



ABDUL HARIS FATGEHIPON & SATRIONO PRIYO UTOMO

Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah: From the Kingdom of Tidore to the Republic of Indonesia

ABSTRACT: This paper – using the qualitative approach, historical method, and literature review – discusses Zainal Abidin Syah as the first Governor of West Irian and, at the same time, as Sultan of Tidore in North Maluku, Indonesia. The results of this study indicate that the political process of the West Irian struggle will not have an important influence in the Indonesian revolution without the firmness of the Tidore Sultanate, namely Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah. The assertion given by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah in rejecting the results of the KMB (Konferensi Meja Bundar or Round Table Conference) in 1949, because the KMB sought to separate West Irian from Indonesian territory. The appointment of Zainal Abidin Syah as Sultan took place in Denpasar, Bali, in 1946, and his coronation was carried out a year later in January 1947 in Soa Sio, Tidore. Zainal Abidin Syah was as the first Governor of West Irian, which was installed on 23rd September 1956. Ali Sastroamidjojo's Cabinet formed the Province of West Irian, whose capital was located in Soa Sio. The inauguration took place on 17th August 1956, which included the territory of the Province of West Irian which was still occupied by the Netherlands, and the areas of Tidore, Oba, Weda, Patani, and Wasile in North Maluku. Throughout his life, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah served the Republic's interests in order to achieve national unity with a commitment to fight for West Irian to be part of Indonesia.

KEY WORDS: Zainal Abidin Syah; Sultan of Tidore; Governor of West Irian; Political Struggle; Indonesian National Unity.

INTRODUCTION

Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, in a book entitled *30 Tahun Indonesia Merdeka* (30 Years of Indonesian Independence), published by Setneg RI (Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia or State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia), this name was recorded as the First Governor of West Irian,

¹**About the Authors:** Dr. Abdul Haris Fatgehipon is a Lecturer at the Department of PIPS (Social Studies Education), Faculty of Social Science UNJ (State University of Jakarta), K Building, UNJ Campus, Jalan Rawamangun, Jakarta, Indonesia. **Satriono Priyo Utomo, M.Hum.** is a Lecturer at the Department of History Education, Faculty of Social Science UNJ in Jakarta, Indonesia. For academic interests, the Authors are able to be contacted via e-mail address at: pertahanan@yahoo.com and Satrio23@gmail.com

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which was installed on 23rd September 1956. Ali Sastroamidjojo's Cabinet formed the Province of West Irian, whose capital was located in Soa Sio. The inauguration took place on 17th August 1956, which included the territory of the Province of West Irian, which was still occupied by the Netherlands, and the areas of Tidore, Oba, Weda, Patani, and Wasile in North Maluku (*cf* Setneg RI, 1986:101; Idham, 2011; and Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).

The name of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, as the first Governor of West Irian and at the same time as Sultan of Tidore, is still minimally touched by Western and Indonesian scholars in discussing the history of the Indonesian revolution and the political struggle of West Irian. Because some researchers are immersed in big names, like Soekarno, Mohamad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir, and so on. In fact, there was one big issue that made Soekarno and Mohamad Hatta, even the entire spectrum of Indonesian leadership united, namely Indonesia's demand for West Irian, part of the 140,000 square mile Indonesian archipelago, which the Dutch refused to release. This demand was very emotional in nature, partly because the south-eastern region of West Irian, which was a swamp near Merauke, had the Tanah Merah (Boven Digul) colonial prison, the place of exile for a number of Indonesian nationalist leaders, including Mohamad Hatta, during the late colonial government in 1930s (Arsad, 2018; Rusdiyanto, 2018; and Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).

Benedict Anderson (1991 and 1999), and other scholars, revealed that the nationalist exile there made West Irian as the center of the story of anti-colonial struggle and made it a sacred place in the national imagination. In fact, during the struggle for independence of West Irian, it was always seen as an intrinsic part of an independent state, as seen in the slogan: "*Indonesia Merdeka dari Sabang sampai Merauke*" or "Independent Indonesia from Sabang [in Aceh, West] to Merauke [in Papua, East]" (Anderson, 1991 and 1999; Kahin & Kahin, 1997:56; and Upton, 2009).

The political process of West Irian's struggle will not have an important influence in the Indonesian revolution without the firmness of the Tidore Sultanate. That was the inauguration of Sultan of Tidore, Zainal Abidin Syah, as the Governor of West Irian was a clue that must be underlined as part of the contribution of Tidore's struggle to be part of the ideals of Indonesian nationalism. The struggle carried out by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah became very important in overseeing the discussion about West Irian from the revolutionary period until the formation of a province into a part of Indonesia (Abas, 1987; Hasyim & Yusup, 2016; Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).

The long process of fighting for West Irian and the struggle for

Indonesian independence would be fragile, if it ruled out records of the relationship between Tidore and West Irian with the arrival of Western nations until the Dutch colonialism took place. As well as the firm stance given by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah in rejecting the results of the KMB (*Konferensi Meja Bundar* or Round Table Conference) in 1949. Because the conference sought to separate West Irian from Indonesian territory (Ricklefs, 2001; Upton, 2009; and Widjojo, 2013).

According to former Dutch Foreign Ministry official, Herman Burgers (2019), the Netherlands wants that there will always be an opportunity to separate Nieuw Guinea from Indonesia. Because the Dutch always treated the region as part of the Dutch East Indies. In the division of government in the colonies, New Guinea was recently part of the Resident of Maluku with the capital city of Ambon. Before the Second World War (1939-1945), the Dutch did not care much about this area, even though it was used as a dumping ground for political dissidents. Only during the war did more attention arise, when the South with Merauke, a city on the coast of the sea, as the capital was the only part of Indonesia that was not occupied by Japan and when American forces seized the North and established a military base there. In 1946, Nieuw Guinea became a separate resident with Hollandia as the capital, but in the area of government of *Grote Oost* or *Timur Besar* (Great East), which was changed to the State of East Indonesia; after all, the greater part was still subject to a Moluccan King, Sultan of Tidore (*cf* Wibowo, 2005; Hasyim & Mansur, 2015; and Burgers, 2019:452).

Koentjaraningrat *et al.* (1994), and other scholars, noted that the term of “Nieuw Guinea”, that was used by the Dutch, was originally used by a Spanish sailor, Yngio Ortiz de Retes, who in 1545 had visited the coast of Irian Jaya, and named the island of *Nueva Guinea*. The skin of the inhabitants of Irian reminded him of the residents of the Guinea Coast on the African continent. Since that time, the designation or its variation, *Nova Guinea*, was listed on 16th century maps. In Dutch maps, the term is used *Nieuw Guinea* (Koentjaraningrat *et al.*, 1994:4; Upton, 2009; and Jouwe, 2013).

Another term for “Irian” is “Papua”. In her study, Rosmaida Sinaga (2013), explained that there were two contradictory opinions about the origin of the word of *Papua*. According to George Windsor Earl (1845), the word of *Papua* comes from the Malay language, from the word of *pua-pua* which means “curly hair”. Another opinion was expressed by Jan Pijnappel (1853), who stated that the word of *Papua* came from the Indonesian language: *Alfura* (Nieuw Guinea). This opinion is in line with K. Muller (1996) and the Marsden’s Dictionary as derived by F.C. Kamma (1948) and J.H.F. Sollewijn Gelpke (1993), which states that the word of

Papua comes from the Biak language in the word of *sub I babwa*. The word changed in the Biak dialect in Raja Ampat to be *sub I papaw* which means “the land or land below”, i.e. the land located in the setting sun (Earl, 1845; Pijnappel, 1853; Gelpke, 1993; Muller, 1996; Vetter, 2006; Ballard, 2008; Kraus & Allison, 2009; and Sinaga, 2013:2).

The name was originally used by the Biak people in the Raja Ampat Islands to name “the land or islands to the west, where the sun sets”. Gradually, the term changed from *Papua* to name *Nieuw Guinea* and its inhabitants. The name of *Papua* was first published in the document of Antonio Pigafetta (2008), an Italian sailor, in which he followed Ferdinand Magellan of Portuguese on a journey around the world and around the Maluku Sea in 1512 (Nowell, 1962; Pigafetta, 2008; and Sinaga, 2013).

According to Decki Natalis B.I.K. Pigay (2001), and other scholars, *Papua*'s name was known to Antonio Pigafetta (2008), when he stopped at Tidore Island, which according to Tidore language, *Papo ua*, meaning not joining or not united (Nowell, 1962; Pigay, 2001:94; and Pigafetta, 2008). For Muridan Widjojo (2013), and other scholars, *Papua* is a generative, generalized term given by the Dutch viz *Papuase Zeerovers* (the Papua Pirates). The term of *Papuans* in the 17th and 18th centuries, as Gerrit J. Knaap (1987) observed, not only refers to *Papuans* from Raja Ampat, but is also given to Tidore subjects on the south-eastern part of Halmahera Island – Gamrange, and the Bird's Head Peninsula on the mainland *Papua* (Knaap, 1987; Widjojo, 2013:153; and Giay, 2018).

Regarding the origin of the name of “Irian”, in the language of Biak Numfor, “Iri” means land, and “An” means heat. In subsequent developments, there is a common understanding in several places, such as Serui and Merauke. In Serui language, “Iri” means land, and “An” means the nation, so it means “pillar of the nation” or “homeland”. While in the Merauke language, “Envy” means being placed or raised high, and “An” means nation, so “Irian” means “nation that is elevated high”. The name of “Irian” was offered to all members of the Tribal Council, which was later socialized by Frans Kaisepo at the Malino Conference in South Sulawesi, in 1946. Furthermore, the name of IRIAN was politicized into “*Ikut Republik Indonesia Anti Netherland*” or “Join the Republic of Indonesia, and Anti-Netherlands” (Osborne, 1985; Harple, 2000; and Pigay, 2001:97).

The names mentioned above almost all show political meaning, whether it's a name based on its discoverer or regional identity. Explanation of the names, at the same time, provides an illustration that West Irian is connected with various political influences, especially in the surrounding political power, namely Maluku – in this case the Sultanate of Tidore; and European nations, such as the Netherlands who also recognized their

influence in West Irian. Hence, differences of opinion – or can be called a “conflict” – between the Sultanate of Tidore with the Dutch over West Irian, long before the proclamation of Indonesian independence in 17th August 1945. So that during the Indonesian revolution (1945-1950), this difference of views reached its boiling point, because it was wrapped in the frame of Indonesia’s “nationalism” (Reid, 1974; Ricklefs, 2001; and Kahin, 2013).

