Mohammad Hatta's Theory in *Daulat Ra'jat* Magazine: Structure of Government Organization

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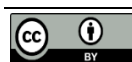*Corresponding author: syaiful1998@gmail.com

Abstract

Daulat Ra'jat was made by Mohammad Hatta from 1931 to 1934. Daulat Ra'jat gives us a concept of governmentthat Mohammad Hatta made. He made a theory about government structure to build a nation and people's economy. This theory becomes a gap that has not been discussed by many government scientists. So, this theory must be researched in this study. The first problem formulation is what the theory about the structure of government organization is. The second problem formulation is how the structure of government organization works. This research purpose is to state the definition and the implementation ofthe structure of government organization from Mohammad Hatta's Theory, especially according to economy perspective. This study uses library research to explore the theory. Library research is a literature study for collecting, reading, analyzing, and synthesizing the gap of theme. Primary data is from Daulat Ra'jat. Data analysis is arranged by reading data according to the theme, breaking data into some points into clusters for fulfilling the theme, synthesizing the points in cluster of them with theory used in this study and with the understanding of this researcher about the theme. The result is known that the structure of government organization is divided into two formulations: from regionals into state institutions and from organization into institution then networking between institutions. Each structure of the government must arrange governing influenced theconstitution soul, systematic networking of divisions, inside and between institutions, to implement state authority.

Keywords: *Daulat Ra'jat; Government Organization; Mohammat Hatta; Structure of Government.*

Introduction

According to Kroef (1951), the name of Indonesia country was proposed by two ethnologists. The first was from England and was known as G. W. Earl in the year 1850. Secondly was from a German ethnologist in year of 1884. German ethnologist was Adolf Bastian. Bastian mentioned for Indonesia name then used by Dutch government. Dutch government called Indonesia for their colonialism area in an archipelago country of Southeast Asia (Kroef, 1951). The name of Indonesia was expressed by Mohammad Hatta in his writing "*Indonesia Vrij*" in the year 1928 when he was in confrontation with the Netherland Court (Utomo & Wijayanti, 2020). According to Mohammad Hatta statements in a translated document called *"Indonesia Vrij"* more and less paragraph of 5th (1924) (Gunawan, 2021), the name of Indonesia had become to inspire Mohammad Hatta to build his nation. Freedom from colonialism can be obtained in a peaceful way or a violence way.

Both of these ways are natural history. Mohammad Hatta preferred peacefully to get national freedom. So, he used literacy way to build his nation for freedom. The literacy way was from his writings. *DaulatRa'jat* was his literacy way and his writing. *DaulatRa'jat*is an old magazine at present. Researchers can find this magazine from *Khastara* Website Portal.

Khastara is a website portal made by the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia (Winanti & Herawati, 2024). *Khastara* contains ancient manuscripts that have been changed into online digital formulations. Collections of *Khastara* can be read and downloaded by readers or librarians (Fahmi & Ratnasari, 2023). Researcher gives the link of Khastaraon June 21st, 2024: https://khastara.perpusnas.go.id/landing/detail/502761.

From *Khastara*, researchers can read and download ancient manuscripts such as *DaulatRa'jat.* Researchers can use Google Search Engine to find *DaulatRa'jat* Magazine. Researcher types with keyword *DaulatRa'jat*. Then, researcher will find the link of Khastarato*DaulatRa'jat* Magazine collections. The link is as written before. *DaulatRa'jat* has a catalogueID number is 502761 with the title *DaulatRa'jat* 1931-1934. The physical shape is 57 centimeters. Bibid is 0010-33408460. *DaulatRa'jat* is in cluster of *Majalah dan Surat KabarLangka* or Ancient Magazine and Newspaper. *DaulatRa'jat* collections are more and less 106 assets. *DaulatRa'jat*files are in PDF and ZIP types (Khastara, 2024). In *DaulatRa'jat*, the researcher finds many theories from Mohammad Hatta. One theory that is important to be discussed is about the structure of government organization. This theory is special because government organization is always to be made for prosperity. So, the theory of the structure of government organization from Mohammad Hatta is in economy perspective. This perspective can be seen according to the structure of government always needs and uses economy sector. In *DaulatRa'jat*EditionFebruary 29th, 1932 pages 2-3, this theory is shown in Chapter *"BarisanPersatoeanBaroe"* sub-chapter *"Soesoenan (Organisasi) dan TjaraBekerdjanja"* and sub-chapter *"Program Aksi"*. Government brings economy was stated as a "representative council meeting that is attended by group delegation from islands, provinces, cities, and villages. Action program is mainly in politics, social, and economy"(Hatta, 1932, pp. 2-3).

