



Journal of Social and Political Sciences

Iswahyudi. (2020), Negara Madura: From Puppet State to United State 1949-1950. In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol.3, No.3, 762-776.

ISSN 2615-3718

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1991.03.03.209

The online version of this article can be found at:
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research *Social and Political Sciences* is a peer-reviewed International Journal. The journal covers scholarly articles in the fields of Social and Political Sciences, which include, but not limited to, Anthropology, Government Studies, Political Sciences, Sociology, International Relations, Public Administration, History, Philosophy, Arts, Education, Linguistics, and Cultural Studies. As the journal is Open Access, it ensures high visibility and the increase of citations for all research articles published. The *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of Social and Political Sciences.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH
Connecting Scholars Worldwide



Negara Madura: From Puppet State to United State 1949-1950

Iswahyudi¹

¹ Senior lecturer at the Faculty of Language and Art, Yogyakarta State University.
Email: iswahyudi@uny.ac.id

Abstract

The purpose of H.J. Van Mook formed the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a Dutch Commonwealth country or rather the idea of establishing a federal state, namely the Republic of Indonesia United States, was based on the success of America in establishing a union state. Departing from the Malino conference H.J. Van Mook seemed to pretend to show the outside world the concept of decolonization, because after World War II colonization of the world had been abolished, even though it was still too heavy for the Dutch. Reflections on the political turmoil that occurred at the central level, turned out to have a large impact on disruption at the local level as in Madura. The expansion of the federal model for Indonesia consisting of many islands and heterogeneity of regions, population, language and culture is of course very suitable. Despite this, the Dutch East Indies in the first decade of the twentieth century were still governed centrally from Batavia. At the time of the reorganization of government in the thirties with the implementation of administrative decentralization where the colony was divided into six governments, namely West Java, Central Java, East Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Great East. Simultaneously on 11 November 1947 there was an unhealthy relationship and was cut off between Jakarta and Madura, so that on 21 November 1947 the administration of the government was taken over by R.A. A Cakraningrat. Starting from the results of the collection, the Madurese state was established based on a Decree dated February 20 no.1 as contained in Staatsblad (State Gazette) 1948, no.12. The Madura state chose the diplomatic struggle to achieve further goals, but in fact this method did not result in various agreements that were considered fair for the Madura state. Therefore this way was changed by carrying out military actions.

Keywords: Puppet State, Madura State, H.J. Van Mook, R.A.A. Tjakraningrat, Political Diplomacy, Military actions

1. Introduction

The independence of the Republic of Indonesia which was proclaimed through the proclamation on August 17, 1945 was a very important milestone for the Indonesian nation. The event was a new government for the Indonesian nation, so that through the PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) immediately formed symbols of power including the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the composition of the presidential cabinet. At that time in accordance with the decree issued by the PPKI, the territory of Indonesia

consisted of eight provinces under the governor appointed by the president including: West Java, Central Java, East Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and the Lesser Sunda (Kahin, 2003, p.202).

On 29 August 1945 the president Sukarno dissolved the PPKI and replaced it as the KNIP (Central Indonesian National Committee), which functioned as the legislative and advisor to the president. Then following the lower level was formed the KNID (Regional Indonesian National Committee), which assisted the task of the governor and regent. Along with the establishment of this national committee in terms of defense, it was to continue the BKR (People's Security Agency) organization which was immediately transformed into the TKR (People's Security Army) on 5 October 1945.

In conjunction with the establishment of the Madurese branch of the KNID member, two responsible people have been appointed, Amin Jakfar and Mohamad Hanafi. KNID Madura began working realistically after receiving instructions from the central KNIP, which immediately formed the Madura branch of the BKR. On October 17, 1945 the Madras branch of the KNID held a meeting by proposing the former captain R. Asmoroyudo to be appointed commander of the West Madura regiment for the Bangkalan and Sampang areas. Then R. Candra Hasan ex Chūdanchō Madura was appointed commander of the East Madura regiment for the Pamekasan and Sumenep areas. After the KNIP considered the proposal then it was agreed with a decision that the two would get military rank Lieutenant Colonel. For Lieutenant Colonel R. Candra Hasan was assigned to form TKR Madura Regiment 35, while Lieutenant Colonel R. Asmoroyudo was ordered to form TKR Madura Regiment 36 (Heru Sukadri et al., 1991, p. 20-21). After three months it was formed because they had to adjust instructions from Jakarta, that the TKR was still unable to face internally, so it was changed to TRI (Indonesian People's Army) (Nina H, Lubis, 2005, p.165). The formation of TRI Madura at that time was a member of Major Hanafi in charge of Klampis, while other members were Lieutenant II Achmad, Lieutenant II Molawas, Lieutenant II Trimo, Lieutenant II Maruki, Young Lieutenant Saputro, Suromarso, and Abdul Rachman (Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur, 2002, p.30).

The formation of military power for the Indonesian people and especially the people of Madura is one of the positive responses from President Sukarno's advice which always said that the proclamation of independence must be maintained and no need to ignore foreign forces from anywhere who want to help the Dutch regain the Indonesian state (Kahin, 2003, p.206). President Sukarno's statement must have come true because he knew that the Dutch considered the news of the independence of the Indonesian people as a joke, so they were hesitant and confident to be able to regain control of the Dutch East Indies. Starting from the Treaty of Potsdam in July 1945, the restoration of the Southeast Asian region was under the control of the allied army, so that in the event of a defeat in Japan it was immediately taken over by the allied army. At that time Laksmana Mountbatten and General Blaney gained the trust of being the Southeast Asian command leader SEAC (South East Asia Command), immediately forming a special unit called AFNEI (Allied Forces Netherland East Indies). AFNEI's main task is to restore security and prosecute war criminals as well as free civilians and soldiers held by Japan or called the Recovery of Allied Prisoners and War Internees (Kodam VI Siliwangi, 1981, p.46). The arrival of the allied army was also confirmed by the London agreement on August 24, 1945 which was known as the Civil Affairs Agreement which was in substance that the British army led by the allied commander Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison was assisted by the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration.