In the 16th century, for example, the Maluku Sultans had invested in the western region of Irian Island, known as the Raja Ampat Islands, namely the islands of Waigeo, Salawati, Misool, and Waigama. Raja Waigama and Raja Misool under the influence of Sultan of Bacan. Waigeo Island and Salawati Island became the object of contention between the Sultan of Ternate and Sultan of Tidore. Competition between the two empires had an impact on efforts to expand the domains of the two empires. The Sultan of Ternate expanded his authority to Sulawesi and the islands west of Halmahera. Tidore expanded his authority to East Seram, Western Irian, and all the islands between Irian and Halmahera (Wanggai, 2008; Widjojo, 2013; and Ichsan, 2017).

Relations between Tidore and the Raja Ampat Islands have intensified since the VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Association of Dutch East-India Company) strengthened its position on Tidore through various Agreements in 1660 and 1667. The 1660 Agreement governed trade monopoly rights and Tidore rights over the population and territory of Irian and all the surrounding islands. This agreement was, then, set forth in a contract in 1667. The VOC began to place all Irianese people under Tidore’s authority without the need to pay any fees. The recognition made other European countries unable to enter West Irian and set up bases to compete in the spice trade. At that time, the Dutch felt it was sufficient to exert their influence over West Irian through Sultan of Tidore, because the West Irian region was considered not to provide commercial benefits for the Dutch (Ricklefs, 2001; Rizzo, 2004; Sinaga, 2013:3; Widjojo, 2013; and Hägerdal & Wellfelt, 2019).

The affirmation of the Tidore Sultanate’s influence in West Irian was carried out during the time of Sultan Saifuddin, who sought to gain legal and practical legitimacy. On 13th March 1667, Admiral Speelman, one of the VOC top brass in Batavia (Jakarta now), visited Ternate. Sultan Saifuddin and Mandar Syah also welcomed him. Two days later, there was a bilateral meeting between Admiral Speelman and Sultan Saifuddin and his bobbies at the Oranje Fortress in Ternate. Sultan Saifuddin included the problem of the Raja Ampat islands and mainland Irian as one of the negotiating agendas, in addition to the clove monopoly problem that had long been demanded by the VOC. In these negotiations, Sultan Saifuddin succeeded

in “exchanging” monopoly rights over cloves by VOC recognition of the rights of the Tidore Kingdom to the Raja Ampat islands and mainland Irian (Amal, 2010:177; Gunn, 2011; and Widjojo, 2013).

According to Koentjaraningrat & Harsja W. Bachtiar (1963), and other scholars, then in the effort to determine the boundaries of the Dutch colony in the Indonesian archipelago, the Dutch government, among others, used the boundaries of Tidore’s territory as a measure. At first, the Dutch government recognized the boundaries of the Tidore Sultanate in Irian, so that the work of safeguarding the sea around Irian – that is the release from pirates was borne by the Sultan of Tidore. With Dutch recognition, Sultan of Tidore accepted the obligation to maintain the Dutch monopoly on the purchase of spices in the Irian region, which was declared to be the Tidore area (Koentjaraningrat & Bachtiar, 1963; Koentjaraningrat *et al.*, 1994:49; Lumintang, 2009; and Viartasiwi, 2018).

Since the VOC agreement with the Sultanate of Tidore on 28th March 1667, Tidore exercised her autonomy authority there until 1909, when the Dutch imposed a Short Treaty (*Korte Verklaring*); and under this agreement, the direct government of Irian was run by the Dutch government, replacing the Sultanate of Tidore (Andaya, 1991; Amal, 2010:456; and Handoko & Mansyur, 2018).

The existence of the Dutch in West Irian was confirmed through the construction of government posts – where previously the Dutch Parliament approved a budget expenditure of F (Dutch Gulden) 115,000 to establish a government in West Irian. But, the opening of these new posts did not mean that West Irian was culturally and politically detached from the Sultanate of Tidore, because at that time the Dutch government was having difficulty developing the people of Irian. Attention to the people was more directed by the Zending of Protestant Christian and Missi of Catholics Christian, whose main program indeed attracted the sympathy of the people of Irian through the spread of the Gospel. This was proven by H. Colijn (1928), and other scholars, when the Dutch had a desire to liberate Irian culturally from the Sultanate of Tidore in 1904, but that was not done because the people of Irian could be built if they were approached with a cultural approach (Colijn, 1928; Pouwer, 1999; Pigay, 2001; Rizzo, 2004; and Viartasiwi, 2018).

Another failure of the Dutch government was the encouragement of pessimistic feelings among Dutch officials, who thought that the area was too broad or because of their primitive tribes, even the Fak-Fak controllers assumed that the characteristics of the area with Islamic culture were very different from other regions. This view encouraged the Dutch government not to build Irian for almost half a century, after the

first post opened in 1898. This view was expressed by Kol A. Haga (1885), a Moluccan who was assigned by the Dutch government, when told to make his report in 1935 (Haga, 1885; Pigay, 2001:121; Rizzo, 2004; May ed., 2005; and Widjojo, 2013).

Then, during the Indonesian revolution, namely the end of 1946, the Netherlands had shown the view that West Irian should be given a special relationship with the Netherlands and considered the possibility of making West Irian a territory for Dutch settlers. The last idea had actually been around a long time; even some small-scale colonization efforts in West Irian have started since 1929/1930. However, the results were arguably disappointing, and the idea of colonization of West Irian was abandoned until finally the revival of the Dutch East Indies threat came to an end (Reid, 1974; Pigay, 2001; Ricklefs, 2001; Elson, 2009:217; and Kahin, 2013).

After the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was read in 17th August 1945, several discussions related to Indonesian sovereignty, and in particular the West Irian issue, were sticking to an international stage that sounded as a conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands. In his writings, Mohamad Hatta (1961) explained that Indonesia's claim to West Irian was a continuation of the struggle against colonialism, the struggle to complete its national independence. In this effort to achieve the highest ideals, there is no place for compromise, as history shows in all periods. In the accompanying journey, armed conflict is difficult to avoid. Any such weapons clash, however small, could trigger a new world war with all the consequences that are dangerous to humanity. Indonesia's claim to West Irian is supported by public opinion in much of Asia and Africa, which has a similar problem (*cf* Hatta, 1961:14; Reid, 1974; Ricklefs, 2001; Elson, 2009; and Kahin, 2013).

Indonesia argues that Irian is ethnically and economically linked to the Moluccan people nearby and that it has always been included in the Dutch East Indies, since the days of the Majapahit Empire in East Java, in the 14th to 16th centuries. The Dutch plebiscite proposal was regarded with suspicion, given the previous Dutch attempt to thwart the Indonesian independence movement through the creation of a federal territory, as if autonomous, but in fact largely manipulated by the Dutch. But, the clearest argument is the certainty that Indonesia will continue to consider their revolution incomplete unless Irian is transferred to their sovereignty (Finkelstein, 1951; Kjar, 2002; and Halmin, 2006).

The fact that Indonesians almost unanimously believe that Irian is their right, and the implications of this belief for future Indonesian-Dutch relations, no matter how valid, is far more significant than all legal, moral,

and pseudo-scientific arguments. The Netherlands, on the other hand, pointed to ethnic, geographical, and economic differences between Irian and other parts of Indonesia, which noted that Irian had actually been distinguished from other parts of the country in the KMB (*Konferensi Meja Bundar* or Round Table Conference) in 1949, and argued that they had the means to contribute to the development of Irian. Each party claims to be a permanent ruler and that the people of Irian want it (Finkelstein, 1951:78; Halmin, 2006; and Kahin, 2013).

Justus M. van der Kroef (1954), and other scholars, wrote that in order to understand the implications of the Irian problem, it was first necessary to return to the turbulent years, to the upheaval of the Indonesian Revolution (1945-1950) against the Dutch colonial government, shortly after the end of the Second World War (1939-1945). The Dutch policy during the Indonesian Revolution was another objective committed to the formation of a federal Indonesian state, which initially consisted of three and then sixteen component states, including the Republic of Indonesia domiciled in Java. While carrying out military aggression, the Netherlands, during the revolutionary years, also continued the formation of other countries in the Indonesian archipelago, which were part of the Republic of Indonesia's ultimatum (Kroef, 1954; Reid, 1974; and Kahin, 2013).

The first component of the Indonesian state created under Dutch support was the NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* or State of East Indonesia), consisting of Sulawesi, Maluku, and Lesser Sunda islands, such as Bali, Lombok, Sumba, and others (now called the *Nusa Tenggara* islands). This country is basically a continuation of the pre-war territory of *Grote Oost* (Great East). Much of the foundation for the new state of NIT was laid at a conference in the city of Denpasar, Bali, nearing the close of 1946, presenting East Indonesian political figures, as well as then Dutch Lieutenant Governor H.J. van Mook. In the draft regulation describing the future territories of the state of East Indonesia, West Irian is excluded, not because its status is questioned, but its future position in the whole of Indonesia. However, the isolation of West Irian seems to have caused considerable disquiet among Indonesian participants from the Denpasar Conference (Kroef, 1954:211; Reid, 1974; Cheong, 1982; Lindsay & Liem eds., 2011; and Kahin, 2013).

The Denpasar Conference in Bali took place after the Linggarjati Agreement in West Java, on 15th November 1946. Here, H.J. van Mook tried to break through the spirit and soul of the Linggarjati Agreement (Reid, 1974; Cheong, 1982; Ricklefs, 2001; Kahin, 2013; Suwirta, 2016). Conference participants from Eastern Indonesia and pro-Republicans came to support the Linggarjati Agreement, which emphasized that:

[...] the Dutch government de facto recognized the authority of the Republic of Indonesia in Java, Madura, and Sumatra. While the area occupied by the Alliance or the Dutch Army in stages and working together between the two parties will be included in the territory of the Republic (cited in Albert, 2018).

The Denpasar Conference in Bali was attended by delegates determined by H.J. van Mook consisting of 15 delegates from minorities (Chinese and other Easterners), so there were 71 participants. North Maluku was represented by Iskandar Djabir Syah (Sultan of Ternate) and Zainal Abidin Syah (Sultan of Tidore). In the previous Malino Conference, in South Sulawesi, the talks were still general in nature and involved political, economic, social, and cultural issues of Indonesia in general. While at the Denpasar Conference in Bali, the discussion centered on a core issue, namely the formation of a governance structure in the Eastern Indonesia region, where discussion materials had been prepared by the Commissariat-General for Kalimantan and the Greater East (Cheong, 1982; Kahin, 2013; and Hasyim, 2016:148).

