

SULTAN ISKANDAR DJABIR SYAH: FROM MALINO CONFERENCE TO THE MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NEGARA INDONESIA TIMUR

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to reconstruct the political participation of Iskandar Djabir Syah (the 47th Sultan of Ternate) in the establishment of the State of Eastern Indonesia. The results showed that: (1) the participation of Sultan of Ternate Iskandar Djabir Syah in the unitary state started in the early independence of the Republic of Indonesia; it was characterized by conducting Malino and Denpasar conferences in 1946. The establishment of the Eastern Indonesia State became the political inspiration for Iskandar Djabir Syah to involve as the senate member of the Eastern Indonesia State/NIT representing North Maluku, as well as one of its designers. (2) As one of the leaders who agreed to the idea of van Mook to form a federalist country in the Malino and Denpasar conference, so that when the Eastern Indonesia State was formed, he was appointed as the Minister of Internal Affairs in the cabinet of J.E. Tatengkeng for 1949 to 1950 periods. (3) Malino to Denpasar Conference in 1946 that was initiated by H.J. van Mook was the Dutch effort to establish the states in order to realize the United States of Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia Serikat/RIS*) based on Linggarjati Agreement. At the conference, it was formed the Eastern Indonesia State (*Negara Indonesia Timur/NIT*) covering the areas of Sulawesi, Small Sunda (Bali and Nusa Tenggara) and the Maluku Islands.

Keywords: Iskandar Djabir Syah, Political History, Malino and Denpasar Conferences.

ABSTRAK

Fokus kajian ini menguraikan beberapa peristiwa politik yang melibatkan Iskandar Djabir Syah seperti konferensi Malino dan Denpasar hingga terpilih menjadi menteri dalam negeri Indonesia Timur pada periode 1949-1950. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan (1). Partisipasi Sultan Ternate Iskandar Djabir Syah dalam negara kesatuan dimulai sejak awal kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia, ditandai dengan diselenggarakannya konferensi Malino dan Denpasar 1946. Terbentuknya Negara Indonesia Timur kemudian menjadi inspirasi politik bagi Iskandar Djabir Syah untuk melibatkan diri sebagai anggota senat NIT mewakili Maluku Utara, sekaligus merupakan salah satu disainernya. (2). Sebagai salah satu tokoh yang menyetujui gagasan van Mook untuk membentuk negara federalis dalam konferensi Malino dan Denpasar, sehingga ketika terbentuknya Negara Indonesia Timur diangkat menjadi Menteri Dalam Negeri pada kabinet J.E. Tatengkeng periode 1949-1950. (3). Konferensi Malino hingga Denpasar pada tahun 1946 yang diprakarsai oleh H.J. van Mook merupakan upaya Belanda mendirikan negara-negara bagian dalam rangka mewujudkan Negara Indonesia Serikat (RIS) berdasarkan Persetujuan Linggarjati. Dalam konferensi tersebut dibentuklah Negara Indonesia Timur (NIT) meliputi wilayah Sulawesi, Sunda Kecil (Bali dan Nusa Tenggara) dan Kepulauan Maluku.

Kata Kunci: Iskandar Djabir Syah, Sejarah Politik, Konferensi Malino, Konferensi Denpasar

INTRODUCTION

Iskandar Djabir Syah was the 46th sultan of Ternate. He was born on March 4th, 1902. He was the second child of seven children from Usman Syah (the 45th Sultan of Ternate) and the daughter of Mihir (nobility Susupu). His formal education began in 1912 by entering the Malay School (Primary School) in Ternate. After graduating from elementary Malay in 1915, he continued to *Europese Lagere School* (Junior High School) in Ternate, but did not complete his study because he followed his father, Sultan Usman, who was exiled by the Dutch to London for his alleged involvement in Bellion Jailolo (West Halmahera). In 1917, Iskandar Djabir Syah attended a school in Batavia. During his studying in Batavia, he met many friends who introduced him to a political movement. Agus Salim, a prominent figure at PSI, invited him to join PSI, a political organization in 1920 to 1925. From this organization, Iskandar Djabir Syah enriched his political education which greatly influenced his political view in the future.