The first exodus of the British army with the Netherlands to Indonesia was carried out on September 16, 1945, led by Laksda W.R. Petterson by Chumberland ship and accompanied by other warships. After successfully docked at the port of Tanjung Priuk, it was discovered that the allied forces were British royal navy forces called Fifth Cruizer Squadron and were joined by a group of figures from the Netherlands including C.H.O. Van der Plas and H.J. Van Mook (Cribb, 2010, p.76). As is known that both figures C.H.O. Van der Plas and H.J. Van Mook was included in the Stuw Groep group, which was one of the groups that agreed with the Ethical Politics policy that wanted to advance the natives and wanted to continue to join hands, even though the Dutch East Indies had been independent they would still be fully trained or want to mature the Indonesian people to politics. This has a profound effect on the ideas of the two figures as in the struggle for diplomacy in the period after Indonesian independence.

Then the second exodus could be said to be more official because it was led by Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison by bringing three divisions of the NICA troops, approximately 24,000 soldiers were deployed in three

places, namely Jakarta, Surabaya and Medan. The Dutch intention to come to Indonesia was with the aim can instill power again because it is based on the concept of the speech of Queen Wilhelmina on December 7, 1942 in London which states the status of Indonesia bound in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, together with Suriname and Curacao, so that the Netherlands still has the right to determine Indonesia's future (Gerbrandy, 1950, p. 59-62). Starting from Queen Wilhelmina's speech then on February 10, 1946 the Dutch government issued a decree which became the basis of each negotiation with Indonesia. The important points in the decision are (Regerings Voorlichting Dienst, 1946, p. 13-15) :

1. Indonesia will be made a commonwealth country in the form of a self-government federation in the Dutch royal environment.
2. Domestic problems are managed by Indonesia, while foreign affairs are managed by the Dutch government.
3. Before the establishment of the commonwealth a transitional government will be formed for 10 years.
4. Indonesia will be included as a member of the United Nations.

Regarding the path that must be taken by the Dutch government to regain control other than with diplomacy as well as military force. Based on this condition of Indonesia, then H.J. Van Mook offered a federal political idea, which was to divide the Republic of Indonesia into states, because if it remained a state in the form of a unit it would still be a danger associated with an overly dominant Javanese tribe. Considering the power of the Republic mainly centered on Java and also in Sumatra, so that if the Dutch succeeded in establishing countries outside of Java it could reduce the strength of the Republic of Indonesia and facilitate the achievement of cooperation with the Netherlands (Smith, 1976, p. 31).

2. Establishment of the State of Madura

Starting from this, what are the ideas offered by H.J. Van Mook to form federal countries after the Indonesian people could declare their independence. In this case, it is as especially the case in Madura, when after being pursued with a difficult struggle for military action and diplomacy, it gave birth to the State of Madura. In April 1946 H.J. Van Mook began to realize his thoughts through various talks with the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Sutan Syahrir in Jakarta. In the meeting basically the Republicans were willing to accept the stipulation of a proposal regarding the establishment of a federal Indonesian state bound in the form of a unity with the Netherlands. The description of this thought was carried out without the conversation with the Dutch government being initiated, so that it was not surprising when H. H. Van Mook conveyed this to the Dutch government, so the cabinet was not willing to enter into an agreement with the Republic of Indonesia. This was a sign that the Dutch were not at all willing to recognize the Republic as having authority over Java and Sumatra.

Subsequent discussions were held between a delegation of the Dutch government and the envoy of the Republic of Indonesia on April 14-24, 1946 in the city of Hoge Veluwe, the Netherlands. The Dutch delegation is; H.J. Van Mook, Prime Minister W. Schermerhorn, Minister of Overseas Ocean J.H. Logeman, and Foreign Minister Van Roijen. Then the delegations from the Republic of Indonesia were Suwandi, Sudarsono, and A.G. Pingodigdo. As a supporter of the Indonesian delegation from the Indonesian community in the Netherlands is; Indonesian Association, Islamic Association, Sinoman Indonesia, Indo-Committee "Vrije Indonesie", Indonesian Student Association, and VNI (Vereniging Netherlands-Indonesie). In the negotiations, an agreement was not found. According to P, J Koets was the director of the Cabinet of the Governor-General and one of the most important advisors to H.J. Van Mook said that the conference which was held was one of the good opportunities lost in solving Indonesia's problems. This is unfortunate because the conference has received close supervision and formal assessment from British diplomat Sir Archibald Clark Kerr. With various pretexts because there are general elections in the Netherlands, so that in parliament there is a backlash because there are various political interests. At that time the KVP Party (Katholieke Volkspartij), represented by Romme, reminded the Dutch government to bear the shame of the international community because of its indecisive attitude when offering a form of federalism in the Republic of Indonesia (Poeze, 2008, p. 368-369).

The aims and objectives of H.J. Van Mook formed a federal state, namely the State of the Republic of Indonesia of the United States, as a commonwealth of the Netherlands, because it imitated the success of Britain in establishing a commonwealth country with Malaysia. With the success of the Indonesian state as a federal state, it made it easier to become a puppet state for the Netherlands, so that it could influence several regional leaders

to realize the politics of divide or *devide et impera*. Starting from the failure of the two previous conferences, namely in Jakarta and the Hoge Veluwe and the maturity of thought in compiling the federal state, it was made the basis of the grip which would later be discussed at the conference talks in Malino on July 15, 1946. In this conference led by H.J. Van Mook and was attended by state representatives from West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Bangka-Belitung, Riau Islands, South Sulawesi, Minahasa, Manado, Bali, Lombok, Timor, Sanghie-Talaud, South Maluku, North Maluku and Papua. In this conference representatives from Java and Madura were not involved, because H.J. Van Mook deliberately set up the state of Borneo and East Indonesia.

