

A.B. KUSUMA AND R.E. ELSON

A note on the sources for the 1945 constitutional debates in Indonesia

In 1962 J.H.A. Logemann published an article entitled 'Nieuwe gegevens over het ontstaan van de Indonesische grondwet van 1945' (New data on the creation of the Indonesian Constitution of 1945).¹ Logemann's analysis, presented 48 years ago, needs revisiting since it was based upon a single work compiled by Muhammad Yamin (1903-1962), *Naskah persiapan Undang-undang Dasar 1945* (Documents for the preparation of the 1945 Constitution).² Yamin's work was purportedly an edition of the debates conducted by the Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan (BPUPK, Committee to Investigate Preparations for Independence)³ between 29 May and 17 July 1945, and by the

¹ Research for this article was assisted by funding from the Australian Research Council's Discovery Grant Program. The writers wish to thank K.J.P.F.M. Jeurgens for his generous assistance in researching this article.

² Yamin 1959-60. Logemann (1962:691) thought that the book comprised just two volumes, as Yamin himself had suggested in the preface to his first volume (Yamin 1959-60, I:9-10). Volumes 2 and 3 were published in 1960.

³ The official (Indonesian) name of this body was Badan oentok Menjelidiki Oesaha-oesaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan (Committee to Investigate Preparations for Independence) (see *Soeara Asia*, 1-3-1945; *Pandji Poestaka*, 15-3-1945; *Asia Raya*, 28-5-1945), but it was often called the Badan Penyelidik Oesaha(-oesaha) Persiapan Kemerdekaan (see *Asia Raya*, 28-5-1945 and 30-5-1945; *Sinar Baroe*, 28-5-1945). The word 'Indonesia' was not part of its name, since it was established by the Japanese 16th Army (Rikugun) which had authority only in Java. Indeed, the decree announcing the establishment of the BPUPK spoke of 'preparations for independence in the region of the Government of this island of Java' ('Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia', *Pandji Poestaka*, 1-3-1945). The 25th Army, which held authority in Sumatra, permitted the establishment of a BPUPK

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Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (PPKI, Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence) which met shortly after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, from August 18-22.⁴

Logemann compared Yamin's book only with George McTurnan Kahin's *Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia* (1952). It would have been preferable had Logemann compared Yamin's data with that contained in the archive of A.K. (Abdul Karim) Pringgodigdo, held in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) (now Nationaal Archief, NA) in The Hague as the Pringgodigdo Archief, within the larger archive of the Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering (General Secretariat of the Netherlands Indies Government).⁵ Unfortunately for Logemann, he was in all likelihood unaware of the existence of these papers, which had not yet been inventoried at the time of his writing and were still held by the Dutch Ministry of the Interior (Binnenlandse Zaken) as keeper of the records of the former Ministry of Overseas Territories (Overzeese Gebiedsdelen).⁶

The Pringgodigdo archive itself contains a number of different kinds of material. Those parts relevant to the current article, inventory nos. 5645-5647, include some stenographic fragments of some of the BPUPK debates, such as those of 29 May 1945 (pp. 60-83 of a typed text), the plenary session of 14 July 1945, and Supomo's elucidation of the draft Constitution on 15 July 1945, short notes of the debates scribbled on letter-headed notepaper carrying the words Dokuritu Zyunbi Tyōsa Kai (the Japanese name for the BPUPK), a heavily edited draft text of the 1945 Constitution, copies of some of the position papers (and drafts of them) commissioned by the BPUPK for development during the period of recess between its two sessions, such as

for Sumatra only on 25 July 1945, with the result that there was no opportunity to discuss the Constitution. The Japanese Navy (Kaigun) which held authority in Borneo and eastern Indonesia did not permit the establishment of a similar organization to promote Indonesian independence.

⁴ Yamin's *Naskah persiapan* did not include all the speeches presented to the BPUPK and even omitted the entirety of the debates conducted on 17 July. Thus, Mohammad Hatta's one-hour speech on the relation between the state and religion on May 30, the second day of debate (*Asia Raya*, 31-5-1945) is not included, and is apparently lost. Deliar Noer (1987:35) reported that Hatta lent Yamin his notes on the development of the Indonesian economy (Hatta had chaired the BPUPK committee responsible for developing policy on finance and the economy), but this material was also not included in *Naskah persiapan*, and is now also apparently lost.

