Albert de Jong (1891–1970), Arthur Müller-Lehning (1899–2000) and the Christian anarchist Nicolas Schermerhorn (1866–1956). The Indonesians were represented by the students Hatta, Gatot Tarunamihardja (1901–?), Nazim Pamorntjak (1897–1966), and Ahmad Subardjo (1896–1978), as well as the communist Semaun. In the Dutch section, practical cooperation was established between representatives of the *PI*, the Communist Party of Holland, and the *IAMV*¹⁸⁴.

However, in 1928, a split occurred in the Dutch section. First the left-wing Social Democrats left, and then the *PI*, although the Indonesians were given the post of secretary. As the chairman of *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, Hatta, explained in a letter to the Indonesian communist Darsono, he, Nazim Pamoentjak and Subardjo spent four months convincing the *PI* to approve joining the Dutch section of the League as a “supra-party organization,” but then discovered that “the Dutch communists in the League tried to take over the League”. It has become an appendage of the Dutch Communist Party, which seeks to use it for its own selfish and narrow purposes. The *PI* does not want to become anyone's "racehorse", Hatta wrote¹⁸⁵. However, the members of the *PI* continued to be members of the International League and its organs.

The anarchists remained in the Dutch section of the League. Delegates of the *IAMV* took part in the annual conference of the section on September 9, 1928; a representative of the *Sociaal-Anarchistisch Verbond* attended as a guest and reported that his organization was considering

183 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H.167.

184 *Winter D. de*. *Libertairen en linkse eenheidsfronten: Anti-Imperialisme Liga en ANTIFO // Zesde Jaarboek Anarchisme / De AS. Anarchistisch tijdschrift*. 1999. Nr.126/127. Zomer. P.98–99. Until then, cooperation between the various left-wing organizations in the Netherlands in solidarity with the anti-colonialist movement in Indonesia had not been established. Thus, on November 30, 1926, the Board of the anarcho-syndicalist union *Nederlandsch Syndicalistisch Vakverbond* rejected the proposal of the *Nederlands Arbeids Secretariaat*, associated with the Communist Party, to cooperate “in the fight against reaction in India”; see: *Tegen de Reactie in Indië. Onze briefwisseling met het N.A.S. en de C.P.H. // De Syndicalist. Weekblad van het Nederlandsch Syndicalistisch Vakverbond*. Amsterdam, 4.12.1926. Nr.180. P.3.

185 See the German translation of Hatta's letter dated May 14, 1928, forwarded by Darsono to the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive Committee: РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 710. Лист 20–23.

joining¹⁸⁶. But the anarchists took a special position in this regard. Even speaking at the Brussels Congress in 1927, Müller-Lehning warned oppressed peoples against following the example of the West and creating new states. He called on them to renew social life in the spirit of the abolition of classes¹⁸⁷.

The annual congress of the *IAMV* on December 25-26, 1927 officially approved the association's accession to the League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression by a vote of 12 delegates to 1. Speaking at the congress, A. de Jong explained that, despite political differences with the organizations that were members of the League, cooperation was possible, and this movement represented an opportunity to awaken colonial peoples to fight against any form of oppression. As long as one can freely propagate one's opinion in the League, one should participate in it. Müller-Lehning added to this: since *IAMV* has been fighting for Indonesia's separation from Holland for 20 years, the Indonesians will not understand if it does not join this international movement¹⁸⁸.

"...Thanks to the League we for the first time came in real contact with colonial peoples...", Müller-Lehning later explained in a letter to the Indian anarchist M.P.T. Acharya on August 15, 1929. "We are aiming to work within the League as long as it is possible, not because we would so much like to co-operate with the Communists, but since we believe that otherwise we would lose every contact to the colonial peoples"¹⁸⁹.

The *IAMV*'s organ *De Wapens Neder* published materials written by Indonesians. However, the editors already made the following reservation in 1927: "In view of the oppression of Indonesians in the Netherlands, we willingly offer hospitality to "Indonesians" in our publication. At the same time, our position is well known: oppression by the Motherland should not be replaced by oppression by the national Fatherland, but colonial liberation should be carried out until complete social liberation"¹⁹⁰. In other words, there was a fundamental difference between the Dutch anarchists and the *PI* activists from the very beginning: the anarchists were against colonial exploitation and oppression, and in favor of decolonization – but they did not support the idea of creating a nation state (in Indonesia or elsewhere).

Mutual sympathy was strengthened after Dutch anarchists spoke out against the arrest of Indonesian leaders in the Netherlands and launched a solidarity campaign with them, demanding

186 Landeskonferenz der Anti-Imperialistischen Liga Sektion-Holland // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 747. Лист 17–18. PI leader Hatta complained in a letter to the Indian revolutionary Chattopadhyaya that the Indonesians were not invited to the conference and did not even know it was being held; see: Hatta – to Chatta. 27.09.1928 // Ibid. Лист 16.

187 See: *Müller-Lehning A.* Der soziale und nationale Befreiungskampf Indonesiens // Die Internationale. 1929. April. Nr.6. S.15–17.

188 Verslag van het landelijk congres der Internationale Anti-Militaristische Vereeniging op 25 en 26 december 1927 te Herenveen // Bijvoegsel van De Wapens Neder. 1928. Nr.1. Januari. P.2.

189 Cit. in: *Piazza H.* The Anti-Imperialist League and the Chinese Revolution // *The Chinese Revolution in the 1920s: Between Triumph and Disaster.* London; New York, 2002. P.174.

190 De Wapens Neder. Mandorgaan van de Internationale Antimilitaristische Ver[eeniging] in Nederland. 1927. Nr.12. December. P.3.

their immediate release¹⁹¹. *PI* leaders Ali Sastroamidjojo (1903–1976), Mohammad Hatta, Nazir Pamuntjak and Raden Mas Abdulmajid Joyoadiningrat (1904–?) were arrested by Dutch police in September 1927 and accused of plotting¹⁹². As reported by the newspaper *De Wapens Neder*, Pamuntjak wrote from prison to "one of our comrades": "Here I receive many messages from people who are completely unknown to me. Such proof of sympathy is a big deal for me"¹⁹³. The *IAMV* congress in December 1927 sent greetings to the arrested Indonesians. The trial held in March 1928 released the arrested.

The repressions dealt a significant blow to the *PI*. The membership of the organization fell from 92 (including 8 secret communists) in 1925¹⁹⁴ to approximately 30, of whom 5 were communists by the end of October 1927.¹⁹⁵

During 1928–1929, Dutch anarchists actively collaborated with *PI* activists. In December 1928, *IAMV* representative A. de Jong, along with members of other leftist organizations, took part in a ceremonial meeting to mark the 20th anniversary of *Perhimpunan Indonesia*¹⁹⁶. The withdrawal of the *PI* from the Dutch section of the League prompted the Amsterdam organization of the *IAMV* to raise the question of leaving the League at the *IAMV* congress in December 1928. However, the majority of delegates voted to remain in the League, especially since Hatta sent a letter calling on them not to leave and to contribute to the reorganization of the section. The anarchist Lambertus Johannes Boot (1897–1988) was re-elected as the *IAMV* representative in the League¹⁹⁷.

In the summer of 1929, the Dutch intelligence service in Amsterdam reported that the new, younger generation of *PI* leaders, to whom Hatta had ceded the official leadership of the organization earlier in the year, continued to interact with the Dutch left, including the anarchists. For example, the student Roestam Effendi (1903–1979), an Indonesian communist and *PI* commissar, regularly spoke at meetings and rallies held by the League Against Imperialism and the anarchists. Representatives of the *IAMV* and the youth group of the *Sociaal Anarchistisch Verbond* participated in the preparatory meetings and the Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference of 13–14 July

191 Hoe lang nog? Reeds vier maanden voorarrest! // *De Wapens Neder*. 1928. Nr.1. Januari. P.2.

192 См.: Rose M. *Indonesia Free: A Political Biography of Mohammad Hatta*. Jakarta; Kuala Lumpur, 2010. P.74–75.

193 *De Wapens Neder*. 1927. Nr.12. December. P.4.