Before the formation of Negara Indonesia Serikat (the united states of Indonesia) H.J. Van Mook also prepared a transitional period with the statement that he only recognized the independent Republic of Indonesia as a state equal to other states. Besides that the Dutch also demanded that the Republic must return the authority taken by force, the Republic must break all relations with foreign countries and abolish its diplomatic service. The TNI (Indonesian National Army) must also be dissolved, because a state is not entitled to own its own army. Briefly, the Dutch government demanded that the Republic of Indonesia must abandon its sovereignty rights achieved since the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945, while the Deputy High Crown had great power during the transition period (Burgers, 2011 p. 433).

Starting from the Malino conference, apparently H.J. Van Mook pretended to show the world the International to approve decolonization, because after World War II colonization of the world was abolished. Starting with the business through the policy of diplomatic struggle and military power, is one of the things that can be expected by H.J. Van Mook to regain control of Indonesia. At that time the British government as an allied official represented by AFNEI stated that it was difficult to accept H. H.'s policy. Van Mook because it's not rational. Starting from this, then the British government sent Lord Killearn to Indonesia on the end of August 1946, with the aim of leading the negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. At the British Consulate General in Jakarta, they agreed to prepare to hold negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which contained weapons of arms that would be held at Linggarjati on October 14 to November 10, 1946.

In this negotiation the delegates held negotiations based on one of the drafts prepared by the General Commission. According to this draft the Dutch government would recognize the *de facto* Republican government power over Java and Sumatra, except for areas already controlled by Allied forces or Dutch troops. The Netherlands and the Republic will work together to establish a free and democratic country based on federative principles called the United States of Indonesia. Likewise, cooperation in the formation of a Dutch – Indonesian Union, one of which before 1949 had to be realized (Burgers, 2011 p. 435).

Linggarjati, is one of the small cities approximately 21 km west of the city of Cirebon, chosen as the place of negotiations. At that time the Indonesian delegation was represented by the prime minister Sutan Syahrir, while the Dutch delegation was represented by H.J. Van Mook and Schemerhorn. As the leader of the negotiations was from the British government represented by Lord Killearn, the results of the agreement were announced on November 15, 1946 and were concluded as a text of agreement consisting of 17 articles, the main of which are;

1. The Netherlands recognizes *de facto* the Republic of Indonesia with a territory of power that includes Sumatra, Java, and Madura. The Netherlands must leave the *de facto* territory no later than January 1, 1949.
2. The Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands will cooperate in forming the United States of Indonesia, under the name RIS (Republic of Indonesia United), which is one of the parts of the Republic of Indonesia.
3. RIS and the Netherlands will form the Union - Indonesia - Netherlands with Queen Wilhelmina as its chairman.

In the Linggarjati agreement it actually runs tough because both parties have conflicting grounds. The Dutch government applied deception so that the Indonesian side would immediately be willing to sign the agreement. With the signing of the agreement, it can be submitted to the Dutch parliament for support. In the end the agreement was agreed upon by both parties on March 25, 1947, resulting in a change in circumstances related to the time delay or indeed planned by the Netherlands. This must be known that the Dutch government in Indonesia is under British supervision, so that the signing of the agreement means ratifying the role of the British government in relation to the settlement of Indonesia - the Netherlands. By not being supervised by the British government, the Dutch immediately prepared military forces including the preparation of compulsory military service in the Netherlands which was scheduled for 1947. The Linggarjati agreement did not provide political

refresher even between pros and cons. On the Republican side, they strongly refused, especially from the Masyumi and PNI parties, while those who agreed were the PKI, the Indonesian Socialist Party, the Indonesian Labor Party, the Catholic Party, the Christian-Protestant Party, and the Pesindo Youth Organization (Kahin, p. 368).

After the departure of the Japanese army, the Dutch actually wanted the Dutch East Indies region to be returned to its heyday. However, what must be realized is that at that time the Dutch East Indies would not be able to restore its authority. This makes various reasons, that the Netherlands came for a different solution, so it must avoid not cooperating with the Republikein. In the work of Linggarjati, the Dutch managed to buy time, so they could plan to create new ideas and options that would benefit them (Smeulders, 2011, p. 18.).

The Dutch government deliberately made tensions according to the right vision, namely the struggle for diplomacy and the military, so on July 21, 1947 the first military aggression occurred. The action was interpreted as a police action, because it had been approved by the Dutch parliament with the main goal of dissolving the Republic.

The first Dutch military aggression, specifically the residency in Madura, was on September 1, 1947, so the capital was moved from Bangkalan to Pegantenan. At the same time, the East Java provincial government office was also transferred to Blitar City, led by Roeslan Wongso Kusumo, while for the Madurese government representative office, the office also followed (Heru Sukadri et al., 1991, p. 18-21). The Goal of the First Dutch Military Aggression wanted to regain and establish states in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, one of which was, Madura. In the beginning of August 1947 the Dutch attacked in Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. The Dutch lowered their troops and combat equipment throughout the Madura region, especially in Botorobu-Bangkalan, Camplong-Sampang, Tlanakan-Pamekasan, and Prenduan-Sumenep (Pemda Pamekasan, 2004, p. 156 ; Mohammad Moestadji, 1988, p. 14).

