Indonesia Raya?:
Building a United
Archipelago, 1950

INDONESIA

MUNUC 37

Model United Nations of the University of Chicago

Chair Letters

Delegates,

Welcome to MUNUC 37 and the Indonesia Raya?: Building a United Archipelago, 1950 committee! My name is Talia Crichlow (she/they) and I will be your Chair. I am in my second year at UChicago, studying history and anthropology with a minor in education. I am from New York City (Brooklyn, specifically). I began my MUN journey in middle school and just like all of you, loved MUN in high school. Now, at university, I am happy to be able to share my love of MUN with high schoolers through MUNUC!

I am now in my seventh year of Model UN. I have done everything from being a delegate, a rapporteur, an assistant chair (backroom staffer), a crisis director, and even a chair. This committee will be particularly special for me, as it will be my first time chairing a MUNUC committee! To make it a great experience for everyone, we ask that you always remain respectful of your fellow delegates. Remember: collaborative debate builds better solutions.

Ben and I are very excited to have you all in our committee. We have worked hard to prepare an interesting topic and it is on you, the delegates, to engage in fruitful debate. Please read the background guide thoroughly, especially the committee mechanics section, as this is a Hybrid committee. If you have any questions left unanswered by the background guide, please feel free to email me. I am here to enhance your committee experience.

Keep calm and MUNUC on!

Talia Crichlow

Chair

Indonesia Raya?: Building a United Archipelago, 1950

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Crisis Director Letter

Delegates,

Welcome to MUNUC 37! Talia and I are so excited to have you all for Indonesia Raya?: Building a United Archipelago, 1950! My name is Benjamin Tytell, and I will be your Crisis Director. I am a second year at the University of Chicago from just outside Boston planning to major in Political Science. Ever since I travelled to Indonesia for a geography competition after high school, I have been fascinated by the country, with its dazzling diversity of cultures and people groups and influences from all over the world. I hope that, through your research for this conference, you will find that same adoration for this often-overlooked archipelago.

Though this is the first college-level committee that I have run, my Model UN experience extends back to Wednesdays after school in sixth grade. From running my own high school's Model UN to serving as assistant chair for a MUNUC 36 committee and a ChoMUN XXVII committee, I have experienced first-hand how much Model UN can help a young adult grow confident in who they are and what they have to say.

I hope that this committee will be a place where every one of you gets to grow, while gaining confidence in your ideas and learning how to express them effectively so that you can make allies and bring about the change you want to see in the world. I cannot wait to see you all in downtown Chicago in February!

Happy researching!

Benjamin Tytell

Crisis Director, Indonesia, 1950

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Sensitivity Statement

Though this committee takes place 75 years ago, we are holding this conference in 2025, and we have those modern expectations of you, as delegates. This means we will not tolerate any sexism, racism, ableism, homophobia, transphobia or any offensive characterizations of any ethnic or religious group. This includes biases that you believe would be "historically accurate" to your character or the time. We also expect you to behave in ways that are respectful to your fellow delegates. In moderated caucuses, make sure to listen to and build on one another, and make sure to give others credit for their ideas. In unmoderated caucuses, work to actively include others in your discussions, and be considerate of how your body language and verbal language could be excluding your fellow delegates, even unintentionally.

In addition to treating your fellow delegates with respect, it is imperative that you come to this committee with a great respect for the issues you are discussing. Though the issues at hand may feel distant to you, that does not mean you can treat them flippantly. Colonialism, ethnic and religious tension, and even language politics are serious topics which demand a high level of maturity to address in a thoughtful manner. We know that you are all capable of meeting the high standards of this conference, and, thus, we will hold you to them, because you deserve to learn real history with all of its complexities and controversies. That learning experience is what MUNUC is all about.

Though we cannot delineate everything that "crosses the line," here are a few ground rules and guidelines:

1. Disagree, don't denigrate. We expect you to discuss and debate controversial issues, but in advocating for your side you should always treat the opposing side as worthy of respect. For example, if you oppose incorporating Islam into Indonesia's constitution, promote the benefits of secularism instead of resorting to Islamophobia.

2. Keep actions general. In backroom notes, never single out or target specific groups of people, especially civilians or minority groups of any kind.

3. No bullying, period. Do not target one person in committee for any reason. Also, never gang up with someone else to put one person down.

If you are ever unsure whether your plans are okay, ask! We are happy to read any out-of-character notes you write alongside your backroom note or to workshop arc ideas with you during feedback.

We will do our best to flag any misconduct we can observe, but if you notice things we do not, please do tell us! If at any point during conference a fellow delegate—or a member of MUNUC staff—violates any of the rules or makes you feel excluded or uncomfortable in any way, you are always free to report their conduct. You can ask to speak privately with either the chair (Talia), crisis director (Ben) or Under-Secretary-General (Julian), and your report will be kept anonymous. You should never feel afraid to speak with us, as our job is to make your experience better in every way we can!

Committee Mechanics

This committee will be a hybrid committee, which means that the committee will contain the mechanics and conventions of both General Assembly and Continuous Crisis Model UN committees. The first two committee sessions will follow General Assembly procedure. This means that moderated caucuses will be conducted with the goal of writing a resolution. The final three committee sessions will be in the form of a Crisis committee, where delegates take direct action through directives.

The MUNUC website has more resources and information on Hybrid Committees. Please feel free to reach out if you are confused by the committee mechanics or have any questions. During committee, we are also happy to answer questions through points of inquiry to the chair or written in notes to the backroom (during sessions three through five).

Committee Sessions One and Two

Our committee will open as a meeting of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP) in January of 1950. Your Chair (Talia) will be President Sukarno. At the time of our meeting, the KNIP has met before, deciding that a new constitution is needed to replace the 1945 Constitution. This meeting of the KNIP is special as it will be the first meeting where they begin to craft this new constitution. The goal of the delegates in session one is to identify the issues with the 1945 Constitution and outline the key points a new constitution must include. During this committee session, it is important for delegates to utilize moderated caucuses to generate and discuss ideas for the new constitution they hope to write.

The focus of session two will be constitution writing. After extensive discussion during session one (via moderated caucuses), delegates will understand the salient points to include in the constitution. They will then translate that work into clauses of a constitution (following General Assembly resolution writing formatting

conventions). Session two will end with the passage of a new constitution for Indonesia. When writing this constitution, it is important to consider the following questions: How much power should the national government have, given both the importance of a united nation and the incredible diversity of the Indonesian people? How should Indonesia conduct its foreign relations in a world increasingly divided between two global superpowers? How can the government promote cultural unity and economic prosperity in the wake of colonialism? Be sure to include descriptions of the power and role of the executive, judicial, and legislative bodies.

Committee Sessions Three through Five

After the passage of the new constitution, delegates will transition from members of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP) to members of the new legislature, as outlined in the new constitution. As members of the legislature, the directives you pass will have tangible impacts on the new nation. Your new roles will allow you to test the strength of your new constitution as new challenges are thrown at you in the form of crisis "breaks." As delegates, your goals during these committee sessions will be to advance personal goals and respond to crises as they arise.

The second half of the committee will transition into a crisis committee. This means that as delegates you will be able to make public actions in the "frontroom" via directives, while at the same time implementing secret, personal objectives through notes to the "backroom." In the backroom, AC's (MUNUC staffers) will read and respond to the notes in character. Most of the time the notes written to the backroom are written in character to a colleague, friend, advisor, etc. in the form of a letter. You may write to anyone as long as they are not a delegate in committee; notes to other delegates should be sent directly to the delegate. Depending on the situation, you should adapt the format to suit the recipient and content of the message. Instead of writing and passing a resolution (as in committee sessions one and two), during sessions three through five, directives will be used.

Directives consist of only operative clauses and are often one to three pages in length. Directives are actionable precise statements that go into effect after they are passed by the committee.

When in crisis mode, it is likely that the committee will feel faster-paced as you balance writing notes to the “backroom” and working on directives in the “frontroom”. However, the work will be manageable as directives are shorter than resolutions and you will at that point already be settled into the flow of the committee. While you respond to crisis breaks in directives throughout all three committee sessions, the focus of your notes to the backroom will evolve. During committee session three, you should focus on amassing resources and connections. In committee session four you should use your resources and connections to implement personal goals. Committee session five is all about executing your final plans. Remember that the actions you take must make sense in the context of the committee. The committee is set in 1950 in a world recovering from World War II. Although the objective of the committee is a unified stable Indonesia, the fate of the country is in your hands. It is up to you to determine how the new Indonesian government will be structured and how the new government will respond to challenges.

Background Information

A Quick Guide to Indonesian Spelling and Pronunciation

Because of centuries of European colonialism, the Indonesian language uses Latin characters, just like English or French. Indonesians pronounce a few letters differently, but most Indonesian words are pronounceable by native English speakers without needing translation or transliteration.

One caveat: Indonesian has had three different spelling systems. Before spelling reforms in 1947 and 1972, Indonesian was written with a more Dutch spelling system.[1] *For the purposes of this conference and this background guide, we will use the "Enhanced Spelling" that has been used in Indonesia and Malaysia since 1972.* Some historical figures' names have been kept in the more archaic spelling, though some others have been altered to match modern convention. Here is a chart of most phonetic differences between written Indonesian and English pronunciation, including the older and more modern spellings. Generally, you can assume all other letters are pronounced as they would be in English.

English Spelling	Old Indonesian Spelling	Modern Indonesian Spelling	Example in Old Spelling	Example in Modern Spelling
ch-	ch-	c-	Acheh	Aceh (ah-CHEH)
j-	dj-	j-	Djakarta	Jakarta (jah-KAR-tah)
v-	w-	w-	Jawa	Jawa (JAH-vuh)
y-	j-	y-	Jogjakarta	Yogyakarta (yo-gya-KAR-ta)

[1] *The New York Times*, "Indonesia Plans Reforms in Spelling." (1972).

oo- (“sue”)	oe-	u-	Soekarno	Sukarno (sue-KAR-no)

Matching Chicago style and general English conventions, this background guide italicizes Indonesian words (apart from proper nouns), with an English translation when necessary for comprehension. Of course, feel free to reach out with any questions that come up either during research or at conference!

History of Committee

In 1945, Indonesia's leaders wrote a preliminary constitution for the nation as it prepared to declare independence from the Netherlands. However, it has become clear that the 1945 constitution is woefully insufficient. The 1945 Constitution was written while the Japanese occupied Indonesia, at the time known as the Dutch East Indies. This constitution was written by a committee of Javanese individuals known as the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (Indonesian: Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia or BPUPKI) and was deeply unrepresentative of the broader Indonesian population.[2] As a result the constitution did not necessarily reflect the will of the people when choosing the style of government. At the time there were some calls for a Communist or Socialist government, rather than the Republican style chosen.