194 Semaun – to the East-Commission of the E.C. of Youth International. 21.09.1925 // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 738. Лист 36.

195 B. Goldstein – to the Department for Indonesia of ICCI, to comrade Petrovsky. 27.10.1927 // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 710. Лист 2–2оборотный.

196 Verslag van de viering van het (vierde) lustrum van de Perhimpunan Indonesia, in het hotel De Twee Steden (s'Gravenhaag) op 22 December 1928 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Ministerie van Justitie, Verbaalarchief, 1915–1955; Kabinetsarchief 1915–1940. Nummer toegang 2.09.22. Inv. nr.16625.

197 См.: Officieel verslag van het jaarlijksch congres der Int. Anti-Mil. Vereen. op 25 en 26 december 1928 in het Volksgebouw, Prinsegracht, den Haag // Bijvoegsel van “*De Wapens Neder*“. 1929. No.1. Januari. P.5.

1929 in Amsterdam, together with delegates from the *PI*, communist and youth and pacifist youth organizations¹⁹⁸.

The young Indonesian student Sutan Sjahrir (the future first prime minister of independent Indonesia) had close contacts with the anarchists at first. As Salomon Tas, the former chairman of the Social Democratic Student Club, with which Sjahrir was closely associated soon after his arrival in Amsterdam in 1929, recalled, his new friend searching the “radical comradeship” wandered “further and further left, coming to rest at last with a handful of anarchists” who lived in the commune. However, Sjahrir, according to Tas, quickly moved away from this passion and became interested in socialism in a “more practical form”¹⁹⁹.



Sutan Sjahrir during her studies in the Netherlands

Already at the Frankfurt Congress of the League against Imperialism in July 1929, clouds were clearly visible that would ultimately put an end to the collaboration. At this international congress, the Netherlands was represented by delegates from two different factions of the Communist Party of Holland, the Dutch section of the League, the *Jongeren Vredes Actie* (Youth Action for Peace), some anarchist groups and anti-militarist organizations founded by anarchists, and Indonesian activists. Among the delegates were IAMO members Gerard Nabrink (1903–1993) and Klaas Wouda as *IAMV* members; anarchists Lamberthus Johannes Both, Bartholomeus de Ligt (1883–1938) and Müller-Lehning as representatives of the *Internationaal Anti-Militaristisch Bureau* (IAMB); as well as a representative of the Anarchist Youth International and the *Sociaal Anarchistisch Verbond* Wim Jong (1905–1987), who was sent, by decision of the Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference, together with Roestam Effendi and the communist Daan Goulooze. Wim Jong welcomed the congress on behalf of the Dutch anarcho-syndicalists. The Indonesians were also

198 Overzicht No.4 jaargang 1929 van de Inlichtingen dienst te Amsterdam. 19.07.1929 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Ministerie van Justitie, Verbaalarchief, 1915–1955; Kabinetsarchief 1915–1940. Nummer toegang 2.09.22. Inv. nr.16663.

199 *Mrázek R.* Op. cit. P.59, 61.

represented by Hatta, Abdul Sukur, Nazir Pamuntjak, Abdulmajid Joyoadiningrat, Rusbandi, Tajuddin Nur (Ahmad Mustafa), Abdul Rahman, Muhsin, Darsono (from the Indonesian trade unions) and others²⁰⁰.

The members of the *IAMB* and *IAMV* were extremely dissatisfied with the congress, which, as they discovered, was held under the complete hegemony of the communists, who did not want to take into account the opinions and views of supporters of other left-wing currents²⁰¹. During the discussion of the "Chinese question," an open conflict even arose. Commenting on the possibility of a military conflict between the USSR and China, de Ligt and Müller-Lehning declared their refusal to side with the Soviet Union, since it, like China and the colonial powers, was a militaristic state. Some colonial delegates, on the contrary, lashed out at the anarchists with criticism, and they even threatened to leave the congress²⁰².

De Ligt emphasized in his speech at the congress that the struggle should be waged not only against the colonialism and imperialism of the "white" powers, but also against nationalism and the beginnings of imperialism among the oppressed nations: not for the power of a national bourgeoisie, but for a "free and open International (...) of all languages and races." He linked the struggle for the creation of independent national states with the desire of the elites of the oppressed nations for independent rule. "Everywhere in this part of the world we see the emergence of a native bourgeois class that is eager to establish its power on the basis of the exploitation of the broad masses of their countries. Undoubtedly, this new class is fighting there for national independence, but at the same time it is building a new economic system borrowed from the white bourgeoisie (...)", the Dutch antimilitarist explained. He called for a struggle against militarism in the liberation movements, against "anti-imperialist militarism", which, as the experience of China showed, in his opinion, could only lead to a new imperialism. In his opinion, only unarmed and non-militaristic movements were worth supporting²⁰³.

It had become clear to the Dutch anarchists that the League Against Imperialism was controlled by the Comintern. Hatta also complained that "purges" had begun within it, which were practically undermining the organization. At the *IAMV* congress in December 1929, at the suggestion of the Haarlem branch, it was decided to re-discuss the question of membership in this organization by conducting a corresponding survey of local *IAMV* groups. A greeting from the *PI* to

200 Van het Anti-koloniale Congres in Frankfurt // *De Wapens Neder.* 1929. Nr.8. August. P.3.

201 *Winter D. de.* Op. cit. P.99–100. See also: *Ligt B. de.* Waarom in de Liga? // *De Wapens Neder.* 1929. No.9. September. P.1; Verklaring, afgelegd namens de IAMB, door L.J. Bot, op het congres te Frankfurt // *Ibid.* P.3.

202 Wereldcongres van de Liga tegen Imperialisme. 26.08.1929 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Ministerie van Justitie, Verbaalarchief, 1915–1955; Kabinetsarchief 1915–1940. Nummer toegang 2.09.22. Inv. nr.16666. For the text of Müller-Lehning's speech at the congress in Frankfurt, see: *Müller Lehning A.* Het revol. antimilitarisme en de anti-imperiaistische taktiek // *De Wapens Neder.* 1929. No.9. September. P.2–3.

203 *Ligt B. de.* Die wesentliche Einheit des Kampfes gegen soziale Unterdrückung mit dem Kampfe gegen Militarismus und Krieg // *Die Internationale.* 1929. Oktober. Nr.12. S.1–6.

the congress was read out²⁰⁴. At the beginning of 1930 they were still taking part in the League's activities against repression in the Netherlands Indies. Nabrink served as the League's chairman in Holland, and Roestam Effendi of the PI served as secretary²⁰⁵. But a break had already occurred in the spring. In April 1930 the *PI* organization finally left the League (although Hatta remained in its international leadership until his expulsion in March 1931), and in May the anarchists from the *IAMV* and the anarcho-syndicalist *Nederlands Syndicalistisch Vakverbond* broke with the League, declaring that the communists did not want honest cooperation with other forces and currents²⁰⁶.

Despite leaving the League, the Dutch anarchists sought to maintain cooperation with the PI under the new leaders who took over the Indonesian association in Holland in 1929–30 (chairman Abdul Sukur and secretary Sjahrir). But after the Indonesian communists succeeded in gaining control of the *PI* in 1931²⁰⁷, a cooling began.

It could already be felt at the jubilee international conference on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the *Internationaal Anti-Militaristisch Bureau* on 25–26 July 1931 in The Hague, to which Indonesians were also invited. Prominent anarchists from abroad also came, such as Rudolf Rocker and Sébastien Faure. The question of Indonesia and the *IAMB*'s struggle against colonial oppression had one of the central places in the work of the conference. In the greeting sent to the conference, the PI declared that it was sending its representatives as an “outpost of the Indonesian freedom movement” and a “shock brigade against the militaristic violence of Dutch and international capitalism and imperialism in Indonesia”. The organization called for a “united revolutionary front” between the oppressed international proletariat in the “capitalist-imperialist countries,” the “victorious proletariat in the Soviet Union,” and the enslaved, oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies – in the struggle against war, for a new society, the absolute political, social, and economic liberation of the oppressed classes and races, for social revolution. The document also called for support for the USSR in the event of its war with the imperialist powers²⁰⁸.

