

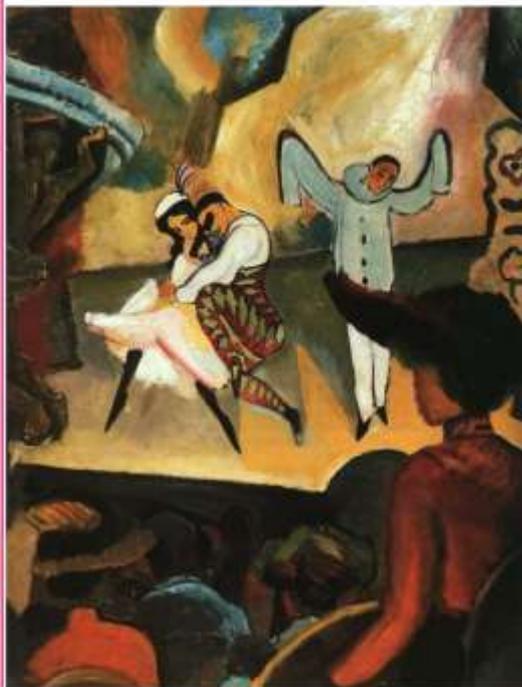
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Revista de Antropología, Ciencias de la Comunicación y de la Información, Filosofía,
Linguística y Semiótica, Problemas del Desarrollo, la Ciencia y la Tecnología

Año 35, mayo 2010 N°

89

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales
ISSN 1012-1017 ISSN-e: 2477-2005
Depósito Legal pp 100240221017



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Participation of the sultanate of ternate in the unitary state of Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper aims to reconstruct the political participation of Sultanate of Ternate in the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia after independence in 1945. The method used in this paper is a historical method, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. As a result, the State of East Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Timur or NIT) was formed and covered Sulawesi region, the Lesser Sunda (Bali and Nusa Tenggara) and Moluccas Islands. In conclusion, peace, justice, and prosperity, are the keywords that how important the nobility is, in the eyes of the people.

Keywords: Sultanate, Ternate, Political, History, Conference.

Participación del Sultanato de Ternate en el Estado unitario de Indonesia

Resumen

Este documento tiene como objetivo reconstruir la participación política del Sultanato de Ternate en el estado unitario de la República de Indonesia después de la independencia en 1945. El método utilizado en este documento es un método histórico, a saber, heurística, crítica, interpretación e historiografía. Como resultado, se formó el Estado de Indonesia Oriental (Negara Indonesia Timur o NIT) y cubrió la región de Sulawesi, la isla de Sunder (Bali y Nusa Tenggara) y las islas Moluccas. En conclusión, la paz, la justicia y la prosperidad son las palabras clave de lo importante que es la nobleza a los ojos de la gente.

Palabras
Política,

clave: Sultanato, Ternate,
Historia, Conferencia.

1. INTRODUCTION

History showed that the political participation of Sultanate of Ternate in the unitary state had been started from the beginning of the independence of Republic of Indonesia, which was marked by the emergence of the State of East Indonesia (NIT) in 24 December 1946. The formation of the State of East Indonesia became political inspiration for the 47th Sultanate of Ternate named Iskandar Muhammad to get involved as a member of NIT (the State of East

Indonesia) senate representing North Maluku, as well as being one of the designers. Sultanate of Ternate, Iskandar Jabir Syah, had been interested in the concept of federal state since World War II. When the Allies took control of North Maluku, the Sultanate of Ternate joined forces with the Allies to attack Japanese forces in Halmahera.

The idea of forming a union state (a country consisting of states) was actually planned by van Mook before Indonesian independence. To make the idea real, van Mook held three conferences in 1946, namely Malino conference, Pangkal Pinang conference (1-12 October), and Denpasar conference (7-12 December). The purpose of those conferences was to establish federated states in Indonesia as stated in the Linggarjati Agreement. Denpasar conference ended in 24 December 1946 established the States of Eastern Indonesia. In fact, the States of Eastern Indonesia was an entrance for Dutch to establish states in order to realize the United States of Indonesia. According to Audrey R. Kahin, the States of Eastern Indonesia is the embryo of the birth of RIS which was a prototype of puppet countries which was then continuously formed by the Netherlands.