⁵ Archivalia van Raden Mas Mr. A.K. Pringgodigdo, Secretaris van Staat van de Republiek Indonesië, 1944-1945, in: Nationaal Archief (NA), The Hague, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en de daarbij gedeponeerde archieven, 1942-1950, nummer toegang 2.10.14, inventarisnummers 5641-5656, http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/search/highlighter.jsp?url=%2Fwebviews%2Fpage.webview%3Feadid%3DNL-HaNA_2.10.14&insert_anchor=false&query_text=2.10.14&focus_window=true#root.

⁶ K.J.P.F.M. Jeurgens of the Nationaal Archief, personal communication to Elson, 17 March 2010. Similarly, the twentieth-century archives of the former Ministry of Colonies were held by the Ministry of the Interior in a warehouse on the Leeghwaterstraat in The Hague and only later transferred to the NA.

those on defence, finance and education, other papers associated with the BPUPK such as attendance lists, notes, letters and reports to the Japanese government, running lists drafted for meetings and ceremonies, and lists of speakers for the debates.⁷

How the archive came into the ARA's possession remains something of a mystery. The Nationaal Archief inventory suggests that these documents were 'probably seized during the second [Dutch] police action' in December 1948. That sounds reasonable enough; we know that the Dutch were strongly interested in Republican records. Hatta's archives were apparently seized when the Dutch captured Yogyakarta,⁸ and when the Dutch overran nearby Kaliurang around the same time, Mohammed Rum reported that on December 22 'all the archives of the Republican Delegation and my own papers, which, for the greater part dealt with the negotiations were taken by the Dutch'.⁹ However, when one of the authors of this article, A.B. Kusuma, inspected the Pringgogidgo archive in the NA in 1994, he also found a letter from A.G. (Abdul Gafar) Pringgogidgo to his younger brother A.K. Pringgogidgo written in 1953. Of course, that particular document may have been inserted, deliberately, arbitrarily, or carelessly, into the archive sometime in or after 1953.¹⁰ Alternatively, it may even be the case, although it seems unlikely, that the story of the seizure of the documents in 1948 is incorrect, and that A.K. Pringgogidgo himself presented the archive to the ARA sometime after that date, perhaps after the collapse of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, although why he might do so remains unclear.¹¹ It should be noted, as well, that the archive was named by the Dutch for 'Raden Mas Mr. A.K. Pringgogidgo, Secretaris van Staat van de Republiek Indonesië, 1944-1945'. A.G. Pringgogidgo, not

⁷ In 1994, Kusuma also found in these bundles a translated copy of the Atlantic Charter. This document is no longer to be found in the A.K. Pringgogidgo archive, nos. 5645-5647.

⁸ Hatta's archives are referred to in 'Verkort Politiek Weekrapport van Indonesië', Nr. 5, 17-2-1949, in: NA, Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS) en Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst in Nederlands-Indië, nummer toegang 2.10.62, inventarisnummer 629.

⁹ Statement by Dr. A.G. Pringgogidgo, State Secretary, to Dr. Mohd Rum regarding events at the palace of the President at Jogja from 19 to 31 December – as related to and reported by Dr. Mohd. Rum in a report to the G.O.C., 15 January 1949 – Menumbing, Bangka, Kahin Collection (private), George McT. Kahin Center, Cornell University. It should be noted, though, that A.G. Pringgogidgo (1958a:22) asserted that the Dutch army burned part of his archive when they seized the State Secretariat in Yogyakarta in December 1948, although why they should have done so is not explained.

¹⁰ That letter, however, is no longer to be found in the Pringgogidgo archive, something Kusuma finds inexplicable. It is, however, to be found in the Pringgogidgo archive in the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, which might indicate that it was part of the original Pringgogidgo archive in the ARA.