At this conference came a critical opinion from Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah about H.J. van Mook's intention to separate West Irian from Indonesia on the grounds that it would be discussed after the establishment of the NIT. In the Denpasar Conference, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah insisted that West Irian was an inseparable part of the Sultanate of Tidore. Therefore, the Tidore autonomous region chooses full authority over West Irian, and if discussions are held regarding the settlement of the West Irian dispute, the rights of the Tidore Sultanate must be recognized. The opinion of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah was also supported by E. Katoppo from Minahasa, who stated that the West Irian region was part of the Dutch East Indies for a long time, so that the Indonesian state as a unit included the entire Dutch East Indies. Thus, the territory of West Irian must be included in the territory of the United States of Indonesia as part of the State of East Indonesia (Cheong, 1982; Kahin, 2013; and Hasyim, 2016:149).

The statement of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah in the Denpasar Conference was a warning sign for the Dutch, who were still trying to maintain their colonialism on land, which in their terms was "Dutch East-Indies". In subsequent phases, where the West Irian problem became an international conversation through the United Nations forum, West Irian remained an important political agenda for Indonesia as a political praxis for the ideals of Indonesian independence. The struggle carried out by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah during the Indonesian revolution (1945-1950), must be seen as a form of real contribution in a process of "Indonesianism". Given the situation, in which Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah as a Sultan of a large kingdom,

was faced with a revolutionary turmoil from the process of establishing the nation-state of Indonesia and the dominance of Dutch power. The commitment and struggle carried out by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah is very important, especially to explain the understanding of Indonesia as a process of nation-state, sovereignty, and Indonesian independence (Abas, 1987; Hasyim, 2016; and Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).

A number of explanations, that have been described above, are what encourage this paper to be present to answer several questions, namely: How is the history of the Kingdom of Tidore and West Irian before the Indonesian revolution? What is the role of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah in Indonesia's political history? Lastly, what is the process of West Irian integration?

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is based on an historical research, with historical method and the first step to collect sources. Written sources, photographs, and oral interviews were obtained from the heirs or family of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, like his son, Mahmud Raimandoya. Other written sources in the form of archives were obtained through the Tidore Sultanate in North Maluku and the ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta (Kartodirdjo, 1992; Kuntowijoyo, 1995; and Sjamsuddin, 2016).

Contemporary newspapers and magazines obtained from the PERPUSNAS RI (*Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Library of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta. The next sources are books and previous research. The next step is verification, interpretation, and historiography. The writing in this research is narrative-descriptive, in order to be able to explain about Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah as a whole (Howell & Prevenier, 2001; Zed, 2008; and Sjamsuddin, 2016).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Overview of Tidore and West Irian: Sultan of Tidore's Power. The Tidore Sultanate has a long history, although the sources of the Tidore Sultanate are still very limited. In this paper, the explanation given to the history of the Sultanate of Tidore is only in the political dimensions; and emphasizes certain periods only in the period of some leadership of the Sultanate of Tidore. Based on previous studies of the history of the Sultanate of Tidore, this paper emphasizes aspects of the contestation of power – especially those related to shipping and commerce (Widjojo, 2013; Hägerdal, 2016; and Viartasiwi, 2018).

Talking about Tidore certainly cannot be released into the Maluku

Islands. According to Tome Pires, the Maluku Islands producing clove consists of five islands. The main island is Ternate, followed by Tidore, Moti (*Motes*), Makian (*Maqujem*), and Bacan (*Pacham*). The belief of Muhammedanism (Islam) in the Maluku Islands began 50 years ago, since Tome Pires wrote his notes. The Kings of the Maluku Islands were followers of Muhammedanism, although they were not very involved in his sect. The population of these islands has dark skin and smooth hair and interconnected blood (*cf Stark & Latinis, 1996; Cortesao, 2015:295; and Pora, Kuswanjono & Hadi, 2020*).

Leonard Y. Andaya (1993 and 2015), and other scholars, divided *Dunia Maluku* (Maluku World) into two parts called “centers” and “edges”. As a result of the rapid development of the clove trade in the late 15th and 16th centuries, Ternate and Tidore became recognized as the “center” of Maluku. Other communities, bounded by Banggai-Buton (Butung) in the West, Irian in the East, Loloda in the North, and Bacan in the South were identified by the creation myth of *Bikusagara* as ownership of the Moluccan family and becoming a “periphery”. The relationship between the “center” and the “periphery” is formed in a family relationship to protect the myth. The Maluku “family” consists of “fathers and mothers” represented by Ternate and Tidore, and their children on the periphery. Conflict between the center and the periphery is, therefore, explained as family strife and peace (Andaya, 1993 and 2015:95; Kadir, 2017; and Pora, Kuswanjono & Hadi, 2020).

The dualism between Ternate and Tidore remained the main picture at the center: Ternate expanded its territory north and west, Tidore south and east. This myth, thus, provides legitimacy for the creation of a central region and also a blueprint for its expansion into the periphery. This means that the dominance of the Maluku Islands is only Ternate and Tidore, who have important positions in political, economic, or military situations. Both are brought together in the same political view, that is expansionism. Although the two kingdoms are competing fiercely, there has never been an open and frontal war (Andaya, 1991, 1993 and 2015; Widjojo, 2013; and Amin, 2017).

It is uncertain when the Kingdom of Tidore was founded. François Valentijn (1856-1858), and other scholars, noted that the Kingdom of Tidore was originally located in the mountains of Stone China, south of Dodinga. However, it is uncertain when the center of the kingdom was moved to the present island of Tidore and who was the first king. Data about the early Tidore Kings, in historical literature, recorded by F.S.A. de Clerq (1890), in the form of a brief chronicle that can be predicted that when *Kolano* of Ternate was first installed in 1257, the Kingdom of

Tidore did not yet exist. Between 1277 and 1332, there were six *Kolanos*, who were enthroned at Tidore, namely: Muangi Foam, Bubu, Bali Banga, Madoya Books, Kie Matiti, and Selle (Valentijn, 1856-1858; de Clerq, 1890; Ptak, 1992; Amal, 2010; Widjojo, 2013; and Swadling, 2019).

Experts note that the Kingdom of Tidore began to exist in 1274, seventeen years after Mashur Malamo was enthroned in Ternate. Furthermore, François Valentijn (1856-1858) noted two *Kolanos*, who were enthroned at Tidore in the first half of the 14th century: firstly was Nuruddin, who came to power in 1334; and secondly was Hasan Syah, who ruled in 1373. Both of these *Kolanos* had not used the title of “Sultan”, although it was certain that the religion of Islam has entered into the Tidore Kingdom. The title of the new “Sultan” was carried by Caliat, who was in power from 1495 to 1512. Between *Kolano* Hasan Syah and Sultan Jamaluddin, or Caliat, there was a broken chain of rulers, because there was no historical record of who was in power at Tidore at this time (Valentijn, 1856-1858; Amal, 2010:160; Widjojo, 2013; and Swadling, 2019).

Tidore often involved in fierce competition with Ternate. Competition takes place in the economic field, and especially in politics, in the context of fighting over Maluku hegemony. Therefore, each empire, when the arrival of Western nations, always fighting for influence in order to get partners or allies. Such as the partnership between Tidore and Spain that lasted a century and a half (1521-1663). But Tidore and Ternate as producers of spices and trade progress, and the strength of Islam, are rooted in the area, making Tidore and Ternate famous as the main center of the world of Maluku (Lundry, 2009; Amal, 2010; and Widjojo, 2013).

The first Europeans to force radical change in Maluku during the 16th century were Portuguese and Spanish. After the conquest of Malacca in 1511, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three small ships under the command of Captain Antonio de Abreu and Deputy Commander Francisco Serrao to the spice islands in Eastern Indonesia. This fleet left Malacca between November 1511 to January 1512, and sailed east to Buru Island, Ambon, and Seram. After visiting Banda, the Francisco Serrao’ ship loaded with cloves, nutmeg, and mace was hit by bad weather and then sank. Only the commander and six or seven of his crew survived and were brought to Ambon by local fishermen. Kaicil Vaidua, the brother of the Sultan of Ternate, Abu Lais, visited Francisco Serrao and told him that the Sultan invited him to come to Ternate. In a subsequent letter, Sultan Abu Lais (reigned 1500-1523) entrusted “*his land and all that was in it*” to the Portuguese King, Dom Manuel. Nine years later, in 1521, unwilling to be defeated, Sultan Mansyur of Tidore also welcomed the remaining Spanish ships from the Magellan expedition around the World. Unfortunately for

Tidore, the Spaniards left Maluku in 1565, after deciding to devote all their resources to building their colony in Luzon, the Philippines. As a result, Ternate enjoyed the most favorable political developments at the time (Ricklefs, 2001; Widjojo, 2013:14; and Ramerini, 2018a).

There is no detailed contemporary description of the structure of the Sultanate of Tidore. But, some information can be gathered which makes us assume that its structure is relatively similar to that of its neighbor, Ternate. The concept of leadership in North Maluku is known by the term of *Bobato* — which in general terms distinguishes leaders or heads in North Maluku from the “Sultan” as the highest authority includes *Sangaji*, *Kolano*, *Jogugu*, and others. Besides having an important role in politics, *Bobato* also has a religious role that prevails in Muslim circles. Government in the most remote areas is the responsibility of local authorities. In North and East Halmahera, for example, those who act as representatives of the Sultan are called *Sangaji*. *Sangajis*, these who usually live in the main country (*Soasio*), are in charge of government at the district level. They wore special clothes to show their status as representatives of the Sultan’s power. *Sangaji* in northern Halmahera, which was under Ternate’s rule, it was usually chosen from among the aristocracy, whereas *Sangaji* of East Halmahera, which was under Tidore’s rule, did not come from a noble family (Andaya, 1993; Widjojo, 2013; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

In the palace of Tidore, they are (*Bobatos*) teaching Malay and writing *Jawi* (Arabic script in Malay language). District level letters and *Negeri* usually written by him. *Kalim* or *Kadi*, the cadre occupied the highest level among the religious leaders under the Sultan. *Kalim* is a title and position devoted to a member of the aristocratic family, who is a close relative of the throne of the Sultan. He is usually called *Kalim Mangofa*. Sultan Nuku’s half-brother, Prince Mohammad Thaher, for example – who was ordained as Sultan of Tidore (1810-1821) – was previously a *Kalim Mangofa* (Widjojo, 2013:77; Rusdiyanto, 2018; and Syarifudin, 2018). Table 1 is a list of the Sultans in Tidore.