The establishment of the State of East Indonesia in 24 December 1946 was responded well by those who supported federalism, especially sultans or kings. Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Jabir Syah is one of the federalists who agree with the formation of the State of East Indonesia. For him, the State of East Indonesia would turn out to be a prosperous country in the concept of a federal state since it can guarantee justice and allocation of resources to be more

effective and efficient due to its limited scope. Furthermore, the State of East Indonesia gives the opportunity for kings in the Eastern Indonesia to remain in power. As one of the federalist figure upholding the establishment of the State of East Indonesia from Malino conference to Denpasar conference, within its development in 1949, Iskandar Jabir Syah was appointed as the Minister of Home Affairs of the State of East Indonesia in J.E. Tatengkeng cabinet (Ide, 1985).

As one of the traditional powers that still exists since the beginning of independence until now, the political role of elite of Sultanate of Ternate, in the history of local politics in Indonesia, has significant influence, especially during Soekarno regime. The elite of Sultanate of Ternate always struggled with crisis and survival. They were able to maintain their political position as the center of role model within the community.

The survival of the elite of Sultanate of Ternate was not only limited to how they adapted to the environmental changes but also how they held their position and played important role, and even developed their influence in determining the direction and movement of the changes. As historical phenomena, such dynamic process of local politics is interesting to be examined since Sultan of Ternate has become a part of political history in North Moluccas. Moreover, there is an implicit message about how partial the political study in Indonesia if it still focuses only in national political dynamics. In fact,

there are some problems on national politics that are initially can be examined from regional level and vice versa.

1.1. Sultan Iskandar DjahirSyah in Denpasar Confrence held on 7-12 December 1946

According to Malino Conference agreement stating that the second Conference (as a result) would be held for about four months in Denpasar. Denpasar (Bali) was chosen as the venue for the Conference because the place was safe after Margarana war. Denpasar Conference was actually a follow-up to Malino Conference to compose new governance and state administration in the eastern region through negotiation initiated by van Mook, according to Audrey R. Kahin, Denpasar Conference was the embryo of NIT, which was a prototype of puppet countries which were later constantly formed by the Netherlands.

Before Denpasar Conference held on 7-24 December 1946, on 15 November 1946, Dutch government represented by Schermerhorn and SutanSyahrir from Indonesia signed an agreement to resolve the Indonesian-Dutch problem called the Linggarjati Agreement which was about; (1) The Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands jointly established a federal state called the United States of Indonesia (NIS); (2) NIS will collaborate with the Dutch government to form Netherlands-Indonesia Union (Nalenan, 1981).

Denpasar Conference was carried out after the Linggajati agreement on November 15, 1946. After the agreement was passed on December 20, 1946, van Mook was able to freely act to form the State of East Indonesia which was not in conflict with the spirit of the Linggajati agreement. The participants of the pro-Republican conference also supported the establishment of the State of East Indonesia because it was written in the Linggajati agreement that Dutch government recognized de facto power of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia over Java, Madura, and Sumatra. The regions occupied by the United States army or the Dutch army gradually and in joint work between the two parties would be included in the region of the Republic of Indonesia (Herry, 2003).

Denpasar Conference consisted of 71 representatives from all regions of Eastern Indonesia. The regional delegations chosen by each region and determined by van Mook consisting of 55 regional delegates were mostly King or Sultan and 15 delegates from minority groups (other Chinese and Eastern Foreigners) were 71 participants. North Moluccas was represented by Iskandar DjabirSyah (Sultan of Ternate) and Zainal AbidinAlting (Sultan Tidore). This conference had authority based on the decision of Malino Conference to compose new governance and state administration in the Great East region through negotiations and discussions with representatives of the Dutch Government.