This perspective is different from many scientists of government or political theory. *DaulatRa'jat* became monumental literature from Mohammad Hatta. This magazine combined theory, the need for self-government, movement, education, economic function, and national spirit that was led by Mohammad Hatta. So, according to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* EditionFebruary 29th, 1932 page 3 the important thing is the existence of self-government for managing the Indonesian nation. Mohammad Hatta called the self-government as government that is done by a representative council (Hatta, 1932, p. 3). This research is attracted by the self-government conception, especially its structure. So, this research will discuss Mohammad Hatta's theory about the structure of government organization. Two points of discussion are about what the theory of the structure of government organization is. Secondly is how the structure of government organization works.

This topic is attractive because the topic has value in informing Mohammad Hatta's theory. This value will support conception in government or administration or political science. Mohammad Hatta's theory will give indigenous understanding. According to Djokosutono (1982),Indigenous is a conception of buildinga national level between other nations. There are four indigenous conceptions. Those are unity, independence, originality, and prestige. This research is close to originality and national prestige. Originality is because Mohammad Hatta is a national figure and his theory about government is to fulfil the originality of indigenous. Mohammad Hatta's theory is also for national prestige because using or recognizing Mohammad Hatta's theory will improve state building (Djokosutono, 1982, pp. 9-10). This topic is important because the government topic is relevant to support the nation in the 21st century. The 21st century is a digital sovereignty era (Glasze et al., 2023). The digital sovereignty era is an era that brings the digital industry into human activity and the need of society to protect cultural value from the effects of digital infrastructure distribution (Lambach & Oppermann, 2023). Each state must protect national culture in digital sovereignty (Roberts et al., 2021). Mohammad Hatta's theory is told by *DaulatRa'jat* Magazine and can be found in Khastara Website Portal. *DaulatRa'jat* is made by Mohammad Hatta in 1931 into 1934. He was helped by some national figures such as Sjahrir. The structure of government organization theory from Mohammad Hatta that brings national culture can be a tool to protect cultural values in the Digital Sovereignty era. So, this theory is relevant and important.

The theory of government that is based on national figures is needed to protect cultural values in the digital sovereignty era. So, this research is important because Mohammad Hatta's Theory is a theory that brings national character power. This theory is supported by the 5 G theory or the government making conception. The 5 G Theory is a conception that brings 5 theories of government. Those are government, governing, governance, governability, and governmentality (Yunanto, 2021). Mohammad Hatta's theory on government tells about government as self-government, governing as government wisdom activity, governance and governability as the structure of government from the village into the state, and governmentality related to Mohammad Hatta's theory to break colonialism into independence.

Literature Review

This research has a topic about the structure of government organization. This is worthy to be researched because this topic isn't yet discussed in many articles. *DaulatRa'jat Magazine* was released every ten days in a month. Firstly, it was released on September 20th, 1931 (Utomo & Kamal, 2020). An article with the title, *"Konsep Nasionalisme Dalam Majalah Daulat Ra'jat, 1931-1934"* told about nationalism that was built by Mohammad Hatta was not oriented to Western ideology. Nationalism was not racist. Nationalism was for every tribe, religion, and region. *DaulatRa'jat* asked for the independence movement from Indonesian people through educational spirit (Utomo & Kamal, 2020). This article talks about nationalism but this doesn't talk about the structure of government organization that is presented by Mohammad Hatta.

Mohammad Hatta is one of two major founding figures of the Republic of Indonesia. He and Soekarno became the first leadersof this Republic (Kahin, 1980). This information is based on an article with the title, "In Memoriam: Mohammad Hatta (1902-1980)". This article also talks about Mohammad Hatta. It talks only about the life history of Mohammad Hatta. It doesn't talk about the structure of government organization according to Mohammad Hatta. So, this research is worth to be done. The goal of this research is to know about what the theory of structure of government organization is and how it works.

This goal needs to discuss about government brings prosperity for people. According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* with edition of September 20th, 1931, *"KolonialePolitiek: Dari PolitiestaatkeRechts-staat dan KembaliLagikePolitiestaat"* page 3 column 3 paragraph 4 line 1-4 showed that the government meant is self-government so Indonesia uses national law for self-governing (Hatta, 1931, p. 3) to give prosperity for Indonesia people. This theory from Mohammad Hatta is related to Adam Smith theory about The Wealth of Nation (Smith, 2007, pp. 5-6) in the context of without colonialism or without politic violence.

The article with the title, *"RelevansiPemikiran Pendidikan Mohammad Hatta Terhadap Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia"* also talks about Mohammad Hatta as Indonesian national figure. This article tells Mohammad Hatta's contribution to Indonesian people in the education sector before and after independence (Ahmad Syauqi Fuady, 2019). But this doesn't tell about Mohammad Hatta's theory onthe structure of government organization. So, this research is worth to be done.