In Tidore, the Spaniards forced obedience from the people by keeping an important member of the royal family in “protective prisoners” at the fort. They are so sure of that presence *Mubalig* (Ulama) of Islam in Tidore may only mean that they are (*Mubaligs*) planning to overthrow Christianity. Sultan Saifuddin finally decided to approach the Netherlands to ask for help in removing Spain from his kingdom (Tidore). The request came at a time, when Sultan Saifuddin needed help facing a challenge from two important officials of his administration. Sultan Saifuddin openly revealed the Spanish plan, which involved *Jojau* or *Jogugu*. *Jojau*, it is said to have been offered 2,000 reals by Spain to overthrow Sultan

Saifuddin. In the end, precisely *Jojau* which was overthrown and forced 150 followers to seek refuge in the Spanish fort at Mareku (Andaya, 2015; Ramerini, 2018b; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

In action against *Jojau* and other internal disturbances, Sultan Saifuddin followed similar policies from the policies of Ternate so powerful over *Bobato*. Once all challenges to his position were removed early in his reign, he adopted a policy of more reconciliation in subsequent years with far less disruption to traditional institutions than happened in Ternate (Widjojo, 2013; Andaya, 2015:233; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

Tidore and West Irian Intersection. Five years before Spain decided to leave Tidore, Sultan Saifuddin of Tidore had already begun to make friends with the Dutch Governor in Ternate, Simon Cos. Ten years later, on 28th March 1667, an agreement was reached between the Tidore Sultanate and the VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Association of Dutch East-India Company), which contained, firstly, the VOC recognized the rights and sovereignty of the Tidore Sultanate over the Raja Ampat Islands and mainland Irian; and, secondly, the Tidore Sultanate granted monopoly rights to the spices trade in its territory to the Company (Amal, 2010:177; Arsad, 2018; and Ramerini, 2018b).

In addition, the appointment of a new ruler must be approved by the VOC; and a VOC employee joins as a member of the Tidore government council. In return, Sultan of Tidore received a recognition payment of 3,000 Reals annually. Since then, in relation to controlling clove production and local politics, the VOC has a “legal” basis for dealing with the Sultan in the best interests of the VOC. On paper, the least amount of clove production in all areas under the control of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan can be fully regulated. The rest is to control and force these three Kingdoms to obey the contract (Andaya, 1991; Widjojo, 2013:35; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

But, in the course of this agreement, VOC traders were unable to communicate and adapt to the Irianese. For example, in 1673, Gerrit Adriaensz, a *Bugher* from Banda, was expelled when he was about to trade in the Raja Ampat Islands by certain Tidoreans, who were supported by Raja Salawati of Irian. Then, in 1673, the looters from Misool went on an expedition to attack Onin. Then, a joint fleet of Maba, Weda, Patani, and Misool led *Kaicili* Boelam of Tidore plundered the coast of Onin and Kei in 1699. This incident forced a Dutch Commission consisting of Pieter Rooselaar and Thomas Laps to come to Tidore 1697 and pressured Sultan of Tidore to stop looting and robbery attacks carried out by his subordinates (Andaya, 1993; Widjojo, 2013:60; and Giay, 2018).

In 1705, the Netherlands completed its expedition to Raja Ampat and got the first detailed description of the Papua Islands. Papuans are called

Table 1:
List of the Sultans in Tidore

Year Reigned	Information about the Name of the Sultan
1495-1512	Tjaliati, the first Sultan of Tidore. He was in Islam by an Arab Syech Mansur and was given the name Jamaluddin.
1512-1526	Almansur.
1526-1529	There was no Sultan election.
1529-1547	Amiruddin Iskandar Zulkarnain.
1547-1569	Kie Mansur.
1569-1586	Iskandar Sani.
1586-1599	Gapi Maguna.
1599-1626	Mole Majemu.
1626-1633	Ngara Malamo.
1633-1653	Kaicil Gorontalo.
1653-1657	Magiau.
1657-1659	Saifuddin.
1659-1700	Hamzah Fahrudin.
1700-1708	Abdul Falahal Mansur.
1708-1728	Hasanuddin.
1728-1756	Amir Bifadliljadid.
1756-1780	Jamaluddin.
1780-1784	Patra Alam.
1805-1810	Muhammad Zainal Abidin.
1810-1821	Muhammad Tahir. During British rule, Viceroy Kaicil Muhammad Jamaluddin ruled over the Maba, Weda, and Patani districts in East Halmahera.
1821-1857	Ahmadul Mansur.
1857-1865	Ahmad Safiuddin.
1865-1867	Johar Alam alias Ahmad Fatihuddin.
1867-.....	Ahmad Qawiyuddin. After Ahmad Qawiyuddin, the Dutch government no longer appointed the Sultan, and Tidore was controlled by Jogugu.
1946-1956	Zainal Abidin Syah.

Source: M. Adnan Amal (2010:468-469).

“medium”, black, with long curly hair. Both men and women are usually naked, except for their pubic covering. According to the Dutch, they were simple and innocent, but cruel to greedy and murderous. No one can sail safely in these waters if not accompanied by Tidore’s people. This Dutch observer in the 18th century was the first European nation to explain in detail about the population of Gamrange and the Papuan Islands. While they understood that the Papuan Islands and Gamrange recognized Tidore’s leadership (Andaya, 2015:127; Widjojo, 2013; and Slama, 2015).

Gamrange, consisting of Maba, Patani, and Weda in Southeast Halmahera, as the Raja Ampat Islands in Papua, are the most important areas on the outskirts of Tidore. Sultan of Tidore's relationship with Gamrange and the Papuans in the form of the distribution of clothing and official titles to various regions visited by Sultan of Tidore. This is explained in contemporary European sources, and seems to be so attractive to Papuan leaders. An explanation of this phenomenon was proposed by F.C. Kamma (1948), who described the Papuan people's desire to absorb spiritual power from any object related to the ruler of Tidore (Kamma, 1948; Andaya, 1991 and 2015; and Widjojo, 2013).

In the 18th century, during the periodic collection of tributes to the Papua Islands, no representative of the Tidore Palace could abandon the custom of sending letters (in physical form) from the Tidore authorities to the Papuan rulers. The document itself is believed to be as effective as the words written in it, and which is an important aspect of the celebration is physical contact with letters to get where (the supernatural power) from Sultan of Tidore. The emissary of Sultan of Tidore was also considered a "container" for the presence of a sacred kingdom (Kamma, 1948; Andaya, 2015:131; and Widjojo, 2013).

Speaking of the Papua region, the Dutch report in the early 18th century made a clear distinction between coastal residents, many of whom were descendants of Tidore or East Seram, who were Muslims, and Papuan inland groups who maintained their belief in their own gods. However, there are local Papuans who embrace Islam as part of the total acceptance of the world of their rulers, namely the world of Tidore Sultanate. The chieftains there were given the main titles of the King, *Kolano*, *Jojau*, and Sea Captains or their local variations – which in turn appointed subordinates in their communities to receive foreign titles, such as *Sangaji*, *Gimalaha*, and *Sowohi*. This title is believed to be imbued with the holy power of the Ruler of Tidore, who can protect those who bear it. The importance of this title is also demonstrated by the prevailing view among Papuans that the main purpose of the mission to send tribute to Tidore is to get a degree (Kamma, 1948; Hanna & Alwi, 1990; Upton, 2009; Andaya, 2015:132; and Widjojo, 2013).

In addition to being a source of titles, clothing, and new religion for Papuans, Tidore is a major provider of foreign goods. Because the Papuan people associate these items with the ruler of Tidore, believing that ownership of the items infused with spiritual power can guarantee material wealth, health, and happiness. Coastal heirs to the network with Tidore. By gaining access to Tidore's iron tools, weapons, and cloth, goods of high value to community groups in the interior of Papua, the coastal authorities can exert a large influence on the inhabitants of rural Papua

(Andaya, 1991 and 2015; Widjojo, 2013; and Handoko & Mansyur, 2018).

At Tidore, a new treaty between Sultan Patra Alam and Governor Cornabe was signed at Fort Oranje, on 17th July 1780. On this occasion, the VOC formally changed its overall relationship with the Sultanate of Tidore. The previous treaties were unilaterally declared by the Dutch to be no longer valid. Now, let us summarize the contents of the initial treaty: Sultan Saifuddin (reigned 1657-1689) had decided not to deal with the Spaniards anymore and instead sought to form an alliance with the Dutch in 1667. A treaty was made between the VOC and the Tidore Sultanate, where the VOC got a “protective” status. Now, 113 years later, the VOC claims that, due to evil deeds and disloyalty of Sultan Jamaluddin and his elites, the VOC was forced to end the formal status of “mutual relations” between Tidore and the VOC, who claimed to have complied with the provisions of the 1667 contract. In Treaty of 1780, the Sultanate of Tidore is no longer described as *Bondgenoot* or “Ally” of VOC, but as “Vassal”. This forced status downgraded Tidore’s status, so that it was the same as the status of the Sultanate of Ternate, which had been reduced to a vassal since 1683 (Hanna & Alwi, 1990; Widjojo, 2013:83; and Andaya, 2015).

In 1780, Nuku proclaimed himself as the Sultan of Tidore and declared his empire as an independent state and independent of the authority of the Dutch company. The Sultanate of Tidore in question covers the whole Tidore region, including Makian and Kayoa, in addition to Central and East Halmahera, the islands of Raja Ampat and mainland Papua, all of East Seram, Keffing Islands, Geser, Sea Seram, Garang Islands, Watubela, and Tor. After struggling for several years, Sultan Nuku gained a resounding victory. He succeeded in freeing his empire from Dutch rule and regained its prestige (Amal, 2010:186; Widjojo, 2013; and Andaya, 2015).

Furthermore, Rosmaida Sinaga (2013), and other scholars, said that when the British were present in Maluku in 1801, Sultan Nuku returned to the British side. Together with 5,000 of his followers, Sultan Nuku succeeded when he launched an attack on Ternate. In 1802, a peace was held between Britain and the Netherlands, which recognized the return of the Moluccas to the Bataaf Republic, but, in 1810, the Moluccas fell into British hands. At that time, the British Governor, Forbes, made an agreement governing the territories of Tidore and Ternate. Tidore controls the areas of Manseray, Karandifur, Amberpur, and Amberpoon in Nieuw Guinea. The 1810 contract has an international meaning, which concerns the rights that the Netherlands can apply to the territory. In the London Treaty of 1824, Britain recognized the Dutch trade monopoly in Maluku and the New Guinea region of Guinea, which belongs to the Tidore region, but the scope of power in New Guinea was not specified.