On August 10th 1945, the BPUPKI was disbanded by the Japanese Military in favor of a new body, the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (Indonesian: Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, abbreviated as PPKI), which officially appointed President Sukarno and aimed to amend the 1945 Constitution.[3,4] The PPKI made significant changes to the 1945 Constitution, including the removal of the controversial obligation for Muslims to follow Sharia Law. However, the core issue with the BPUPKI's constitution—lack of representation of non-Javanese Indonesians—was not addressed. The PPKI was dissolved by Sukarno in 1945 when he replaced it with the KNIP. Our committee, which will be the final session of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), will convene in early 1950. The goal of this meeting is to write

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[2] Kahin, George McTurnan, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1952), 445.
[3] Drooglever, P.J. "The Genesis of the Indonesian Constitution of 1949." Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 153, no. 1 (1997): 68-69.
[4] Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, 448.

a new constitution that addresses all the concerns of the blossoming new nation and is acceptable to all Indonesian representatives. The KNIP is composed of representatives from all corners of the new nation and from various walks of life. Members of the KNIP may disagree on religion, language, societal structure, and more, but they all share a desire for a strong and independent Indonesia.[5]

Meeting location: Societeit Concordia building, Malang, East Java.[6]

Our committee will begin with a meeting of the KNIP in January of 1950. The Netherlands formally transferred the sovereignty of the former colony to the Republic of Indonesia on December 27th, 1949.[7,8] Now that Indonesia is officially independent, it is the responsibility of the delegates to write a new constitution for the young nation. Some members of this committee may have met and worked together in past constitution-writing

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[5] *18 August 1945 meeting of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence*. 1945.

[6] Groll, Coenraad Liebrecht Temminck. Gedung Merdeka, voormalige sociëteit Concordia. December 9, 2023. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gedung_Merdeka,_voormalige_soci%C3%ABteit_Concordia_-_20651406_-_RCE.jpg.

[7] Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 445.

[8] Angelo, Homer G. "Transfer of Sovereignty Over Indonesia." (1950): 571.

committees, but for many, this is the first time their voices and the sentiments of the people they are representing will be heard and codified into law. Following the historical record, these meetings will end with the KNIP transitioning into members of the People's Representative Council, the upper house of the new Indonesian legislative branch.[9] A further explanation of the format of committee sessions can be found in the Committee Mechanics section of the Background Guide.

[9] Drooglever, "The Genesis of the Indonesian Constitution of 1949." 69.

GEOGRAPHY

A General Reference Map of Indonesia 1950.[10]

Geographic Reference

Throughout this background guide and during debate, delegates will be expected to understand and reference various islands, regions and important cities in Indonesia. This section will serve as a guide for any important locations that will help delegates better understand where important events and places and people exist in such a large nation. We recommend printing out these pages and adding them to any reference materials you have prepared for conference.

[10] Tytell, 2024.

Islands and Regions

1. Java: The southernmost of the four main islands, Java is the most populous island in Indonesia and the world. In 1950, Java is home to well over half the entire nation's population. Apart from Jakarta, Java is also the least diverse of the major islands, with only two major ethnicities making up an overwhelming majority of the population: the Javanese in eastern and central Java, and the Sundanese in western Java. These two are the largest ethnicities in Indonesia by a significant margin, and the Javanese in particular have outsized influence in Indonesian society and government.

2. Sumatra: The westernmost major island in Indonesia is Sumatra. Sumatra is home to many mid-sized ethnolinguistic groups, and has some important communities like the Acehnese on the northeast of the island who practice a more conservative form of Islam than the rest of the nation. Sumatra's western coast is also extremely prone to tectonic activity.

3. Borneo (known as Kalimantan in Indonesia): Right in the middle of Indonesia is the largest of the main four islands, though Britain still controls its northern section. Borneo had relatively few people outside of the coastal regions in 1950, as the interior is dense, mountainous jungle that is remote and hard to access. Java, Sumatra, and Borneo are the core three islands of Indonesia. Many Borneans speak a form of Malay, though some speak other indigenous languages.

4. Sulawesi and the Eastern Islands: The rest of the islands of Indonesia are generally much smaller, and have smaller ethnic groups than the big three islands. Among these are the Moluccas (Indonesian: Maluku) islands, where Europeans first began colonizing what was known as the "spice islands." (Note: Indonesia did not control West Papua until the 1960s, which is outside of the scope of this committee).

Cities

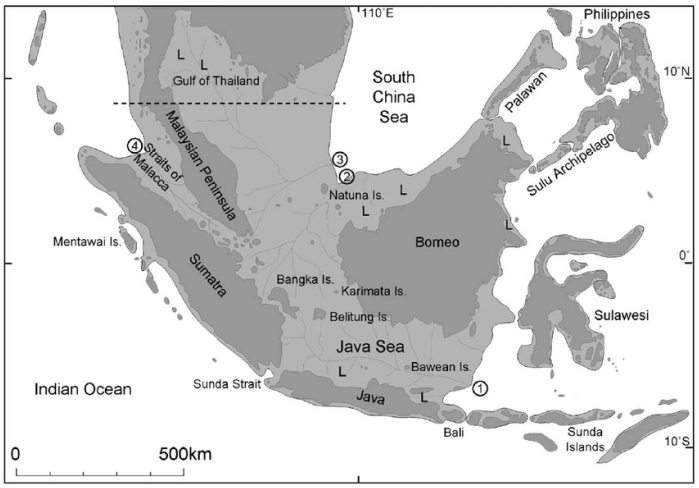
1. Jakarta (Formerly known as Batavia by the Dutch): Indonesia's capital and largest city is found on the northwest of Java. Jakarta is a blend of the entire nation's peoples, as different ethnic groups throughout European and independent rule migrated into the bustling metropolis that governed the entire archipelago. Jakarta has incredible wealth compared to other parts of the nation, as it is the only part of the country with a substantial manufacturing base and is a global entrepot for trade and commerce.

2. Bandung: Up in the highlands of West Java lies Bandung, a large city home to several important universities such as Bandung Technological Institute (Indonesian: Institut Teknologi Bandung). This gives the city an intellectual and elite character that made it an important site during the national revolution.

3. Yogyakarta: On the southeastern side of Java, Yogyakarta played an important role during the Indonesian National Revolution by serving as the de facto capital while Allied forces occupied Jakarta. Unlike Jakarta, however, Yogyakarta is almost exclusively ethnically Javanese, representing a different ideal for the nation than that posed by Jakarta's plurality.

4. Makassar: On the southern tip of Sulawesi lies Makassar, the largest city of the Eastern islands. Makassar served as an important central organizing hub for leaders in Sulawesi and the other outer islands. It serves as an important point of connection—and tension—between Jakarta and the remote Eastern islands under its domain.

Physical Geography



Tens of thousands of years ago, Indonesia was more of a peninsula than the archipelago it is today. In the last ice age, the main islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo were connected to the mainland of Asia in a region called Sundaland, which boasted a massive, interconnected rainforest. Though Sundaland would end up sinking and the islands would become divided from one another, their former continuity meant that the new islands would share a linked ecology, with similar plant and animal species. The new sea that was created in between them has calm waters that enable easy trade and commerce, and they are full of fish and shellfish that have become staples of the Indonesian diet.

Overall, the islands that make up Indonesia share similar characteristics, though they vary in size and population. In general, most of Indonesia has a tropical rainforest climate, as it is situated along the equator and receives a lot of rain each year. This rain fills rivers that flow across the islands, providing ample water for irrigating the many rice

[11] Sundaland at the Last Glacial Maximum. (2018).

plantations of the islands, and the consistent warm weather allows for crops to be grown in every season. The rain also preserves the ancient Sundaland rainforest, which dominates the interior of all the major islands. These jungles, as well as the mountains that run through them, make it difficult for a national government to extend its influence beyond the coastal regions and cities in many islands.[12]

The islands themselves abound with natural resources that previous empires have sought to exploit. In addition to the spices that helped spur European exploration, Indonesia's rainforests provide a significant amount of timber and natural rubber. Underground, Indonesia boasts great mineral wealth, including copper, gold, and tin, along with the world's largest nickel reserves. Furthermore, Indonesia's lands and waters are home to large volumes of fossil fuels such as natural gas and petroleum, making it one of Asia's largest oil producers.[13]

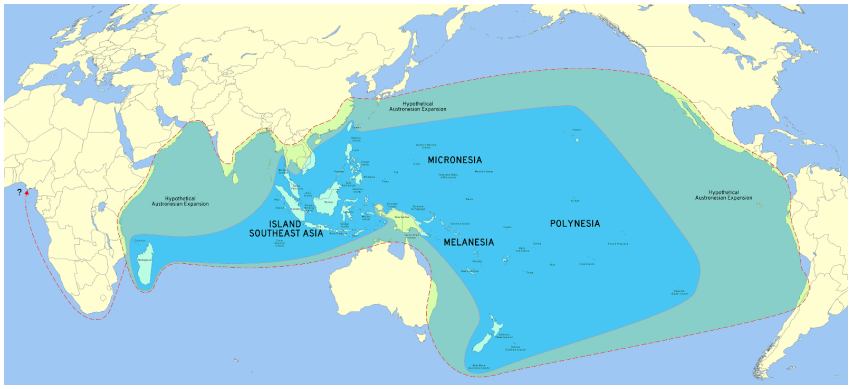
In what serves as both a blessing and a curse, Indonesia is situated on a major subduction zone along the "ring of fire," making it a hotspot for volcanic and tectonic activity. A smattering of volcanoes dot Indonesia's southern and western islands. On the one hand, these volcanoes make the soil incredibly productive and nutrient-rich, enabling a massive population to sustain itself with relatively little land. However, these volcanoes are some of the most dangerous and destructive in the world. Two of history's most famous and disastrous volcanic eruptions, Tambora in 1815 and Krakatoa in 1883, came from Indonesia. The 1815 eruption and the ensuing ash were responsible for the death of 71,000 people and the erasure of the

[12] Tytell, 2023.
[13] "Indonesia - Mining." International Trade Administration, 2024.