¹¹ As noted in note 16, A.G. Pringgogidgo had earlier given his brother copies of at least some of these documents.

his brother A.K. Pringgodigdo, was Indonesia's first State Secretary,¹² which might indicate that the archive was indeed erroneously named in the first place for A.K. Pringgodigdo,¹³ and that these papers were in the possession of A.G. Pringgodigdo when they were seized by the Dutch, if that in fact is what took place.¹⁴ In any case, in line with its general policy of returning papers that were clearly the property of the Indonesian government (as distinct from those generated by Dutch colonial activity), the NA returned the original documents in the A.K. Pringgodigdo archive to the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI, National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta in November 1987, retaining for itself photocopies of (at least some of) the originals.¹⁵

These documents were clearly unavailable to Yamin. The major sources he employed for his *Naskah persiapan* were the stenographic reports of the BPUPK and PPKI collected by A.G. Pringgodigdo, who had served as deputy head of the BPUPK secretariat. Yamin borrowed these documents indirectly from Pringgodigdo, who was apparently not averse to lending them out,¹⁶ Notonagoro (1957) clearly made use of them in his *Pemboekaan Oendang-oendang Dasar 1945* (Preamble of the 1945 Constitution), Roeslan Abdulgani (1965:111) made reference to them, and Deliar Noer (1987:35) used them in the mid-1950s. In the event, Yamin never returned the documents to

¹² When the Dutch captured Yogyakarta in December 1948, A.G. Pringgodigdo was arrested with Soekarno and Hatta and other Republican leaders and flown to Bangka (Statement by Dr. A.G. Pringgodigdo, State Secretary).

¹³ A.K. Pringgodigdo was a high official with the Gunseikan during the occupation period, and later served as a senior diplomat for the Republic in negotiations with the Dutch, as Secretary-General of the Jakarta Secretariat of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, and as Director of the Cabinet of the President. In this latter capacity he read the letter of appointment on the occasion of A.H. Nasution's becoming Chief of Staff of the Army in 1955 (*Suluh Indonesia*, 8-11-1955). In the view of Jeurgens, the documents were probably erroneously named for A.K. Pringgodigdo rather than A.G. Pringgodigdo (personal communication to Elson, 26-2-2010). It needs to be borne in mind, of course, that these and other such papers deposited in the archive of the Algemene Secretarie provided 'extra problems' for the archivists concerned, consisting as they did of 'very arbitrarily assembled and incomplete portions' (Inventaris van het archief van de Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering).

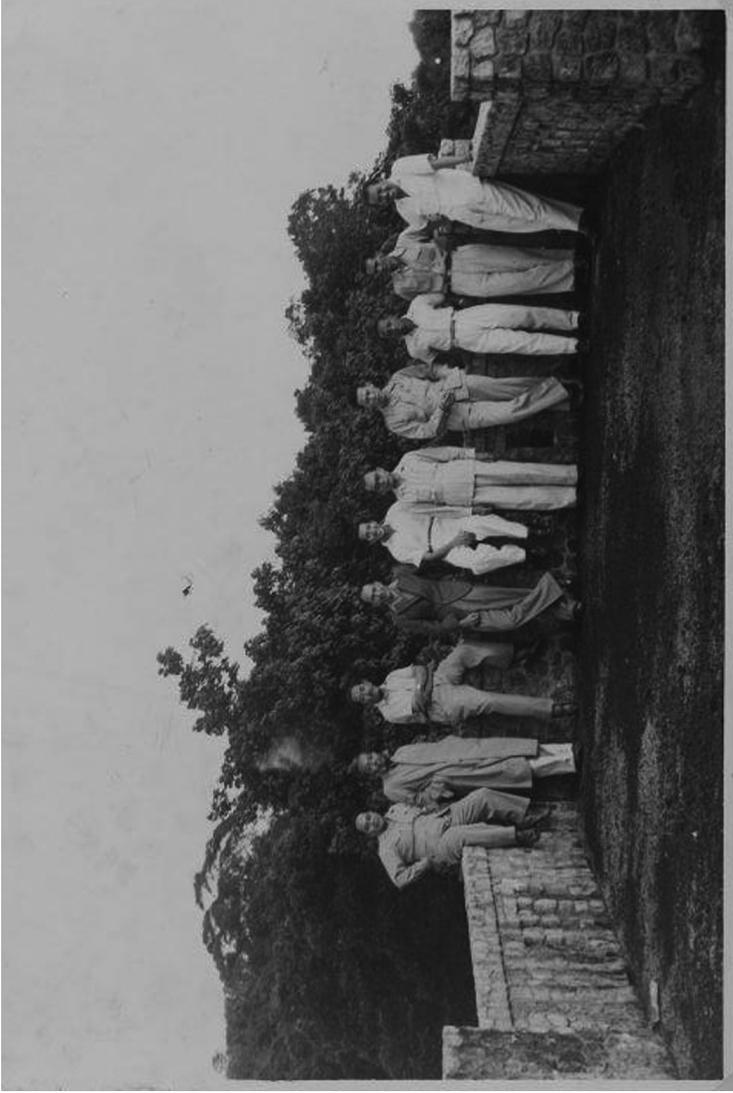
¹⁴ This impression is strengthened by the fact that other correspondence in the Pringgodigdo archive indicates that these documents were indeed the papers of A.G. Pringgodigdo (Jeurgens, personal communication to Elson, 28-1-2010).