This Dutch military aggression was instructed by Major Sitters as the commander of the Dutch army in Madura. The first period was carried out on August 4, 1947 at around 2:30 a.m. with the strength of 100 armed forces driving 7 tanks and 14 trucks, with the target city of Bangkalan. In the attack, the resistance of the Madurese people was coordinated by the Madura Regional Defense Council, led by among them were Major Mohammad Hanafi, and Major Imam Sukarto. After Bangkalan can be mastered until on August 18, 1947 Madurese warriors can survive in Arosbaya north of approximately 14 Km from Bangkalan and had consolidated to hold a resistance with the guerrilla system. At that time the Bangkalan regent was R.A. Sis Cakraningrat stayed in Arosbaya and lived in Kyai Mat Yasin's house. Recomba officials (Regeerings Commisioner voor Bestuurs Aangelegenheden) East Java, namely Van der Plas, were finally able to persuade R.A. Sis Cakraningrat to return to Bangkalan city. Seeing this signal, the Madurese people had to return the regent R.A Sis Cakraningrat to side with the people. By receiving assistance from the Arosbaya district namely R.P. Mohammad Nur by submitting various resolutions to the Madura Resident, finally the regent R.A Sis Cakraningrat agreed to the will of the people, although the patialan Bangkalan remained in favor of the Dutch ((ANRI, Algemeen Secretarie, No. 1265; Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur, 2002, p.15).

When Dutch forces carried out an attack in Pamekasan on August 16, 1947, there was a fierce resistance. Before the attack the role of the ulama was very important in maintaining independence, because there had been an agreement to hold a preparatory meeting at the Kayumanis boarding school, Jungcang, at the home of KH Abdul Hamid Pamekasan. Led by K. H. Abdul Hamid, K.H. Mohammad Toha, (both from the figures of Hezbollah Madura forces), K.H. Abdul Adhim Ening, K.H. Muhammad Tamim, K.H. Zaini Munim, K.H. Syarqawi, and K.H. Muhtar (representing Sabilillah Madura forces), Lieutenant Colonel Candra Hasan and Slamet Guno (representing TNI), K.H. Jakfar Amin (representing BPRI or Barisan Rakyat Indonesia Revolt), R. Sudomo (representing PESINDO or Indonesian Socialist Youth), RA Latif (represent of the IPI or Indonesian Youth Association), and Usman (representing the State Police Forces), Consolidating the power of the clerics and fighters from Pamekasan, by KH Abdul Hamid has also held communication and cooperation in preparation against the Netherlands with K.H. Mohammad Ashim Ilyas is the owner of An-Nuqayah Islamic Boarding School, Guluk-guluk Sumenep (Mutam Muchtar, 1987, p. 70-73. Events of resistance against the Dutch occurred around the Jamik mosque, Joko Tole street, Pamekasan. It was told that in the war began at 2:00 a.m. from various directions under the leadership of Major Mangkudiningrat, and assisted by the commanders below, among them were kalpten Zaeni, Slamet Guno, Mudhar Amin, Major Abu Jamal, K.H. Tamim, and K.H. Amin Jakfar. In the battle the Dutch troops received such a large supply of weapons, so that they could repel the

Pamekasan fighters. In the event that the resistance of the Dutch army in Pamekasan was estimated to have fallen victim to the Dutch as many as 65 people and fallout of Pamekasan people as many as 85 people (Sulfan Afandi, 2016, p, 248-251).

In addition to Bangkalan and Pamekasan, the target of the Dutch attack on East Madura was also carried out in Sumenep. On September 9, 1947, the Dutch, led by Lieutenant Baron van de Linde, had placed warships and opened fire on everything around Pasongsongan, Pasiyan, and Ambunten beaches. The peak of the attack was on September 11, 1947, starting at 6:30 a.m. targeting in Pakong, Pegantenan district with the strength of Dutch troops, an infantry company, three companies riding motorbikes, and also still protected from the air by four bombers carrying a bomb ready to detonate. The attack was carried out along the road from the village of Guluk-guluk, Lenteng and finally to Sumenep. In the attack there was resistance from Madurese fighters in Manding and Karangtengah. The resistance can last until September 15, 1947, because it lost in terms of weapons and limited supply of food (Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur, 2002, p.97).

The impact of the first Dutch military aggression caused sympathy and strong reaction from the international community, one of which was Australia and India, urging the UN Security Council to immediately discuss the Indonesian problem. On August 4, 1947 the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands announced that the cease-fire began immediately, as the end of Dutch military aggression. But in reality the Netherlands continues to expand its territory until the demarcation line is formed or often called the Van Mook line. In accordance with the wishes of Van Mook Indonesia continued to refuse, so that the arms traps approved by the UN did not apply effectively. Thanks to the struggle for diplomacy in the UN forum, many countries supported the struggle of the Indonesian people and helped the way of resolution peacefully. In an effort to monitor the settlement of disputes between Indonesia and the Netherlands and agreed to end the ceasefire, the UN Security Council formed the Three Nations Commission (KTN). The countries that sit in the KTN are the results that have to be shown from the Republic of Indonesia, the Netherlands and a neutral country, including; 1. Australia is showing Indonesia represented by Richard C Kirby, 2. Belgium is a Dutch show represented by Paul Van Zeeland, and 3. The United States is a show of Australia and Belgium represented by Dr. Frank Forter Graham (Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, 1983, p. 56).

Thanks to the KTN proposal, negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands were held on December 4 on the American Renville ship which was anchored in Jakarta. The Indonesian delegation consisted of Prime Minister Amir Syarifudin, Ali Sastroamijoyo, Dr. Tjoa Sik Len, Mohammad Roem, Haji Agus Salim, Sutan Syahrir, Mr. Nasrun, Drs. Setiyajid, and Ir. Juanda. The Dutch delegation consisted of Abdulkadir Widjoatmojo, Jhr. van Vrederburch, Dr. Somoukil, Aji Pangeran Kartanagara and Tengku Dzulkarnin. Although some of them were Indonesians, they became Dutch representatives and were pro-Dutch. Thus, the Dutch can still conduct political fighting so that Indonesia is easy to master. After the debate was completed from December 8 to December 17, a peace agreement was obtained. The main points of the contents of the Renville agreement are as follows;

1. The Dutch remain sovereign over all Indonesian territories until Indonesian sovereignty is handed over to the Republic of Indonesia (RIS) which will soon be formed,
2. RIS has an equal position with the Netherlands in the Indonesian - Dutch Union,
3. The Republic of Indonesia will become a state RIS.
4. Before the RIS is formed, the Netherlands can surrender a portion of its power to the interim federal government.
5. The Republic of Indonesia troops in the enclave must be withdrawn to the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The enclave is the area behind the Van Mook line, the line connecting the two leading regions occupied by the Dutch.