All Dutch exploration trips in Nieuw Guinea took place with suspicion. Although the Dutch implemented a policy of non-intervention in the area, they were not willing if other nations settled there (Sinaga, 2013:40-41; Widjojo, 2013; and Setiawan & Kumalasari, 2018).

Then, the Dutch built the first fort in West Irian, which was founded in 1828, *Fort du Bus*, in Lobo Bay. On 24th August 1828, it was proclaimed with a ceremony by the Dutch that it had been taken by the Dutch empire, stating as follows:

West Nieuw Guinea van den 141 sten grad O.L. op de zuidkust, van daar west, noordwest, en noordwaarts van den Sultan van Tidore (cited in Katopo, 1955:28).

Translation:

West Irian from 141 degrees East Longitude on the south coast, from there to the west, northwest and north, to Tanjung Jamurseba on the north coast, except for the rights of the Sultan of Tidore.

According to Koentjaraningrat & Harsja W. Bachtiar (1963), and other scholars, although the West Irian region was already considered by the Dutch colonial government as part of its colony in the Archipelago, the government power was only truly realized in West Irian at the end of the 19th century. When in 1898, the Dutch Parliament approved a budget of F (Dutch Gulden) 115,000 to “establish a government in the Dutch region”, so that it could be stated that West Irian was truly part of the Dutch colony in Indonesia. The Dutch government divided the West Irian region into two parts, each controlled by a Dutch Controller. The north is named *Afdeeling Noord Nieuw Guinea*; and the west and south are named *Afdeeling West- en Zuid Nieuw Guinea*. The two regions are sub-sections of the Maluku Residency (Koentjaraningrat & Bachtiar, 1963; Vandenbosch, 1976; Koentjaraningrat *et al.*, 1994:53; Sinaga, 2013; and Viartasiwi, 2018).

Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah and Politics of West Irian Struggle: Zainal Abidin Becomes Sultan. Zainal Abidin, or better known in various historical records by the name of Zainal Abidin Alting, was born in Soa Sio, Tidore, on August 5, 1912. Born of the couple Dano Husain and Dano Salma, Zainal Abidin took basic education in *Bumiputera HIS (Hollandsch Inlandsche School)*, a Dutch Primary School for Native People, in Ternate, in 1924. After graduating from HIS, Zainal Abidin continued his education at MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*), a Dutch Secondary School, in Batavia (Jakarta now). Graduating from MULO, he then moved to Makassar in South Sulawesi to continue his education to OSVIA (*Opleidings Scholen voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren* or Civil Service School for Indigenous People), an education for prospective officials of the colonial government

in 1934 (Djafaar, 2005; Hasyim, 2016; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).¹

Association and interest in reading of Zainal Abidin was very broad. While at OSVIA, Zainal Abidin's hobby of playing football brought him to join a Soccer Association. After studying in 1934 until 1942, Zaenal Abidin became *Ambtenaar* (Native Officials) by occupying a position as *Bestuur* and *Hulp-Bestuur* or District Heads in three regions, namely: Ternate in North Maluku, Manokwari, and Sorong in West Papua. During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) and the power vacuum in the Tidore Sultanate, Zainal Abidin worked for a year as Head of Justice of Ternate from 1943. As the heir to the Tidore Sultanate, the Japanese regarded Zaenal Abidin as a threat to their power. So that Japan, in 1944, captivated and exiled Zaenal Abidin to Jailolo until the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was read in Jakarta on 17th August 1945 (Djafaar, 2005; Hasyim, 2016; and *ibidem* with footnote 1). See the picture 1.

P.J. Drooglever (2010), and other scholars, explained that in December 1946, the most suitable descendant of the Sultanate of Tidore, Zaenal Abidin Alting, was appointed Sultan of Tidore. The appointment of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah took place in Denpasar, Bali, in 1946, a year later in January 1947 at Soa Sio, Tidore's coronation of Zainal Abidin Syah as Sultan was carried out. After previously, there were several names that colored the procession as a Sultan, where there was a power vacuum in the Sultanate of Tidore (Drooglever, 2010:149; Arsad, 2018; and Handoko & Mansyur, 2018).

The procession of the empire was carried out by an *Adat* (Custom) institution in Tidore; and, in 1924, gave rise to the names of two Sultan of Tidore candidates to consider, namely: *Dano* Bai and *Dano* Zainal Abidin. Previously, there were other names that were still being considered, namely *Dano* Abdul Majid, *Dano* Mohammad Tahir, *Dano* Jamaluddin, and *Dano* Bom. At that time, it was explained that the candidate to be considered first was *Dano* Bai, aged 15 years-old, was the son of Prince Hadi Alting, as well as the grandson of the 88th Sultan's sibling, a grade 7 European Elementary School student, had an adequate report card, was kind, obedient and loyal, soft and has no bad nature. The second candidate was *Dano* Zainal Abidin, 13 years-old, the son of *Dano* Husen Alting, besides the grandson of the 88th Sultan's half-brother, 6th grade student of HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School* or Dutch Primary School), of good characters: diligent and kind, obedient, heed advice, and can be trusted (Djafaar, 2005; Hasyim, 2016; and Handoko & Mansyur, 2018).²

The names of Tidore Sultan candidates, who had been put forward in

¹See also, for example, Interview with Respondent A-1, namely Mahmud Raimadoya, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's heir, in Jakarta, Indonesia, on 19th November 2019.

²See also, for example, "Surat No.166/Rahasia: Surat Asisten Residen Ternate, Gooszen, kepada Gubernur Ambon, 9 September 1924". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].



Picture 1:

“The Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah’s Meeting with His Friends
at a Football Association while Attending OSVIA”
(Source: Private Photo Collection of Mahmud Raimadoya)

the letter of Prince Achmad Alting, who at the time were dominates of the Tidore *Swapraja* (Self-Governing Government) and the Regent of Nieuw Guinea were responded negatively by Governor L. van Sandick in Ambon, Maluku. According to Governor L. van Sandick, the replacement of the last Sultan was not only neglected due to lack of suitable candidates, but also for financial reasons. Governor L. van Sandick said that:

If until now, the Tidore government was run by a Council of Nobles by considering all the conditions that exist in a satisfactory manner, I gave His Majesty (Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies) consideration for not responding to requests from the applicant, also because as evidenced by the letter of Assistant Resident, that Prince Achmad Alting could not file a claim for the position of Sultan of Tidore.

In addition, because he did not have the skills needed at this time to become a native ruler. Also your Majesty can see the lineage of the Tidore Sultans as an overview.³

The Dutch colonial government made North Maluku part of its power. With the Regulation of Governor-General, No.2, dated 6th December 1866

³As cited and translated from “Surat No.639/Rahasia: Surat Gubernur Ambon, L. van Sandick, kepada Gubernur Jenderal Hindia Belanda, 15 November 1924”. *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

(S. 1866, No.139), so the *Gouvernement der Moluksche Eilanden* was deleted. The Residencies of Ternate, Manado, Ambon, and Banda were no longer sub-ordinated inward *Gouvernement der Moluksche Eilanden*, but each was declared as an independent Residency and was directly under the Governor-General in Batavia (Jakarta now). The Residency of Ternate (North Maluku) itself covered the entire legal area of Ternate, the Sultanate of Tidore, and the Sultanate of Bacan (Ricklefs, 2001; Amal, 2010; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

Furthermore, the Dutch Royal Palace, dated 16th April 1921, stated that the Residency of Ternate was united with the Ambonian Residency, which gave the status of the Ternate Residency to be reduced to *Afdeling Noord Molukken*. If the royal title was linked to developments in 1921, it will be seen that the change of status of the Residency of Ternate to become "Afdeling" (Part/Section) was inseparable from the efforts of the Dutch Government to integrate the entire Eastern Indonesia region into the Great Eastern Province (*Grote Oost*) under a Governor domiciled in Makassar, South Sulawesi (Lumintang, 2009; Amal, 2010:283; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

In October 1932, the Maluku Governor, Koppenol, asked the Resident of Ternate about the education of the two Sultan Tidore candidates, who were included in the category worth considering – and asked why *Dano Bai* was in the position of the first candidate and *Dano Zainal Abidin* as the second candidate. Ternate Resident, Ouwerling, answered that *Dano Zainal Abidin* was a grandson of the fourth generation of Sultan Achmad Safidudin Alting. While *Dano Bai* is a grandson in the third generation of the same Sultan. The Resident of Ternate explained the track record of *Dano Zainal Abidin's* education clearly that after studying at HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School* or Dutch Primary School) until grade 7, *Dano Zaenal Abidin* entered the MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* or Dutch Secondary School), and he succeeded in obtaining the final diploma in June 1932. From 7th July 1932, *Dano Zainal Abidin* entered OSVIA (*Opleidings Scholen voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren* or Civil Service School for Indigenous People) in Makassar, South Sulawesi (Leirissa, 1990; Amal, 2010; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).

But, the attitude of the Resident of Ternate, Ouwerling, at that time in the procession of Tidore Sultan was like his statement to the Governor of Maluku, as following here:

*There is no more reason not to immediately propose Said Alting alias Bai as the Crown Prince or Sultan.*⁴

⁴See "Surat No.137/Rahasia: Surat Residen Ternate, Ouwerling, kepada Gubernur Maluku, 8 November 1932". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

Until December 1923, through the statement of the Maluku Governor, Koppenol, addressed to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies that the change of the throne of Tidore temporarily be reconsidered and wait for a more appropriate time. While the attitude or support of the Resident of Ternate, Ouwerling, towards the prospective Sultan of Tidore, the most considered was *Dano Bai*. The most appropriate reason for the delay in changing the throne of Tidore in the short time given by Koppenol was that the financial condition of the local treasury did not allow not only the inauguration fees, but also the salaries and benefits to be paid to a Sultan.⁵

On 3rd January 1933, in Batavia, the Director of Domestic Government, P.C.A. van Lith, provided an explanation that the government had in principle decided to restock the Sultan's position; and besides that two suitable candidates were now available. The requirement that was meant later also was a changing perspective, because a calculation compiled in the joint budget of the Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan regional treasury, during 1931, by the Governor showed that the shortfall that occurred during the year was not caused by the needs of the Tidore region, but instead on the amount of around F (Dutch Gulden) 85,000 for ordinary expenses and F 95,000 for infrastructure. The income of the Sultan given from the regional treasury was considered by P.C.A. van Lith too low. The Sultan of Ternate and Bacan each received a fixed income of F 1,500 per month. From this explanation, P.C.A. van Lith requested the consideration of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies to authorize the Governor of Maluku to provide an explanation to the applicant.⁶

Furthermore, there is no clear information to ensure the Dutch response to the change of throne at Tidore. Then, the procession of Sultan of Tidore took place within the Tidore traditional institution. The election of Sultan of Tidore's leadership took place democratic and egalitarian. In addition to tracing genealogies, the development of religious understanding is considered by the *Adat* (Custom) institutions. This is explained by the various candidates, who have no progress in their ability to read the *Al-Qur'an* (holy book of Islam). Leadership ability also measured in a Dutch perspective is the identification of the education of prospective Sultans. The highest authority is in the Tidore traditional institution, which asks candidates for penance in the mountains of Rawa Bunga. This is a transcendental part of the procession of the empire, which in turn the heir to the throne appointed Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah.⁷

⁵See also, for example, "Surat No.226/G.E.: Surat Gubernur Maluku, Koppenol, kepada Gubernur Jenderal Hindia-Belanda, 2 Desember 1932". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

⁶See also, for example, "Surat No.Bgx 8/1/1: Pernyataan Direktur Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri, P.C.A. van Lith, 3 Januari 1933". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

⁷See also, for example, Interview with Respondent A-2, namely Mahmud Raimadoya, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's heir, in Bogor, West Java, Indonesia, on 16th January 2020.

Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah in the Politics of West Irian Struggle.

The conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which has become increasingly threatening world peace, began with the colonial question, namely in the case of West Irian, or West Nieuw Guinea, as it is still called in the official colonial language of the West. Indonesia regards West Irian as part of its territory, while the Dutch claim the right to maintain colonial rule there – naturally under the pretext of fulfillment, it is called the “holy mission” of preparing the population for self-government. Here, we have a moral argument which was ignored by the Dutch before and which they found only after they were obliged to relinquish sovereignty over the former Dutch East Indies of Indonesia (Hatta, 1961:11; Platje, 2001; and Kadir, 2015).

In accordance with Queen Wilhemina’s promise, in a speech on 8th December 1942, that if the war was over, Indonesia would gain independence. Lieutenant Governor-General H.J. van Mook – after the return of the Dutch colonial government in several regions of Indonesia after World War II (1939-1945) – tried to carry out an intensely divisive politics. He formed states in the Dutch occupied territories, which would become part of the NIS (*Negara Indonesia Serikat* or United States of Indonesia). The Dutch initiative certainly ran counter to practical reality. Since 17th August 1945, the Republic of Indonesia has been born an independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia. As a first step towards the formation of an Indonesian federation, the Netherlands held various conferences on its own initiative. The Malino Conference in Makassar, South Sulawesi was a first step (Cheong, 1982; Poeze, 2012; and Foray, 2013).

The Malino Conference was essentially only a tool for discussing and asking for approval of the concept of the Federal State by H.J. van Mook; and the formation of a body to carry it out. In this conference also discussed the long-term relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Before the Dutch gave up their power to the United States of Indonesia, according to H.J. van Mook, a transition period was needed. This conference, initiated by the Dutch government, took place on 16th – 24th July 1946 (Cheong, 1982; Penders, 2002; and Amal, 2010:409).

According to Koentjaraningrat & Harsja W. Bachtiar (1963), and other scholars, the conference in Malino was important for the development of West Irian’s position in the political arena, because in this conference, officially laid the foundations of splitting Indonesian territory into independent regions, as part of the federal state. At a conference attended by representatives appointed by the Dutch government, H.J. van Mook explained his entire plan. At the end of the Malino Conference, it was decided that in the second conference certain steps would be taken to form the state of Borneo (Kalimantan) and the State of East Indonesia. H.J.

van Mook wants to move quickly, so that there is a foundation that is as strong as the Republic's foundation to build the Indonesian federation he is targeting. However, the states would formally be equivalent to the Republic, because four-fifths of the population of the Indonesian archipelago live in Java and Sumatra (Koentjaraningrat & Bachtiar, 1963; Cheong, 1982; Koentjaraningrat *et al.*, 1994:76; Penders, 2002; and Burgers, 2019:256).

Regarding the plan to change the Indonesian state administration, which is being sought by H.J. van Mook, on 1st October 1946, in Pangkal Pinang, Bangka Island, South Sumatera, a conference was opened which was attended by a number of figures considered to represent minority groups. A number of participants expressed concern about the position of their respective groups in the coming Indonesian constitutional arrangement. From the Indo-Dutch side, a proposal was made to make the West Irian region a new residence for groups of people, who wanted to separate themselves from other Indonesian residents. Based on this proposal, in a motion received at the last session, the participants suggested that West Irian be given a separate political status separated from Indonesia, in the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Koentjaraningrat *et al.*, 1994:77; Cheong, 1982; and Burgers, 2019).

The Netherlands, in the end of 1946, had shown the view that West Irian should be given a special relationship with the Netherlands and considered the possibility of making West Irian a territory for Dutch settlers. Although the Linggarjati Agreement, in the end of 1946, had stipulated the formation of the United Republic of Indonesia, which included West Irian as part of the State of East Indonesia, it was not until three weeks after Linggarjati Agreement was signed, that the Netherlands had expressed "a desire" for West Irian to obtain some kind of special status in relations with the Netherlands and Indonesia (Penders, 2002; Elson, 2009:210; and Burgers, 2019).

The follow-up the Conference from Malino in South Sulawesi was Denpasar in Bali, which took place after the Linggarjati Agreement, on 15th November 1946. Here, H.J. van Mook tried to break through the spirit and soul of the Linggarjati Agreement. Conference participants from Eastern Indonesia and pro-Republicans came to support the Linggarjati Agreement, which emphasized that the Dutch government, *de facto*, recognized the authority of the Republic of Indonesia in Java, Madura, and Sumatra. While the area occupied by the Alliance or the Dutch army, in stages and working together between the two parties, will be included in the territory of the Republic (Cheong, 1982; Penders, 2002; and Burgers, 2019).

The Denpasar Conference, which took place from 7th to 24th December 1946, was attended by delegates determined by H.J. van Mook, consisting

of 15 delegates from minorities (China and other Easterners), so there were 71 participants. North Maluku was represented by Iskandar Djabir Syah (Sultan of Ternate) and Zainal Abidin Syah (Sultan of Tidore). In the previous conference in Malino, South Sulawesi, there was a transition for five to ten years, during which time the Dutch and Indonesian governments would work together to carry out development in the fields of constitutional, economic, social, and cultural. On the other hand, the Linggarjati Agreement did not require a transitional period, but emphasizes that the Dutch government and the government of the Republic of Indonesia must strive, so that an independent and sovereign of NIS (*Negara Indonesia Serikat* or United States of Indonesia) can be realized before 1st January 1949 (Cheong, 1982; Agung, 1985:137; and Burgers, 2019).

The Denpasar Conference in Bali was also a place of discussion about West Irian, where previously after the Linggarjati Agreement suddenly the Dutch government declared that the territory would not be surrendered to an independent and sovereign United States of Indonesia. There is a clear difference between the Malino Conference in South Sulawesi and the Denpasar Conference in Bali. In the Malino Conference, discussions were still of a general nature which involved political, economic, social, and cultural issues concerning Indonesia in general; but, in the Denpasar Conference, one problem was centered. Especially in the formation of constitutional arrangements in the Greater East region, where working papers have been prepared by the General Government Commissariat for Kalimantan and the Greater East of Indonesia (Agung, 1985; Ricklefs, 2001; and Kahin, 2013).

Regarding the New Guinea issue, in the Denpasar Conference as stated in article 1 of the planned regulation for the formation of the State of Greater East Indonesia, was strongly opposed by almost all delegates. They strongly objected that the intention was contained by the sound of the article to separate West Irian in Eastern Indonesia. Very strongly opposed to the separation of West Irian from the territory of the State of East Indonesia was Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, Sultan of Tidore, who reminded that West Irian was once part of the Sultanate of Tidore. Then, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah proposed that the opinion be removed, so that it was clear that it was intended that the West Irian region would remain within the territory of the NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* or State of East Indonesia). Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's opinion was supported by 15 other delegates (Agung, 1985; Penders, 2002; and Burgers, 2019).

Apart from that most of the representatives at the Denpasar Conference suggested that the Red and White flag be recognized as the national flag; and, thus, also the *Indonesia Raya* (Great Indonesia)' song as the national

anthem. They wanted the Red and White flag and the *Indonesia Raya* song to be born and sung. The Denpasar Conference gave birth to the NIT, which was a prototype of the “puppet state”, which were then continuously formed by the Netherlands. Although the Dutch power was still dominant, even at this conference the ideas of nationalism remained strong and ended in the form of compromise. This is evident from the establishment of the *Indonesia Raya* song as the NIT national anthem (Agung, 1985:161; Amal, 2010:422; and Burgers, 2019). See pictures 2 and 3.

The rejection of the separation of West Irian from the State of East Indonesia was not only expressed by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah at the Conference. Outside Parliament, as reported in the newspaper of *Indonesia Timoer* (East Indonesia), Kings of West Irian, such as Raja Ahmad Usswanas of Fak-Fak and Raja Haji Ibrahim Baoe of Rumbati/Kokas, have petitioned for His Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs of the State of East Indonesia to merge West Irian into the United States of East Indonesia. In the petition, the two Kings stated that:

We have recognized the founding of the United States of Indonesia, which consists of the islands of Sabang to Aru; and as children of our nation, we will seek relations and assistance from the United States government in general and from the State of East Indonesia in particular, to support us as much as possible, so that we can unite in one nation.

Though the establishment of the United States of Indonesia in accordance with the Linggarjati Agreement, on 15 November 1946, excludes Papua, but we always want to save all our thoughts and energy to unite with our national brothers under the state of United States of Indonesia. Our intentions come from our deep, clear, and clean hearts, so that we have great hopes that the noble can do so accepting our brotherhood, so that we can stand together to develop one prosperous Indonesia and get great happiness in the future (cited in Hasyim, 2016:150).

The same refusal came from the people of Maluku. In a large meeting conducted by the Indonesian Youth Association, on 13th November 1946, in Ambon City, there were around 3,000 people who had taken political resolutions, namely: continuing to fight for the ideals of freedom and all Indonesian home land, and supporting the government-based NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* or State of East Indonesia) on the Maluku Council’s decision; and demand and fight for Irian to remain in the United States of the Republic of Indonesia (Agung, 1985; Penders, 2002; and Hasyim, 2016).