¹⁵ Jeurgens, at Elson's request, sought to find correspondence in the NA relating to the transfer of these documents, but he could find nothing (personal communication to Elson, 26-2-2010).

¹⁶ A.G. Pringgodigdo (1958a:22-23) asserts that he made several copies of the documents he managed to save, which he kept at his house for use in writing a book on the history of the Constitution (until he became State Secretary), and that he gave these copies to Yamin, to Notonagoro, and to his brother, A.K. Pringgodigdo. If this is true, it raises the question of the fate of these documents (in the case of the BPUPK, these were copies, since the uncorrected originals were passed to the Japanese government) and of what happened to the copies given to Notonagoro and A.K. Pringgodigdo. It need not be the case, of course, that the copies reportedly given to these people were as comprehensive as his own holdings or that the sets of copies were identical in each case.



Republican leaders in front of Hotel Prodeo, Bangka, early 1949. From left to right: 1. Abdoel Gafar Pringgodigdo, 2. Mohammed Natsir, 3. Mohammed Roem, 4. Laoh, 5. Halim, 6. Hadji Agoes Salim, 7. Darma Setiawan, 8. Soekarno, 9. Asmaoen, 10. Mohammed Hatta, 11. Johannes Leimena, 12. Djoeanda, 13. Saeobari, 14. Koesnan, 15. Assaat, 16. Ali Sastroamidjojo, 17. Soemarto
(collection KITLV 53497).



Republican leaders in Sky Garden at Muntok, Bangka, after being taken into custody by Dutch troops, December 1948. From left to right: 1. Abdoel Gafar Pringgodigdo. 2. Assaat, 3. Ali Sastroamidjojo, 4. S. Suriadarma, 5. Identity unknown, 6. Mohammed Hatta, 7. Identity unknown, 8. Identity unknown, 9. Identity unknown, 10. Mohammed Roem (collection KITLV 53500).

Pringgodigdo,¹⁷ and they were thought to be lost. In fact, they were lodged after the death of Yamin's only son in the Mangkunegaran library in Solo, where they remained for many years until they were accidentally discovered by an official of the ANRI who was ordering Yamin's collection of books and manuscripts at the request of Yamin's daughter-in-law. The Pringgodigdo papers were placed in the ANRI around 1990.

In summary, then, the archival remains of the BPUPK/PPKI in the ANRI consist of both the archive of A.K. Pringgodigdo from the NA and the archive of A.G. Pringgodigdo which was originally borrowed by Yamin and then thought to be lost. In order to differentiate the documents, the State Secretariat named the archive of A.K. Pringgodigdo the 'Pringgodigdo Archive', while the archive of A.G. Pringgodigdo, mixed with materials and other documents collected by Yamin, was named the 'Yamin Collection' (Koleksi Yamin). But because de-Soekarnoization was still under way, neither the general public nor the academic community could obtain permission to read this material. That prohibition was so closely maintained that even Lieutenant-General Tjokropranolo, a former member of Soeharto's staff who had recently retired, was not permitted to consult it.¹⁸ As well, Marsillam Simanjuntak (1994:256), later to become State Secretary, complained in his book *Pandangan negara integralistik* (Looking at the integralist state) that he could not gain access to the archive of the BPUPK.

Yamin, Nugroho and de-Soekarnoization

None of this would be of more than arcane academic importance, except for the development of the programme of de-Soekarnoization from the early years of the New Order, and the way in which Yamin's *Naskah persiapan* was used towards that end. In early 1966 the supporters of Soekarno were still relatively dominant. The commemoration of the birth of the Pancasila was still celebrated nationally on 1 June 1966. Accordingly, in the session of the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara (MPRS, Provisional People's Consultative Assembly) and in the Army Seminar of 1966 which produced the doctrine Catur Dharma Eka Karma (Four Duties One Destiny), it was still affirmed that Soekarno was 'the Discoverer of the Pancasila' (Penggali Pancasila).¹⁹ But after 1967 'the Day of the Birth of Pancasila, 1 June' was no

¹⁷ Nor was Hatta's documentation, mentioned in note 4, ever returned to him (Noer 1987:35).