This research aims to learn about Mohammad Hatta's theory. In this research, the researcher uses theory as a definition of scientific general principles to explain phenomena and to answer problem formulation (Tosepu, 2020). Other literature about Mohammad Hatta is *"PemanfaatanKoleksiKhusus Bung Hatta di UPT PerpustakaanProklamator Bung Hatta Bukittinggi"*. This article is about Mohammad Hatta or Bung Hatta. This tells about people who visited the Mohammad Hatta Library in *Bukittinggi* City, Province of West Sumatra, Indonesia (Pebriany & Nelisa, 2021). But, this article also doesn't tell about Mohammad Hatta's theory about government organization. So, this article is special to be supported.

An article about Mohammad Hatta with the title, *"Kajian Pemikiran Mohammad Hatta tentangDemokrasi di Indonesia"* is also about Mohammad Hatta. It talks about Mohammad

Hatta's Thoughtson democracy related to Indonesian regulation (Asriana, Abdulkarim, & Komalasari, 2018). This article doesn't tell about the structure of government organizations. The structure is important because it is an actor and institution that brings state authority. So, this research is worthy to be appreciated. The title of the article about Mohammad Hatta is "Hatta and Indonesia's Independent and Active Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect". This article talks about Mohammad Hatta's Thoughts related to the regulation of the Republic of Indonesia in the sector of Foreign Policy (Evan A. Laksmana, 2023). But, this article doesn't tell about the structure of government organization. So, this research is worth to be done. An article titled, "Review the Mind of Mohammad Hatta for The Contemporary of Indonesian Democracy" is also about Mohammad Hatta. This article tells about Mohammad Hatta's Thoughts on Democracy and the relevancy of democracy implementation in Indonesia (Assidiqi, 2019). This article doesn't tell about the structure of government organizations. Then, this research will complement what other articles haven't done.

An article titled, "The Urgency of Mohammad Hatta's Economic Though and Islamic Values in Transforming National Economic Development in Indonesia" is an article from the International Conference on Islam, Law, and Society, 2022. This article tells about the combination attempting between Mohammad Hatta's Thoughts with Islamic Values to develop the Indonesian economy based on cultural character (Adlan & Nurohman, 2022). This article doesn't tell about the structure of government organization from Mohammad Hatta. The article titled, "The Conception of People's Sovereignty in Indonesia: Mohammad Hatta's Thought Approach" discussesthe People's Sovereignty which is the right of every nation or country. Mohammad Hatta said that People's Sovereignty is for every person, community, country, and nation (Aulia, Isra, & Yuslim, 2024). But, this article doesn't discuss about structure of government.

The other article that writes about Mohammad Hatta is titled, "Traces the Socialist in Exile: Mohammad Hatta and Sjahrir". This article tells about the vision of Mohammad Hatta that all conception is arranged to make people prosperity and national sovereignty. So, in the Exile of Banda Neira, Mohammad Hatta lived in simple lifestyle, balancing morals and economy, and helping the poor. Although he was in Exile, he still lived in acombination of religious and ethical also nationalist and integrity action (Farid, 2020). However, this article doesn't tell about the theory of the structure of government organization.

An article with the title, "Development of An Integrated Inquiry Model the Value of Thought Economy of Mohammad Hatta in Social Studies Subject" tells about the practical value of Mohammad Hatta. The value is that politics always works using people as central development to raise into wealth of economy or prosperity for people. This article is a research using the Research and Development Method or experiment method (Winata, Sunardi, & Djono, 2020). However, this research doesn't tell about the structure of the government organization. So, this research is good to be done.

According to some articles that discuss Mohammad Hatta's Thoughts, the researcher doesn't find a theme of the structure of the government organization that is provided by Mohammad Hatta in those articles. That theory can be found in *DaulatRa'jat* Magazine as same as this research does. So, this research is reasonable to be done. The result of this research will be beneficial for completing the need for cultural values safeguarding in the digital sovereignty era, especially using the structure of the government organization.

For building the structure of the government organization understanding is needed conception about structure, government, and organization. The Structure is interconnected and interdependent parts of a system (Ichsan, 2018). The Structure is arranged from small to big parts or from edge to central. The government is an institution that implements state authority (Djokosutono, 1982). The Organization must have structure. The Organization is a social group unity that has more than one member to achieve the same goals (Siregar & Usriyah, 2021). People in that social group are called unity because they work together to reach the organization's goals. The Organization is looked at as a place to accommodate members (Tanjung, Purba, & Muhammad, 2022).