204 Verslag van het Congres der Internationaal Antimilitaristische Vereeniging, gehouden op 25-12-1929 te Amsterdam // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Hoofdkwartier Veldleger, (1891) 1907–1942 (1947). Nummer toegang 2.13.16. Inv.nr. 949. Pak No. AA 262. Stuk No. III.

205 See: *De Syndicalist*. Weekblad van het Nederlandsch Syndicalistisch Vakverbond. 8.02.1930. No.346. P.4.

206 См.: Overzicht No.3. 1930. Maart – April. Bl.18–20 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Rijksvreemdelingendienst (RVD) en taakvorgangers van het Ministerie van Justitie, 1918–1945 (1981). Nummer toegang 2.09.45. Tweemandelijke overzichten van de Centrale Inlichtingendienst betreffende de algemene politieke situatie in Nederland, 1928–1939. Inv.nr. 1547. 1930; Scheuring in de Liga tegen koloniale onderdrukking. Het doel der communisten bereikt // *De Wapens Neder.* 1930. No.5. Mei. P.5; *Winter D. de.* Op. cit. P.100.

207 Indonesian communists, by their own admission, had been trying to influence *Perhimpunan Indonesia* since 1923, but were initially unsuccessful. They intensified their efforts after 1928 and finally took over the leadership of the organization in 1931. See: Bericht ueber die Lage in Indonesien, ueber unsere Arbeit im vergangenen Zeitabschnitt (1931–1935) und unsere naechsten Aufgaben. // РГАСПИ. Фонд 495. Опись 154. Дело 759. Лист 43.

208 *Perhimpunan Indonesia*. De taak der onderdrukte klassen en rassen // *De Wapens Neder.* 1931. No.7. Juli.

On behalf of the PI, Abdul Sukur greeted the gathering with a speech on colonial oppression in the Netherlands Indies. However, even before that, a scandal had broken out. The Indonesian communist Abdul Majid Joyoadiningrat, who (instead of Nazir Pamuntjak) made one of the main reports on the first day of the conference, began openly praising the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR. This caused indignation among the Dutch anarchists. The chairman, A. de Jong, deprived Abdul Majid of the floor, specifying that he had not done so earlier only because of his deep sympathy for the oppressed peoples. The anarchists who spoke in the discussion, Nabrink, de Ligt, Bernard Reyndorp and others, unanimously emphasized that Soviet Russia was far from genuine free socialism. De Ligt called it a country of party, government, soldiers and betrayal. French anarchist S. Faure declared that the Soviet government is the same instrument of power as in other countries and that state capitalism and exploitation of workers exist in Russia. He called for a fight against "red militarism"²⁰⁹.

The response to the pro-Soviet sympathies in the *PI* was also a comment on the greeting of this organization in the *IAMV* newspaper *De Wapens Neder*: "In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it must be urgently emphasized that our movement does not participate in a "united front" with Soviet Russia, which in reality does not exist. Furthermore, it is known that we are for "absolute political, social and economic liberation" in the Soviet state, where it was not the proletariat that won, but the militaristic state apparatus, used by a cowardly political party"²¹⁰.

In November 1931, Hatta and Sjahrir were expelled from *Perhimpunan Indonesia*²¹¹. After this, the Indonesian student organization in the Netherlands obediently followed the communists in its political line.

However, another attempt to achieve cooperation between the Dutch left and the *PI*, this time without the participation of the communists, was made in 1932, on the initiative of the Revolutionair Socialistische Partij (RSP) of Henk Sneevliet, founded by Trotskyists, left socialists and some libertarians. In May, the first meeting was held to establish the Committee Against Fascism and War (ANTIFO), with the participation of representatives of: the left-wing social democrats from Onafhankelijke Socialistische Partij (OSP) and its youth organization; the RSP, the closely related trade union association Nederlands Arbeids-Secretariaat and its youth organization; anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists from the *IAMB*, the *Nederlands Syndicalistisch Vakverbond*, and the *Bond van Anarcho-Socialisten* (B. de Ligt, A. de Jong, and A. Storm); and *Perhimpunan Indonesia*²¹². At the next meeting on June 5, it was agreed that the members of the association

209 See: Verslag van de herdenkings bijeenkomst van het Internationale Anti-Militaristisch Bureau, gehouden op 25 en 26 juli 1931 te 's-Gravenhage // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Hoofdkwartier Veldleger, (1891) 1907–1942 (1947). Nummer toegang 2.13.16. Inv.nr. 949. Pak No. AA 262. Bundel No. IV.

210 *De Wapens Neder*. 1931. No.7. Juli.

211 *Rose M.* Op. cit. P.101.

212 *Winter D. de.* Op. cit. P.101.

would cooperate in conducting joint agitation and propaganda with the aim of preventing war, but would retain the opportunity to express their own views²¹³. On June 29, another meeting was held²¹⁴, and on July 9, the Committee was finally established. However, the *IAMB* and the *Nederlands Syndicalistisch Vakverbond* never joined it. Of the anarchist groups, the *IAMV*, the *Bond van Anarcho-Socialisten*, the *Vrije Socialisten Vereniging* and the *Syndicalistisch Arbeids-Secretariaat de Groningen* joined ANTIFO. However, the *IAMV*, which joined in August 1932, left a month later, following a decision by an internal referendum. In February 1933, the OSP left the association²¹⁵, then *Perhimpunan Indonesia* ceased cooperation with it²¹⁶, and in September of the same year, the Committee ceased to exist.

In 1933, the leader of the *PI*, Roestam Effendi, was elected to the Dutch parliament on the list of the Communist Party of Holland. In the following years, *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, following the instructions of the Comintern, like other communist organizations, took a course towards rapprochement with social democracy and the social democratic trade unions of the Netherlands. Representatives of the Social Democratic Labor Party of the Netherlands and its *Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen* were invited in December 1938 to a ceremonial meeting on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the *PI*, and Rustam Effendi called cooperation with them an important "step forward"²¹⁷.

For their part, Hatta and Sjahrir, who returned to Indonesia from the metropolis in 1932, maintained contacts with non-communist left-wing circles in the Netherlands. Arrested in 1934, Hatta corresponded, among others, with the prominent left-wing socialist Henriette Roland Holst (1869–1952), who had already worked closely with Indonesians in Holland in the 1920s, supporting their struggle, and in the 1930s maintained contacts with the *Bond van Religieuze Anarcho-Communisten*, *IAMV*, and the anarcho-syndicalists²¹⁸.

213 Mededeeling // De Wapens Neder. 1932. No.7. Juli. P.4.

214 Overzicht No.4. 1932, Bl.4–5 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Rijksvreemdelingendienst (RVD) en taakvorgangers van het Ministerie van Justitie, 1918–1945 (1981). Nummer toegang 2.09.45. Inv.nr. 1557. Mededelingen bij de toezending van de tweemandelijkse overzichten van de Centrale Inlichtingendienst, 1929–1937.

215 *Winter D. de.* Op. cit. P.101–104; Overzicht No.1. 1933, Bl.21–22 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Rijksvreemdelingendienst (RVD) en taakvorgangers van het Ministerie van Justitie, 1918–1945 (1981). Nummer toegang 2.09.45. Tweemandelijkse overzichten van de Centrale Inlichtingendienst betreffende de algemene politieke situatie in Nederland, 1928–1939. Inv.nr.1550. 1933.

216 Overzicht No.3. 1933. Bl.1 // Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. Rijksvreemdelingendienst (RVD) en taakvorgangers van het Ministerie van Justitie, 1918–1945 (1981). Nummer toegang 2.09.45. Tweemandelijkse overzichten van de Centrale Inlichtingendienst betreffende de algemene politieke situatie in Nederland, 1928–1939. Inv.nr.1550. 1933.

217 *Roestam Effendi.* Indonesia en Nederland: Bij het Jubileum der "P.I." // Het Volksdagblad. Dagblad voor Nederland. Amsterdam, 21.12.1938. No.516. P.4.