¹⁸ Tjokropranolo, interview with A.B. Kusuma, Blitar, 14-2-1997.

¹⁹ 'Penggali' literally means 'one who digs up', in the sense of mining or unearthing something that already exists, even though hidden. In his 'Pantja sila as the basis for the state: stenographic record of lectures by president Sukarno in Istana Negara. Second lecture. 16 June 1958', Kahin (private), Soekarno describes in great detail the story of him digging for the Pancasila. See also his address some days earlier, in *Suluh Indonesia*, 6-6-1958, where he is described as the 'penggali

longer celebrated, and a process of de-Soekarnoization began (Dwipayana and Sjamsuddin 1991a:185, 1991b:129).

Although carried out on a large scale, the process of de-Soekarnoization was not especially successful, because in the minds of both the general populace and the academic community the notion that Soekarno was 'the Discoverer of the Pancasila' was well entrenched. One major reason was that in 1947, long before the publication of Yamin's *Naskah persiapan*, Soekarno's speech of 1 June 1945 had been published under the title *Lahirnya Pancasila* (The birth of the Pancasila). That book carried a foreword by Radjiman Wediodinigrat, chair of the BPUPK, which affirmed that the Pancasila was a principle that had 'deeply penetrated and was deeply rooted in Bung Karno's soul and that had emerged from his soul spontaneously' (Sukarno 1949). Then in 1951 Gajah Mada University granted the degree *doctor honoris causa* to Soekarno as 'Discoverer of the Pancasila'.²⁰ Moreover, in the 1950s, surviving members of the BPUPK, without exception (including Yamin himself),²¹ stated that Soekarno was 'the Discoverer of Pancasila'. A.G. Pringgodigdo, in a 1958 article, made clear the creative importance of Soekarno's Pancasila speech of 1 June 1945 (Pringgodigdo 1958a:18). All this, as well as the acknowledgement of the members of the Constituent Assembly (1956-1959), members of the MPRS and other members of society that Soekarno was 'the Discoverer of the Pancasila', did not reduce the determination of the Soeharto government to engineer things so that Yamin was considered to be the first person to conceive of the basis of the state, while Soekarno was only the first person to employ the term 'Pancasila'.

Responsibility for de-Soekarnoization from primary school to university was given to Nugroho Notosusanto (1930-1985).²² He shaped his arguments in two small books, at first tentatively in *Naskah proklamasi yang otentik dan rumusan Pancasila yang otentik* (The authentic text of the proclamation and the authentic formulation of the Pancasila),²³ and then much more assuredly in

Pancasila'. At the ceremony, Soekarno described Yamin as 'a great scholar and great son of Indonesia' (*Suluh Indonesia*, 7-6-1958).

²⁰ Soekarno's promoter, Notonagoro (2006:3-4, 7), asserted that Soekarno was the 'Conceiver of the Pancasila' (Pencipta Pancasila). That expression was rejected by Soekarno, who preferred the title 'Penggal Pancasila' (Sukarno 2006: 82).

²¹ Amongst other occasions Yamin (1958:7-10) mentioned this were at the commemoration of 'The Birth of the Pancasila' in June 1958 at the State Palace, at a Pancasila seminar in Yogyakarta on 16-20 February 1959, and in volume 2 of *Naskah persiapan*, p. 71.

²² Nugroho was appointed Minister of Education, Instruction and Culture in 1983.

²³ Nugroho 1978. Here Nugroho (1978:22-3) argued that the authentic 'Pancasila' is that promulgated on 18 August; he asserted as well that Yamin was the first of a group of people to develop the Pancasila, quoted A.G. Pringgodigdo to the effect that Supomo should also be included amongst the 'discoverers' of the Pancasila, and argued that the birthdate of the 'authentic' Pancasila was not 1 June 1945. See also Pringgodigdo 1970:8.