Method

This research about the structure of the government organization is not just for academic function. It is also for giving alternative functions about indigenous theory in government science in the digital sovereignty era. Digital sovereignty can be understood as a framework of the sovereignty of the state in the circulation of digital technology (Pohle & Thiel, 2020). To support this benefit, the researcher must do research activity especially to answer problem formulation.

Answering problem formulation is a needed research method. This research uses the library research method. The library research method is not field research but this is to complement field research. Library research is not used to meet informant (in the qualitative method) or respondent (in the quantitative method). Library research is alike a continuing method after field research that is after the qualitative and the quantitative methods. So, library research can be understood as a research method to fill a gap that exists in a theme research that researchers don't yet answer the gap.

According to Sugiyanto (2022), library research is a research method for searching, reading, analyzing, and synthesizing the inventory of data from kinds of literature, results of research, books or e-books, web pages, and others. In the analyzing and the synthesizing stage, the researcher combines the data with theories and the researcher's understanding, so it can be asystematic report (Sugiyanto, Surwiyanta, Prasetyanto, & Musoli, 2022).

Related to Sugiyono (2013), library research is a research method to study theories and kinds of literature about norms, culture, and values in social situations(Sugiyono, 2013, p. 291). The data can be found by the researcher through Google Search and Google Scholar Search Engine. The researcher uses keywords with some phrases. Keywords are such as Mohammad Hatta, Khastara, Hatta, Government, Structure of Government, and other keywords. The other technique to collect data uses data collection from *DaulatRa'jat* Magazine in Khastara website portal. Some keywords related to Mohammad Hatta's Theory about the structure of the government organization are used to find the data needed.

The Theory of Mohammad Hatta can be found in *Daulat Ra'jat*. Articles in *Daulat Ra'jat* are only taken based on writings using Mohammad Hatta's name in time before he went to Indonesia. Articles using Mohammad Hatta's name are in two clusters. The first cluster is in time before he went to Indonesia. Those articles are between September 20th, 1931 to July 30th, 1932. The second cluster is in time after he went to Indonesia. Those articles are from between August 10th, 1932 to September 10th, 1934. This research takes Mohammad Hatta's writing on *Daulat Ra'jat* in the first cluster. This is the primary data.

Results and Discussion

Mohammad Hatta built theory in the Netherlands

The researcher can find Mohammad Hatta's Theory in *DaulatRa'jat* Magazine. This magazine provides his theory from his writings. The researcher takes his writing, especially, articles using Mohammad Hatta's name. Taking writings using his name is to fulfil systematic, rational, and empirical requirements of scientific research (Sugiyono, 2013, pp. 2-3). So, this research knows Mohammad Hatta's Theory from his writing using his name. To fulfil objectivity, the researcher also uses some writings in *DaulatRa'jat* without his name. These writings are to support the meaning of Mohammad Hatta's Theory. There are some writings in *DaulatRa'jat*. Those are from Mohammad Hatta, Suparman, SutanSjahrir, M. Saad Oesman, H. Agus Salim, anonymous, and others. Scientific points can be placed by name and also from the time of his writing as data. The time of Mohammad Hatta's writings in *DaulatRa'jat* is related to before he went back to Indonesia. So, research data is related to

Mohammad Hatta's name and before he went back to Indonesia. Research data is taken from articles in *DaulatRa'jat* Magazine between September 20th, 1931 to July 30th, 1932 that used Mohammad Hatta's name. These articles can be downloaded from Khastara website portal. The researcher can find Khastara website portal using *DaulatRa'jat* keyword on Google Search Engine.

The reason that data is taken before Mohammad Hatta came to Indonesia or before August 10th, 1932 because of his motivation. His motivation was to get an economy study for his strategy to improve his nation's position among other nations, from colonialized people into a free nation. Related to secondary data from Historia, the researcher finds this motivation to improve his nation's position asa free country (Pamungkas, 2021). The economic study was done by him. So, he could understand what happened with his nation becoming colonialized people and how his nation should become free.

Anotherreasonfor data taken before August 10th, 1932 is his movement to connect with other nations in the Netherlands. He was also a member of an Indonesian nationalist organization called *Perhimpunan Indonesia*(Kahin, 1980). He can understand better many theories and thoughts about the structure of the government organization from outer Indonesia. According to Kahin (1980), Mohammad Hatta came to Indonesia in July 1932 (Kahin, 1980). So, he could write a theory for *DaulatRa'jat* better in the Netherlands because the atmosphere was in connection with other nations.