In the continuation of the Renville agreement can be signed by both parties, namely on January 17, 1948, Related to the losses suffered by the Republic of Indonesia with these signatories are; 1. Indonesia was forced to approve the establishment of the United States of Indonesia through a transitional period, 2. Indonesia lost part of its territory because the Van Mook line was forced to be recognized as a Dutch territory, 3. The Republic of Indonesia had to withdraw all of its troops in Dutch territory and enclaves guerrilla entered the territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

The signing of the text of the Renville Agreement also caused adverse consequences for the government of the Republic of Indonesia, including the following; 1. The Republic of Indonesia became increasingly narrow because it was confined by Dutch territories, 2. The emergence of violent reactions among the leaders of the Republic of Indonesia which could lead to the fall of Amir Syarifudin's cabinet because it was considered selling the country to the Netherlands, 3. The Indonesian economy was strictly blocked by the Dutch, 4. Indonesia was forced to withdraw its military units from guerrilla areas to then migrate to the adjacent territory of the Republic of Indonesia, 5. In an effort to divide the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. The Netherlands formed puppet countries such as West Borneo, East Sumatra, East Java and Madura. In reality the puppet state is incorporated in the BFO (Bijeenkomst Federal Overleg) (Burgers, 2011, p. 52).

A week after the signing of the Renville agreement, Amir Syarifudin's cabinet resigned on January 23, 1948. The issue of reimbursement had already been prepared in the past, which was November 11, 1947, because there were seven ministers from the Masyumi Party, PKRI (Republic of Indonesia Catholic Party) and PARKINDO (Indonesian Christian Party) becomes a parliamentary coalition cabinet. These three parties are on the grounds that they cannot approve the agreement on weapons trafficking and the policies that were run by the Prime Minister during the negotiations, while the PNI only demands the replacement of portfolios. It can be said that from November to December 1947, in the Republic of Indonesia internally there was indeed an acute political chaos, so President Sukarno immediately commissioned Vice President Mohammad Hatta to form a new cabinet. Mohammad Hatta was chosen on the grounds because of his position as vice president, so it was expected to have a great authority. In this case Mohammad Hatta succeeded in forming a new cabinet supported by his ministers, especially from the Masyumi, PNI, PKRI and PARKINDO parties. Related to the Hatta cabinet's work agenda including; 1. Continuing negotiations with the Netherlands on the basis of the Renville agreement, 2. Rationalizing and reconstructing the army and civil servants, 3. National development, and 4. Accelerating the formation of the United States of Indonesia (Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, 1983, p. 79).

Reflections on the political turmoil that occurred at the central level turned out to have a large impact on disruption at the local level as well as on Madura. Simultaneously on 11 November 1947 there was an unhealthy relationship and was cut off between Jakarta and Madura, so that on 21 November 1947 the administration of the government was taken over by R.A. A Cakraningrat. Even when a meeting was held in Jakarta at the end of December 1947 for the establishment of the United States of Indonesia, R.A.A. Cakraningrat was a member of the committee representing the Madura section (Sudarno et al., 1983, p.267; Sjamsoel Arieffin, M.,1950, p. 13 ;Sinpo, XXXVIII, No.671, 20 April 1948, p. 2).

Inspired by the Linggarjati agreement, one of which was democracy or the right to self-determination, then on January 14, 1948 in the Bangkalan district hall and continued in Pamekasan on January 16, 1948, Madurese figures gathered to negotiate to solve the political conditions of Madura. From the results of the negotiations a Madura Position Determination Committee was formed consisting of advisors to R.A.A. Cakraningrat representing the Resident of Gedelegeerde Madura Recomba was then assisted by representatives of three people from Pamekasan, three from Sumenep, two from Sampang, and three from Bangkalan. This committee also established a resolution asking for the approval of the people to establish the Madurese state by voting from each sub-district and district. The conditions for eligible voters are that every citizen in all Madurese is at least 18 years of age and above or is excluded for those who are married. The vote to determine the Madurese state took place on January 23, 1948 as a result; the number of residents entitled to vote 305,546 people, the number of those present was 219,660 people, the number who agreed 199,510 people, the number who did not agree 9,923 people, and the number who did not vote 10,230 people. The conclusions obtained from the collection are; the number was 71.88%, the population agreed 90.82%, the number that did not agree was 4.51%, and the number that did not vote was 4.65% (ANRI, Algemene Secretarie, No. 4734).

Starting from the results of the collection, the Madurese state was established based on a Decree dated February 20 no. 1 as contained in the Staatsblad (State Gazette) 1948, no. 12. It was stated that Lieutenant Governor General in this case was willing to hear and approve the wishes of the Madurese people because those who had previously submitted a resolution on January 23, 1948 so that the state of Madura was recognized and formed as a state unity based on legal force with Pamekasan as its capital. Furthermore, in the Decree, stated that R.A.A. Cakraningrat as Madurese resident was appointed and given authority as the Mayor and established a Provisional Council to prepare more complete state organization (Bastian, 1965, p. 16).