At the time of Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945, this era was marked as the beginning of new ideological and political struggle between the nobility and the anti-self-governing groups (*republican vs swapraja*) in the Sultanate of Ternate. Political legitimacy, economic and cultural position should have provided wider opportunity and certain level of social location for the nobility after the independence. However, the emergence of nationalism blew the nobility's perception of independence since the construction of a state ideology of nationalism emphasized loyalty to the new nation. As a result, the presence of the new nation state of Indonesia threatened the three pillars of political and economic supremacy, namely; first, the political and economic relations between the nobles and their subordinates were demolished by the new government's adaptation of the ideological state nationalism. The emergence of new system ele-

vated the social location of *kawula* as subordinated to citizenship. Second, the system of economic relations woven with its subordinate became loosing due to the implementation of agrarian law political which advocated land privatization and the shift in the predominant production of feudal to capitalist production system. Third, the traditional values of the traditional elite tended to be astrictive had to face the meritocratic values brought by modernity, for example, positions in the bureaucracy were no longer as something inherent but might be based on specific competency.

Facing those changes, Sultanate of Ternate should decide whether following the logic of Soekarno's power by taking part in the national political arena or opposing him by participating in political movement following Van Mook's concept of the nation state. Kinds of form and system which should replace the system conducted during the colonial were a heated discussion among politicians. There were two popular views, namely, the view of those nationalists who believed that the unity of the Indonesian state depended on the strength of the central control; meanwhile Iskandar Djabir Syah believed Indonesia should appear as an egalitarian democratic state by giving wider autonomy to the provinces (particularly in the eastern Indonesia).

As a Sultan who had a traditional authority over the East coast of Sulawesi (Buton and Banggai) to the north of West Papua, Seram and North Maluku which consisted of natural and geographical diversity, and cultural conditions, he believed that it was certainly very difficult to unite all the diversities into the centralized unitary state. Therefore, Sultan Iskandar Djabir took a decision to be part of Senate of NIT representing North Maluku when participating at a conference in Malino and then in Denpasar in 1946. These conferences were concerning the establishment of the federation state of Indonesia initiated by van Mook.

MALINO CONFERENCE: THE EMBRYO OF NIT

Based on the approval obtained from the Dutch Government, van Mook carried out a conference in Malino on July 16 to 24, 1946 in Makassar, South Sulawesi. The decision of this conference was to conduct a conference in Makassar due to several speculative and conspiratorial considerations. Geographically, Makassar was considered relatively far away from the control of the new government of Indonesia. During that time, Eastern part of Indonesia was occupied by the Australian Army on behalf of the Allies which was politically and security benefit. The conference was attended by 39 members of the Senate of 15 areas such as: Bali, Lombok, Riau, South Sulawesi, Bangka Belitung, Borneo, East Borneo, North Maluku, Minahasa, Sangir Talaud, Gorontalo, Central Sulawesi, Neeuw Guinea (Irian), Flores, Timor, Sumba, Sumbawa, South Borneo, and South Maluku. The conference aimed at discussing the formation of the state federation in Indonesia as well as the establishment of the state covering the areas in eastern Indonesia (Amal, 2007:211).

In Malino conference, van Mook offered the structural form of the federation state provided that the part areas that would be the components of the federation might be the wide areas and had the potential of economic, social, and strong politic. Van Mook's idea received positive response from the delegate of North Maluku, Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Djabir Syah. For Iskandar Muhammad Djabir Syah, the formation of a federal state was not disintegration but it was a system of government that was not different from the unitary state. The basic idea of the most substantial federal state was guaranteed the fairness in the allocation of resources, in addition to enabling the effective and efficient administration management because its scope was more limited. In addition, the state of Eastern Indonesia would be transformed into a prosperous country and could develop its own identities wanted by all parties (Djafaar, 2005:

32).