Tambora culture. The eruption caused extreme climate anomalies the following year leaving much of the Northern Hemisphere without a summer—resulting in the worst global famine of the century.[14] Indonesia also faces the risk of major earthquakes and tsunamis, which can wash away entire cities without warning.[15]

Human Geography

Most of the people that today inhabit most of the islands of Indonesia are descendants of the Austronesian people, a seafaring group originating from modern-day Taiwan that colonized much of maritime Southeast Asia and the Pacific. By the end of their expansion, Austronesians had settled lands from Madagascar to Hawai'i and New Zealand. In Indonesia, these Austronesians joined the Melanesian people (who today make up most nations like Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands) to create the ethno-racial mix of the country today. Later, many traders from southern China travelled to the archipelago for trade and settled there, forming affluent "Overseas Chinese" communities in cities like Jakarta. They would later be joined by others fleeing economic and political conditions in mainland China over the centuries.[16]



[14] Oppenheimer, Clive (2003). "Climatic, environmental and human consequences of the largest known historic eruption: Tambora volcano (Indonesia) 1815". Progress in Physical Geography. 27 (2): 230–259.
[15] Tytell, 2023.
[16] *Austronesia with Hypothetical Greatest Expansion Extent*.

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However, despite mostly descending from the same group, centuries of distance and separation among the thousands of islands of the archipelago have created a stunning level of diversity among the peoples of Indonesia. It can be hard to estimate the exact number of ethnic groups and languages scattered across the islands, but there are likely over 600 actively spoken languages and well over 1,000 ethnicities in total.[18]

In addition to language and ethnicity, Indonesia is also divided by religion, albeit to a lesser extent. Today, 87% of Indonesia is Muslim, making it the nation with the largest number of Muslims in the world. However, Indonesians practice Islam somewhat differently from many other Muslims in other nations, as Indonesian Islam incorporates some aspects of Indonesia's long standing Hindu-Buddhist and indigenous traditions in a form of syncretism. Additionally, Indonesia respects religious diversity and freedom, at least on paper.[19]

The remaining 13% of the population are mostly Christians. These people hail from the Eastern islands that were among the first to be colonized, a legacy of futile Dutch and Portuguese attempts to convert the entire

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[17] Kartapranata, Gunawan. *Indonesia Ethnic Groups Map*.
[18] Kartapranata, Gunawan. *Indonesia Ethnic Groups Map*.
[19] Stirling, K. Caileigh. "5 Facts about Muslims and Christians in Indonesia" (2024).

archipelago to Christianity early on in the colonial era.[20] The other major religious groups are the Hindus of Bali—the only part of the country to hold on to Hinduism as Indonesia converted to Islam in the middle ages—and small Overseas Chinese communities of Buddhists and Confucians in cities.

History of the Problem

An Adaptive Archipelago: Pre-colonial History

Throughout Indonesia's history, from its earliest East, West, and South Asian influences to Europeans fighting over its spice-rich Maluku islands, the archipelago has largely been defined by maritime trade. This mercantile culture opened it up to various religious and cultural influences throughout the centuries prior to European colonization, with each leaving its mark on the people of the region and creating the groundwork for the diverse society that exists today.

The earliest of these influences came from India, whose traders brought their culture as well as the religions of the subcontinent: Hinduism and Buddhism. These two religions, either as independent and sometimes competing faiths or syncretized as "Hindu-Buddhism," a combination of the two, dominated Maritime Southeast Asia for centuries. In this era, many small and large kingdoms rose to a brief period of prominence before fading away. However, a few of these states stand out and merit exploration.

[20] Ibid.

[21]

Srivijaya was a Buddhist kingdom largely based in southern Sumatra, with strong connections to China's Tang and Song dynasties. Though its exact borders are not clear, Srivijaya likely controlled the Malay peninsula and much of Western Indonesia—including most of Java. In practice, though, this control was an example of a Southeast Asian "mandala" system, where a powerful liege (in this case Srivijaya) would exact a tribute from smaller, largely independent vassal kingdoms in exchange for guaranteed protection should they need it.[22] Regardless, this arrangement lasted for a few hundred years until the Tamil Chola dynasty raided Srivijaya's capital at Palembang in 1025, capturing their king and sending the empire into a chaotic freefall from which they would never recover.[23]

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[21] Kartapranata. *Srivijaya Empire*. *Wikimedia*, 2009.

[22] Britannica Academic, s.v. "History of Southeast Asia," accessed July 26, 2024, https://academic-eb-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/levels/collegiate/article/history-of-Southeast-Asia/111140.

[23] Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Srivijaya empire". Encyclopedia Britannica, 18 May. 2024, https://www.britannica.com/place/Srivijaya-empire. Accessed 26 July 2024.

A few centuries later, the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit would become the greatest native power the region would see until the modern nation of Indonesia.[24] Building off of the prior East Javan kingdom of Singhasari, the Majapahit created a maritime empire that extended its influence over much of the modern nation of Indonesia's territory, as well as parts of Malaysia and Brunei. [25] Similar to Srivijaya, the Majapahit followed the mandala system; they earned tribute from the kingdoms they vassalized through a combination of military force and diplomacy, though they never directly controlled most of their empire.

As the Majapahit reached their greatest extent around 1365, the archipelago was already amidst a new wave of cultural influence: Muslim traders from across the Middle East and Asia brought with them the religion of Islam, which would come to dominate the islands up to the present day.

Colonial History

Initial Inquisitions

In August of 1511, with a fleet of eighteen ships, the Portuguese Duke Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the city of Malacca, the capital of a sultanate of the same name in modern-day Malaysia and Sumatra.[26]

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[24] Kartapranata. *Majapahit Empire*. *Wikimedia*, 2009.

[25]Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Majapahit empire." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 4, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/place/Majapahit-empire.

[26] Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. Stanford University Press, 2008. p. 23

This marked the beginning of the Portuguese colonial project in Indonesia, as Malacca became their base to find spices and capture the lands of their production. Once the Portuguese discovered the "Spice Islands" (the Maluku Islands in Eastern Indonesia), they established trading posts across the Indonesian Archipelago to facilitate the trade of cloves, mace, and nutmeg.[27] The quest for spices fueled European exploration in all directions, but the Indonesian archipelago proved extremely profitable for the Portuguese.

In 1600, the Dutch joined forces with the Hituese people on Ambon Island to fight off the Portuguese, capturing the island in what would be the first of many fights with Portugal over Indonesia.[28] In the early 1600s, the English, via the British East India Company entered the competition for territory and access to spice.[29] Fights between the British East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, the Portuguese Crown, and the Spanish Crown in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia became known as the Spice Wars.[30] As a result of warfare between the Netherlands and Portugal, the Dutch captured Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Malacca from Portugal, permitting the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) ultimate control of Indonesia and much of the Indian Ocean spice trade. Ceylon and Malacca provided crucial trading ports which gave the Dutch access to the existing trade infrastructure and allowed for routine sea travel across the Indian Ocean and into the archipelago.

The VOC took full advantage of their new colonies, skirting morality in favor of obtaining the largest possible profit from their colonial ventures. For instance, because they had a complete monopoly on several spices, the Dutch burned cash crops and destroyed seeds to maintain the appearance of scarcity and keep prices high. This did not directly impact the local people, as the cash crops produced by the Dutch were not used in local

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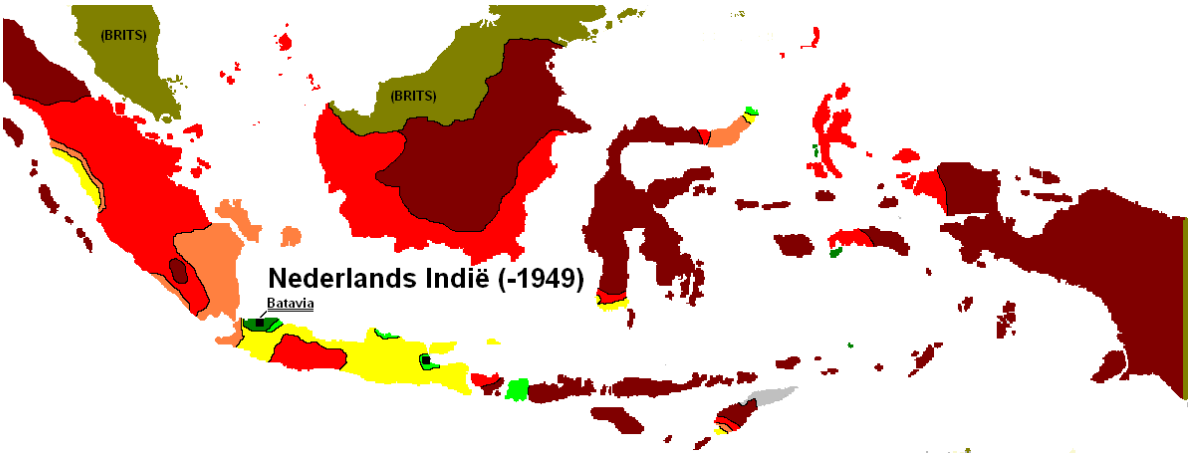
[27] Ricklefs (2008), p. 24
[28] Ricklefs (2008), p. 28
[29] Ricklefs (2008), p. 29
[30] Ricklefs (2008), p. 29

communities. However, the Dutch colonial agriculture system took land away from local communities, depriving them of the opportunity to produce food. As a result, there were famines and food shortages for people in the Dutch East Indies.[31] In 1621, the VOC hired Japanese mercenaries to massacre and enslave the Bandanese people and forcefully take control of the spice-rich Banda Island.[32] The brutal nature of the VOC's actions is representative of the broader Dutch treatment of indigenous peoples and the VOC's ruthless drive for profit in the colonial era.[33]

Still, the company's power did not make it invincible. Times changed and new powers (namely the British and French) gained influence in Indian Ocean trade, where they began to outcompete the Dutch. In 1800, the corrupt and overextended VOC went bankrupt, and its holdings and debt were transferred to the Dutch crown.[34]

[31] Ricklefs (2008), p. 160
[32] Ricklefs (2008), p. 33
[33] Can Pac Swire, *VOC Ship/Schip Amsterdam*. *Flickr*, 2014.
[34] Ricklefs (2008), p. 106



A map of Dutch expansion in the East Indies.[35]

Administering an Annexed Archipelago

To manage their Indonesian colony, the Dutch government enlisted the help of native aristocracies to enforce a feudal system. The Dutch governors entrusted local landed rulers, called *priyayi*, to carry out their policies. These priyayi controlled the land the peasants worked on, and provided the Dutch with a steady supply of crops grown by those peasants. In addition to spices, Indonesians also grew sugar, indigo, coffee and tea. Because of this system, local government continued somewhat similar to the way it had before colonialism: Indonesia never truly progressed beyond a medieval society, since its development was perpetually stifled by the Dutch enforcing an outdated economic system and exporting away its wealth. Additionally, the priyayi were the ones actually carrying out Dutch policies, which at times made them the targets of native backlash as well. In return the priyayi maintained a status of nobility and access to considerable wealth.