218 Cm.: *Schwidder E., Schrevel M.* Mohammad Hatta, Muslim and Western intellectual. Dutch letters by Mohammed Hatta // International Institute of Social History. URL: <http://www.iisg.nl/collections/hatta/intro.php> (22.02.2019); *Boon C., Harmsen G.* Schalk, Henriette Goverdine Anna van der // Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland. Deel 5. Amsterdam: Stichting Beheer IISG, 1992. P.241–256.

In January 1936, the *IAMV* organ *De Wapens Neder* published an article by Soetirto on the prospects of the liberation movement in Indonesia. The author distinguished two different stages: in the first, until 1926/1927, the "proletarian-socialist" wing, represented by the Communist Party, predominated; in the second, the "nationalist current" came to the fore, actively using "socialist terminology" to attract the "urban proletariat". The nationalists, in turn, were divided into two wings. The left, represented by the *Partai Nasional Indonesia*, split into the radicals of the *Pendikan* led by Hatta and Sharir and the moderate *Partai Indonesia* (Partindo). After their defeat by the colonial authorities, "Indonesia's nationalist movement is now largely made up of very moderate elements", Soetirto stated. However, he expressed hope for a revival, due to the growth of the ranks of wage labor and the growing military threat in the world, generated by the capitalist system itself. According to the author of the article, the population of Indonesia should arm itself, so as not to become a mere object and victim of a future war. "The task of Indonesian revolutionaries is to promote the development of the proletarian movement in Indonesia. In the Netherlands, the task of socialist-minded people is to support the liberation movement in Indonesia in whatever form, since such a movement is at present objectively one that supports the proletarian struggle," Soetirto concluded²¹⁹.

Commenting on the article, the anarchist-antimilitarist editorial board declared: "Although the IAMV, which since 1904 has supported the slogan of 'Indonesia los van Holland', shares Soetirto's opinion that the Indonesian liberation struggle objectively supports our struggle, we should retain the right to determine for ourselves to what extent we can provide our active or moral support to specific manifestations of this liberation struggle. An Indonesia that has developed nationalistically, in the spirit of the famous Japan or China, can be as dangerous for socialism as any white power"²²⁰.

In other words: although the Dutch anarchists were resolute opponents of colonialism, they were sharply critical of the idea of creating new national states. It is no accident that the young Indonesian nationalists ultimately failed to find a common language with the anarchists. The anarchists emphasized that national independence would not eliminate the exploited position of the workers in the colonies, but would only replace the oppression of the colonizers with the oppression of their "own" bourgeoisie, "own" militarism, etc. It is clear that such statements could not be popular among Indonesian activists who were striving to create their own national state. Contacts between Dutch anarchists in Indonesia itself did not develop. Evidence of this is that in 1931, out of

219 Soetirto. De indonesische beweging en haar perspectief // Bijblad behorende bij *De Wapens Neder* van Jan. 1936. P.1.

220 Ibidem.

1,600 copies of the press bulletin of the International Anti-Militarist Commission (a joint organ of the *IAMB* and the anarcho-syndicalist International *IWA*), only one was sent to Indonesia...²²¹

After Indonesia declared independence and began hostilities against the new republic, Dutch left-wing radicals and anarchists actively opposed the colonial war and the sending of troops to the former colony. At the end of 1945, the Anti-Militaristic Struggle Committee was formed, which issued the manifesto "Hands off Indonesia"; the bulletin *De Stem van Indonesië* ("The Voice of Indonesia") was published. The association included such organizations as the Indonesian Struggle Committee, the group around the newspaper *De Vlam* (The Flame), the Trotskyist *Revolutionair Communistische Partij* and the council communists from the *Communistenbond Spartacus*²²². The group of authors of *De Vlaam*, which was published until 1952, united various Marxist left socialists, anarcho-syndicalists, religious socialists, left / council communists, etc.²²³ However, after a few months, the Anti-Militaristic Struggle Committee disintegrated, as *De Vlaam* and *Spartacus* came out against the slogan of support for the state independence of Indonesia and the Indonesian government²²⁴. Left-wing socialists, anarchists and council communists actively supported the strike of port and transport workers against the sending of military ships and cargo to Indonesia in September 1946. Another series of strikes took place in July 1947.

The manifesto distributed by the Dutch libertarians emphasized that the colonial war served only the interests of the bourgeoisie and brought only blood, deprivation and economic hardship to the workers. The dock workers and sailors should remember that by making possible the transport of weapons and troops to Indonesia, they were increasing the suffering of their own class. The end of the "Indonesian adventure" would give new life to the socialist ideal, which "has been abused for too long in the interests of nationality." The libertarians called on the workers to recognize their duty of solidarity and to fight "under their own leadership" against wars, militarism and the state: "If you want to abolish war, fight against the state. The state is militarism. Militarism is war"²²⁵.

Later, anarcho-syndicalists complained that attempts to organize a general strike against the colonial war in subsequent years were thwarted by the "reformists"²²⁶.

Indonesians living, studying or working in the Netherlands during this period were in contact with various Dutch political and social organizations. *Perhimpunan Indonesia* remained

221 See: De Persdienst der IAK // De Wapens Neder. 1931. No.7. Juli.

222 See.: Bureau Nationale Veiligheid. Overzicht No.1 (December 1945 – Januari 1946). Bl.13 // Stichtung Argus. National Veiligheids Archief. URL: <https://www.stichtingargus.nl/bvd/1946-01.pdf> (22.02.2019).

223 See: *Burg F. van der*. De koude oorlog en de minderheid // De Gids. 1984. Jaargang 147. No.1/2. P.62. The editorial board also included H. Roland Holst.

224 Bureau Nationale Veiligheid. Overzicht No.7. 1946. Bl.19 // Stichtung Argus. National Veiligheids Archief. URL: <http://www.stichtingargus.nl/bvd/1946-07.pdf> (22.02.2019).

225 See the text of the manifesto in the bulletin of the International Workers Association: Inget krig med Indonesien // I.A.A. Presstjänst. Stockholm, 5.07.1947. Nr.7. S.10–11.

226 Cm.: *Muñoz Congost J.* La Asociación Internacional de los Tranajadores a través de sus Congresos. El debate anarcosindicalista. Parte VII // CENIT. Revista de sociología, ciencia y literatura. Toulouse, 1988. No.256. Diciembre. P. 7373.

most closely associated with the Communist Party of the Netherlands. *Nederland – Indonesië* association collaborated with the social democrats of *Partij van de Arbeid*. Trotskyist supporters formed their own *Merdeka* group, led by Musa Hamza²²⁷. Some Indonesians interacted with *De Vlaam*. For example, three Indonesians, including H.J.M. Tjokrohadi-soeka and Koes Sarjono, attended the *De Vlaam* summer camp, which was organized by the *De Vonk Foundation* from August 3 to 10, 1946. According to the political police, they expressed themselves in a sharply revolutionary spirit and called for acts of sabotage²²⁸. The following year, 1947, the plan to establish contacts between Indonesian students and other participants in the summer camp (July 19 – August 7) was never implemented²²⁹. At the same time, police reports do not contain any mention of Indonesians in Holland who were collaborating with the anarchists at that time.

Nevertheless, anarchists and council communists in the Netherlands founded a new organization, *Actie-Comité-Indonesia*. The initiative for its creation was put forward on August 17, 1947 by the *Nederlands Bond van Vrije Socialisten* (NBVS) and supported by the *Vrije Socialisten Vereniging* (VSV) and the *Communistenbond Spartacus*. The founding meeting of the Committee took place on September 6 in Amsterdam. Its goal was to unite the efforts of left-wing radical forces to resist the colonial war, primarily by direct action. It was intended to paralyze vital sectors of the economy through strikes, boycotts and sabotage. A manifesto and an appeal to the dock workers of Amsterdam and Rotterdam were issued and distributed. The police reported that on the night of October 24-25 leaflets with the manifesto "Workers and Intellectuals!" were pasted on the walls in Hengelo, on the night of November 3-4 leaflets were found on the walls in Emden, etc. On January 12, 1948, another meeting of the Committee was held in Amsterdam. But it was destined to be the penultimate. On February 2, the participants decided to disband the Committee. The reason was the disagreements between both groups of anarchists: the *NBVS* and the *VSV*²³⁰.