Conceptually, the idea of van Mook about the federal state was not a new thing for Iskandar Muhammad Djabir Syah. The concept of a federal state was not much different from the system of government, which had been long adopted by the many Sultanates of Ternate. In the structure of the sultanate of Ternate (*Maloko Kie Raha*), each kingdom under his control took care of its own Internal Affairs. While the outside affairs, especially the military and financial affairs, were controlled by the board of eighteen, which consisted of representatives from four kingdoms. They were the government representatives and the military representatives plus other delegates. With the recognition and guarantee of van Mook, the government's form of the Republic of the United Indonesia became the warranty in managing the harmonization and ensuring the public justice. Therefore, the islands in the rim of Republic of United Indonesia and the rural areas which were remote from the central and they became freer to develop themselves. In addition, the concept of federal state gave the space to the kings in the eastern Indonesia to seize their power (Djafaar, 2005: 114).

Malino Conference in July 16 to 24, 1946 was the foundation of forming of the state of Eastern Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Timur/NIT). NIT is the oldest and largest among the countries established by the Dutch government. The strong position of the Dutch in the eastern Indonesia became the reason for the Dutch to give wide autonomy to the Eastern Indonesia State consisting of hundreds of large and small islands and divided into 13 autonomous regions. The Eastern Indonesia was selected as the first area where the first state to be formed. Dutch military power was relatively large in this area, in any case the Netherlands was correct in its assessment that the idea of the federal state would have special attraction for people outside the Java island who were pretty anxious about the Javanese politics which were much larger.

In this conference, there were some

decisions made, i.e.: (1) national anthem and flag, the conference took a decision that the national anthem of *Indonesia Raya* was accepted as the national anthem; (2) in the field of politics and state administration, Malino conference decided unanimously that in the field of the reconstruction of the state administration in the territory of the former Dutch East Indies formation of a federation which covered the whole territory of the former Dutch East Indies called the United Indonesia States consisted of the parts (states) with areas of great power and authority with the power to govern themselves as widely as possible; (3) about the relationship with the Netherlands, Malino Conference expressed as its belief that it was necessary to carefully define the period of time as may be necessary to conduct cooperation with the kingdom as intended to give the opportunity to the United Indonesia State to create organization in the field of the state administration, economic, social and culture, and to obtain the equipments that would give possibilities to the United Indonesia States with all the freedom and independence to take decisions about the continuation of the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia (Djafaar, 2005: 184).

Thus the Malino conference was the beginning of the foundation of separating the Indonesian areas into the independent areas as the state part of the federal state and gave the possibility to the Dutch to control Indonesia. Malino Conference was the stepping stone of the Netherlands to establish the United Indonesia State-based on the concept that had been offered by van Mook namely "the federal commonwealth of Indonesia". The Conference held for approximately 8 days the finally closed by Van Mook as chairman of the conference by asking the participants to give their approval. He expressed his intention to establish a state in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Big East. For the establishment of the Eastern Indonesia State, it would be discussed specifically in Denpasar conference and would be conducted jointly with the ARC. The goal

was that existing officers would be used continuously.

The idea to form a united states (the country consisting of state parts) was already planned by van Mook before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia so that it was not surprising if the Republican leaders from the nationalist movements were largely against this idea because federalism wanted by van Mook was led by the Dutch. Therefore, Malino Conference did not get a good reception from the Republic of Indonesia. Malino Conference was considered as an attempt to gain the support of the Dutch representatives in the regions outside Java as a strategy to divide the nation of Indonesia (Nalenan, 1981: 83).

DENPASAR CONFERENCE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NIT

According to the agreement of Malino Conference, the second conference (as it was ongoing) would be held approximately four months in Denpasar. Denpasar (Bali) was chosen as the venue for the conference because the place was considered safe after Margarana war. Denpasar Conference was actually as the continuation of the Malino conference to formulate a new government and state structure in the region of the big east through negotiations initiated by van Mook. Denpasar Conference was the embryo birth of NIT which was a prototype of the puppet states which were continually formed by the Netherlands (Kahin, 1955: 79).