The different data in *DaulatRa'jat* before and after he came to Indonesia such as the redaction board on July 30th, 1932 written, *"Dikemoedikan oleh: Commissieredactie. PengarangEropa: Mohammad Hatta dan Suparman"* (K. D. Ra'jat, 1932b). After Mohammad Hatta came to Indonesia or August 10th, 1932 the redaction board written, *"Dikemoedikan oleh: Commissieredactie"* (Ra'jat, 1932).

Structure of Government Organization

Before the researcher gives a statement about the definition ofthe structure of the government organization or, as simplified as, the structure of government according to Mohammad Hatta's Theory, the discussion is about how the structure of the government organization works. The meaning of the structure of the government organization or the structure of government or the structure can be the same meaning.

The structure of the government organization is noted by Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat*. The nice formulation can be found in the edition of September 20th, 1931. His writing in title *"KolonialePolitiek: Dari PolitiestaatkeRechts-staat dan KembaliLagikePolitiestaat"*. This writing is onthe page from 2 until 3. There are three types of the structure of the government organization. These types are developed by external power that dominates into country. Types of structure of government are:

- *Politiestaat* or State of Police or State of Security;
- *Rechts-Staat* or State with Contracted Law; and
- *Rechtsstaat*or State of Law.
- Those types can existin every country, especially the countries ever colonialized (Hatta, 1931a)

Each structure of government is shaped by external power controlling the internal country. So, more external power is near becoming *Politiestaat*. Opponent from it, if the country has less external power that controls the internal country the country is near to *Rechtsstaat*.

Another principle that builds the three of the structure of government is about source actors to make the organization. The source actor ideally is from citizen of the country. If, the country has a government organization built more from external mandatory than its

indigenous people, so the country is near becoming *Politiestaat*. Opponent, if the country has the government organization that builds more from internal people mandatory, so the country is near to *Rechtsstaat*.

Anotherprinciple to view is from the structure of government that contains actors that work in each position of government organization from edge to central or from under position to top position. If the country has actors in government position more from its people that this country is near to *Rechsstaat*. Opponent than it, if the country has actors in government position are more from the external country so the country is near to *Politiestaat.*

Another principle is the law practised in the country. If the law implemented in the country is based on truth and justice the country is near into *Rechtsstaat*. If the law is based on power interest the country is near into *Politiestaat.*

The final principle is if the country has more political raping then it is near *Politiestaat*. Opponents it, if the country has less political raping then it is near *Rechtsstaat*. According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition September 20th, 1931 page 3 column 2 paragraph 3 lines 6-10, political raping is not about biologists but it is about the government making power. Political raping is meant as stressing working power to people without people's agreement in their hearts(Hatta, 1931a). Political Raping is a tool to take obedience. There are three ways to be obedient. Those are about using weapons, violence, and law. If the raping more using weapons and violence so the country is near to *Politiestaat*. If the country uses law to get obedient the country is near to *Rechtsstaat*. If, the country uses more violent than weapons and law, the country is near to *Rechts-Staat.*

Politiestaat

Government making is theconcept to build government in a country to become a state. In that conception, there is government as an institution (Yunanto, 2021). According to Mohammad Hatta, the structure of government can be as *Politiestaat*. *Politiestaat* is a term from the Netherlands language. That is meant as a state of police or state of security. *Politiestaat* can be known as the structure of government that functioned to eliminate the independence of people using weapons, laws of power interest, violence, and foreign administrators in government institutions(Hatta, 1931a).

External Power in Politiestaat

The structure of the government organization needs institutions. In this structure, government institution is shaped by external power. Indigenous people can't make government institutions. So, government institutionsare just or only administration offices. The first power to make government institutions is from the outer country.

According to Mohammad Hatta at *DaulatRa'jat* Edition October 30th, 1931 page 1 column 2 paragraph 1, an example of external power is Netherland colonialism that made government institutions in Indonesia. The government is an administration only to serve the Netherlands. The House of Representatives is called as pretending. Every country has a House of Representatives. Each first leader or president or prime minister that has just become must present his first speech in front of members of the House of Representatives. House of Representatives is just made by external power so it is a pretending of the House of Representatives and the power is also small condition (Hatta, 1931b).

In the same edition page 2 column 1 paragraph 1 lines 1-29, the House of Representatives can't make its structure using the needs of indigenous countries but for serving external power (Hatta, 1931b). To the first leader of an executive institution, the House of Representatives doesn't have great power to reject or to punish. It just had the following power what executive leader speech. Because the House of Representatives is made by external power or by Netherland colonialism. Also, the first leader of an executive institution is made and arranged

by external power. In the Mohammad Hatta era, the leader of the executive was called *Goebernor* General. He was elected by Colonialism Minister in Den Hag. He could do anything from what the Colonialism Minister ordered without the Agreement of the House Representatives and people of Indonesia country (Hatta, 1931b).