As they conquered and colonized more of Indonesia, the Dutch government claimed their colonial mission to "civilize" the Indonesian people, when in reality it was motivated by financial incentives. In their drive

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[35] *The Dutch Expansion in East Indies*. *Wikimedia*, 2008.

for profit, the Dutch unleashed widespread brutality. Dutch soldiers often committed atrocities, including torturing, abusing, and killing indigenous Indonesians.[36] Thousands of pro-independence activists were imprisoned even during the latter years of colonialism.

The process of colonization was marked by violent conflict, including the Java war in 1825 and the Aceh War in 1873, both of which resulted in the Dutch strengthening their control over Indonesia.[37] Beginning in 1830, the Dutch government implemented the "Cultivation System," which was similar to the previous practices of the VOC. Under this system, twenty percent of land in Java was used for government-owned crops, and all peasants were required by law to work on government plantations for at least sixty days a year in place of standard land taxes.[38] In Central Java, famines broke out as a result of this policy after bad harvests because cash crops were grown in place of rice. This practice was later replaced by the Dutch Ethical Policy in 1900, under which the Dutch government for the first time claimed responsibility for ensuring the welfare of its colonized subjects.[39] [40] This consisted of extensive infrastructure investments like a network of paved roads, a robust school system, drinking water pumps, and an effort to modernize the economy.[41] These steps would lay the foundation for Indonesia to become a functioning independent nation.

Stirring the Archipelago: Indonesia's Nationalist Awakening

Though many in the nation had for years longed for independence from their colonizers, it was not until the 1920s that large-scale, organized activism against the Dutch began in earnest. In Indonesia, this early push of activism came almost entirely from students and youth groups. The Dutch founded a few universities, mostly in

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[36] Ricklefs (2008), p. 31,106
[37] Vickers (2013), p. xii
[38] Vickers, Adrian. A History of Modern Indonesia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p. xii
[39] Vickers (2013), p. xii
[40] *Leerlingen van de Inlandse Landbouwschool Java*. *Wereld Museum*.
[41] Ricklefs (2008), p. 195-204

Java, to provide a Western-style education for a select few Indonesian students. At universities like Jakarta's medical school STOVIA and the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), students joined various on-campus organizations that would become hotspots for talks of an independent Indonesia. At first, these groups were largely apolitical, mainly serving as places to discuss and promote indigenous Indonesian culture. For example, the Jong Java began as an explicitly apolitical organization to promote "Great Java" culture, inspiring other islands' Indonesian youths to form their own cultural groups.[42] However, by the mid 1920s, several of these groups began to discuss the subject of "Indonesia Merdeka," (Free Indonesia) more directly, and sought to collaborate with others. Many of the founders and early members of these groups would go on to play important roles later on in Indonesia's nationalist movement, including future President Sukarno and future Vice President Hatta.

Despite Dutch opposition to and suppression of political activism, Indonesia's youth groups hosted several congresses where they met to discuss their visions for the future of Indonesia and how to cooperate to achieve those goals. At first, the groups were divided over whether to campaign for independence, but over the course of the 1920s more groups agreed to pursue the cause. The congresses also introduced many now-iconic symbols of modern Indonesia, including a commitment to promote the Malay language (what would become Indonesian), a precursor to the modern red and white flag, and the national anthem, "Indonesia Raya."[43] Furthermore, the second congress introduced the Youth Pledge, a declaration of unity between the groups based on a shared commitment to promoting the Indonesian nation and the "unifying" Indonesian language. Though never adopted in full, this oath nevertheless became emblematic of early Indonesian unity.[44, 45]

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[42]Suryadinata, Leo. "Indonesian Nationalism and the Pre-War Youth Movement: A Reexamination." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 9, no. 1 (1978): 99–114. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20070247.

[43] Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Java in a time of revolution; occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972.

[44] Suryadinata, 109

[45] Sania Amalia, *Youth Pledge*, November 14, 2015, *Wikimedia Commons*, November 14, 2015.

Sesoedahnja menimbang segala isi-isi pidato-pidato dan pembitjaraan ini.

Kerapatan laloe mengambil kepoetoesan:

Pertama: KAMI POETRA DAN POETRI INDONESIA MENGAKOE BERTOEMPAH DARAH JANG SATOE, TANAH INDONESIA

Kedoea: KAMI POETRA DAN POETRI INDONESIA MENGAKOE BERBANGSA JANG SATOE, BANGSA INDONESIA

Ketiga: KAMI POETRA DAN POETRI INDONESIA MENDJOEN DJOENG BAHASA PERSATOEAN, BAHASA INDONESIA

Setelah mendengar poetoesan ini, kerapatan mengeloearkan kejakinan azas ini wadjib dipakai oleh segala perkoempoelan kebangsaan Indonesia.

Mengeloearkan kejakinan persatoean Indonesia diperkoeat dengan memperhatikan dasar persatoeannja:

KEMAOEAN
SEDJARAH
BAHASA
HOEKOEM ADAT
PENDIDIKAN DAN KEPANDOEAN

dan mengeloearkan pengharapan, soepaja poetoesan ini diiaarkan dalam segala soerat kabar dan dibatjakan dimoeka rapat perkoempoelan-perkoempoelan kita.

Still, these congresses were not without their disagreements. Many non-Javanese felt excluded by early nationalistic groups, the majority of which had little if any representation from outside of Java. Ultimately, other islands' groups mostly ended up working with the Javanese, though many held onto their suspicions that the Javanese would come to dominate the Indonesian independence movement—and any new Indonesian state, should their goals be achieved.

Additionally, in the first youth congress of 1926, divisions emerged over the role Islam should play in the new Indonesian state. Most of the organizations, many of whom were less religious *priyayi*, wanted a nationalist movement mostly independent of Islam. However, members of the Young Muslim Association took issue with the secular state the congresses proposed, leaving a rift that remained unbridged even after Indonesia gained independence.[46]

Nevertheless, pro-independence groups grew bolder throughout the 1930s as the groups began to organize more openly and began to actively defy Dutch policies, risking arrest by openly publishing anti-Dutch articles and organizing movements for independence.[47] However, Indonesia's independence movement still lacked a catalyst that would inspire a mass movement against colonial rule.

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[46] Suryadinata, 110
[47] Suryadinata,111

A World at War Once Again

Following its attacks on Pearl Harbor and other United States territories in late 1941, Japan declared war on the Netherlands and quickly occupied the Dutch East Indies, most of which they would hold for the remainder of the war. At first, the Japanese largely adopted the Dutch systems of rule, keeping the existing structure of local *priyayi* leaders serving as puppets for their colonial overlords.

However, as the war continued and Japan began losing ground, they found a new use for their Indonesian territory: a massive, multi-island speed bump for the advancing Allies. This strategy involved a few different plans, all aimed at offloading the costs of war onto the Indonesian people. Initially, the Japanese conscripted millions of Indonesians as *romusha*, or laborers, to build various military projects, some of which were far away from home. The conditions for the romusha were often dismal, and many died or were left stranded thousands of miles from their homes, never to return.[48, 49]

[48] Anderson,13
[49] NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, *Sedari Menanam Hingga Memetik*, 1944, *Picryl*, 1944.

But as the war continued and Japan became more desperate, Japanese leadership decided to prepare the Indonesians to fight off the Allies—including their old colonial occupiers. To do this, Japan incited the anti-colonial and nationalist sentiment that had been growing for decades by proclaiming themselves as freeing the Indonesians from oppressive colonial rule; Indonesians were fed up with Dutch rule and wanted change, but there had not yet been the spark necessary for a full-scale political revolution.[50] The Japanese also directly conscripted many Indonesians into the military, mainly to train them in advance of an invasion. In doing so, Japan prepared Indonesians for their war against the Dutch by training future soldiers and the generals to lead them.

In the summer of 1945, as the USSR prepared to join the invasion of Japan, Japanese leadership made the desperate and rushed decision to prepare Indonesia for complete independence. At that point, the allies had retaken some outer islands, including Borneo, but the core islands of Java and Sumatra would remain under Japanese control until after the war. The Japanese approved the creation of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (Indonesian: Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, abbreviated as PPKI), and began to work out the terms of Indonesian independence and transition of authority from Japanese to Indonesian rule.[51] Ultimately, Japan would surrender on August 15 1945; two days later, on August 17, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta declared independence.

Consolidating A Vision

Still, Sukarno and his allies in the PPKI were not in the clear just yet. In fact, several different factions had emerged as senior Indonesian leaders plotted their nation's independence. The PPKI's members were largely members of the *priyayi* and older nationalists, whose vision and ideals varied wildly from much of the Indonesian

[50] Anderson, 34
[51] Anderson, 62

population. Crucially, this group had largely been isolated from the worst consequences of the war: during Japanese occupation, the Indonesian Rupiah lost over 98% of its value, and Indonesia suffered a major drought that hurt its rice crop—all while Indonesian farmers had to give up large portions of their harvests to the occupying Japanese—causing a major famine.[52] Furthermore, the brutality and corruption of the Japanese occupation brought newfound attention to the stark inequality that divided the population. For example, wealthier Indonesians could pay their way out of conscription as romusha by bribing local officials or making a poorer Indonesian take their place.[53] This division also led the upper classes to have a far less negative view of Japanese rule as compared to the peasants, many of whom viewed the Japanese as just as oppressive as the Dutch.

The PPKI and its supporters wanted a peaceful and orderly transfer of power from the Dutch to the Japanese to native Indonesian rule, leaving the hierarchical institutions of the colonial era mostly unchanged. However, large numbers of Indonesians, especially young adults and rural farmers, had little to lose and much to gain from a more dramatic and radical shift in dynamics. For the lower-class farmers, existing institutions kept them powerless and impoverished, forced to live as serfs to local leaders. Even for the wealthier, Western-educated students in Jakarta, independence offered an opportunity to change Indonesian society in a variety of ways, whether that was to increase the power of Islam in government or to embrace socialist reforms. Ultimately, none of these efforts would have much success, as the PPKI quickly worked to solidify its control and prepared to fight the Dutch—but they did not dissipate quietly either.