Before conducting Denpasar Conference on December 7 to 24, 1946, on November 15th, 1946, the Government of the Netherlands, represented by Schermerhorn and SutanSyahrir from Indonesia, signed the approval of Indonesian-Dutch settlement of the problem called "Linggarjati Agreement" which contained: (1) the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands jointly organized the establishment of a federal state called the United Indonesia States (NIS); and (2) NIS would cooperate with

the Kingdom of the Netherlands to establish a united Indonesia-Netherlands (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008: 269).

Denpasar Conference took place after Linggarjati agreement on November 15, 1946. After the manuscript was approved on December 20, 1946, van Mook could freely act establishing the Eastern Indonesia State which was not contrary to the spirit and soul of Linggarjati agreement. The conference participants who were pro-Republic came to support the establishment of the Eastern Indonesia State because the Linggarjati Agreement asserted that "the Netherlands government recognized the fact of *de facto* power of the Republic of Indonesia government on Java, Madura, and Sumatera. While the regions were occupied by alliance or the Dutch army gradually and with joint working between the two parties would also be included within or into the Republic Region".

Denpasar Conference was attended by 71 representatives from all regions of Eastern Indonesia. The number of local delegates from each region and defined by van Mook consisted of 55 regional delegates, mostly represented by the King or the Sultan and 15 delegates from the minorities (Chinese and other eastern foreigners) so that there were 71 participants. For Northern Maluku, it was represented by Iskandar Djabir Syah (Sultan of Ternate) and Zainal Abidin Alting (Sultan of Tidore). The conference had the authority based on the decision of the Malino Conference to draw up new governance and state administration in the area of the Big East through negotiations and discussions with the representatives of the Dutch government. According to Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung there were noticeable differences between Malino Conference and Denpasar Conference. In Malino Conference, talks were still general and the concerning to the political, economic, social and cultural issues in Indonesia in general. While in the Denpasar Conference, the talks were centered on one core issue, namely the formation of the government

structure in the regions of the Big East where the working paper was already available about the regulation plan of the establishment of Big East State prepared by the General Commissariat for Borneo and the Timur Besar (Agung, 1985:74).

At the conference, the Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Djabir Syah, opposed the autonomous area (*swapraja*) of government policy conducted by the Dutch government since 1938, in which the representatives of the Dutch Government such as the controller and the resident assistant exercised, such a wider power, so the king was only a puppet. Iskandar Djabir Syah expressed his dissatisfaction about the position and status of the kings who headed the autonomous governments. According to him, the position as the Sultan was often ignored; every decision made might depend on the approval issued by the Dutch. It made the position of the Sultan just an ornament or the second person, even there were frequent conflicts of interest as if there was a dual basis of local government. It often made the society confused. Sultan was like a doll that could be tweaked by the Dutch; his position as Sultan was often difficult; his authority as Sultan was often overlooked in the interest of the Dutch.

Therefore, according to Iskandar Djabir Syah, it was necessary to abolish the duality in the autonomous regions and to the king as the head of the autonomous governments was actually given real power and authority. The same view was also presented by L. Katoppo (the delegate from Minahasa), he said that the Eastern Indonesia State consisted of more than 75% the autonomous regions and 115 autonomous government. The position of the head of the autonomous governments was regulated by the so-called "*Korteverklaring*" (short statement) and "*langekontrakten*" (long contract) as the recognition of the Dutch Government to the special position of the kings who hereditary ruled an autonomous region (Katoppo, 1972: 78).

In Denpasar Conference, Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Djabir Syah approved

the decision of the federal state, and consistently defended it because it was similar to the concept and understanding of *Maloko Kie Raha* that he had practiced and believed. According to him, the sociological-anthropological situation of Indonesian which was plural was suitable with the plural-federalist concept. In the conference, van Mook imposed federalism idea. It was being done without the cooperation with the Republic of Indonesia as approved in the Linggarjati agreement. The Eastern Indonesia State was very strategic for van Mook in achieving his ambition to create the United Indonesia Republic State which still remained within the Dutch kingdom.