*Proses perumusan Pancasila dasar negara.*²⁴ Nugroho put forward his arguments after the New Order government had stated that the ('one and only') archive of the BPUPK, borrowed by Yamin from Abdul Gafar Pringgodigdo, former deputy head of the BPUPK secretariat,²⁵ was 'lost'. Then he asserted that *Naskah persiapan* could be regarded as 'the one and only source', the 'primary source' (*sumber primer*) (p. 17) on the basis that it had an endorsement in the form of a foreword written by President Soekarno, and that its compiler was involved in the BPUPK. Further, Nugroho related A.G. Pringgodigdo's statement that the contents of Yamin's book were word for word the same as the 'stenographic report' of the minutes of the BPUPK assembly (p. 18).²⁶

Nugroho's argument that *Naskah persiapan* had Soekarno's endorsement is very weak; historical documents cannot just be endorsed by whomever; rather, they must be compared with other documents. The weakness of Soekarno's endorsement is evident in his casual remark that the 1945 Constitution was brought into being by 62 people, although elsewhere in Yamin's book it is mentioned that 6 extra members were appointed to the BPUPK. The 1945 Constitution was also promulgated by the members of the PPKI, whose members included 11 persons not members of the BPUPK. As a matter of fact, 79 people brought the 1945 Constitution into being.

Nugroho's argument that Yamin was involved in the process is indeed true, but Yamin himself had a shady reputation. Ever since the 1928 Youth Oath, he had been known as an intelligent person but one who often exaggerated his achievements, with the result that quarrels often arose with his party colleagues. In 1939 he was expelled from Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia (Gerindo,

²⁴ Nugroho 1981. The historian Abdulrahman Suryomiharjo remarked of the second book that Nugroho's little book was not a book of history but rather a 'political pamphlet'. See Priyono B. Sumbogo, 'Debat panjang tentang penggali Pancasila' (The long debate on who discovered the Pancasila), <http://lion-messigit.blog.friendster.com/2008/05/risalah-bpupki/> (accessed 15-6-2011) (originally published in *Gatra*, 10-6-1995).

²⁵ The head of the BPUPK secretariat was R.P. Suroso, Resident of Kedu, who resided at Magelang. The secretariat's day-to-day work was handled by A.G. Pringgodigdo because the other deputy head of the secretariat office, a Japanese named Masuda, did not have a good command of Indonesian.

²⁶ A.G. Pringgodigdo's statement was made at the beginning of the 1980s. But in the Panitia Lima and at the end of the 1970s he always said that Yamin was 'good at juggling' (*nyulap*) (Panitia Lima 1977:101). Rajiman's report to the Japanese government on 18 July 1945 noted that there was one member who did not agree with the draft 1945 Constitution, but he did not identify that person. Rajiman's report was based on the session of 16 July when Rajiman had asked members to stand if they agreed with the draft constitution. In the A.G. Pringgodigdo archive (Koleksi Yamin), Rajiman is reported to say: 'Every member, except Mr Yamin, is standing. This constitution is accepted by a majority vote.' In Yamin's account, however, Rajiman is reported as saying: 'I see that Mr Yamin has not yet stood. This constitution is accepted by a unanimous vote' (p. 396). A.G. Pringgodigdo stated that the member of the BPUPK named by Rajiman was Yamin, as is mentioned by Logemann (1962:694), although Pringgodigdo (1958a:20, 1958b:30) did not name the sole dissident.

Indonesian People's Movement) because he refused to follow the party line when he was a member of the Volksraad, and because he campaigned, outside Gerindo auspices and against a Gerindo candidate, for a seat on the Batavia municipal council. Apart from that he had a reputation as a political irritant because he was thought the mastermind in the break-up of the National Fraction since he put forward a petition to create a parliament which differed from the draft developed by Gabungan Politik Indonesia (Gapi, Indonesian Political Federation).²⁷ When he was Minister of Education and Culture (1953-1955), he had installed a marble plaque at Candi Prambanan on which was inscribed 'Restored under the leadership of the Honorable Minister P. P. and K., Prof. Mr. Haji Muhammad Yamin'. After the Cabinet was decommissioned, the plaque was immediately removed because Yamin had never in fact led the restoration of Candi Prambanan.

Nugroho's third argument that the contents of *Naskah persiapan* were word for word the same as the 'stenographic report' is also clearly untrue. As we shall see, one of the present writers, A.B. Kusuma, established this after searching for authentic documents in the Netherlands, and then researching and publishing the results.²⁸

Nugroho's notion that *Naskah persiapan* was authentic was strenuously contested by Mohammed Hatta and other members of the Panitia Lima, a committee formed in 1975 at Soeharto's suggestion to provide an explanation of the Pancasila.²⁹ Furthermore, Hatta asserted that Yamin was 'crafty' (*licik*) and that, while Yamin had indeed presented a speech on 29 May 1945, it was not the speech included in his book.³⁰ Hatta further remarked that Yamin had never provided a draft Constitution to the BPUPK.³¹ Nugroho defended

²⁷ See Poeze 1994:xxvi-xxvii, xxx, xxxii, xlv, 288, 301, 309, 327-8; Van Klinken 2003:133.