Fighting For Freedom

With the World War over, the Netherlands worked with British and Australian forces to regain control over Indonesia. They quickly recaptured most of the smaller, less populated outer islands, but Java and Sumatra

[52] Anderson,11-12
[53] Anderson, 14

proved elusive. The British at first attempted to establish nominal control over Jakarta, but they found the city too embroiled in violence and chaos to control. Notably, many Indonesians took the opportunity to enact revenge on those they saw as responsible for oppression during the colonial era. Convinced that the Dutch were not capable of re-establishing colonial rule, the British and Australians withdrew their forces from the islands and left the Netherlands to fight by themselves by the end of 1946.[54]

However, the Netherlands refused to yield their only major colony, and continued fighting for three and a half more years. In that period, they executed two rounds of "police action," consisting of large-scale invading forces attempting to re-establish control. But both the summer 1947 and winter 1948-49 police actions resulted in the same outcome: Dutch forces re-established nominal control over most of Indonesia, but were bogged down fighting guerilla campaigns against local militia groups that the Japanese had trained and armed for exactly this purpose.[55]

Though only 4,500 Dutch soldiers died during the conflict, it is estimated that around 100,000 Indonesians perished, possibly more. The discrepancy is in large part due to the brutal and costly nature of the guerilla tactics the Indonesians employed, but also due to frequent atrocities and massacres Dutch forces carried out.[56] Though neither the main government nor the military condoned these actions, many generals and soldiers nonetheless acted brutally and cruelly, without repercussions. Furthermore, Indonesia's divisions led to much internal violence that killed thousands more as the people of the young nation settled their disputes through violence.

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[54] Oostindie et. al.,"The Decolonization War in Indonesia," 256.
[55] Oostindie et. al., 257.
[56] Ibid.

Throughout the attempted re-occupation, Dutch officials met with Indonesian leaders (temporarily operating out of Yogyakarta, which the Dutch never really held during the war) to negotiate ceasefires and more permanent solutions to the crisis. Various proposals for the future of Indonesia were drafted, negotiated, and signed, but none successfully stopped the conflict, as neither side wanted to give up its claim on the entire archipelago. Both sides (but especially the Dutch) also violated the terms of the treaties they signed, so there were bursts of violence at various times throughout the conflict[57]

Eventually, the United States and other Western powers had grown tired of the Dutch delaying the inevitable—and they began to respect Sukarno's government as highly intelligent and competent despite its many challenges.[58] Crucially, American leaders approved of Indonesia quelling communist rebellions, and saw it as a potential ally in the brewing Cold War.[59] Thus, the United States gave the Dutch an ultimatum: they could either concede defeat and grant Indonesia independence, or they could continue fighting and lose access to funding from the Marshall Plan.[60] The Dutch needed American money to prevent their economy from collapsing and to

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[57] Nationaal Archief. *Besprekingen en ondertekening wapenstilstandsovereenkomst; Linggadjati conferentie*. 1946.
[58] Homan, Gerlof D. "The Netherlands, the United States and the Indonesian Question, 1948." Journal of Contemporary History 25, no. 1 (1990): 123–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/260724.
[59] Homan, 131
[60] Homan, 133

rebuild the infrastructure destroyed during the war, so the two sides worked out a treaty in summer 1949. By the end of December, for the first time in history, Indonesia was a fully free and sovereign nation.

Statement of the Problem

What Should Be the Nature of the New Government?

As delegates, you have the ability to create any form of government you want, although how said government is received by the population is another matter. What system can best balance the diversity of Indonesia's population with the need for a strong central government to keep the nation strong? To simplify the issue a bit, there are three main paths a new government could take.

1. Unitary Government

   Under a unitary government, the central government is, for the most part, the only body in the nation with the responsibility to govern. Regional and local governments have very limited powers to determine their own policies, making power centralized in the capital. In Japan, for example, the government in Tokyo determines almost all decisions the country takes. It can choose to delegate responsibilities to lower-level governments like prefectures or cities, but it can choose exactly which powers it wants to yield and can revoke rights at any time

2. Federal Government

   In a federation, lower-level governments have much more power. Though the central government retains the final authority in all matters should conflicts arise, lower-level governments have broad authority to create and effect policy in various domains, as dictated by law. As an example, in India, states are full governments in their own right, able to levy their own taxes and effect any policies they want that don't conflict with national policy.

3. Confederal Government

    In a confederation, the central government is subservient to local governments. The central government may have some reserved powers the lower governments cannot impede (such as the right to declare war or levy tariffs on foreign goods), but apart from those reserved powers the central government has little control over lower governments. Though no present-day nations are confederal, they have existed throughout history (such as the United States under the Articles of Confederation).

Each of these government types have their benefits and drawbacks. If the central government has too much power, certain regions may feel taken advantage of by the rest of the nation, especially considering the popular advantage of the Javanese when making policy. These tensions could easily spark a sectarian crisis if left unchecked. However, if the central government yields too much of its power to local governments, it will lack a strong mandate to design and implement policy solutions. Furthermore, by empowering local governments, the state could embolden its foreign and domestic adversaries to pit different parts of the nations against one another.

Another topic that you must address is the structure of the central government. Should Indonesia be a presidential republic or embrace a parliamentary system? How will the central government divide up executive, legislative, and judicial power? And how much power should the government yield to its citizens to begin with? Unifying such a heterogenous population will be a challenge for the new government, as this is the first time most of these people have ever shared the same flag (apart from Dutch rule).

How Should the Government Develop the New Nation?

For the first time in centuries, Indonesia will be ruled for the good of the Indonesian people, rather than for the wealth of a colonial power. Yet, in order to build a flourishing Indonesia, delegates face an array of challenges, from developing a national language to rebuilding and strengthening national infrastructure, and moving beyond an economy reliant on the production of cash crops grown to be sold in foreign markets.

Language

Indonesians have a problem: they can't understand each other! Under Dutch rule, it never mattered that most Indonesians did not speak the same language, as most people never left their villages, let alone their region or island. However, Indonesia's government now has to hear the voices of its citizens, so it would be wise to teach everyone another language to avoid getting lost in translation. Furthermore, if delegates wish to build a unified and interconnected Indonesian economy, it is paramount that the participants in said economy be able to communicate with each other.

So far, the choice has been, well, Indonesian. Indonesian, or Bahasa Indonesia, is basically a form of neighboring Malaysia's national language Malay with some native Indonesian additions. Though only about 5% of the population can speak it in 1950, it nonetheless has a long history of serving as a *lingua franca* in the region. Historically, traders in the Malay archipelago all spoke "Trade Malay" as a common language to understand one another. As a result, most of the elites of maritime Southeast Asia are already fluent in either Indonesian or another, mutually intelligible language.[61] Indonesian also benefits from being incredibly easy to learn: it is a very simple language, linguistically speaking, and as an Austronesian language, most Indonesians have some familiarity with Indonesian structure and vocabulary.[62]

Still, there are other options for a national language. Indonesia could follow the trend of some other post-colonial nations and adopt the language of its colonizers as a means of communication among its different groups. However, unlike in some of those other states, almost no Indonesians can speak Dutch outside of the select few who attended Dutch schools. Alternatively, Indonesia could adopt Javanese as the national language. Javanese is an attractive choice, as around half the population speaks Javanese natively. However, such a choice would be

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[61] Scott Paauw, "One Land, One Nation, One Language," *University of Rochester Working Papers in the Language Sciences.* (2009).
[62] Paauw, 2.

controversial, as embracing Javanese would upset the outer provinces already worried about Javanese domination in the new state.

And even once a national language is decided on paper, it must still be actively taught in schools to have an impact. At the moment, fewer than 20% of Indonesia can read and write, a legacy of the Dutch limiting access to education for most of the country's population during the colonial era.[63] Your government must work to increase access to education so that Indonesia's people can move beyond agricultural labor and into industries that require a higher level of skills and education.

Infrastructure and Economy

Indonesia was at war for almost a decade; to put it mildly, some of the roads didn't make it. As you invest in the nation's infrastructure, you must keep in mind Indonesia's geography as you work to unify a country divided by seas and jungles and volcanoes. Be wise with your projects, making sure that the roads, ports, and trains you build can accelerate the nation's economic growth and make national resources and services accessible for everyone. Poorly planned infrastructure projects will quickly turn into boondoggles, damaging Indonesia's natural resources and draining the nation's coffers.

Unexpectedly, there is an opportunity to shed a lingering relic of colonialism by abandoning some destroyed railroad tracks. The Netherlands ran Indonesia as one giant plantation, with its people's sole purpose to grow crops like spices and tea to make money for the Dutch realm. As such, the nation's infrastructure enforces that economic model, mainly serving to connect the nation's resources to the places where they can be exported. This means that parts of the country that were less important to the bottom line of the Dutch are underdeveloped and hard to access—for now.

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[63] *World illiteracy at mid-century: A statistical study*. UNESCO, 1957.

As you write the new constitution, consider how much of the old economic system you want to keep in place and how much you want to reform or abandon. If you keep Indonesia as an extractive economy, you could stunt the nation's growth and keep the population from improving their standard of living. But too radical a change could risk throwing away the economic system that Indonesians have gotten used to and planned their lives around, leaving everyone worse off—and potentially making some adversaries overseas.

Foreign Relations

As a brand new nation, Indonesia has nearly complete control over how—and with whom—it wants to direct its foreign policy. Indonesia can make an appealing ally for any nation that wants to expand its influence in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, giving its leaders leverage in their talks to forge advantageous relationships with global powers.

The Orange Elephant in the Room

Firstly, and arguably most importantly, Indonesia needs to decide how to manage its complicated relationship with its former colonizers. Namely, should Indonesia work to take advantage of its established ties to the Netherlands or should it reject Dutch influence of any kind and work to distance itself from them?[64]

[64] Tytell, 2024.

As part of the Hague Agreement that ended the war, The Netherlands and Indonesia have agreed to establish a shared "Netherlands-Indonesia Union," where both states were fully sovereign but worked in each others' best interest.[65] However, the terms of this union are incredibly vague, and Indonesian nationalists worry that cooperation with the Netherlands on their terms will inherently put Indonesia at a disadvantage. Further complicating the picture, the Netherlands still holds western New Guinea, which many nationalists believe the Dutch should have ceded to Indonesia, as it was also part of the Dutch East Indies.

Still, for centuries, Indonesia's economy has been sustained through exporting natural resources to the Netherlands; could there be a way to harness those established trade networks to bring some Dutch money back to the archipelago?

Bringing a Cold War to Warm Seas

While Indonesia was busy fighting for its future in the years following World War II, the rest of the world was settling into a new reality. The Soviet Union and the United States, once allies, have become more hostile towards each other by the day, and have already come close to drawing arms against one another. Unfortunately for us, the two superpowers have already begun to bring their squabbles beyond Europe, and it could be only a matter of time before Southeast Asia becomes a flashpoint for this global conflict. Knowing this, Indonesia has to be wise and carefully consider what side—if any—is best to take.