According to T. Sumarto's report, the establishment of the Madura state was also inspired by the formation of the East Java state because when there was a East Java Position Preparation Committee Meeting at the Bubutan National Building in Surabaya on January 25, 1948, discussing the existence of a separatist movement led by Sekartaji did not get welcome of the people. At the same time, one of the meeting participants, Asmoroyudo, and Akman founded PKM (Madura Nationality Party), whose purpose was specifically to take care of the calculated Madurese people outside the island of Madura to support the independence of the Madurese people. Therefore PKM requests the shipping sector (scheepsvaart-afdeeling) to be the main agenda, because it can streamline transportation mobilization activities in supporting the independence program of the Madurese people (Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur, 2002, p.21).

Having felt that there are several supporting strength factors from within, both in the form of social organizations, as well as political parties, Madura branch representatives, KNID, TNI, and PKM, the Madura State People's Council will temporarily be inaugurated on 15 July 1948. These include; 1. R.P. Amang Makmur former KNI Probolinggo as Secretary of State, 2. K.H Munir R. Hafiludin, R.P. Machmud, R. Sukaris, R.P. Pratamingkusumo, Dr. Aminuddin was appointed as a commission that studied governance rules. 3. Achmad Syarif Shijders, R. Kaina Halim, R. Syafii, R. Abdul Gafur, and R. Bagiohadi as commission for making Madura state plans. Besides that RAA. Cakraningrat has previously been in contact with Islamic figures or Islamic Boarding Schools in Madura to help fully include; Kyai Jambu, Haji Munir, Haji Munif Abusujak, Ahmad Sarbini as leader of the Indonesian Islamic Army Madura, and Barisan Islam Indonesia Madura (ANRI, Arsip Kabinet Kementrian Djogdjakarta, No. 84).

Even before the launch of the July offensive, Beel was in favor of forming new political units in the areas to be occupied in order to separate those areas from the Republic. After the offensive, Van Mook took up its implementation energetically. In doing so, he abandoned his earlier thought that the Indonesian federation should consist of only a few large units. At the end of January 1948, for example, the negara (state) of East Sumatra was born, followed by the negara Madura in February, the negara Pasoendan (West Java) in April, the negara South Sumatra in August and the negara East Java in November. The creation of these federal states followed a simple pattern. Usually a committee of Indonesians was formed in a particular region with the support of Dutch government officials to advocate an independent status for that region. Subsequently, the government recognized this committee, or a conference convened at its request, as a "provisional representative body". This was then followed by a legal decree by Van Mook that made the region a federal state with its own "Head of State" was converted (Burgers, 2011.p.154).

As the launching of the first task of the Madura State People's Council was on August 1, 1949, by establishing August 17, 1949 as Madura's national day. At the same time the Vice Mayor R.A.A. Cakraningrat is also able to form various departments to assist in the implementation of government in the Madura state. Among others are:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Government Department, Police and Public Security | : R.T. Abdurrochman |
| 2. Ministry of Finance | : W. Kuiper |
| 4. Ministry of Economic Affairs
Land and Sea Traffic | : Ir. Irigati |
| 5. Department of Education, Culture and Science | : R.H.W. Stappershof |
| 6. Ministry of Health | : Dr. Mas Suparmo Hinggopati Cotro
Hupoy |
| 7. Ministry of Religion | : R.T.A. Zainallatah Notohadikusumo |
| 8. Ministry of Justice | : Mr. Sudibyoleman |

Then for the composition of the Madura State People's Council is as:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Chair | : R. Abdurrasid |
| Deputy Chairman I | : R. Abdul Nohai |
| Deputy Chairman II | : R. Bagioadi Monconagoro |

Table 1: The list of members of the Madura State People's Council

Name	Origin	Appointment date	Remarks
1. Abdul Azis RH	Bangkalan	15-04-1948	Chosen
2. Abdul Baki R	Pamekasan	"	"
3. Abd. Jalal Dipamarjana	Bangkalan	"	"
4. Abdul Gafur R	Sampang	"	"
5. Abdul Kadir R	Sampang	"	"
6. Abd. K. Singosingoyudo	Sumenep	"	"
7. Abdullah Sulaiman	Bangkalan	"	"
8. Abd. Rahman Singoatmojo	Pamekasan	03-06-1948	"
9. Abd.Rasid Kusumodiwiryo	Sampang	15-04-1948	"
10. Abdussalam K	Sumenep	15-04-1948	"
11. Abubakar R. Amidarmo	Pamekasan	"	"
12. A. Hafiluddin	Pamekasan	"	"
13. Achmad Munir N	Sampang	"	"
14. Achmad Putrodiharjo	Sampang	"	"
15. Achmad T Hadisaputro	Sumenep	"	"
16. Aliurida Tirtonegoro R	Sampang	"	"
17. Alwi B. Belfagi. S	Sampang	"	Designated
18. Asmaun Suyodiharjo R	Sumenep	03-06-1948	Chosen
19. Deighton H.A	Bangkalan	15-04-1948	Designated
20. Faturrachim Sarbini H	Sampang	"	"
21. Hasan B. Saulin Bausir	Bangkalan	03-06-1948	"
22. Hasim Makki KH	Sampang	"	"
23. Hosen. R	Sampang	21-10-1048	"
24. Ismail Prayitnodirono	Sumenep	15- 04-1948	"
25. Mahmud Sosrodipuro	Sumenep	"	"
26. Mangkuadiningrat A	Sumenep	"	"
27. Mastufah	Sampang	10-09-1948	"
28. Munir Abusujak KH	Sumenep	15-04-1948	"
29. Murijono. H.A.R	Pamekasan	"	"
30. M. Ali Prataningkusumo	Sumenep	"	"
31. Mochamad Anwar. M	Sumenep	"	"
32. Moh. Ersad Trunojyo	Pamekasan	"	"
33. Moh. Hanafia Ilyas	Sumenep	"	"
34. Dipokusumo . R.H	Sumenep	"	"
35. Moh. Iksan Tohir	Pamekasan	"	"
36. Moch. Machfud	Pamekasan	"	"
37. Moch Ramadan R	Bangkalan	"	Chosen
38. Moh Saleh N	Sampang	"	"
39. Moch. Saleh R	Bangkalan	"	"
40. Moch. Zainalalim M	Sampang	"	"
41. Ong Hok Sing	Sampang	"	Designated
42. Ong Lion Wan	Sampang	03-06-1948	"
43. Sukarim Budisujono R	Sampang	"	"
44. Syafi'i. K	Pamekasan	"	Chosen
45. Syaman N	Bangkalan	15-04-1948	"
46. Snijder H.R.O	Bangkaan	"	"
47. Subardi Nolopruso. K	Sumenep	03-06-1948	"
48. Sosrowinoto. R.A.A	Sumenep	15-04-'948	Designated
49. Zaafiril	Bangkalan	03-06-1948	Chosen

Source: (Bastians, 1965, p. 16-19).