According to Ide AnakAgungGdeAgung, Malino Conference and Denpasar Conference had significant differences. Malino

Conference involved general discussion and brought general political, economic, social, and cultural issues in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Denpasar conference's discussion centered on one main problem, namely the establishment of constitutional arrangements in the Greater East region where a working paper was available in the form of a plan for the establishment of a Great Eastern State prepared by the General Commissariat for Borneo and the Greater East (Abdulhamid, 2000).

At the conference, Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar DjabirSyah opposed the policies of the self-governing government applied by the Dutch government since 1938, in which the representatives of the Dutch East Indies were like the controllers and resident assistants who were given great power, leading to the conclusion that the king was only a puppet. DjabirSyah expressed his dissatisfaction with the position of the kings who headed the self-governing (swapraja) government. According to him, the position as Sultan was often underestimated, and all decisions had to depend on the agreement issued by the Dutch.

It placed sultan on the second position, and even there was sometimes a conflict of interest so that there seemed to be a dualist regional government. It often made people confused. Sultan was like a doll that could be mocked by the Dutch, the position as a sultan often became difficult since the authority as a sultan was often ignored for the sake of the Dutch's interest. Therefore, according to Iskandar DjabirSyah, it was important to diminish the nature of dualism in the

autonomous regions and to give full authority to the king as the head of the self-governing government.

The same view was also conveyed by Katoppo (Minahasa delegation), saying that the State of East Indonesia consisted of more than 75% of autonomous regions and 115 self-governing governments. The position of the heads of self-governing government was regulated by what was called *korteverklaring* (short statement) and *langekontrakten* (long contract), as an acknowledgment of the Dutch East Indies Government on the special status of the kings who had ruled a region for generations self-government (Katoppo, 1981; Christiaan & Fraasen, 1987; Indriastuti, 2019).

1.2. Being the Minister of Home Affairs of NIT

Since the beginning of the establishment of the State of East Indonesia initiated by van Mook on behalf of the Dutch Government, Iskandar Djabir Shah had shown his participation as a member of NIT representing North Moluccas. His participation was reasonable because from the historical and political aspects, the Sultanate of Ternate had close relationship with the Dutch Government centered in Ternate Island until World War II. Even, when Japan occupied Ternate Island, Iskandar DjabirSyah and his family were evacuated to Brisbane, Australia in September 1945. After his return from Australia, Iskandar DjabirSyah was appointed as a regional head

(resident) with the title of Colonel Tituler der Koninghen Orange van Nasau (Visser, 1994).

During his time as a member of the NIT senate representing North Moluccas, Iskandar DjabirSyah always brought the concept of a federal state at Malino and Denpasar conferences. For this reason, then at Tatengkeng Cabinet, Iskandar DjabirSyah was appointed as the Minister of Home Affairs of NIT (from December 27, 1949 until March 14, 1950). After being inaugurated by the President of the State of East Indonesia (NIT), TjokordeGde Rake Soekawati on December 27, 1949, Iskandar DjabirSyah began to spread his duties as the Minister of Home Affairs. In his position as the Minister of Home Affairs, Iskandar DjabirSyah had succeeded in delegating the authority of the central government to regional heads throughout the territory of the State of East Indonesia (Anas & Rinto, 2010; Chasan, 2012).

JE Tatengkeng cabinet is an emergency cabinet or transitional government, and its leadership period is only one year. Even though Tatengkeng cabinet planned to establish a new legal order by forming a constitutional arrangement in the State of East Indonesia, in such a way that from the lower level until the upper level of governance, democratic government can be realized in accordance with the principle of federalism (Leirissa, 1975).