The establishment of the Eastern Indonesia State (NIT), according to Van Mook, would transform Eastern Indonesia into a country that had a strong vitality, would be able to develop its own identity, and would successfully become a valuable part of the Indonesian federation that would be realized as desired all parties. At the end of Denpasar Conference on December 24, 1946, it was established a new country called Eastern Indonesia State which was still on the scope of United Indonesia Republic State (RIS) that covered the areas of Sulawesi, Small Sunda (Bali and Nusa Tenggara) and the Maluku Islands (Agung, 1985: 199).

Denpasar Conference was selected by Cokorda Gde Raka Sukawati as the first Head of Eastern Indonesia State (a former member of the *Volksraad* from PEB party), the Prime Minister was Nadjamodin Daeng Malewa who was also a Minister of the Economic affairs, and the elected head of DPRS, Mr. Tadjoeuddin Noer. Only the republicans argued that the establishment of the Eastern Indonesia State in the framework of the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia was only one step in the struggling process toward Indonesia Republic State in accordance with the proclamation spirit of 1945. While those who supported federalism considered that the Eastern Indonesia State was the goal on the context of the establishment of the Federal State Federal

which still remained under the control of the Dutch kingdom.

SULTAN OF TIDORE, ZAINAL ABIDIN, AND THE REJECTION OF PAPUA SEPARATION FROM NIT

From the beginning, the Dutch Government through the General Governor, van Mook intended to separate the West Irian (now Papua) from Indonesia Republic both in Malino and Denpasar Conference in 1946. West Irian (Papua) was intentionally not included in the conference by the Dutch based on the reason that Papua would be discussed on its own after the establishment of NIT. At the conference, Sultan of Tidore, Zainal Abidin (the 36th sultan) the representative of North Maluku was questioned why Papua was not integrated into NIT, whereas in the constitutional structure of the Dutch East Indies, Papua was the part of the Timur Besar (*Grote Oost*).

At the conference, Zainal Abidin stated that from the immemorial time, Papua region was inseparable part from Tidore Sultanate, therefore the autonomous government of Tidore had full right and authorization to Papua. He said that if it was then held on the issue of dispute settlement of Papua, the right of Tidore Sultanate must be recognized. The suggestion of Zainal Abidin was supported by E. Katoppo from Minahasa by saying that the territory of New Guinea (Papua) was the part of the Dutch East Indies since the old time, so that the United Indonesia States covered the whole territory of the Dutch East Indies, so the region of Papua should be included in the territory of the United Indonesia States as the part of the Eastern Indonesia State.

In the history aspect, the relation between Tidore Sultanate and Papua had existed long before the arrival of Europeans. According MuridanWidjojo, economic, social, political and cultural relations were not only evidenced by written sources. Even the folk stories from Maluku (Tidore Chronic and Bacan) and Papua

(Biak Chronic) narrated the brotherhood bond (1997; 129). So it was not surprising that the bond of brotherhood between the two regions existing for the centuries in the collective memories which was intentionally omitted by the Dutch Colonial by separating Tidore and Papua in Denpasar conference on December 7 to 24, 1946, caused protest from Zainal Abidin Alting.

On that occasion, Zainal Abidin insisted to have the opportunity to give an explanation of his attitude (*stern motiuering*) "about the exclusion of Papua in the Eastern Indonesia States (NIT)" as reported by the New State newspaper. Zainal Abidin conveyed his disappointment as follows:

The Excellency Mr. Major Chairman, I am as the head of the Tidore kingdom with much regret not be able to approve the results of the Round Table Conference as with the results of my kingdom, although it has been separated for a while, which is one part is included in the United Indonesia States and other part is in the West Irian which under the control of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In the end, I pointed out that in this short description, it can be concluded that the Tidore kingdom still retains its rights to the Iriant which historically part of Tidore kingdom. That is all, thank you.