3. From political diplomacy to military action

Starting from the formation of governance that is configured by Madurese state guardian R.A.A. Cakraningrat, shows that whether the State of Madura has fulfilled the requirements to accommodate state theories as they have developed in the West. If categorized or with the aim of being a puppet state, it is impossible if the H.J Van Mook caliber statesman only wants to blind the international statmen, especially labels such as the establishment of the Madurese state. The puppet state is understood that the state is officially independent and its sovereignty is recognized, but it is de facto under the control of other countries. As what was intended by the Dutch, that the formation of a real puppet state was only to surround the position of the Republic of Indonesia or narrow the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Each of these puppet countries must also be led by someone appointed by the Dutch. Through the puppet countries it formed, the Netherlands could form a Federal government with H.J. Van Mook as head of his government. The list of puppet states formed by H. J. Van Mook was the state of East Indonesia in December 1947, Sumatra Timur 16-02-1947, Pasundan 26-02-1948, Sumatra Selatan 30-08-1948, Jawa Timur 26-11-1948, and Madura 16-01-1948.

The case of the puppet state in particular regarding the sustainability of the Madura state after the formation of the cabinet as formed by R A. A. Cakraningrat clearly found many obstacles that could be overcome in the not too distant future. This was evidenced when on July 5, 1949 before the establishment of the Madura state cabinet, R A. A. Cakraningrat had once submitted a letter of application to the Dutch government in Batavia which contained a request for budget funds for the administration of state employees. The proposed budget funds are valid from 1948 to 1949 with details of attachment A for budgeting of the Madura People's Council and secretariat of f. 419,569. Appendix B for the costs of returning the facilities and infrastructure damaged by the Dutch attack in 1947, because it was not so urgent that the costs were not made in detail. Appendix C. for the budget for payment of salaries of Department heads as many as 7 people and those realized are as many as 5 people in the amount of f. 21,600 and C for the cost of living for the Madurese state guardian for one year amounting to f. 32,022.

Actually the submission of a Madurese guardian was reasonable because in Besluit van Gouverneur General 20 February 1948 No. 1 published in the Staatsblaad van Nederlandsch Indie 1948, no. 42, decided that the government would provide operational funds for various salary budgets and various other needs for the Madura state. However, with various alibis regarding the weak condition of the Madura income budget and not being supported by a population of only around 2,000,000, the budget approval is only given at f. 250,000 (ANRI, Algemene Secretarie, No. 1267). Evidence of another weakness when the Madurese mayor, R A. A. Cakraningrat, will propose a need for truly professional officials, especially the Ministry of Finance and Justice. Through a letter of application that was submitted to East Java Recomba on December 13, 1948, the contents asked W. Kuiper to become the head of the Ministry of Finance of the state of Madura, considering that he had experience in the financial sector. The request was not immediately granted because it received an answer from the state secretary in Batavia on May 20, 1949, which A D. Loth was assigned to become the head of the Madura state Finance Department. Because Madurese mayor R A A. Cakraningrat objected to accepting candidates for Treasury Department official A D. Loth, then finally East Java Recomba agreed to W. Kuiper as head of the Madura state Finance Department. (ANRI, Algemene Secretarie, No. 15440).

Starting from a small portion of such weaknesses, it is easy to create a negative view of the people of Madura. In the period between 1945 and 1950 there were always issues adopted from Java about the domination of fighters, about the term for the title of the Republicans for those who were able to fight for independence and the non-Republicans for those who were despised because they were in favor of Netherlands. This phenomenon has a big influence and has a psychological impact on the Madura state, especially in the direction of RAA. Cakraningrat as mayor of Madura. When it began to occur between the pros and cons of the formation of the Madura state it revolved around the absence of any change at all about the level of small people's welfare and security

The evidence that is burdensome to the small people as it is known that the money in effect is NICA money which at that time if the exchange rate with ORI money or the money of the Republic of Indonesia is between 1:10, so that all basic needs become expensive. Related to the actual security factor after the armaments were held according to the Roem Royen agreement on May 7, 1949, Madura's condition in the Dutch view was still said to be unsafe so it was declared still in danger or Staat van Oorlog en Beleg (SOB). Various reports that

entered around 1947 until 1979 were contained in the occurrence of many violations of law such as gambling, theft, and *carok*. To follow up on this, the Netherlands, through General Major Baai of East Java Recomba, assigned police and army units to conduct cleanups in order to restore the security situation and conditions (Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur, 2002, p.21).