Although the Dutch anarchists never managed to gain any influence among Indonesians, the leaders of the new republic, despite their political differences, did not forget some of their old acquaintances. Among them was Müller-Lehning, who maintained contacts with Hatta and his comrades in the Indonesian student movement in the Netherlands and met with them²³¹. In 1949, the Indonesian government, at Hatta's suggestion, invited him to organize a Library of Political and Social History in Jakarta. It opened with the participation of the Dutch anarchist in 1952.²³² In

227 Bureau Nationale Veiligheid. Overzicht No.4. 1947. Bl.28 // Stichtung Argus. National Veiligheids Archief. URL: <http://www.stichtingargus.nl/bvd/1947-04.pdf> (22.02.2019).

228 Bureau Nationale Veiligheid. Overzicht No.9. 1946. Bl.24 // Stichtung Argus. National Veiligheids Archief. URL: <http://www.stichtingargus.nl/bvd/1946-09.pdf> (22.02.2019).

229 Bureau Nationale Veiligheid. Overzicht No.8. 1947. Bl.13 // Stichtung Argus. National Veiligheids Archief. URL: <http://www.stichtingargus.nl/bvd/1947-08.pdf> (22.02.2019).

230 Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst-onderwerpsdossier Actie Comite Indonesia // Stichtung Argus. National Veiligheids Archief. URL: <http://www.stichtingargus.nl/bvd/in/actiecomiteindonesia.pdf> (22.02.2019).

231 Rogier J. Arthur Lehning // *De Gids*. 1975. Jaargang 138. No.10. P.663.

232 See: *Lehning P.B.* Arthur Lehning // *Rotes Antiquariat*. Katalog Sommer 2014. *Anarchistica / Socialistica*. Aus dem Nachlass von Arthur Lehning. Berlin, 2014. S.5.

1954–55, Müller-Lehning taught social history at the University of Jakarta and the Academy of Foreign Affairs²³³.

Anarchism and Syndicalism in independent Indonesia

By the time Indonesia declared independence in 1945, there was no sign of an anarchist movement in any form in the country. The political elite of the new state used the label "anarchism" to condemn its opponents and the "grassroots" protests of workers that they did not like.

In a situation of virtual power vacuum, when the establishment of the Indonesian Republic had already been announced, but the occupation troops of defeated Japan were still on its territory, and the Dutch technical personnel were preparing to return to the old colonial order, the workers began spontaneously, without prior arrangement, to occupy enterprises and services and declare them the property of the new republic. On September 3, railway workers seized the railway in Jakarta, the depot and transport enterprises. This was followed by the occupation of tram depots, postal, telephone and telegraph companies, gas and electricity supply companies, radio stations, printing houses, industrial enterprises, plantations, mines... All of them came under workers' control, were governed, in the name of the republic, by workers' councils and were guarded by workers' militias (*buruh laskar*)²³⁴.

Indonesian authorities dubbed this movement "anarcho-syndicalism". As researcher Jafar Suryomenggolo notes, this term was "borrowed from Marxist literature to describe the danger and risks of workers being beyond the state's control; however, the label was not intended to describe the actual process of workers' control, rather to reject and condemn the phenomenon". The expression was "brought in" from Holland by Abdulmajid, who led the Indonesian students after Hatta's departure, and by other socialists. In February 1946, Vice President Hatta openly attacked "syndicalism" at an economic conference in Yogyakarta, and by the spring of 1946, enterprises had come under state's control²³⁵. President Sukarno, in turn, feared "anarcho-syndicalist" tendencies in the *Partai Buruh Indonesia*, created by trade unions²³⁶.

Spontaneous syndicalism in the Indonesian trade union movement of the mid-1940s was clearly evident in the organization of the *Serikat Buruh Indonesia*, later *Barisan Buruh Indonesia* (. This trade union association was formed in September 1945 with the assistance of Iwa Koesoemasoemantri, who held the post of Minister of Social Affairs in the first government of

233 Hilmer J. Arthur Lehning zum 100. Geburtstag // Schwarzer Faden. Grafenau, 1999. Nr. 69 (3). S. 59.

234 Ananta K. Arbeiterinitiativen in Indonesien bis zum Jahr 1964 // Arbeiterkontrolle, Arbeiterräte, Arbeiterselbstverwaltung. Eine Anthologie. Frankfurt a.M., 1971. S.424–427.

235 Suryomenggolo J. Worker's Control in Java, Indonesia, 1945–1946 // Ours to Master and to Own. Worker's Control from the Commune to the Present. Chicago, 2011. P.222.

236 Klinken G.A. van. Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation. Christians in Indonesia, a Biographical Approach. Leiden, 2003. P.193.

independent Indonesia until November 1945, advocated the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist nature of trade unions, and sought to transform the new organization into the only trade union center of the republic. The *BBI* relied on workers' collectives and Councils that managed the occupied enterprises and plantations. But already at the first congress in Solo on November 7–9, 1945, sharp disagreements emerged²³⁷. The communist and socialist delegates, who supported the government of the republic, prevented the radical wing from carrying out a revolutionary program. Although many sought independence for the trade union movement from political parties, the decision was made to create the *Partai Buruh Indonesia (PBI)*²³⁸.

The Congress of the *BBI* demanded that the government transfer control of the social and labor spheres and the distribution of food and clothing to the trade unions. All enterprises that passed "into the hands of the Indonesian people" were to be owned by the state, but under the actual management of the workers themselves. In addition, it was decided to create a workers' militia²³⁹.

Soon after the congress, the *BBI* began to fall apart: the more moderate unions, led by communists and socialists, refused to support it, and the radical minority, as noted in a report by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, "assumed an anarcho-syndicalist revolutionary character" (in reality, spontaneously syndicalist). However, even the leadership elected by the congress objected to the demand for immediate nationalization of enterprises, advocating that the workers retain control over the occupied factories and plantations and manage them themselves²⁴⁰.

On January 7, 1946, the separation of the *BBI* Front and the *PBI* Party was announced, although they continued to operate in conjunction with each other. The *PBI*, which advocated the creation of workers' and peasants' councils, was headed by Sjamsu Harya Udaya. This leader was close to Tan Malaka, who by this time had become a dissident communist and, while continuing to criticize anarchism and syndicalism, claimed to have respect for syndicalists. However, the branches of the *BBI* in Central and West Java preferred to maintain their distance from the party²⁴¹.

Gradually, the leadership of the *BBI* began to move further and further away from syndicalist guidelines. Already in May 1946, it criticized workers who "misunderstood" socialism and public ownership of the means of production, and declared that workers' self-management was an "infantile disease" leading to syndicalism. The leaders of the Front called on the government to coordinate the activities of enterprises and purge the labour movement of hostile elements²⁴².

237 The Workers' Front congress was attended by 3,000 people representing 817 trade unions, of which 104 were from Surakarta; see: *Anderson B.* Revoloesi pemoeda: pendudukan Jepang dan perlawanan di Jawa 1944–1946. Jakarta, 1988. P.243.

238 United States Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Labor Conditions in Indonesia. July 1951. Washington, 1951. P.81–82.

239 *Bima Satria Putra.* Op. cit. H.178.

240 United States Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Labor Conditions in Indonesia. July 1951. P.82.

241 *Bima Satria Putra.* Op. cit. H.179, 181, 186.

242 *Ibid.* H.196–197.



Military parade welcomes participants of the BBI congress

In May 1946, under the leadership of Sjamsu, a trade union association was created: the *Gabungan Serikat Buruh Indonesia* (GABSBI). It included some members of the *BBI*. Some branches, which remained committed to the syndicalist ideas of workers' self-management, did not join it²⁴³. However, in the context of the ongoing war for independence with the Netherlands and the aggravation of internal conflict in the young republic, these tendencies no longer had any chance of defending their ideas. In November 1946, the main labor unions of the country united into the Central Organization of Trade Unions of Indonesia (*SOBSI*), headed by pro-Soviet communists. In connection with this, in December 1946, the *BBI* ceased to exist: some of its members joined the *PBI*, others dissolved into the *SOBSI*...²⁴⁴ The *PBI* also came under the control of the Communist Party and merged with it in 1948.