The House of Representatives made by outer countries usually uses foreign languages from colonialism state. An example used by the Netherlands to call the House of Representatives in Indonesia is *VolksraddHindiaBelanda*(Hatta, 1931a). *VolksraadHindiaBelanda* name can be found in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition September 20th, 1931 page 3 column 3 paragraph 1 line 4.

According to Montesquieu (1748) (Isnaeni, 2021), there are three organizations in government institutions. Those are legislative, executive, and judicial. Two organizations of government are told above in this chapter legislative called *Volksraad* and the executive called *Goebernor* General and his *bestuur* or administrative bureaucracy. Then, talking about judicative in the structure of *Politiestaat* is about where the institution of a judge is placed in one group authority under an executive institution.

According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition September 20th, 1931 page 2 column 3 paragraph 3 lines 14-17, a judicative organization in *Politiestaat* structure is placed together with executive authority. There is no separation of authority between judicative and executive organizations. There is no separation of authority between *Rechts* in Judicial power and *Gezag*(authority) from the executive (Hatta, 1931a).

Judicative organization in the structure of the government organization of *Politiestaat* is called by Hatta a "bad judge" (Hatta, 1931d). He said in *DaulatRa'jat* edition September 30th, 1931 page 5 column 3 paragraph 4 line 3. This judicative institution is made by Netherland Colonialism power as external power. Judicative is directed by *Goebernor* General as representative of Colonialism Minister from the external country. So, the judicative is only as sub-ordinate administration under executive leader.

In *DaulatRa'jat* Edition October 30th, 1931 page 2 column 2 paragraph 2 lines 1-7, said that as sub-ordinate of executive institution, judicative institution works to fulfill executive goals called *bestuurshervorming* or bureaucracy reformation based on *Wet op de staatsinrichting van Nederland Indie* or the constitution of Netherland-Hindi (Hatta, 1931b). Because of that, the relationship between government organizations and the country is absolutism or despotism and people do not have the freedom to engage inpolitical activity (Yunanto, 2021). So, if the structure of government organization is made by external power in a country then it is called a*Politiestaat* structure

Source Actor and Actors in Government

*Politiestaat*is a bad government because government relation is to make the structure of government in a country is arranged by external power. External power is an example ofa colonialism state. Then, another indicator to show that the structure is *Politiestaat* is from the source actor that makes the structure.

Source actor is dominant figures or group to direct colonialism activity tofulfil the needs of other countries. The need is usually to collect resources from a colonialized area and then bring it into other countries. In Indonesia, the resources were brought to Netherland colonialism. After that, resources are sold as an export commodity to improve the wealth of a colonial country (Hatta, 1931e).

So, the source actor is contained by foreign people from the country doing colonialism. Also, a colonialism country is not about collecting resources but also about takingthe place of domicile that lived by origin people. So, according to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition November 20th, 1931 page 2 column 1 paragraph 1, the class of society is divided by

Foreign People and Origin People or *Boemipoetera*(Hatta, 1931e). Origin people are very understructure in the relation of actors in government organization. They are given lowest salary than foreign people. Also, origin people can just be in a low position and can't go to a high position between foreign people in a government organization.

Figures and groups of foreign people bring prosperity only for foreign people and origin people just are given as small prosperity as poverty. According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* edition November 30th, 1931 page 2 column 3 paragraph 2 lines 11-15, so, *Politiestaat* asks too much from the colonialized country and colonialists give very small things and build poverty to the origin people (Hatta, 1931f).

Here, the researcher shows that the structure of the government organization of *Politiestaat* is built by actors from foreign people and the source actor is directed by mandatory from foreign delegation. The foreign delegation was named *Goebernor* General in Indonesia when this country was colonialized by Netherland colonialism.

Law Basis

Law basis is another principle to show that a country still lives in the structure of *Politiestaat*. *Politiestaat* is made by a foreign country so a law to control a colonialized country is a law to administer foreign goals. For example in Indonesia in the 1930's, the law to establish Indonesia as a colonialized land is based on the constitutional law of Netherland-Hindi. Mohammad Hatta called it with a name as *Staatsinrichting van de Netherland Indie* or Government of Netherlands Indie.

According to *DaulatRa'jat* Edition November 30th, 1931 page 2 columns 2-3 said that colonial law in *Staten-Generaal* at 7 *Memorie van Toelochting* upon *Ontwerp-R. R.* ordered for Indonesian people or colonialized people that they couldn't have freedom of speech. Because, if they were given free they could refuse regulations that were not appropriate to Indigenouspeople'sneeds. If they were given freedom this chance to decrease people's loyalty to the Kingdom of Netherlands. The political condition was dangerous for Netherland Wealth. Colonialized people are needed for colonialism wealth (Hatta, 1931f).