The assertion of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, through the Conference, was a new chapter for the start of the political struggle for West Irian within the framework of Indonesian nationalism. Various support continued to come to strengthen Sultan of Tidore’s belief in maintaining sovereignty over West Irian. On 29th March 1948, for example, Arnold



Picture 2:

“Dr. H.J. van Mook was Welcomed at the Denpasar Airport in Bali” in *Arsip Foto Sejarah Bali*, No.15. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia]



Picture 3:

“Initial Meeting of the Denpasar Conference” in *Arsip Foto Sejarah Bali*, No.11. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia]

Mononutu returned to Ternate with a Republican journalist, Rosihan Anwar, editor-in-chief of *Warta Sepekan* (Weekly News) and newspaper of *Siasat* (Strategy) published in Jakarta. Then, Rosihan Anwar accompanied

by Arnold Mononutu visited Tidore and was received by Sultan of Tidore at his residence. On this occasion, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah had prepared a meeting, which was attended by around 200 community leaders and leaders of PI (*Perserikatan Indonesia* or United Indonesia) in Tidore. On that occasion, Arnold Mononutu asked the Sultan and the people of Tidore to integrate West Irian into the Sultanate of Tidore, and never let it go. According to Arnold Mononutu, there was a systematic and increasingly clear effort from the Netherlands to separate West Irian not only from the NIT, but also from Indonesia, after the NIS (*Negara Indonesia Serikat* or United States of Indonesia) was established (Agung, 1985; Amal, 2010:429; and Kahin, 2013).

Initially, the Dutch government did intend to separate West Irian from Indonesia; and efforts have been made through H.J. van Mook. At both the Malino and Denpasar Conferences, many conference participants questioned why West Irian was not integrated into the NIT. Dutch officials simply answered that the clerks would be deliberated separately after the NIT was formed. In fact, after the NIT was established, the status of West Irian was never discussed and touched on again (Cheong, 1982; Agung, 1985; and Amal, 2010).

Ahead of the KMB (*Konferensi Meja Bundar* or Round Table Conference), held on 23rd August – 2nd November 1949, in the Hague, the Dutch East Indies government intensely began to separate West Irian from the Sultanate of Tidore. On 23rd March 1949, for example, De Waal – an Advisor to the Dutch government on organic legislation – on behalf of the High Representative of the Dutch Crown in Indonesia, sent a note to the Minister of Regional Affairs Across the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The note contains a suggestion that West Irian should be separated from Tidore. De Waal also proposed that Sultan of Tidore be given a role in the NIT Cabinet, or even be given a special task to separate West Irian from his empire. In a telegram dated 29th March 1949, Minister of Overseas Affairs, van Maarseven, proposed that the separation of West Irian be carried out by a decision of the Deputy High Crown, namely: firstly, the Sultanate of Tidore would be integrated into the Indonesian Federal government; and, secondly, the polls in mainland West Irian and the Raja Ampat Islands “very much depends on the approval of the Sultanate of Tidore” (Penders, 2002; Amal, 2010:454; and Kahin, 2013).

Meanwhile, the Dutch news agency, ANETA (*Algemeen Nieuws- en Telegraaf-Agentschap* or General News and Telegraph Agency), on 21st July 1949, broadcast news of an agreement reached between the leaders of the people of Irian with the “Self-Determining Committee” that the people of Irian did not want to be separated from Maluku and Tidore. This news

is the opposite of what the Dutch East Indies officials were trying to do. The separation of Irian, both from the NIT and the Republic of Indonesia, by ransacking the Sultanate of Tidore, was carried out consciously and systematically to leave Dutch colonialism in a fragment of Indonesia's easternmost region (*cf* Agung, 1985; Amal, 2010:458; and Yamamoto, 2011).

In March 1949, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah of Tidore visited larger places in Irian. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah and Sultan of Ternate were picked up by warships from Tidore to Hollandia (Jayapura now), where there was already a Deputy High Crown of the Netherlands. Until Hollandia, the Sultan was served drinks to get drunk, but Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah realized that this was a trap and reminded that none of them drank. The arrival of Sultan of Tidore to Hollandia before KMB was prepared in luxury. Dutch efforts to get Sultan of Tidore intoxicated were unsuccessful, and Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah remained at its stand rejecting the separation between Tidore and West Irian (Djafaar, 2005; Drooglever, 2010:168; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).⁸

Then, on 11th April 1949, van Maarseven sent another telegram to the Deputy High Crown. The main content of the telegram is: by referring to the advice of the State Secretary for Self-Defense and Domestic Affairs, proposals submitted regarding solving the Irian problem from the Sultanate of Tidore can be accepted. With this Sultanate, an agreement had to be made as had been done with the other *Swapraja* (Self-Governing Government) at the NIT. However, most of the NIT self-governing parties strongly favored the Republic of Indonesia, including Tidore. The Sultanates of the *Swapraja* leaders, generally, held that the best form of government was democratic, because it was in accordance with the will of the times (Agung, 1985; Amal, 2010:455; and Drooglever, 2010).

From 23rd August to 2nd November 1949, delegations from the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia, and BFO (*Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg* or Federal Consultative Assembly) held a meeting in the Hague, and with important assistance from the UNCI (United Nations Commission for Indonesia), finally reached an agreement (Agung, 1985; Drooglever, 2010; and Kahin, 2013). It opened with the statement of the Indonesian delegation, as follows:

*[...] since the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence, on 17th August 1945, which was announced with all the ceremonies to the world as a statement of the right of the Indonesian people to determine their own destiny, the Indonesian people felt that they had sovereignty.*⁹

⁸See again, for example, Interview with Respondent A-1, namely Mahmud Raimadoya, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's heir, in Jakarta, Indonesia, on 19th November 2019.

⁹As cited and translated from "Delegasi Indonesia, No.1217". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

And the end of this agreement stipulates that the surrender of sovereignty completely and unconditionally by the Dutch will be given no later than 30th December 1949, covering all areas that were once the Dutch East Indies, except West Irian, to the United States of Indonesia, a federal government consisting of the Republic Indonesia and 15 political entities established by the Netherlands. The temporary nature of the Indonesian government is determined by the draft constitution drawn up by Republican and Federalist delegates attending the conference based on agreements reached between their representatives at the Inter-Indonesian Conference held in Batavia (Jakarta now) and Jogjakarta in late July and early August 1949 (Penders, 2002; Kahin, 2013:601; and Siswanto, 2018).

The determination of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's intention was increasingly visible when the Provisional Representative Body began its meeting on 19th November 1949, to approve the results of the KMB (*Konferensi Meja Bundar* or Round Table Conference)'s agreement and the draft Provisional Constitution of the United States of Indonesia. Only Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah could not accept the separation of West Irian from the territory of the United States of Indonesia, and refused to formulate a compromise on the matter as contained in Article 2 of the charter for the transfer of sovereignty. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah stated that from long time ago, the territory of West Irian was an inseparable part of the Sultanate of Tidore; and, therefore, this autonomy had full and legal rights to the territory of West Irian. In his opinion, if the settlement of the West Irian dispute was then resolved, the legal rights of the Sultanate of Tidore as intended before must be recognized (*cf* Agung, 1985:665; Penders, 2002; and Kahin, 2013).

On 28th November 1949, the Prime Minister of Anak Agung Gde Agung delivered an answer from the government of the State of East Indonesia, which explained that the statement of Sultan Tidore about the position of West Irian was considered premature (too early) to discuss it, in discussions about the results of the KMB. The response of the NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* or State of East Indonesia)'s government nullified objections from Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah. After some discussion, the forum finally agreed to hold a vote on the text of the KMB Agreement and the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The vote resulted in 50 members voting in favor and one in disagreement, namely Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah (Agung, 1985; Penders, 2002; and Kahin, 2013).

Before the vote, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah remained firm in his opinion by saying as follows:

Your Excellency, Chairman, I as the Head of the Tidore Kingdom with much regret cannot approve the results of the Round Table Conference, because with these results my Kingdom, even though for the time being has been separated, that is one part, is

West Irian including under the authority of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In the end, I pointed out that in this short statement, it can be concluded that the Kingdom of Tidore still retains its rights to parts of Irian, which are historically included in the Tidore Kingdom. That's all, thank you (cited in Agung, 1985:668).

On 14th December 1949, the KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* or Central Indonesian National Committee), as Provisional Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia, ratified the agreement reached at the KMB (*Konferensi Meja Bundar* or Round Table Conference), while the 15 States of the United Republic of Indonesia which would be formed each had ratified it some time before. On 21st December 1949, the two Dutch Parliamentary Councils ratified the agreement; but, in the First Assembly, one vote differed from the minimum of two-thirds of the votes required (34 versus 15). On 27th December 1949, the Dutch formally surrendered sovereignty over all areas that were formerly the Netherlands East Indies minus West Irian to the new Republic of Indonesia. On the same day, the capital city named "Batavia" used its old Indonesian name: "Jakarta" (the City of Victory). The federal government system inherited from the KMB can only last for less than six weeks; and after that gradually begins to break down, due to the pressure from the widespread movement that tries to replace it with a form of unitary government (Reid, 1974; Penders, 2002; and Kahin, 2013:628).

After the KMB, the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty was not yet considered as successful, because it still left the West Irian problem. The opinion of Sultan Zaenal Abidin Syah, which increasingly hardened added to the high intensity of the political struggle of West Irian. In 14th March 1950, the newspaper of *Indonesia Timur* (Eastern Indonesia) published the resolution of the Irian Struggle Agency, which included demands to urge the RIS (*Republik Indonesia Serikat* or United States of the Republic of Indonesia)'s government to investigate the actions of the NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* or State of East Indonesia)'s government, which prohibited Irian's struggle at the NIT (Agung, 1985; Penders, 2002; and Rusdiyanto, 2018).¹⁰

According to the newspaper of *Indonesia Timur*, the struggle in West Irian was believed to be an effort to fight:

[...] a profitable investment venture, is also a shelter for the Indo-Europeans, who in the revolutionary period in Indonesia, have become victims, because of their loyalty to the Dutch kingdom.¹¹

President Soekarno, then, also reminded Australia that Indonesian sovereignty over West Irian would not weaken their defenses. President

¹⁰See also, for example, Newspaper of *Indonesia Timur*, on 14th March 1950.

¹¹Translated from Newspaper of *Indonesia Timur*, on 23rd March 1950.