In the following years, libertarian groups apparently existed in Indonesia, although information about them is very limited. Rudolf Rocker, in a letter to an unidentified addressee on July 2, 1958, mentioned: „ (...) Libertarian organisation in former parts of Dutch India requested me to write for them a special Declaration of Principles. To help me they have sent me a large amount of material to deal with a very strange situation. Had I even accepted to do the work, it would have been of no avail, because to undertake such an extremely difficult task, one must have a complete knowledge of the best sources and not depend on second hand material”²⁴⁵.

Under the authoritarian rule of President Soekarno and the subsequent military dictatorship of 1965–1998, during which any manifestations of the radical left movement were mercilessly and

243 Ibid. H.195–196. The *GABSBI* united mainly workers' associations by professions, including unions of printers, bakers, weavers, carpenters, electricians, shoemakers and mechanics. Those who disagreed with the creation of *GABSBI* formed the *Gabungan Serikat Burukh Vertikal* (GSBV); see: United States Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Labor Conditions in Indonesia. July 1951. P.84.

244 United States Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Labor Conditions in Indonesia. July 1951. P.83.

245 Rudolf Rocker to a non identified person. 2.07.1959 // International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. Rudolf Rocker Papers. Inv. No. 40.

cruelly suppressed, there was no opportunity for the spread of anarchist ideas in the country. Anarchism reappeared on the archipelago only in the 1990s. In 1993–1994, the Indonesian punk scene emerged. One of the first anarcho-punk groups was a musical collective with the provocative name *Runtah*, which emerged in 1995 in Bandung. At first, punks simply challenged the establishment, but then part of the milieu turned to anti-dictatorship and anti-fascist activities, establishing connections with social movements and the labour movement. At first, many of these politicized young people grouped around the left-wing Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD), which was founded in 1994 by former participants in the student movement of the 1980s.²⁴⁶

As Indonesian activists themselves have recounted, the anarchist movement emerged around 1998. “At that time, anarchy was synonymous with punk, and some people in the community began to take a deeper interest in anarchist ideology and values. From that time on, anarchist discourse began to develop among individuals and collectives in the punk/hardcore community, and later in a wider range of activist groups, students, workers...”. Discussions began about how to create collectives and organizations on a non-hierarchical and decentralized basis. The first, still unstable groups began to emerge and small magazines were published, discussing a wide variety of issues of social movements: issues of feminism, anarchist values, anti-capitalism, social resistance, anti-globalism, ecology, etc. The spread of anarchism was facilitated by access to the Internet. A serious problem was the lack of anarchist literature in Indonesian languages, and brochures by M. Bakunin, E. Goldman, R. Rocker etc. were translated and published²⁴⁷.

The participation of young Indonesian anarchists in social movements began with actions to distribute food to those in need (“*Food Not Bombs*”), with support for protests and anti-fascist work. Thus, in August-September 1999, activists of the *Anti-Fascist Front* of Bandung supported the struggle of striking workers of the “Rimba Aristama” factory, organized solidarity actions and demonstrations. In December 1999, representatives of radical youth anti-fascist groups from all over Indonesia convened in Yogyakarta the first meeting of the *Jaringan Anti-Fasis Nusantara*, which had an anarchist orientation²⁴⁸. The conference was initiated by the Bandung *Anti-Fascist Front* and was attended by delegates from groups in Jakarta (*AFRA*), Semarang (*SARAF*), Surabaya (*Barisan Anti-Penindas*) and Yogyakarta (*Last Palm Community*). In 2000, a second conference was held, which was attacked by militants from the youth organization of the Muslim Partai Persatuan Pembangunan. The federation collapsed shortly after the meeting, and the *Anti-Fascist Front* also disbanded, as many members were unhappy with its use by the PRD²⁴⁹.

246 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H. 216.

247 See: Interview mit AnarchistInnen aus Indonesien // Von Jakarta bis Johannesburg: Anarchismus weltweit. Münster, 2010. S.238–247.

248 *Black Flag*. [2000]. No.219. P.12.

249 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H. 217.

A period of instability followed, with groups frequently breaking up and being replaced by new ones. In the very late 1990s and early 2000s, the *Action Committee of the Oppressed People* and the *Anti-Fascist Anti-Racist Action* briefly existed in Jakarta, and there was an “info-shop” called the “*Brainwashing Corporation*” that attempted to disseminate information about anarchism and theory. In Bandung, there was the *Counter-Culture Collective*, which practiced direct action “in everyday life,” and in Malang, the *Mutual Aid Forum*. In 2001, a group of Indonesian libertarians from West Java came forward (in opposition to the counter-cultural orientation) with the idea of forming an “anarcho-party” and an anarcho-syndicalist movement.

The end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries were a period of significant changes in Indonesian society. Rapid economic growth, globalization, economic liberalization and expansion of the private sector had a noticeable impact on the social status of the working population, especially the younger generation. Researchers highlight factors such as the growth in the number of people receiving complete secondary and higher education, the increase in the number of people employed in trade and finance, on the one hand, and in the so-called “informal” sector of the economy, on the other. In the second case, we are talking primarily about the so-called “precarious” employment, that is, work in conditions of unstable labor relations, with fewer social guarantees. This part of the population is more vulnerable, subject to the risk of fluctuations in the economic situation, unemployment, etc.²⁵⁰

Compared to previous generations, Indonesian youth today are more cosmopolitan, “spontaneous, emotional, adventurous, free, informal, rebellious, dislike rules and traditions, attention seeking, eager to try and adopt new things and technologies, status conscious, fashion minded and consumptive”²⁵¹.

Researcher of the history of Indonesian anarchism Bima Satria Putra notes that some of the socio-psychological characteristics of the younger generation of the country's residents contribute to the popularity of anarchist views among them. The desire to independently control and organize their lives, a critical attitude toward routine in the work process, a thirst for self-realization, dissatisfaction with the conditions generated by such phenomena of growing capitalism as urbanization, industrialization and environmental pollution, contributed to the desire for an alternative way of life. This search for something new unfolded against the background of growing skepticism of young people in relation to traditional values, their openness to new ideas and trends from abroad, while simultaneously discrediting the “old” left after the collapse of the communist party regimes in the USSR and Europe. “Alternative” projects and cooperatives, centers, libraries,

250 See: Nilan P., Parker L., Bennett L., Robinson K. Indonesian youth looking toward future // *Journal of Youth Studies*. 2011. Vol. 14, No.6. September. P.710–711.

251 *Solito Sarwono*. Anak Jakarta: A sketch of Indonesian youth identity // *Wacana*. 2014. Vol. 15. No.1. P.62.

publishing houses began to appear. For those young people who were more critically minded, anarchism opened up a field for struggle against the oppressive and repressive state system²⁵².

At the beginning of the 21st century, the anarchist movement in Indonesia remained fragmented; different groups and individual activists adhered to different versions of anarchism and tactical forms. However, they were able to combine their efforts to carry out joint projects, such as May Day demonstrations. In early 2007, the *Jaringan Anti-Autoritarian* was created to coordinate such actions, and was joined by the groups *Affinitas* (Jakarta), *Apocalypse* (Bandung), *Jaringan Otonomis* (Jakarta), *Jaringan Autonomous* (Salatiga), *Continuum* (Makassar)²⁵³, individual activists from Bali and Semarang, and people from the Jakarta punk collective. This association organized the May Day demonstration in 2007, which attracted more than 100 people and marked the emergence of anarchism on the public scene. After this, new groups appeared in various cities, and anarchists became more active in social protests, demonstrations against the construction of nuclear power plants, etc.²⁵⁴ Anarchist magazines have appeared, such as *Amor Fati* (since 2007) and *Continuum*.

The 2008 May Day action was attended by 200 people. Although this time the groups from Bandung (*Apocalypse*) and Salatiga (*Melawan Syndicate*) refused to support it, the capital city's groups and *Affinitas* from Yogyakarta took over. The action was directed against large corporations. The demonstrators marched from the building of the Pernabas Economic Institute to the office center of the Wisma Bakri 2 concern, where they burned a cardboard figure of a capitalist and clashed with the police. Then the marchers continued to Bundaran HI Square. The arrest of four participants led to clashes with the police, who took out their weapons, began beating the demonstrators and arresting them. The anarchists were held at the station until midnight²⁵⁵.