There is no people law, only colonialism law exists in the structure of *Politiestaat*. So, the structure of the government organization is made to serve colonialism interest. Law is from external power. Law is made by foreign people. People are only as labour to fulfil the law of colonialism. Therefore, in normal or crisis conditions, colonialism government doesn't need to protect people's economy. But, they ask the economy to improve security power and properties. Security is needed to hold people's loyalty even people in crisis (Hatta, 1931e).

According to the constitution of colonialism, the structure of the government organization is a united central organization and a branch organization. Each structure doesn't fulfil people's needs as normal government functions. Government function is normally two main points. Those are distribution and protection for their people (Yunanto, 2021). Also, according to Adam Smith (1776) government organization is for building people's prosperity in a country sovereignty (Smith, 2007).

But, *Politiestaat* doesn't have protection and distribution. Their government organization is for doing *Goebernor General* orders. So, *Volksraad* and people don't have a chance to refuse it. Therefore, the structure of government organization in *Politiestaat* is only central and branch organization. Central is an area where *Goebernor General* lives. A branch is an area where government administration works.

According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition February 10th, 1932 page 4 column 2 paragraph 3 said that a branch of government is made related to an area that can produce and supply commodities that support export activation (Hatta, 1932c).The function is only to become an administration institution. Relations between each government

organizationare for doing administration, especially to protect foreign companies and to give guarantee for flowing export commodities from producer land into export in the right condition. So, the benefits from commodities bring wealth to the Netherlands state budget (Hatta, 1931e). The mission of the structure of the government organization in *Politiestaat* is economy. Also, the need for colonialism country is colonializing. So, the structure of the government organization in *Politiestaat* is for a relation between colonialism state and colonialized people (Hatta, 1932c).

The sentence to indicate that *Politiestaat* existed in a colonialized country is about exploitation without law because *gezag* (executive power) and *Rechts* (judicative power) are in executive power—*Goebernor* General--. So, *Politiestaat* is a structure of the government organization that exists in a country without a state. So, the 'state' in a colonialized country is afailed state. There is only administrative government organization for exploiting not pure government from living people.

The condition of the structure of the government organization in *Politiestaat* is *political raping*. According to Mohammad Hatta, political raping is meant as stressing working power to people without people's agreement in their hearts(Hatta, 1931a). The political raping in *Politiestaat* is divided into three actions. Those are weapons, violence, and the law of colonialism. The structure of the government organization in *Politiestaat* is a unity system for administration institutions to exploit resources and to take place in a country without serving the people's needs. Administration institution is built by administration organizations as branches from areas where exploitation is done. All branches of the organization make system unity in administration into a government institution in central where the leader of the executive lives. Here understood, if there is a group of government organizations in a country that work only for an administrative function that serves foreign states not to fulfil the people's needs then the country may be in *Politiestaat*.

Recht-Staat

The second structure of the government organization is called *Rechts-Staat*. *Rechts-Staat* is different from *Rechtsstaat*. *Rechts-Staat* is a phrase that separates between word of*'rechts'* and word of *'staat'*. So, the phrase is given the symbol "-" between both of words.

External Power in Rechts-Staat

According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* edition September 20th, 1931 page 2 column 3 paragraph 4-5, this structure of government organization is as a condition before the country has a state. *Rechts-Staat* can be understood as a pseudo-state of Law or pseudo-*Rechtsstaat*. This structure can be experienced by a country that doesn't have a state yet. If the country has a state then the structure of the government organization is called *Rechtsstaat* or State of Law. (Hatta, 1931a).

The structure of the government organization in *Rechts-Staat* is made by the external power. The external power is almost the same with *Politiestaat*. External power is contained by government institutions in Colonialism Countries with giveopportunitiesfor human rights for indigenous people, External power can be understood as a state that will give opportunities to indigenous people to become political leaders or administrative employees in some top positions.

The difference between *Politiestaat* and *Rechts-Staat* is external power in *Politiestaat* structure doing pure exploitation. Besides that, external power in *Rechts-Staat* does exploitation and human rights activity. The examples of *Rechts-Staat* are ethicpolitics from the Netherlands and England with Mahatma Gandhi in India for giving opportunity to India's people freedom (D. Ra'jat, 1931). So, colonialism motivation from foreign countries is decreased by human rights activity in the structure of government organization in *Recht-Staat*.