The simplest option is to solidify relations with the United States. The Americans were crucial in forcing the Dutch to the negotiating table for independence, and have shown a clear interest in working with Sukarno to prevent communism from taking hold in the region. The United States also has a good deal of influence over the

[65] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Hague Agreement." Encyclopedia Britannica, October 26, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/event/Hague-Agreement.

European colonial powers because of the Marshall Plan, so having them onside could prove useful in any future negotiations.

Alternatively, Indonesia could also turn away from the United States and choose to throw its lot in with the Soviet Union. Though the government has opposed communist movements in the nation so far—often violently—many tenets of socialism remain popular among a populace that stands to benefit from upending the current economic order and redistributing wealth. Also, the United States has been inconsistent in its support for decolonization and post-colonial states like Indonesia, as it worries nations are more susceptible to communist takeover as independent states than as European colonies. For this reason, Indonesia could be better off denying United States support and instead embracing the USSR.

Finally, Indonesia can get creative. Through adept diplomacy, Indonesia could attempt to gain the best of both worlds, playing the two sides off one another to gain leverage in negotiations. However, this path is risky, as inviting the giants to Indonesia's shores opens the nation up to their influence. If left unchecked, that influence could quickly undermine the government's efforts to solidify the new state's legitimacy and even incite rebellion against it.

New Friends and Old Foes, Old Friends and New Foes

Indonesia has no shortage of potential allies and adversaries in its backyard. For starters, there are the remaining colonial powers. In addition to the Netherlands, France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom all claim parts of the Malay archipelago or Indochina as their territory. Indonesia can choose whether to establish warm relations with these powers and benefit from their wealth or work to undermine their rule.

Also, there are several non-European nations that could serve as natural allies. Myanmar and the Philippines gained independence around the same time Indonesia did, joining Thailand which survived the colonial era without subjugation by a European power. Others could come soon: French Indochina has struggled

to fight off the Viet Minh, who control much of the north and center of Vietnam, and it is not yet clear how France will choose to handle them.

A little farther out are India and China, two massive nations that have just undergone rapid change: India and Pakistan gained independence from the UK in 1947, and the Chinese Communist Party completed its domination of mainland China in 1949. Even farther afield are Arab states like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq, who have shown enthusiasm to cooperate with the new Muslim power of the East. Indonesia's young diplomats can truly travel anywhere and try to make deals with anyone as they aim to build up a strong diplomatic reputation from the ground up.

After centuries of foreign powers driving Indonesia's history, Indonesia can finally write its own narrative. Be wise, be deliberate, and be considerate, and you will create a nation that can stand proudly on the world stage.

Character Biographies

Mohammed Hatta - Vice President (Minangkabau)

Mohammed Hatta was born in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra in 1902. His grandfather was a respected leader in the local Sufi Muslim community. Hatta's father passed away when he was only eight months old. Hatta and his six sisters were raised by their mother in the matrilineal Minangkabau tradition. His mother's family was wealthy and as a result Hatta was given the opportunity to study at the elite Dutch elementary school, Europeesche Lagere School. His interest in politics became evident when at the age of sixteen he was chosen to be the treasurer of the local Jong Sumatranen Bond, the Youth Association of Sumatra. Hatta went on to continue his education at the Netherlands School of Commerce. He almost earned a doctoral degree in Economics, but he never completed his thesis. While there, Hatta was a member and then chairman of Perhimpoenan Indonesia (PI). Hatta was even the editor of the PI's magazine Indonesia Merdeka. His activism got him in trouble with the Dutch government. Hatta spent nearly six months in prison. In 1935, Hatta was exiled to Paupa for his views. During his time in exile, Hatta wrote multiple books. Once freed by the Japanese occupational government in 1942, Hatta was asked to become an advisor to the new government. In 1945, following the signing of the Proclamation of Independence, Hatta was elected the first Vice President of Indonesia.

Sutan Sjahrir - Prime Minister (Minangkabau)

Sutan Sjahrir was born in early 1909 in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, the son of an experienced prosecutor. Sutan gained a strong education in Medan and later Bandung, before spending his young adult years studying in the Netherlands. While enrolled at the University of Amsterdam and Leiden University, Sutan fell in with some Dutch socialists, who inspired his politics. Sutan later went on to help form Indonesia's powerful

socialist party, which advocated for democratic socialism (as opposed to communism which had grown popular among the populace). Sutan was one of the few members of Indonesia's revolutionary government the Dutch consistently liked, seeing as he was one of the only revolutionaries who never approved of Japanese occupation of Indonesia. As such, he served as a crucial negotiating partner throughout the war, helping to negotiate the (ultimately unsuccessful) Linggadjati agreement. Sukarno tapped Sutan to be the first prime minister of the new nation, giving him substantial power to direct the course of the legislature.

Agus Salim - Minister of Foreign Affairs (Minangkabau)

Agus Salim was born in Koto Gadang, West Sumatra in 1884. His father was a high ranking colonial prosecutor and judge. As a result of his father's position, Salim was able to attend the elite Europeesche Lagere School. Later, he attended Hogere Burgerschool in Jakarta. Salim joined political life when he became an interpreter for a colonial administrator. In 1911, he became editor of the Malay language newspaper Neratja. The paper supported Sarekat Islam, an Indonesian nationalist and religious organization. Salim demonstrated his passion for expanding educational access when he founded a school in his hometown. His connection to Sarekat Islam deepened when he became the right-hand man of Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, the leader of Sarekat Islam. While being intimately connected to the organization he was viewed as a reformist member. In 1918, Salim's paper Neratja spoke out against the Dutch colonial government's treatment of Muslims. Salim went on to co-found the Islamic Union Party with Tjokroaminoto. While giving a speech at a convention of the Jong Islamieten Bond, Salim tore down the barrier between the men and women's sections, emphasizing his unconventional social beliefs. Salim had an extensive capacity for linguistics, as he spoke nine languages: Minangkabau, Malay, English, Dutch, French, Japanese, German, Latin, and Turkish. In 1945, Salim was named a member of the Committee

of Nine (Panitia Sembilan), chaired by Sukarno. The goal of the committee was to negotiate an agreement between advocates for a secular and muslim state. He was known to be a respected mediator during spirited debates.

Alexander Andries Maramis (A. A. Maramis) - Minister of Finance (Minhasa)

In 1897, Alexander Andries Maramis was born in Manado, the capital city of North Sulawesi. His family was already known to the Indonesian people as his aunt, Maria Walanda Maramis, was considered a national hero for her advocacy for women's rights. Alexander attended both a Dutch primary and secondary school, and in 1919 Maramis moved to the Netherlands to attend Leiden University. While there, he became an active member of Perhimpoenan Indonesia, a student organization which advocated for Indonesian independence from the Netherlands. Fellow prominent members of the club include: Gunawan Mangunkusumo, Mohammad Hatta, Iwa Koesoemasoemantri, Sastromoeljono, and Sartono. After graduating with a law degree in 1924, Alexander returned to the archipelago where he became a lawyer in the district court of Semarang, then Palembang in Sumatra. Under the Japanese colonial government, Alexander was a member of the Central Advisory Council, which was essentially a puppet government of the Japanese military. Alexander was also a part of the BPUPKI, through which he helped to craft the 1945 Constitution. Alexander later joined the first Presidential Cabinet as the Minister of Finance in 1945. Alexander also briefly held the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1948-1949. In 1949, he was reappointed the Minister of Finance. Though he of course believes in a strong and independent Indonesia, Alexander has strong ties and established political connections with the Netherlands, whom he believes Indonesia must keep onside—at least for the time being. Alexander has argued that abandoning the Netherlands entirely without an alternative trade partner will spell doom for the fledgling economy, stunting the nation's growth and sacrificing prosperity along with its colonial heritage.

Maria Ulfah Santoso - Minister of Social Affairs (Javanese)

Maria Ulfah Santoso was born in Serang, a city in West Java, in 1911. Maria's mother was from a noble priyayi family, who served as regents of the Serang. Maria spent her childhood in West Java in the city Kuningan, where her father was regent. The status of both of her parents in the Dutch Colonial government resulted in Maria attending a Dutch elementary and secondary school in Jakarta. During this time Maria lived with a Dutch family. At age eighteen, Maria traveled with her father to the Hague in the Netherlands, where she enrolled at the world-renowned Leiden University. While a student at university, Maria became involved in the Indonesian nationalist movement. Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, who would become leaders in the Indonesian National Movement, were some of her fellow students at Leiden University. Her father encouraged her to pursue medicine, but Maria decided her true passion was law; upon graduation, Maria became the first Indonesian woman to earn a law degree. Her trailblazing nature continued upon her return to Jakarta. Santoso refused to join the colonial government and took a position at a teachers college. Over the next few years, she spent her time organizing womens' sewing groups, during which she helped to teach women to read and provided them with information about marriage rights. In 1942, once control of the archipelago had transferred from the Dutch to the Japanese, Santoso chose to enter politics as a legal assistant to the Minister of Justice, Soepomo. In 1946, Santoso became the first female cabinet minister when she was appointed the Minister of Social Affairs. A sharp mind and a passionate civil servant, Maria hopes to use her position to remove barriers for women in Indonesian society, especially by promoting female education and reforming traditionalist social customs such as Indonesia's archaic marriage laws.

Inkarti - Women's Rights Activist and Priyayi Princess (Javanese)

Inkarti was born in September 1904 to the regent of Semarang, a city in Central Java. As a child of the priyayi class, Inkarti grew up listening in on her father's business with Dutch colonial leaders. She quickly became proficient in spoken and written Dutch, becoming fully fluent by her early teenage years. Though she grew up in a wealthy and privileged environment isolated from the plights of the people of her regency, Inkarti often found herself trapped by the strict Javanese social order, under which women had set roles and limited freedoms. Intrigued by what she heard about feminism in the Western world, Inkarti became pen pals with several prominent female activists in the Netherlands. These letter exchanges convinced Inkarti that the two most important roadblocks to gender equality in Indonesia were a lack of education (especially for women) and a highly conservative and traditionalist social order. To expand education access, Inkarti worked with her Dutch feminist allies to convince the Dutch parliament to relax its education restrictions and open more schools for girls. At this congress, Inkarti sees her inclusion in this committee as an opportunity to promote a more modernized, secular version of Indonesia, one where all of its citizens are educated and free from a restrictive society.