The May 1, 2008 crackdown halted the growth of the young anarchist movement in the country. Some groups disbanded. However, new activists and groups emerged and continued to engage in social struggle, including radical forms such as clashes, sabotage and expropriation. For example, on December 9, 2009, hundreds of anarchists in Makassar joined demonstrations to mark the "International Day Against Corruption" and loudly denounced all political elites. The protesters blocked Sudirman Street and began throwing stones and smashing the windows of restaurants, banks and hotels, smashing luxury cars and clashing with special police forces²⁵⁶.

By 2010, anarchist groups and activists were active on the islands of Java (in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Pati, Surabaya, Rembang, Randublatung, Salatiga, Porong), Sumatra (in Palembang, Pekanbaru, Medan, Aceh), Kalimantan (in Balikpapan), Sulawesi (in Makassar,

252 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H. 234–235.

253 Ibid. H. 218.

254 Interview mit AnarchistInnen aus Indonesien...

255 *Bima Satria Putra*. Op. cit. H. 219–220.

256 Ibid. H.221–225.

Manado and Gorontalo) and Bali²⁵⁷. May Day demonstrations are held regularly in the capital of Indonesia.

Separate currents and trends began to form within the young anarchist movement. Supporters of “insurrectionist anarchism”²⁵⁸, who rely on violent actions and attacks on objects associated with the state and capital, formed their own groups, such as “Long live Luciano Tortuga!” and others. In December 2010, supporters of this trend created “negasi.noblogs.org” and a number of other websites on the Internet, where translations of materials from the Situationist International and nihilist texts were published. In March–June 2011, a series of attacks followed on a McDonald’s restaurant and ATMs in Makassar (responsibility for the latter was claimed by the *Rebel Front God is Dead* group), Manado in northern Sulawesi (on behalf of the *International Conspiracy of Vengeance*) and Bandung (on behalf of a branch of the *Informal Anarchist Federation*). In October of the same year, two people were arrested after an explosion at ATMs in Bandung. Solidarity actions were held in various countries around the world²⁵⁹.

The Indonesian branch of the Earth Liberation Front (*Fron Pembebasan Bumi*) has taken a radical ecological stand against modern civilization. Its activists have claimed responsibility for such “guerrilla” actions as attacks on power plants in Jakarta in December 2012 and January 2013, the burning of cars and the home of the deputy leader of the Democratic Party in South Sumatra, the burning of ATMs in Makassar, etc. The group has declared its solidarity with the struggle of the Ogan Kemilir Ilir peasants, the rebels of West Papua and the peoples of Kalimantan, Mentawai and Jambi, with protests against the mining industry on the southern coast of Java²⁶⁰.

In the 2010s, new changes are taking place on the anarchist “scene” in Indonesia. Purely destructive protest actions do not disappear, but they are fading into the background. The number of independent publications publishing anarchist literature, including classics, was growing (for example, in 2017, several works by Bakunin were translated and published). Some Indonesian anarchists have begun to show interest in anarcho-syndicalism²⁶¹. Thus, in the early 2010s, a group of activists from Surabaya created a small initiative, the *Workers' Power Syndicate*, which declared

257 Interview mit AnarchistInnen aus Indonesien...

258 On “insurreccionist anarchism” in Indonesia, see, for example: *Berger D.* Indonesias’s new anarchists // Inside Indonesia. URL: <https://www.insideindonesia.org/indonesia-s-new-anarchists> (20.01.2020).

259 *Bima Satria Putra.* Op. cit. H. 226–229.

260 *Ibid.* H.232–233.

261 It is worth noting that in 2006, two Indonesian trade union associations (the National Federation of Trade Unions of Indonesia, which established contact with the I.W.A. in March 2005, and the National Center of Trade Unions of Indonesia, which is part of NFPTUI and was created in 2005), which cooperate with the World Federation of Trade Unions, applied to join the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers Association (I.W.A.). These associations were not accepted into the I.W.A. because they are neither anarcho-syndicalist nor revolutionary-syndicalist, declare support for the UN, the International Labor Organization, have full-time functionaries and a non-federalist structure. The 23rd Congress of the I.W.A. in December 2007 officially refused “membership to the NFPTUI, but agreed to create a commission to maintain good relations with it in the near future.” See: XXIII Congress International Workers Association. Manchester, 8, 9 & 10 December 2006 // International Workers Association Archive. BI003. 18 Dec. 2007. P.50.

its anarcho-syndicalist orientation and in 2012 provided assistance to workers at the Garmino Jaya clothing factory in Bogor during a labor conflict²⁶².

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation of Australia (ASF), a section of the International Workers Association, aided to the development of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Indonesia. In the 2010s, it began to vigorously develop contacts with activists in Southeast Asia who had shown an interest in anarchism, as well as with workers and students from the region who worked or studied in Australia. As a temporary measure, it was decided to accept interested people into the ASF. This is how the *ASF Surabaya* initiative was born. In 2016, the *Persaudaraan Pekerja Anarco-Sindikalis (PPAS)* was founded, which included the former Surabaya group of the ASF.



PPAS emblem

PPAS describes itself as an anarcho-syndicalist workers' organization that fights against global capitalism. Focusing on direct action, it rejects the creation of centralized-bureaucratic structures typical of traditional trade unions. It accepts into its ranks not only those who are directly employed, but also temporarily employed, students and the unemployed. The activities of PPAS are aimed at improving the situation of working people, implementing direct action in various forms and preparing a revolution with the takeover of the means of production by workers. The main methods of action of the PPAS are declared to be agitation and propaganda, training and education of workers and their unification into syndicates to fight against the tyranny of employers and bosses, for their own rights and interests. PPAS is built and operates on the principles of decentralization, decision-making "from below" and autonomy of component parts; equality of all members and groups; direct action (including mass and illegal strikes, boycott and sabotage); internationalism; solidarity, mutual aid and support for struggles in the workplace and in the community; independence from capital, political parties and the state, from their political and

²⁶² См., например: Indonesian syndicalists fight for justice at PT Garmino Jaya KNH. URL: <https://libcom.org/news/indonesian-syndicalists-face-30092012> (13.07.2019).

economic interests. “(...) perjuangan melawan kapitalisme dan negara harus ditentukan sendiri oleh organisasi akar rumput sehingga tidak membiarkan kepentingan-kepentingan tersebut mempengaruhi perjuangan. Pekerja dan pemodal tidak memiliki kesamaan. PPAS melawan bentuk kolaborasi antar pekerja dan bosnya seperti serikat pekerja yang birokratis dan skema lainnya. Dalam perjuangan di tempat kerja, kemenangan-kemenangan yang di dapat mungkin berhubungan dengan tuntutan material yang konkret, namun pada dasarnya tujuan utama dari sindikalis adalah untuk menggantikan sistem kapitalisme dan negara dengan masyarakat yang setara dan mandiri”, the PPAS declares²⁶³. Indonesian anarcho-syndicalists have created syndicates in Surabaya and Jakarta, the Restaurant Workers Association, etc. In support of their Indonesian comrades, the Australian ASF organised a lecture and discussion in Jakarta in September 2016 on the topic “What is Anarcho-Syndicalism?”

The group's activists took part in the May Day protests of 2016 and 2017. On November 1, 2016, Indonesian anarcho-syndicalists participated in mass protests of workers in Surabaya against low wages. By autumn 2017, PPAS included local groups in Jakarta and Surabaya, as well as some members of the independent Uber Taxi Drivers' Union (*KUMAN*). The latter was created with the support of PPAS and united up to 500 members in various cities in Indonesia²⁶⁴. In the summer and fall of 2017, the taxi drivers' union entered into its first serious labor conflict with Uber management, seeking higher pay and better working conditions; a strike and demonstrations were organized²⁶⁵. The campaign was supported by the International Workers Association. At the call of the I.W.A., on September 7, a number of countries around the world held solidarity actions with the struggle of Indonesian UBER drivers²⁶⁶. Members of the I.W.A. Secretariat who visited Indonesia in September 2017 held a series of lectures and discussions on anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, which took place at the PPAS headquarters in Jakarta and at the premises of the anarchist group in Yogyakarta. In December 2019, at the I.W.A. Congress in Melbourne, the PPAS organization was accepted into the Anarcho-Syndicalist International as its section in Indonesia.