Colonialism has decreased but it has still exploitation activity with lower intensity. Intensity is lower than *Politiestaat*. It is also influenced by other external powers. An example is the freedom or liberal freedom movement in 1848 in Europe (Hatta, 1931a); the Liberalist movement in France in the XIX century after Napoleon; and in the year 1844 when Thorbecke in the Netherlands spoke about changing; and Karl Marx about decreasing on exploitation. The examples are told by Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition October 30th, 1931 page 2 column 3 (Hatta, 1931b).

Source Actor and Actors in Government

Actor in government organization when *Recht-Staat* structure work is contained by more foreigners and indigenous people can work to serve foreigners. They work based on the constitution of colonialists. Source actors to give authority for government organization working is not from people mandatory but from foreign mandatory written in the constitution of colonialists.

Law Basis

Politiestaat works in its structure of government using weapons and violent. In *Recht-Staat,* weapons and violence are decreased. So, the government uses laws to hold indigenous people. The holding is to secure the needs of colonialists.

The Structure of the government organization in *Rechts-Staat* works based on law or *rechts*. But, the law is followed *Goebernor* General interest. So, when the people tell about their demand, if the demand is not appropriate to the colonialist government then the law will be changed by the government. Mohammad Hatta called the law as *ordonantie*. *Ordonantie* is a law that works for abuse of power as said by Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* Edition September 20th, 1931 page 2 (Hatta, 1931a).

Recht-Staat is a structure of government organization that exists in a country with the transition from acolonialized country into a state building. Here, political raping uses lower weapons, more violence and more law.

The structure of government organization in *Rechts-Staat* is a unity system for administration institutions to exploit resources and to take place a country for colonialistswhile serving some human rights for indigenous people. Administration institution is built by administration organizations as branches from areas where exploitation is done. All branches of the organization make system unity in administration into a government institution in central where a leader of the executive lives. Government organizations in a country become to work for administrative and some human rights functions.

Rechtstaat or State of Law

The third structure of government organization related to Mohammad Hatta's Theory is *Rechtsstaat.*

External Power in Rechtsstaat

This structure is the ideal structure of government organization for people. Because external power is limited to make government organization in a country. So, government organization is made by internal power. Internal power makes government organization. This condition is if a country has a new state or will have a new state. Internal power is based on the people principle according to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* edition September 20th, 1931 pages 2-3 (Hatta, 1931a).

Source Actor and Actors in Government

Rechtsstaat has a government organization. Legislative, Executive, and Judicialinstitutions work based on people mandatory. So, actors in government organizations are contained by indigenous people. Actors in central government andbranches alike in villages, cities, and islands are from indigenous people. Because they know what they need to manage their country and their resources. All government organizations work for people's prosperity. The

relationship between each government organization is for people's prosperity and state sovereignty.

Law Basis

The structure of government organization in *Rechtsstaat* is different from *Politiestaat* and *Rehcts-Staat*. Mohammad Hatta said that government works based on the people's constitution and basic law when the state is built. Constitution and law are from and for indigenous people with truth and justice character related to the hearth of people (Hatta, 1931a).

So, government organizations are made according to the needs of the people. Government organizations, top and down, have distribution and protection functions. At present, related to Law Number 30 the Year of 2014 about Government Administration, said that the government functions are for protection, distribution, empowerment, development, and management for people prosperity.

According to Mohammad Hatta in *DaulatRa'jat* edition February 29th, 1932 page 2 said that government organizations are made from villages, cities, islands, until the central government. Each government organization uses concentration to become a government institution in a village or city.   (Hatta, 1932a). Each institution of government has organizations. Each organization has divisions. The division is called concentration. Each part of government becomes a system of unity as the structure of government organization to serve people for prosperity and sovereignty.

So, the researcher promotes the definition of the structure of the government organization in *Rechtstaat*as a unity system for managing, distributing, protecting, developing, and empowering indigenous people. The relationship between each government organization from central to village works for the prosperity and sovereignty of indigenous people

Conclusion

The conclusion of this research is about the definition of each structure of government organization and its working. The structure of the government organization in *Politiestaat* is a unity system for administration institutions to exploit resources and to take place in a country without serving the people's needs. There is a relationship between the central and the branches. Branches are built by and for administration organizations in the area where exploitation is done. All branches make system unity in administration into central. Government organizations work only for an administrative function that serves foreign states not for indigenous people.

The structure of government organization in *Rechts-Staat* is a unity system for administration institutions to exploit resources and to take place a country for colonialistswhile serving some human rights for the indigenous people. Government organizationsare administration institutions and for some human rights. The relationship between each government organization is to serve the central and the colonialist state.

The structure of the government organization in *Rechtstaat* is a unity system for managing, distributing, protecting, developing, and empowering indigenous people. The relationship between each government organization from central to village works for the prosperity and sovereignty of indigenous people.

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