In the era of Tatengkeng cabinet, there was indication of rebellion that wanted to break away from the United States of Indonesia and join the Republic of Indonesia. The dispute between APRIS and TNI encouraged a number of autonomous regions in the

NIT region to proclaim their territory out of NIT and combined their territory into parts of RI with position as a province. For example, on April 26, 1950, Andi IdjoKaraeng (South Sulawesi) proclaimed South Sulawesi to be part of the Republic of Indonesia. The same thing was also done by AdjubaWartabone for North Sulawesi region.

In addition, Andi Aziz's rebellion in Makassar in the early April 1950 resulted in NIT Cabinet crisis. On April 20, the figure of the Moluccas Indonesian Youth (PIM), Pupella, submitted a motion of no confidence to NIT parliament. As a result, the Prime Minister of Tatengkeng resigned and the cabinet broke up. Thus, Hanna & Des (1996) cabinet was not long-lived. The work program was only to overcome the transition to the formation of a unitary state as a result of the merger of RIS and the Republic of Indonesia. Such development certainly influenced the political atmosphere in the State of East Indonesia and gave strong encouragement to the unitarist group to realize its goal of diminishing the State of East Indonesia (Sutrisno, 1978).

The dissolution of the State of East Indonesia on August 15, 1950 led to astonishment in many circles about the rapid system of federation being removed from Indonesia. It was about six months after the surrender of sovereignty to the government of the Republic of United States of Indonesia and the state. The changing form into the united country left a very deep impression on the Dutch government. The Dutch East Indies government accused Indonesian party of being

dishonest during the Round Table Conference, and then the Dutch East Indies expressed its disappointment.

The attitude of the Dutch Government changed into an antiIndonesian government attitude as seen in its foreign policy which vigorously opposed Indonesia in terms of West Irian problem in the 1960s. When Prime Minister W Drees was re-elected for the fourth time (1956-1958), he was the main initiator for including West Irian (now Papua) in the territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at the time of the amendment for the Constitution of Netherlands Kingdom in 1956 (Yang et al., 2019).

1.3. The dissolution of the RIS and the End of Political Career of Iskandar DjabirSyah

History records, after the dissolution of the United States of Indonesia (RIS), and returned to being the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1950, Sultan Iskandar DjabirSyah was transferred to Jakarta by the Soekarno government because he was accused of being one of the federalist figures; besides, he was accused of being a pro-RMS figure and making treason to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. While in Jakarta, Iskandar DjabirSyah was placed as one of the staff in the interior department in 1951 to 1971 (Soo et al., 2019). During this period, the Ternate Sultanate experienced a government vacuum.

All activities and implementation of government are run by the legislature or the Eighteen Council. The emptiness had an impact on the declining power of the elite palace (nobility) due to the loss of political and bureaucratic control in the region. Almost all access that leads to the interests of local forces is certainly isolated all at the time of the absence of the sultan. Thus, the territory of bobatonyagimoi se tufkange was only confined to the palace walls. Their capacity is only limited to complementary government structures. This is due to the leading authority in the hands of the sultan. Even though it still has a government bureaucracy, it only takes care of the interests of the palace household. (Syahril, 2003).

At the same time, several Soekarno's policies issued a number of regulations that limited the space of local authorities. For example is the dissolution of the council of the kings in 1950. Another example is the Agrarian Law 1960 concerning on land restriction and ownership (acquisition of self-governing lands by the state), as well as the establishment of regional government in level 1 in Moluccas based on Law No. 60 of 1958 by establishing Ambon as the capital of Maluku province. Since a ruler at the level II (Regent) no longer must be held by the sultan and his family, public positions are dominated by nonsultanate groups (Rustamhasim, 2018).

Some of Soekarno's policies greatly suppressed the elite power of Sultanate of Ternate, so the elite could hardly do much things because almost all access that led to the interests of local forces was certainly all isolated by forms of power. Furthermore, all activities

carried out were only ceremonial, so the power and influence were also cut down. Having strong intervention from the state toward traditional power in the era of Soekarno's power, the palace experienced a decline in legitimacy.