Rejection of the separation of Papua from the Eastern Indonesia State was not only expressed by Zainal Abidin at the conference. Outside the parliament, as reported in the Indonesia Timoer newspaper, the kings of Papua such as king Ahmad-Uswanas (Fak-Fak) and king Haji Ibrahim Baoe (*Rumbati/Kokas*) had filed a petition to the Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs from the Eastern Indonesia States to merge Papua into the Eastern Indonesia States. In the petition letter, both kings stated that, "We have recognized the establishment of the United Indonesia States, which consists of from the island Sabang to Aru, and as the sons of our nation we will seek the relationship and help from the government of the United Indo-

nesia States generally and from the of Eastern Indonesia States specifically, to support us as much as possible so that we can unite in one nation. Although the establishment of the United Indonesia States according to Linggarjati Agreement, on November 15, 1946, excluded Papua, but we always want to keep all our thoughts and energy to unite with our national brothers under nation of the United Indonesia States. Our intention comes from our deep, clear and clean hearts, so that we have a big hope that the excellency can receive our brotherhood so we can stand together to develop one prosperous Indonesia and gain great happiness in the future" (*Timoer Indonesia*, November 20, 1946).

The same rejection came from the society of Maluku. In a big meeting conducted by Indonesia Youth Association on November 13, 1946, in Ambon City, there were about 3000 people had taken political resolution, namely: (1) continuing to fight for the ideals of freedom and the whole of the Indonesian home lands and supporting the NIT government based on the decision of the Board of Maluku, and (2) demanding and fighting for Irian to still remain in RIS (*Menara Merdeka*, 1946).

By the Round Table Conference (Koferensi Meja Bundar/KMB) on August 23, to November 2, 1949 in Den Haag, the policies carried out by the Dutch Government to separate Papua from the Tidore Sultanate intensively conducted. On March 23, 1949, De Waalas, an advisor to the Dutch East Indies government in Indonesia to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, suggested that Papua could be separated from Tidore through two options: first, the Dutch press to customary chiefs who were under the power of the Tidore Sultanate to separate themselves by the reason that separation open wider advantageous in a variety of fields. The polling should involve the Sultan of Tidore and it was expected to be completed no more than two years; and second, De Waalas suggested that the Sultan of Tidore, Zainal Abidin should be given a

role in the Cabinet of NIT, or be given a special task to separate Papua from his kingdom. In his view, if the Sultan of Tidore was given all authorities, the separation of Papua from Tidore could be completed in December 1949 (Amal, 2007: 217).

The same thing was also suggested by Dr. Beel, the High Representative of the Dutch City in Indonesia. He suggested that the separation of Papua should be conducted by the decision of the City High Representative. In the decision, it was determined: (1) the Tidore Sultanate would be integrated to the government of Indonesia federal; and (2) polling regarding Papua and Raja Ampat separation from Tidore were very depend on the approval of the Tidore Sultanate (Adnan Amal, 2007: 211).

To respond some of these suggestions, van Maarseveen as the Minister of Across Regional Affairs made a political contract with the Sultan of Tidore as below: (1) *Korteverklaring* was signed by the Dutch East Indies government and the Tidore Sultanate which was put into the effect since 1909 should be canceled. With the unilateral cancellation of this, the Sultan of Tidore could not rule over his authority areas. Thus the Sultan of Tidore had the authority to govern only on Tidore Islands; (2) since *Korteverklaring* took into the effect, Sultan of Tidore administratively did not rule his power on Papua; and (3) since the Pacific war occurred, Papua was occupied by the Allies and the resident run the government power there based on S. no. 108 jo. S. 149 (Nachrawy, 2003: 65).

Therefore, on June 12, 1949, van Maarseveen invited Zainal Abidin, Sultan of Tidore, to discuss about the separation of Papua from Tidore. On that occasion, Zainal Abidin was forced to accept the separation of Papua from Tidore by stating that all the kings in Papua's land and Raja Ampat Papua had given their approval to break away from the Tidore Sultanate. Zainal Abidin protested the unilateral decision from the Dutch by complaining to the President of NIT, Cokorde Gde Suka-

wati, but did not get a serious response from the president.