²⁸ Revealed in 1993 in the daily *Suara Pembaruan* (19-6-1993), and also in 1994 at an informal discussion of the Pembela Tanah Air Foundation attended by T. Hasan. The results of the meeting were published in 1995 as a book under the title *Sejarah lahirnya Pancasila* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pembela Tanah Air Pusat).

²⁹ The committee consisted of five people: Hatta, A. Subardjo, A.A. Maramis, A.G. Pringgogidgo and Sunario (former Minister of Foreign Affairs).

³⁰ Panitia Lima 1977:74-5, 100-1. Yamin's 'speech' (1959-60, I:86-107), 21 pages in length as published in *Naskah persiapan*, would have taken at least an hour to deliver. But Yamin was just one of seven speakers who spoke in a two hour and ten minute session, in addition to the introductory speech by the chair, Rajiman; Yamin himself was allocated just twenty minutes for his speech (see the handwritten schedule in: NA, Algemene Secretarie, 2.10.14, inv.nr 5645. See also *Soeara Asia*, 30-5-1945; *Asia Raya*, 30-5-1945; Panitia Lima 1977:75, 100-1, 105; Kusuma 2004:97-9, 540. See also Noer 1990:220; Prawirosoedirdjo et al. 1984:94, 100-1, 103-5, 108-10).

³¹ If Yamin did produce such a draft, it would seem most likely to have been composed sometime in early to mid-July. That might explain Yamin's otherwise mysterious remark (1959-60, I:106) in his alleged speech of 29 May, that 'two days ago the Chair gave to each of us the opportunity to express our opinions'. 'Two days ago' was 27 May, when the BPUPK had not even begun its considerations. In that context it is worth noting that, much to his chagrin, Yamin was

his position with all his might.³² He said that his thinking was based on the evidence of history, not on the opinion and witness of people who were advanced in age. He said that he would not shrink from recanting if new evidence emerged which contradicted his view. At that time no one could provide new evidence so Nugroho continued unimpeded to label Yamin as the first person to set forth the Pancasila.³³ He did this in the standard textbook *Sejarah nasional Indonesia* (National history of Indonesia), volume 6, in a book on civics, and in other history books.³⁴ His efforts in elevating Yamin's significance at Soekarno's expense indeed, continued to bear fruit; early in 2010 the *Wikipedia* entry for Yamin still asserted that 'On May 29, 1945 in one of Preparatory Committee's sessions, Yamin rose to deliver a speech on certain philosophical and political foundations and enumerated five principles for the nation that would emerge after independence. Those five principles Pantja Sila were later incorporated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Sukarno claimed that he was the author of Pantja Sila. He did summarize Yamin's text in a speech delivered in a June 1, 1945 meeting, although the tenets were not in the order as originally read by Yamin on May 29, 1945.'³⁵

New evidence in the archives of A.G. Pringgogidgo and A.K. Pringgogidgo

In 1990, A.B. Kusuma was asked by the State Secretariat to compose biodata on the members of the BPUPK and the PPKI as an appendix to the second edition of the state Secretariat's *Risalah BPUPKI dan PPKI* (Minutes of the meetings of the BPUPKI and the PPKI), published in 1992. That book can be characterized

not appointed to the BPUPK's constitution drafting committee, something which he must have expected and for which he must have prepared himself. Of Yamin's purported draft, Logemann (1962:692) remarked that 'the fathers of the constitution do not appear ever to have used it'.

³² The notes from the A.K. Pringgogidgo archive of Yamin's speech, carrying the letterhead 'Dokuritu Zyunbi Tyōsa Kai', make no mention of Yamin's appending a draft Constitution to his address; a document of such substance and importance would surely have been noted at the time. Yamin's claim (1959-60, I: 335-6) that his draft Constitution closely resembled the draft produced by Supomo's drafting committee is difficult to reconcile with his thoroughgoing criticism of the structure of that draft in his speech of 15 July. Yamin's mentions (1959-60, I:166, 227, 257) of his draft Constitution, allegedly appended to his 29 May speech, at various places in his later speeches, are not to be found in the notes and reports in the A.K. Pringgogidgo archive.