After retiring from the position of the Minister of Home Affairs in 1969, he spent the rest of his life in Jakarta. On July 4, 1975, Sultan Iskandar DjabirSyah died at the age of 75 years and was buried in a public cemetery of Rubber Cemetery. Apart from being a federalist who supported the establishment of the State of East Indonesia in the United States of Indonesia, one of the great services of Iskandar DjabirSyah is to restore the status of the Sultanate of Ternate from subdistrict to residency (provincial level) of which head is Colonel Tituler der Koninghen Orange van Nasau. With this position, Sultan Iskandar Djabir is seen by the people as the Great King in MalukuKieRaha (Irzaarnitadjafar, 2003).

2. CONCLUSION

History showed the elite political participation of the Sultanate of Ternate in the unitary state has begun since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, marked by the establishment of the State of East Indonesia (NIT), on 24 December 1946. The formation of the State of East Indonesia became a political inspiration for Sultan Iskandar Muhammad Jabir Syah (the 47th Sultan of Ternate) to involve

himself as a member of the NIT senate representing North Moluccas, by attending the conferences of Malino and Denpasar as a member of the Senate representing North Moluccas.

Political reality shows that when the Soekarno regime came to power, the elite of the Sultanate of Ternate experienced restrictions. The political choice of the 47th Ternate Sultan, Iskandar DjabirSyah, in supporting the establishment of the State of East Indonesia (NIT) initiated by Herbert (1982), implicated him being exiled to Jakarta in 1950, due to be accused of being a federalist. It was this difference in perception regarding the form and system of the postindependence Indonesian government, prompting the sultanate elite to not to support the Soekarno government party in the 1955 election. That political choice certainly did not entail their position because they had to face, not only the local political rivals, but also the national forces.

The attitude of the elite sultanate's confrontation prompted President Soekarno to issue a number of policies in limiting their political roles such as: first, the dissolution of the council of kings (executive board), consisting of the Sultan of Ternate, Tidore and Bacan, and NoordMolukkenRaad (legislative board), who supported federalism in 1950. Consequently, the sultanate elite no longer had the legal-formal instruments to influence the local government.

Their control of the bureaucracy was replaced by a regent who was elected by the DPRD (Regional House of Representatives); second, the elimination of the Ternate Residency and the establishment of the North Moluccas level II regional government,

based on the Constitution No. 60 of 1958. The consequence of the ruler at the level II (Regent) was no longer held by the sultan and his family, but was elected through elections in a modern political format. Third, the birth of the 1960 Basic Agrarian Constitution concerning the limitation and ownership of land or takeover by the state of self-governing lands.

During the Soekarno government, the Sultanate elite experienced a political crisis. Their confrontational attitude by not supporting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) and the government party (PNI) raises the question: why did President Soekarno not destroy their political existence in the realm of local politics in Ternate? Do some of the policies mentioned above affect their political presence in Ternate, or vice versa? In fact, despite their political existence, they get restrictions.

However, culturally it does not have an impact on the decline of the sultanate's elite power. One of the values that is deeply rooted in Ternate's society is upholding the words or orders of the sultan with the motto: *joukasangomkage*. In the culture of Ternate, the nobility is respected and obeyed because it is believed to inherit the greatness and authority that bring peace, justice and give prosperity to the people. This also explains that peace, justice, and prosperity, are the keywords that how important the nobility is, in the eyes of the people. Such social relationship is not only patron-clein, yet basically reflects the cultural characteristics of the society that are specific in maintaining

relations between the society and leaders in the social traditions of Ternate.

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**UNIVERSIDAD
DEL ZULIA**

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Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Año 35, N° 89, (2019)

Esta revista fue editada en formato digital por el personal de la Oficina de Publicaciones Científicas de la Facultad Experimental de Ciencias, Universidad del Zulia.

Maracaibo - Venezuela

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