The News of Papua separation from Tidore Sultanate got a strong reaction from a number of PI's prominent people and society of Ternate and Tidore. Those prominent, through the newspaper of *Menara Merdeka*, protested the Dutch government by accused that the City High Representative conducted political blackmail against the helpless Sultan of Tidore. Similarly, the Papuan leaders who were the members of the Self Determinants Organizing Committee, via the Dutch newspaper, *Aneta* on July 21, 1949, said that the Papuan people did not want to be separated from Tidore and Maluku. Statement of the Papuan leaders was the distortion was conducted by the Dutch East Indies government. Separation of Papua from the Tidore Sultanate was systematic effort to continually colonize the parts of Indonesia. To gratify the society and the Sultan of Tidore, the status of autonomous government in Tidore was increased to *onderafdeling* and Sultan Tidore became the resident of North Maluku replacing Iskandar Djabir (Sultan of Ternate) and all the governmental agencies were centered in Soasio, the capital of Tidore (*Indonesia Timoer*, 1949).

After the dissolution of the United Indonesia States (RIS), Zainal AbidinAlting was invited by the Dutch to be offered by three options: (1) Papua along with Tidore became an independent state; (2) Papua along with Tidoreweresovereign under the Netherlands Kingdom; and (3) Papua along with Tidore fused together with the Homeland, the Republic of Indonesia. From those three options, Zainal AbidinAlting chose the third option. Based on that political decision, President Sukarno asked the resident Zainal Abidin who was also the Sultan of Tidore to support the central government to claim Papua as the part of Tidore based on historical perspective. The suggestion was welcomed by Zainal Abidin and on August 17, 1956, President Sukarno formed province of West Irian by inaugurating Zainal Abidin as the first Governor of Papua

from 1956 to 1961 with a capital of Soa-siu, Tidore (Herry RD. Nachrawy, 2003: 143).

BECOMING THE MINISTER OF NIT

Since the beginning of the establishment of the Eastern Indonesia State (NIT) which was initiated by van Mook on behalf of the Dutch government, Iskandar Djabir Syah had shown his participation as the member of NIT representing North Maluku. His Participation was indeed reasonable because based on historical and political aspects, the Ternate Sultanate had closeness to the Dutch government, which had long been entrenched in the Ternate Island until the World War II, even when the Japanese occupied the Ternate Island, Iskandar Djabir Syah along with his family was evacuated in Brisbane Australia in September 1945. After Iskandar Djabir Syah returned from Australia, he was appointed as the head of the region (resident) with the rank of colonel *Tituler der Koninghen Orange van Nasau*.

As explained above, that as long as served as senate member of NIT representing North Maluku, Iskandar Djabir Syah always perseveringly fought the concept of a federal state in Malino and Denpasar conference. For that reason, in the Tatengkeng Cabinet, Iskandar Djabir Syah was appointed as the Minister of Internal Affairs of NIT (December 27, 1949 to March 14, 1950). After inaugurated by the President of the Eastern Indonesia State (NIT), Tjokorde Gde Rake Soekawati on December 27, 1949, Iskandar Djabir Syah began his career as Minister of Internal Affairs. His position as the Minister of Internal Affairs made him succeed in delegating the power of the central government the regional heads of the entire territory of the East Indonesia (Agung, 1985: 94).

The cabinet of J.E. Tatengkeng was the emergency cabinet or the transitional government and its leadership only lasted for one year. Nevertheless, Tatengkeng Cabinet determined to develop a new legal

order with the formation of the government structure in the Eastern Indonesia States so that from the bottom to the top level, it could be created a democratic government with national character based on the principles of federalism. The establishment of the regions with extensive autonomy and steady power as well as the authority where the autonomous government played an important role accompanied by the council elected by the society. Based on the principle of democracy and by fast holding that the Eastern Indonesia States was a law country where the order and security were guaranteed so that the people felt themselves protected by the law so that they could live safe and secure. Tatengkeng Cabinet ran the policies that were dual-function with each other to have a harmonious balance.