263 Tentang PPAS // Persaudaraan Pekerja Anarko-Sindikalis. URL: <https://ppasonline.wordpress.com/2018/08/05/tentang-ppas/> (28.09.2019). “(...) the struggle against capitalism and the state must be determined by grassroots organizations themselves so as not to allow interests to influence the struggle. Workers and capitalists have nothing in common. PPAS opposes forms of collaboration between workers and their bosses such as bureaucratic unions and other schemes. In the struggle at work, the victories achieved may be related to concrete material demands, but the main goal of syndicalism is to replace the capitalist system and the state with an equal and independent society.”

264 See: IWA. Report on visit to PPAS and events in Indonesia. Warszawa, 28.09.2017.

265 Uber drivers strike in Indonesia (23.08.2017). URL: <https://libcom.org/news/uber-drivers-strike-indonesia-23082017> (28.09.2019).

266 See: International Workers Association: Solidarity with UBER drivers! // A-Infos. A multi-lingual news service by, for and about anarchists (6.09.2010). URL: <http://www.ainfos.ca/en/ainfos35596.html> (28.09.2019).

Other anarchist groups and projects continue to exist in the country, such as *Anarkonesia*, *Jakarta Antifa*, the Libertarian Students Federation (*Federasi Mahasiswa Libertarian*), etc.²⁶⁷

The May Day demonstrations of 2018 demonstrated the growth in the ranks and radicalism of Indonesian anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, who demonstrated in large numbers in Jakarta, Surabaya and Bandung. In the capital, where PPAS activists raised banners calling for solidarity and unity between workers and laid-off workers, they were attacked by mercenaries and guards from the official trade union association, the All Indonesia Committee of Workers' Unions (KSPSI). Even larger unrest followed a demonstration and blockade against the construction of a new airport in Bandung, where many participants were arrested by police²⁶⁸.

The activity of the anarchist movement and its popularity among young people seriously worries the Indonesian authorities. On May 1, 2019, thousands of anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists took to the streets and squares. In Bandung, masses of black-clad demonstrators (mostly students, schoolchildren and precarious workers) formed an impressive bloc under black and red-and-black flags. During the march, activists wrote slogans on the walls of buildings: "Anarchism", "Anti-capitalism", "May Day" and "No to cheap labor". The demonstrators were attacked by the police, who acted with particular brutality: the police beat the protesters, knocked them down, dragged them along the ground, tore off their clothes. 619 people (including 14 woman) were arrested and subjected to abuse: they were beaten, divided into groups, stripped and shaved bald. They were then thrown into pick-up trucks and taken to the police station. During the clashes between the anarchists and the police, police stations, cars and "symbols of capital" were damaged.



267 In 2017, the Salatiga Libertarian Students Federation issued a call for a pan-Indonesian congress and the establishment of local libertarian student organizations; see: Indonesia, Federasi mahasiswa libertarian Salatiga: National Congress calls by Student Federation of Libertarian Salatiga (machine translation) // A-Infos (8.10.2017). URL: <http://www.ainfos.ca/17/oct/ainfos00223.html> (20.01.2021). Salatiga students published and distributed a brochure about the anarchist student organization, its goals, objectives and methods; see: Mengorganisir mahasiswa anarkis. Salatiga, 2017.

268 See: Indonesia: Solidarity call with anarchists imprisoned in Yogyakarta // Freedom (24.06.2018). URL: <https://freedomnews.org.uk/indonesia-solidarity-call-for-anarchists-imprisoned-in-yogyakarta/> (28.09.2019).

Anarchist May Day in Indonesia

There were also clashes in Surabaya. A crowd of protesters dressed in black staged a sit-in outside the Gedung Negara Grahadi Palace, where unions were celebrating May Day. In Makassar, several dozen protesters dressed in black outside a parking lot in the Panakkukang area smashed billboards, painted graffiti, threw stones and tried to attack a McDonald's. Police arrested dozens of anarchists in Makassar and Surabaya. In Jakarta, security guards and mercenaries from the official KSPSI union attacked members of the red-black bloc of PPAS. Anarchists also took part in demonstrations in Malang²⁶⁹.

The events of May 1, 2019, attracted the attention of the entire Indonesian press. The country began to talk loudly about the emergence of anarchism in the country. In turn, the police authorities blamed the riots on "anarcho-syndicalists", declaring that this was a global movement that began in Russia and gradually spread to other regions of the planet, and now has come to Asia. They called for increased repression against anarchists²⁷⁰.

After a broad campaign in support of the arrested Indonesian anarchists, in which the I.W.A. also actively participated, the detainees were released. However, the confrontation between the rising anarchist movement and the Indonesian authorities is not over. Anarchists take part in all major social protests in the country, seeking to bring their agenda to them. Thus, in the fall of 2019, they, together with other student activists in Jakarta, fought with the police, protesting against plans to tighten the criminal code and repression in West Papua (West Irian) etc..²⁷¹ Indonesian anarchists actively participated in the violent nationwide protests in October 2020 against new legislation on

269 For information on the 2019 Indonesian anarchist May Day protests and repression, see: *Hidayat M.A.* Asal-usul Anarko Sang Penganjur Sabotase-Boikot dalam Rusuh Hari Buruh // Viva.co.id #1 newstainment (3.05.2019). URL: <https://www.viva.co.id/berita/nasional/1145439-asal-usul-anarko-sang-penganjur-sabotase-boikot-dalam-rusuh-hari-buruh> (28.09.2019); *Dipa A., Muryanto B.* Police repression mars May Day protest rally // The Jakarta Post (2.05.2019). URL: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/05/02/police-repression-mars-may-day-protest-rallies-bandung-yogyakarta-indonesia.html> (28.09.2019); *Afiya L.* Anarchist Group Incited May Day Chaos, Says Workers' Union // Tempo.co (2.05.2019). URL: <https://en.tempo.co/read/1201190/anarchist-group-incited-may-day-chaos-says-workers-union> (28.09.2019); *Anarchist Resistance and Repression in Indonesia // AMW (English)* (3.05.2019). URL: <https://www.amwenglish.com/articles/indonesia-repression-and-resistance/> (28.09.2019).

270 See: *Tentang Anarcho-Syndicalism yang Gerakkan Masa Baju Hitam di Hari Buruh // Detik* (2.05.2019). URL: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4532993/tentang-anarcho-syndicalism-yang-gerakkan-massa-baju-hitam-di-hari-buruh> (28.09.2019); *Afiya L.* Police Map Out Anarcho-syndicalism Members after May Day Clash // Tempo.co (2.05.2019). URL: <https://en.tempo.co/read/1201287/police-map-out-anarcho-syndicalism-members-after-may-day-clash> (28.09.2019); *Tehusijarana K.M., Dipa A.* Anarcho-syndicalism in Indonesia: Real threat or boogeyman? // The Jakarta Times (7.05.2019). URL: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/05/07/anarcho-syndicalism-in-indonesia-real-threat-or-boogeyman.html> (28.09.2019); *Indonésie: Après les émeutes du 1er Mai à Bandung, Surabaya et Makassar et une répression féroce, les anarchosyndicalistes et l'AIT dans le viseur de la police locale // Actualité de l'Anarchosyndicalisme.* URL: <http://blog.cnt-ait.info/post/2019/05/02/INDONESIE-repression-premier-mai-2019> (28.09.2019).

271 *Anarchists and Students burns Police Station in Jakarta Protests AMW (English)* (24.09.2019). URL: <https://www.amwenglish.com/articles/anarchists-and-students-rise-up-in-jakarta/> (28.09.2019). The proposed amendments included a 7-year prison sentence for spreading "communism," a 4-year sentence for "insulting" the government, large fines for abortion, sexual relations outside of marriage, homelessness, etc. After mass protests, the amendments were repealed.

job creation, which provides for a significant infringement of the rights of employees and an expansion of the powers of entrepreneurs.