³³ It should be noted that while Yamin speaks of five 'bases' (*dasar*) for the Indonesian state in the preamble of his draft, in the version of his 29 May speech included in Yamin 1959-60, I:94-6, 106, he speaks of *kemanusiaan* (humanity), *kebangsaan* (nationalism), and *kesejahteraan* (prosperity) as *azas* (principles), and of 'three bases' (*dasar*), *permusyawaratan* (deliberation), *perwakilan* (representation), and *kebijaksanaan* (wisdom). The notes in the A.K. Pringgogidgo archive, however, provide no evidence that he ever formulated a fivefold set of bases for the Indonesian state.

³⁴ See, for example, Notosusanto 1983:67.

³⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Yamin (accessed 9-3-2010). This entry has subsequently been amended.

as unfortunate, because it was nothing other than a copy of *Naskah persiapan*, complete with all its typographical errors, copied as they stood.³⁶ Kusuma was embarrassed because his name was included as one of the editors. Accordingly, he attempted to improve the subsequent edition of *Risalah BPUPKI dan PPKI* by searching for new material in the NA, supplied with a piece of information regarding the presence of a BPUPK archive in the NA from J.C.T. Simorangkir's dissertation.³⁷ But upon his arrival at the NA, Kusuma was informed that the Pringgogidgo archive had been returned to Indonesia.

Kusuma immediately returned to Indonesia and, armed with a letter of assignment from the State Secretariat, he was able to research the archive collection on the BPUPK and PPKI in the ANRI.³⁸ The result of his research was used to improve the third edition, especially by way of correcting the text, of *Risalah BPUPKI dan PPKI*, which was published by the State Secretariat in 1995. At the time of working on the third edition, Kusuma still encountered pressure from above so that he could not corner Yamin. The third edition only suggested that Yamin had 'supplemented' the text in ways that did not alter its meaning³⁹ – although indeed there were many such 'additions' that had done precisely that.⁴⁰ It is not entirely clear, apart from Yamin's vaunting ambition and an incurable need for self-aggrandisement, in both contemporary and historical contexts, why Yamin had so tampered with the original documents. Subsequently, a research team commissioned by the State Secretariat produced a revised edition, based upon Yamin's text. This edition included material from the A.K. Pringgogidgo archive as well as the Yamin Collection. The fourth edition, published in 1998, was noteworthy for the addition of a speech by Hadikusumo obtained from another source – important in the context of the BPUPK debate on the relation of Islam to the state – and for some unfortunately incorrect and misleading editorial notes. The record was not set straight until 2004, when Kusuma published his monumental *Lahirnya Undang-undang Dasar 1945* (The birth of the 1945 Constitution); he included in his work a large number of additional speeches and documents, from the official proceedings, from the meetings held while

³⁶ Apart from using contemporary spelling, the edition simply reordered Yamin's material thematically, added some clarificatory notes, and appended biodata of the members of the two bodies.

³⁷ Simorangkir (1984:9) reported seeing the BPUPK archive in Chest XXV, no. 26 of the Algemene Secretarie archive.

³⁸ Officials of the Arsip Nasional could not refuse a request from the State Secretariat because the Arsip Nasional was subject to its coordination.

³⁹ In contrast to Kusuma's article in *Suara Pembaruan* which implied that Nugroho had falsified history.

⁴⁰ In this regard, it is most interesting that Noer (1987:35), who had access to Pringgogidgo's papers in 1955, noted gently that Yamin's *Naskah persiapan* had made some changes to Pringgogidgo's notes.

the BPUPK was in recess, and from individuals. Much of this new material came from the A.K. Pringgodigdo archive. Kusuma also made a significant number of corrections to the text of earlier editions.

All Nugroho's arguments for rendering *Naskah persiapan* as the prime source evaporated with the evidence that Yamin had creatively edited the record of the sessions of the BPUPK and PPKI. In short, the content of *Naskah persiapan* are not word-for-word the same as the stenographic report of the BPUPK/PPKI sessions. Should readers want to consult the authentic materials for these historically crucial debates, they should consult A.B. Kusuma's *Lahirnya Undang-undang Dasar 1945*.

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