Dyah - Minister of Defense and Former Regent of Bali and Lombok(Balinese)

Dyah was born in 1914 in Singaraja, the daughter of the regent of Bali and Lombok. As a child, Dyah was fascinated by military order and traditional weaponry, often sneaking off to the docks to watch the Dutch garrison practice drills on their warships. When Dyah was 23, her father died under mysterious circumstances, leaving her in charge of running the regency. Her nationalistic views led to a tense relationship with the Dutch officials, but their efforts were put on hold when the Japanese invaded. When Dutch forces reclaimed Bali in 1945, Dyah escaped with just her kris sword, sailing to Yogyakarta to join the Republican government who she hoped could help her retake her home island. Late in the war, as the Dutch came close to occupying Yogyakarta, Dyah left her home once more to personally lead a regiment of Indonesia's army, driving Dutch forces away from the

provisional capital. A devout Hindu, Dyah believes in a secular Indonesia united in a religious plurality that reflects the nation's complex history. She is also a strong nationalist, and believes in a fully united Malay archipelago, even beyond the modern borders of the state.

(Abdul) Wahid Hasyim - Minister of Religious Affairs (Javanese)

Wahid was born in 1914 to a Ulema family in Jombang, East Java. His mother was one of his father's seven wives and he was the eldest son. His father was a deeply religious man, who founded Nahdlatul Ulama. Nahdlatul Ulama is considered a "traditionalist" group in that it advocates for adherence to Sharia (Islamic law) while still accepting local cultural traditions that do not conflict with it. At the age of eighteen Wahid and his cousins traveled to Mecca in a hajj pilgrimage. His experiences traveling inspired Wahid to learn many foreign languages including: English, German, and Dutch. Wahid took over from his father as leader of Nahdlatul Ulama and used his position to advocate for educational reforms. In 1945, President Sukarno appointed him to be the first Minister of Religious affairs for the nation.

Juanda Kartawijaya -Transportation Minister and Geographer (Sundanese)

In early 1911, Juanda was born to a noble family in Tasikmalaya, a town famous for its reputation as an educational center. After receiving a traditional Islamic education, Juanda moved on to major in civil engineering at the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). There, he joined the school's Muhammadiyah, an organization that advocates for a more "pure" form of Islam instead of the more syncretic version common in Indonesia. At ITB, Juanda developed his cartography skills, honing his talent for crafting detailed maps and planning out everything from railroads to water infrastructure. Seeing these talents, the PPKI chose Juanda to head several departments over the course of the revolution before finally settling on transportation as the department where

he belonged. Additionally, as a shrewd negotiator, Juanda worked on the team that helped negotiate the end to the war with the Dutch. Juanda hopes to use his abilities to plan out infrastructure development across the nation; he recently organized the construction of a railroad from Jakarta to Bandung, and he believes that for Indonesia to succeed it must first build up Java as an economic center before using the wealth it generates to raise up the outer islands.

Soekiman Wirjosandjojo - President of Masyumi Party (Javanese)

Soekiman was born in 1898, to a rice merchant family in the Central Javanese city of Surakarta. Soekiman's father had business dealings with a Dutch Armed Forces veteran, who helped secure Soekiman a place at the esteemed Europeesche Lagere School. He then went on to study medicine at School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen (STOVIA), where he was a part of the youth political organization Jong Java. Jong Java's political mission was to unite students from across the archipelago and advocate for Indonesian independence. Upon graduation, Soekiman moved to the Netherlands to further his studies of medicine at the University of Amsterdam. As a student at the University of Amsterdam, Soekiman joined the student advocacy group Perhimpoenan Indonesia (PI). His passion for the movement was seen by his peers, as he became the chairman of the organization from 1924-1925. He later returned to Indonesia where he started a private medical practice. Soekiman was known for offering medical services to the poor at discounted rates and in some instances he went as far as providing free treatments. In 1927, Soekiman became a member of the Partai Sarekat Islam (PSI) which advocated for Indonesian independence and supported communism. Soekiman had a lifelong friendship with Mohammad Hatta despite their differences in religious opinion. When Soekiman launched his own nationalist newspaper Utusan Indonesia, he asked Hatta to become the chief editor. After being expelled from the PSII political party for calling it "imperialistic" in 1933, Soekiman formed his own Partij Politiek Islam Indonesia

(PARTII). The PARTII was quickly disbanded after a lack of public support. In 1945, Soekiman became the chairman of the Masyumi Party. The Masyumi Party was opposed to the parliamentary system of government in favor of a presidential system of governance.

Sartono - Founder of the Partindo Political Party (Javanese)

Sartono was born in Wonogiri, to a noble ethnic-Javanese family, in 1900. His father was a descendant of Prince Mangkunegara II and his mother was a descendant of Prince Mangkunegara III. He attended the elite Europeesche Lagere School in Surakarta, where he graduated with the highest grades in his class. He then went on to attend School tot Opleiding voor Inlandsche Rechtskundigen, a law institute for the native Indonesian nobility. There he was a member of Tri Koro Dharmo, the youth organization of the first Indonesian nationalist organization Budi Utomo (which later evolved into Jong Java). Sartono furthered his education by enrolling at Leiden University, where he joined the Indonesian nationalist organization Perhimpoenan Indonesia. He was the organization's secretary from 1922 until 1925. After graduation, Sartono opened a law practice in Bandung. He formally entered political life when he founded the leftist nationalist Partindo party. In 1945, Sartono became a member of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP).

Suwiryo - Mayor of Jakarta (Javanese)

Suwiryo was born in Wonogiri, Central Java in early 1903. Though he was born in the countryside, his family moved to Jakarta when he Suwiryo was young, enchanted by the promises of urban life. Fascinated by the city's beauty and flaws, Suwiryo often rode his bicycle around the city on weekends, and by the time he finished high school he had the entire city map memorized, knowing each neighborhood as though it was his own. While working various jobs around the city, Suwiryo became involved in the Indonesian National Party, where he saw

an opportunity to utilize the love he felt for his home city to rise the ranks of Indonesian society. Impressed by his passion and nuanced understanding of urbanism and the city of Jakarta itself, the municipal employees of Jakarta elected him to be their leader when Japan left in 1945. When the Allies invaded, Jakarta was one of the first targets, and they held the city for much of the Revolution. Unwilling to leave, Suwiryo stayed in Jakarta as the rest of the government fled to Yogyakarta (which would serve as the de facto capital for the rest of the war), getting arrested and imprisoned by the Dutch for over three months. Though he was eventually allowed to travel to Yogyakarta and rejoin the Indonesian government, Suwiryo spent his time away from the city making detailed plans for how to develop the city once it fell back under Indonesian control. Suwiryo sees Jakarta as brimming with potential, a dazzling blend of the nation's myriad of cultures where Indonesia's ideals have proven their success. He will fight tooth and nail for the other members of this committee to see that, and to centralize power and economic investment in the nation's capital first so that it can raise all of Indonesia with it.

Wongsonegoro - Governor of Central Java (Javanese)

Wongsonegoro was born in Surakarta, Central Java in 1895. His father was the Sunan (ruler) of Surakarta. His noble family gave him access to the elite Europeesche Lagere School. He continued his education in Jakarta at the Rechts school. During this time he was active in both the Budi Utomo and Jong Java organizations. There, he studied law and political science, becoming an expert on political institutions. He went on to be a prosecutor in the Surakarta District Court. From 1939 until 1942, Wongsonegoro served as regent of Sragen, Central Java. When the Japanese colonial government established the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPKI), Wongsonegoro joined as a member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee; he was personally responsible for writing Articles 2 and 9 of the 1945 Constitution, which cover details about the legislature and the president. He was then appointed the deputy governor of Central Java

and then a few months later Governor. Wongsonegoro is a devout Muslim, and though he does not fully embrace Islam as a governing ideology, he would like to ensure that Islam has a place in Indonesia's government as opposed to creating a fully secular state. His expertise with designing the institutions that comprise a government and a nation will come in handy as Indonesia builds a state from the ground up.

Johannes Latuharhary - Governor of Maluku (Moluccan)

Johannes Latuharhary was born in Ullath, on the Moluccan island Saparua, in 1900. His father was a local Dutch language teacher. Like Soekiman Wirjosandjojo, Johannes attended the Europeesche Lagere School in Ambon. Latuharhary then received a scholarship to Leiden University in the Netherlands. While at Leiden University, Johannes chose to not join the Indonesian Independence student organization, Perhimpoenan Indonesia, but was known to be friends with some of its members. Upon his graduation he was the first Moluccan to receive a Master of Law degree from Leiden University. With his degree, Johannes became a chief judge in the district court of Probolinggo in East Java. At the same time Johannes became the editor of Sarekat Ambon's official newspaper Haloean. In an effort to remove himself from the colonial government, Latuharhary became a lawyer and famously sued sugar factories for taking over local farmers' land. During the Japanese occupation, Latuharhary was imprisoned for his nationalist views. In the writing of the 1945 Constitution, he represented Moluccas. In his political career, Johannes has spoken out against religious influences in government, and has advocated for a federalist government structure. As a Protestant Christian from a majority-Christian region, Johannes fears that if the government permits any Muslim influence on policy it will inherently infringe on the rights of religious minorities to practice as they see fit. And as a native of Maluku, Johannes believes the new Indonesian government must yield much of its power to the provinces, as he worries that, since the Javanese

constitute a near-majority on this committee and in the new government, they would be able to effect policies that benefit Java at the expense of the outer islands.

Teuku Maridjan - Imam (Acehnese)

Teuku was born in late 1905 to an upper-middle class family in Banda Aceh, Aceh. His family paid for him to attend a Dutch school in West Java. There, he faced discrimination from some of his peers for his Acehnese accent when speaking Javanese. Seeking an escape, Teuku fell in with a group of Islamic mystics at the school, and became convinced that Sharia, or Islamic law, was necessary for Indonesia's success as a nation, as it provides a source of unity that ethnicity or language cannot. Teuku gave up his studies and returned home, determined to pursue a religious education. After years of studying Arabic and Islamic thought at a madrasa in Banda Aceh, Teuku became an imam and developed a base of popular support for his teachings. Teuku returned to Java as the Dutch invaded in 1945, where he advocated for a non-secular Indonesian republic, as well as increased autonomy for provinces outside of Java. Teuku leveraged his popularity to earn a position in this committee, as the new government worries the Acehnese could rise up against them if they do not work to keep them satisfied with the trajectory of the nation. Teuku's positions are clear and firm: the government must explicitly provide provinces autonomy, especially in terms of religious policy, or he will do what he can to undermine their authority.