Soekarno hoped that Australia could help him deal with the problems of West Irian. Although President Soekarno imposed Martial Law in June 1950 for areas, such as North Maluku, South Maluku, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Sumba, and Timor (Catley & Dugis, 1998; Legge, 2003; and Saltford, 2012).¹²

President Soekarno, in his state address on 17th August 1950, stressed that Indonesia's homeland was from Sabang in Aceh (Western Indonesia) to Merauke in Papua (Eastern Indonesia). In line with the President's statement, the Mohammad Natsir's Cabinet assigned Foreign Minister, Mr. Mohammad Roem, as the leader to negotiate with the Dutch delegation led by van Maarseven, and they held a meeting in the Hague, on 4th to 23rd December 1950. The Dutch kept their stand control of West Irian (Bakir, 2007; Fasa, 2013; and Subandrio, 2019:30).

On another occasion, President Soekarno asked Sultan Jabir Syah as part of the Ternate Residency, which covered the Irian region. However, President Soekarno's request did not get a response from the Sultan of Ternate, due to his preoccupation with preparing the Special Region of North Maluku. Then, President Soekarno asked Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, who was also Sultan of Tidore to be able to assist the central government of the Republic of Indonesia through claiming ownership of the area as part of the Tidore Sultanate. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah welcomed President Soekarno's ideas and thoughts. In addition, President Soekarno also offered Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah to make Tidore a Special Region, the Sultan refused because of maintaining other royal feelings, such as the Kingdom of Bacan and the Kingdom of Jailolo (Nachrawy, 2004:29; Rusdiyanto, 2018; and Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).¹³

At that time, the Sultan Jabir Syah of Ternate was elected as the Minister of the Interior of the NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* or State of East Indonesia), where the position of North Maluku Resident was held by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah of Tidore. The unanimous attitude of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah towards Indonesian nationalism was also demonstrated during a meeting with the Netherlands initiated by the UN (United Nations), where the UN offered three options to Sultan of Tidore, namely: firstly, West Irian along with Tidore as an independent state; secondly, West Irian with Tidore under sovereignty under the Kingdom of the Netherlands; and thirdly, West Irian with Tidore together in the Republic of Indonesia. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's answer was firm on the third choice, namely: West Irian and Tidore within the Republic of Indonesia (Nachrawy, 2004:19 and 90; Hasyim &

¹²See also, for comparison, Newspaper of *Indonesia Timur*, on 8th June 1950; and "Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia Serikat, 1949-1950, No.120". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

¹³Information that President Soekarno and his entourage had met with Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah was also given by the heirs of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah, Mahmud Raimadoya. See, for example, Interview with Respondent A-1, namely Mahmud Raimadoya, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's heir, in Jakarta, Indonesia, on 19th November 2019.



Picture 4:

“Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah was Having a Conversation with Arnold Mononutu as One of the Prominent Leaders of the Republic of Indonesia”
(Source: *Private Photo Collection* of Mahmud Raimadoya)

Mansur, 2015; Hasyim, 2016; Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020; and *ibidem* with footnote 13). See the picture 4.

In 1952, the Netherlands officially included West Irian in the Dutch Constitution with subsequent actions to convey to the UN (United Nations) report that West Irian was a “non-self-governing territory”. Indonesia has never recognized this. During the Ali Sastroamidjojo’s Cabinet, from 30th July 1953 to 12th August 1955, steps were taken regarding the West Irian problem. In July 1954, for example, the Indonesian delegation under the leadership of Foreign Minister, Mr. Sunaryo, left for the Netherlands to negotiate the abolition of the Dutch-Indonesian Union; and the completion of Dutch rule over West Irian. Even, these negotiations failed because Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr. Luns, maintained his attitude towards West Irian (Sastroamidjojo, 1974; Sagiman, 1993; and Subandrio, 2019:31).

Mohamad Hatta, as Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, explained also that the Dutch insisted on holding West Irian, and were reluctant to listen to opposing arguments. In an atmosphere of mounting tension, the parties agreed to a UN formula calling for the maintenance of the status quo in West Irian, provided that, within a year after the transfer of sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia, questions about the political status of West Irian had to be determined by negotiations between governments (Hatta, 1961; Kahin, 1980; and Noer, 1990).

After repeated negotiations proved unsuccessful, the Dutch refused

to participate in further discussions on the West Irian issue. Indonesia's opinion that the area was as much a part of Indonesia as it had been a part of the Dutch East Indies before the transfer of sovereignty, the Dutch replied that there would be no problem of transferring sovereignty without prior consultation from the residents of West Irian, who would be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination at a time right. In retaliation for the Dutch withdrawal from their positions in Linggajati Agreement, the only way open for the Indonesian government to be involved was the repeal of the Dutch-Indonesian Union in 1956, followed by confiscation of Dutch property in Indonesia as a temporary political retaliatory movement to defend the Dutch in West Irian. The final step taken by the government of Indonesia was to break diplomatic relations with the Netherlands (Hatta, 1961:13; Kahin, 1980; and Noer, 1990).

On 17th July 1954, a Government Regulation plan was made on the formation of the West Irian Province region. In line with this, on 10th to 16th August 1955, in Jakarta, the Indonesian People's Congress took place which urged the government to accelerate the formation of the West Irian provincial government, which was temporarily based in Maluku. The plan of the Government Regulation was changed to a draft, which was later passed on 16th August 1956, by Sukarno into Law No.15 of 1956, concerning the Establishment of the Autonomous Region of West Irian Province. The law explains the main task of the Province is firstly to assist the central government in the struggle to restore West Irian in the *de facto* territory of the Republic of Indonesia, both of these tasks are carried out with development efforts and other activities in the Province of West Irian; and the Province of Maluku by the authorities concerned (Yamin, 1956:102; Legge, 2003; and Kahin, 2013).¹⁴ See the picture 5.

Politically, to retake West Irian, on 17th August 1956, formed the first government with Governor Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah (Sultan of the Sultanate of Tidore) until 1961. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's inauguration took place in Soa Sio, Tidore, on 23rd September 1956, with Presidential Decree, No.412/RI/1956. Soa Sio also became a temporary capital city. The position of Sultan Zaenal Abidin Syah, as the Governor of West Irian Province, was what made him refuse to become a constituent member as decided in the Indonesian Cabinet Session on 19th November 1957 (Mulyadi, 2009:194; Rusdiyanto, 2018; and Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).¹⁵ See the picture 6.

During his time as Governor of West Irian, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah carried out his duties well as stated in the Law. At the beginning of his

¹⁴See also, for example, "Sekretariat Negara, 1950-1959, No.2093. *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].

¹⁵See also, for example, "Sekretariat Negara, No.2469: Kabinet Perdana Menteri, 1950-1959". *Unpublished Archive Collection*. Jakarta: ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia].



Picture 5:

“A Demonstration by a Docker, Whose One of the Demands is the Formation of the Province of West Irian”
(Source: *Private Photo Collection of Mahmud Raimadoya*)



Picture 6:

“Suave After the Inauguration of the Governor in Tidore”
(Source: *Private Photo Collection of Mahmud Raimadoya*)

leadership, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah built office facilities and employee housing as well as West Irian Province officials in Tuguwaji and Goto. The developments carried out by Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah were the

Governor's Office, the State Police Office, and other service agencies, including the Police Dormitory and the Housing of Police Officers. After that, the Sultan built the Goto, including Jetty of TRIKORA (*Tri Komando Rakyat* or Three People's Commands)' sea pier – this was where 500 guerrilla troops led by Lieutenant Infantry J. Komontoi arrived at the border area and successfully flew the Red and White flag on Saoka Beach in West Irian (bird's head region); and on this pier departed 400 guerrilla troops led by Srikandi Herlina (Ariyanti, Syaiful & Ekwandari, 2017; Rusdiyanto, 2018; and Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020).¹⁶

After no longer serving as Governor of West Irian in 1961, the following year of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah was appointed Governor of DPB (*Diperbantukan* or Seconded) to the Ministry of the Interior and was seconded also to Operation of Mandala in Makassar, South Sulawesi. On 1st June 1963, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah applied for an off-duty pension. In Tidore, after the retirement, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah was spent to take care of local transmigration, which later in Halmahera and Sofifi were built at Garajo Village at their own expense without state assistance. After celebrating Pattimura Day, the Sultan returned to Ambon, and it was here that he fell ill until Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah died on 4th July 1967 at the Happy Tomb, which in 1984, the deceased's body was moved to Soa Sio in Tidore, North Maluku (Rusdiyanto, 2018; Darmawijaya, Abbas & Yusup, 2020; and *ibidem* with footnote 16).

CONCLUSION

The struggle of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah is very important for the ideals of Indonesian independence. Without him, Indonesia as imagined by founding fathers would not be perfect. Education obtained from the results of Dutch education did not make Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah serve the interests and wishes of colonialism. He formed himself into an independent person with his firm attitude that consistently refused to make West Irian as a part of the Netherlands. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah did not want to be in a continuous system of colonialism in the Dutch colonialism, which had proven in history the oppression of the Indonesian people.

Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah had talked a lot to the Republic that he had never put forward egoism, because of his position as heir to the throne and ruler of the Sultanate of Tidore. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah devotes his power and ability to the interests of the Republic, namely the interests of the people of Indonesia. Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah continued to refuse at every opportunity at various conferences and forums that Tidore and

¹⁶See again, for example, Interview with Respondent A-1, namely Mahmud Raimadoya, Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's heir, in Jakarta, Indonesia, on 19th November 2019.

West Irian could not be separated from Indonesia. The statement and attitude of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah in the early days of the Indonesian Revolution (1945-1950) was a death knell, which buried Dutch hopes of regaining control of Indonesia's long-exploited land.

Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah's strong rejection of the separation of West Irian carried out by the Dutch brought this issue to the attention of the World; and on 1st May 1963, UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executive Authority), as the agency formed by the United Nations to overcome the West Irian problem, handed over the government of West Irian to Indonesia. Sultan Zaenal Abidin Syah shows the true meaning of nationalism. Through his struggle and devotion, Sultan Zaenal Abidin Syah has set an example in the struggle for sovereignty.

Until the end of his life, Sultan Zaenal Abidin Syah remained a part of the ideals of Indonesia's independence by giving up his egoism to help development. Therefore, it is rather difficult to imagine Indonesia on "*Dari Sabang sampai Merauke*" (From Sabang in Aceh, Western Indonesia, to Merauke in Papua, Eastern Indonesia) without a history of the struggle of Sultan Zainal Abidin Syah.¹⁷

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¹⁷**Statement:** We, undersigned below, state that our paper is not product of plagiarism, not to be submitted to the other journal(s), reviewed as well as published by other scholarly journals; and finally having received, it will also not to be withdrawn by the Authors from this TAWARIKH journal. This statement letter was made to be used by the Editor as an appropriate.

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