In the era of Tatengkeng Cabinet, there had been the rise of rebellion seeds that wanted to break away from the United Indonesia States and joined with Indonesia Republic (RI). The dispute between APRIS and TNI encouraged a number of autonomous regions in NIT region appearing to proclaim the region out of NIT and combined the region to become the part of Indonesia Republic (RI) as the status as a province. For example, on April 26, 1950, Karaeng Andi Idjo (South Sulawesi) proclaimed South Sulawesi to be the part of the province of Indonesia. The same thing was also done by Adjuba Wartabone for the region of North Sulawesi (Arthur A. Schillers, 1989: 63).

Chaos and conflict between the federalist and the unitary groups in South Sulawesi especially in Makassar raged with great atmosphere causing very serious condition. From the unitary group headed by the parliament members of the Indonesian National Unity fraction urged the government to be allowed to conduct a massive demonstration in order to break up the Eastern Indonesia States and be involved into the territory of Indonesia Republic.

In addition, the rebellion of Andi Aziz in Makassar in early April 1950 resulted in the crisis of NIT Cabinet. On

April 20, the prominent figures of Maluku Indonesian Youth (PIM), Pupella, proposed un-trust motion in NIT parliament. As a result, the Prime Minister of Tatengkeng resigned and the cabinet was disbanded. Thus, the Cabinet of J.E. Tatengkeng did not last long. Its Workplan only overcame the issue of the transition toward the establishment of united States as the result of merging RIS and RI. Such development affected the political atmosphere in the Eastern Indonesia State and gave big courage to the unitary group to realize its goal to dissolve the Eastern Indonesia States.

The dissolution of the Eastern Indonesia State on August 15, 1950 caused surprise in many circles about the quick omission of the federation system from Indonesia. It was approximately six months after the sovereignty resignation to the government of the United Indonesia States which had transformed into the unitary state. Changing the shape of the state, especially among the Dutch government. The changes of the state principle left very deep impression. The Dutch East Indies government had accused the Indonesian party to be not honest in the implementation of the Round Table Conference and in connection with that expressed the disappointment.

The attitude of the Dutch government was transformed into the anti-Indonesian Government and actualized in its foreign policy that firmly opposed to Indonesia in West Irian case in the 1960s. When the Prime Minister W. Drees re-elected for the four times (1956 to 1958), he became the main driving force to enter the West Irian (now Papua) in the territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at the time of the amendment to the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1956 (L. Katoppo, 1972: 54).

CONCLUSION

When the United Indonesia States merged into the unitary state of Indonesia Repub-

lic in 1950, at the same time Sukarno's policy exiled Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Djabir Syah to Jakarta and he was placed as one of the employees of Internal Affairs Department (1950 to 1976), as he was considered as one of the federalist leaders, besides that he was accused as the man who was pro-RMS and considered as disloyalty to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. In that period, the sultanate of Ternate suffered from the vacant government. All the activities of the government regulations were run by the legislative institution or the board of eighteen (*Bobatonyagimosetofkange*). The vacancy affected on the decreasing of the legitimacy of royal power elite (aristocrats) due to the loss of political control and bureaucratic in its territory. Their capacity was limited only as the complement of the government structure. It was caused by the leadership authority only on the hands of the sultan.

The limitation and the lack of political power of the Ternate Sultanate made almost nothing could be done. Almost all of the accesses leading to the interests of local power were isolated during the absence of Sultan Iskandar Djabir Syah. Therefore, the elite territory was confined to the walls of the palace although it still had a government bureaucracy, yet it only dealt with the interests of the palace household.

At the same time, Soekarno's government issued a number of policies restricting the movement of the local authorities, for example, the dissolution of the kings' board in 1950. Another example was about the Agrarian Law of 1960 on the restriction and land ownership (the state took over the lands of autonomous government), and the establishment of autonomous regional administration of level 1 in Maluku, based on the Law No.60 in 1958, by determining Ambon as the province capital of Maluku. As the authority in level II, the Regent was no longer had to be held by the sultan and family so that in the subsequent development, the public positions were more dominated by non-sultanate groups. Final-

ly, the Ternate status as municipal was dissolved and reduced to a level II district that had limited governmental authority. The state intervention was so strong on the traditional power in Soekarno's power era that the palace declined of its legitimacy.

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