Parada Harahap - "King of the Java Press" (Batak)

Parada was born in 1899 in Parapat, Northern Sumatra, to a secular Muslim Batak family. Parada did not receive a formal primary education but was said to be a voracious reader. His sister, who lived in Bukittinggi, sent him books to further his self education. His self-taught education was of such a caliber that he was eligible to study at the Teacher's Training School (Kweekschool) in Bukittinggi. During his teen years, Parada also worked at the

Rubber Cultuur Mij. Amsterdam rubber plantation as a clerk. During this time he was known to send letters to the editor of the local newspaper the Pewarta Deli. In 1918, Parada's interest in newspapers materialized into a career when he became the editor of two newspapers, the Sinar Merdeka in Padang and the Batak language paper in Sibolga called Poestaka. Throughout his life his faith remained important to him. While living in Pandang, Parada was a member of the social and political organization Sarekat Islam, which supported Indonesian nationalism movements. Parada relocated to Jakarta in 1922, where he began to work in the local papers before eventually starting his own newspaper. One of his most popular papers, Bintang Timoer, declared itself to be politically and religiously neutral in its reporting. This is a testament to Parada Harahap's commitment to journalistic integrity. Parada wants to ensure that the new Indonesian state protects its citizens' freedoms and civil liberties, so that the press will never again face the censorship of the past.

Saridjah Niung (Mrs. Soed) - Patriotic Songwriter and Artist (Chinese Indonesian)

Mrs. Soed was born in 1908 to a mother in Sukabumi, West Java. Mrs. Soed's adoptive father taught her how to play the violin at a young age, and from then on her musical talents only blossomed. Growing up surrounded by nationalist activism, Mrs. Soed sought a way to use her talents to help shape the national identity of the nation she wanted to see. Over the course of her career, she has written dozens of songs that have become instant hits among the Indonesian people—especially among children. Seeing this, Mrs. Soed has worked to write more songs for schoolchildren, enforcing the new nation's identity by giving it a unique and authentic sound to rally behind and sing along to. Mrs. Soed has also expanded into other artistic media as well; she has been developing a talent for batik cloth art and other visual styles, which she hopes will make her an effective

propagandist for a country in need of a well-delivered message. Mrs. Soed's popularity has garnered her immense respect, as other leaders acknowledge her ability to unify; hopefully, she can do just that on this committee.

Tan Eng Hoa - Chinese-Indonesian Businessman and Activist (Chinese Indonesian)

Tan Eng Hoa was born in Semarang, Central Java in 1907. His parents owned and operated a grocery store. He attended Hogere Burgerschool in Jakarta. He then went on to pursue a law degree from the Rechts school, also in Jakarta. He represented the interests of Chinese Indonesians in the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence. It is estimated that the population of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia in 1950 was around two million. As a member of the BPUPKI, Tan advocated for an article for the freedom of association in drafting the 1945 Constitution, or the right to join and leave groups at their will. In the context of constitution writing, this meant that Tan believed that individuals should have the right to join organizations, groups, unions, and political parties as they wish. Like many Chinese Indonesians, Tan's family migrated to Indonesia for economic opportunities centuries ago, and have become a crucial part of their home cities. However, the Chinese-Indonesian community has often been the target of discrimination by local peoples, with their businesses and sometimes even lives the targets of violent attacks. With the power to help shape the new constitution once again, Tan wants the government to put robust protections in place that will ensure that neither the government nor its citizens will discriminate against any of its citizens based on their ethnicity or religion. To do this, Tan hopes to ensure a strong state capable of combating violence that cares about its people and their economic and personal freedoms.

Joyo - Medical Student and Revolutionary (Betawi)

Joyo was born to a wealthy merchant family in Jakarta in 1924. Joyo attended elite Dutch schools in central Jakarta, quickly rising to the top of his classes. An academic weapon, Joyo was admitted to STOVIA. There, he met radical groups hoping to dramatically disrupt the Indonesian social order by overthrowing the feudal priyayi classes and returning their power and wealth to the people they ruled over. Enthralled by these new ideas, Joyo spent the later years of school balancing his studies with undercover activism, but unfortunately he never finished his degree because the Japanese invaded and halted studies at the academy. During the war, Joyo wrote passionately and eloquently about the need for a more equitable Indonesia post-independence. Despite his more radical tendencies, Joyo's prose earned him the respect of many members of the PPKI, who invited him to serve as a liaison between the communists and the nationalist government under Sukarno. Joyo's true allegiances, however, remain a mystery.

Dr. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat - Doctor and Founder of Budi Utomo (Javanese)

Radjiman Wedyodiningrat was born in Yogyakarta in 1879. He chose to become a doctor after witnessing the Ngawi community battle plague. His medical specialty became obstetrics as he was concerned by the high maternal mortality he witnessed. He was appointed palace doctor of the Surakarta Sultanate and may have known and cared for Wongsonegoro. His care for others did not stop at medicine as he was an advocate for Indonesian Independence. Dr. Radjiman helped to found and was chairman of the nationalist organization Budi Utomo. In 1945, Dr. Radjiman became a member of the BPUPKI. He was known for posing philosophical questions and challenging assumptions made by other members. This reputation led Dr. Radjiman to write the introduction of the first Pancasila book in 1948. Pancasila (meaning "Five Principles") is the ideological basis on which an independent Indonesia is based.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer ("Pram") - Writer and Government Critic (Javanese)

Born to a teacher and a rice trader in Blora, Central Java in 1925, Pram learned how to read at five, and his parents say his hands have had ink on them ever since. Pram read his father's discarded newspapers and became intimately familiar with the injustices of the Dutch colonial government at a young age. Only 17 when the Japanese conquered Java, Pram never finished school, instead working for a newspaper in West Java and serving in a paramilitary group in the fight against the allied forces that attempted to reconquer it. There, Pram developed his craft for writing propaganda, but he also saw the inefficiencies and corruption of the soon-to-be-formalized Indonesian government. Pram worries that even a free and independent Indonesia could be just as restrictive and oppressive as a colonial power like the Netherlands or Japan. He is here on this committee to ensure that Indonesia's freedom from colonialism will ensure freedom for its citizens as well.

Daud bin Ahmad - Established Merchant and Economist (Malay)

Born in 1894 to a prominent merchant family in Banjarmasin, Daud has been expanding the wealth and power of his family ever since he was a child. Daud's father often dealt directly with the Dutch leaders, and Daud often accompanied his father on trips to the Netherlands as a boy. Fascinated by the economics of Dutch-Indonesian trade and colonialism, Daud came back to the Netherlands, earning a degree in economics from the University of Amsterdam. Shortly after Daud returned to Indonesia, Daud's father died, leaving Daud in charge of the family fortune. He used this wealth to develop the infrastructure of his home city of Banjarmasin, making the Banjar region at large a more attractive place to invest. From there, he built off his father's deals with the Dutch, who trusted him to manage all imports and exports from Banjar. Daud had begun a small timber industry in the secluded jungles of Borneo, but this fledgling venture was halted when the Japanese invaded and cut off Daud from his Dutch connections. Daud's family lost good money during Japanese occupation, but they weathered the

war and were ambivalent about independence from the Dutch. Daud has been selected to represent Indonesia's many merchant families, who want to ensure that the new government will maintain reasonable trade relations with the Netherlands—Daud's family has fought for decades to build its business network, and he will not let it go without a fight.

Bampang Saputra - Rice Farmer turned Guerilla Leader (Sundanese)

Born in Keraja, West Java in 1919, Bampang worked on his family's rice plantation from a young age. Though his family had to give up much of their crop to the priyayi (who then gave it to the Dutch), the rich volcanic soil was plentiful enough for Bampang and his family to provide for itself and have enough to trade for basic necessities. When the Japanese invaded, Bampang initially welcomed them, as they professed to liberate Indonesia from colonialism. However, Bampang's family only suffered during the war, as the Japanese siphoned off even more of their harvest to feed its soldiers overseas. Bampang himself was conscripted into the army, where Japanese commanders brought him to Jakarta and trained him and his brother in strict doctrine to be valiant and effective guerilla warriors. When the war ended and the allies began their invasion, Bampang and his brother tried to travel back to their hometown, but found the infrastructure damaged beyond repair. They tried to walk back, but by the time they reached western Bekasi the Dutch had almost arrived. The two gathered support from the local people, and fought valiantly to keep the Dutch from advancing into West Java. Their efforts cost Bampang his left eye and his brother's life, but made him a famous hero among the Sundanese in the early days of the war. Sukarno knew of Bampang's popular appeal with the people of West Java, and chose him to represent farming communities like his own. As for himself, Bampang wants to ensure that families like his can see the government improve their standard of living, while permitting them to the traditional lifestyle they have kept up for centuries.

Ratna Wirawan - Women and Labor Rights Activist (Makassarese)

Wirawan was born in Makassar, Sulawesi in 1923. In her early years, she watched her father work long hours in the port. His work was dangerous, and when Wirawan was fourteen her father had an accident at work and was no longer able to work. The company he worked for refused to provide any help to her family, so her mother was forced to seek work. Her mother struggled to find a job as many employers were hesitant to hire a woman, especially a mother to young children. She had no training or experience in trade work but she was able to find a job carving Makassar ebony into veneers. Ratna's experience of the treatment of her father by his employer sparked her passion for labor reform. Having her mother as a role model, Ratna was determined to expand opportunities for women. She, herself, was blazing a new path as an activist. Wirawan did not have access to nationalist or reformist student organizations, as she was not a university student. Instead she found her place as a community organizer. Ratna was inspired by Opu Daeng Risadju, who was a political activist jailed for criticizing the Dutch colonial government. Under the Japanese occupation government, Ratna organized large demonstrations of port and shipyard workers, who were upset by the lack of change made by the Japanese in their treatment and compensation. Her ability to rally support and capture a crowd's hearts with her speeches was noticed by A. A. Maramis, who was also from Sulawesi. A. A. Maramis invited her to advise him when writing the 1945 Constitution.

Nyoman - Fisherman (Balinese)

Nyoman was born to a Hindu family in Pemuteran, Bali in 1899. Nyoman came from a long line of fishermen. His father and all of his uncles were fishermen and his mother worked cleaning and preparing the fish to sell. Growing up in a small town on the beach, Nyoman had fun running around with his friends. In the afternoons, he would help his mother sell fish at a local market. When he became old enough Nyoman joined his

father out on their jukung (small canoe like fishing boat) to learn the family trade. He spent the majority of his life out fishing, first with his father, then on his own, before later having his own son join him. In the late 1930s, hoards of tourists began to arrive in Bali in search of the natural beauty Nyoman had long enjoyed. Nyoman saw the opportunity to expand his business and began taking tourists on boat tours. His work helped to bring Bali acclaim as the premier travel destination for vacationers from Australia, China, and India. Nyoman was displeased by the conflict at home and globally as it meant a stark decline in tourism. His desire for an independent Indonesia was rooted in his desire for a stable economy and a revitalization of tourism.

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