Other disadvantages of RAA. Cakraningrat as Madurese mayor according to the view of the Madurese republicans group is that the person concerned is carrying out acts of nepotism by placing many members of his family and closest friends to occupy strategic positions in the country of Madura. The possibility of this is one of the RAA's efforts. Cakraningrat to strengthen the legitimacy of his position and also the factor of his endurance. The names of officials who occupy strategic positions include:

1. RA. Sis Cakraningrat who was appointed as regent of Bangkalan was the son of RAA. Cakraningrat.
2. RA. Ruslan Cakraningrat as general secretary of Madurese state guardian is the son of RAA. Cakraningrat.
3. R.P. Abdul Azis who was appointed Major Commander of VI-35 Battalion was the son of the niece of RAA. Cakraningrat.
4. R P. Abdul Rachman as Wedana Bunder, Pamekasan is the son of the niece of RAA. Cakraningrat .
5. Kyai Abdul Hamid Mudlahari who is believed to be a spiritual advisor to RAA. Cakraningrat.
6. Abdurrachman was appointed as head of the Government Department, Police and Public Security of Madura, a close friend of RAA. Cakraningrat.
7. Hasyim Sosrodanuatmojo became head of the Madura National Police, a close friend of RAA. Cakraningrat.
8. RTA. Zainalfatah Notohadikusumo was appointed regent of Pamekasan still in family relations with RAA. Cakraningrat.
9. R T. Prataningkusumo being the regent of Sumenep is the younger brother of the RTA. Zainalfatah Notohadikusumo is also still related to the family of the Madura state leader.
10. Rp. Mohammad Rivai was appointed as wedana Kwanyar, Bangkalan is the younger brother of the RTA. Zainalfatah Notohadikusumo.
11. Rp. Mohammad Sadali was appointed as inspector of the Bangkalan class II as well as family relations with RAA. Cakraningrat.
12. R. A. Usman was appointed as a high employee Madura is the son of a niece of RAA. Cakraningrat.
13. Rp. Abdul Brotomiprojo is the Patih Sampang is still a family with RAA. Cakraningrat.
14. RA. Abdulrachnan became the head of Pamekasan district Public Works, a cousin of RTA. Zainalfatah Notohadikusumo is still family related.
15. RA. Mohammad Taha was appointed to the office of Public Works Bangkalan district is the son of the niece of RAA. Cakraningrat.

The list of names of Madura state officials was written in full and detailed by the anti-RAA. Cakraningrat group in the name of the patriots of the Republic of Madura for the sake of demonstrating the dissolution of the Madurese state led by R. Santosa (ANRI, Arsip Kabinet Kementrian Djogdjakarta, No. 84).

Other disadvantages of RAA. Cakraningrat as it is known that the embryo of the emergence of the Republican group was actually because at that time it had to accept the choice of the establishment of the Madura state as a Dutch puppet state and if this did not cause weakness certainly there would be no internal turmoil or intrigue. Although the emergence of the Madura Struggle Movement was considered primordial, this organization was the only social organization that had a commitment to the fate of the Madurese people. This movement is not in the form of political parties but its members are spread in many places and have branches in various cities in Java such as Surakarta, Madiun, Nganjuk, Kediri, Blitar, Jombang, and Tuban. Based on articles 2 and 3, the articles of association of the Perjuangan Madura Movement are stated as follows:

1. Moving the people of Madura to fight for the interests of the island of Madura and the people within the Republic of Indonesia
2. Intensifying the people of Madura both in the occupied area and in the Republic of Indonesia
3. Provide awareness to the people of Madura of their interests in choosing the Republic and defending the Republic of Indonesia
4. Supporting all state efforts in implementing the Renville Agreement

5. Paying attention to the fate and interests of its members.

The composition of the organization of the Madura Movement organization is as follows (ANRI. Arsip Kementrian Penerangan, No. 99):

- Chair : R. Sosrodanukusumo,
- Deputy Chairman: Mohammad Tabrani
- Treasurer: R. Senosastro
- Comitte I : M. Kafrawi
- Comitte II: Iskak

Assistant: R. Safiudin and R. Abdul Hajat for Yogyakarta representatives; R. Ruslan Wongsokusumo for Blitar representatives; K. Amin and Jakfar for Kediri representatives; R. Ilyas for representatives of Tuban; R.P. Mohammad Nor and R. Sulaiman for Babad representatives.

The state of the state and the same time to administrators of the government because it was deemed too dictated by the government, the republican groups were wanted to move against and dissolve the state and wanted to return to the government of the Republic of Indonesia. After training inspiration from the Madurese Movement of Struggle Organization in Java, Madura Region, Regional Madurese Indonesian Youth Movement, Madura Indonesian Student Association, and many Forces groups Sabilillah Madura.

This group after succeeding in gathering a mass of approximately 25,000 people, then on February 15, 1950 held a demonstration to demand the dissolution of the Madura House of Representatives and reduce the position of Madurese state guardian held by R.A.A. Cakraningrat. It was stated that during the demonstration the mob began to move from 9:45 a.m. while shouting the chants while walking a long march from the Pamekasan Agricultural School - Jalan Sumenep - Kebon - Sedangdang - Pamekasan Town Square and then entering the building of the Madura Parliament. After negotiations between Zainalfatah and Hafid representing the demonstrators with Abdul Gafur as chairman of the Madura People's Council, tensions could be overcome without anarchic actions. One of the effects of the incident was the emergence of dissatisfaction among the Madurese population towards the establishment of the Madurese state and this resulted in residents venturing it by forcing officials considered anti-Republican as well as Assistant Wedono Pegantenan Mohamammad Hanafi, Assistant Wedono Pakong Mohammad Amin, and Assistant Wedono Proppo Wongsodirejo to immediately resign from his position. In addition, the people also sued some of the officials who were still close to the RAA's mayor. Cakraningrat to immediately put down his position. Among these alain were Bangkalan regent R A. Sis Cakraningrat, general secretary of Madura's mayor R A. Ruslan Cakraningrat, and Abdulrochman. Furthermore, as a reaction to the situation which was considered to be no longer conducive, the Madurese mayor through a letter dated February 8, 1950, No. 512 / Secr.Um sent to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the RIS gave a statement that the Madura state was returned to the government of the Republic of Indonesia United.

After the demonstration, on February 23, 1950 the regent of Pamekasan R.T.A. Zainalfatah Notohadikusumo immediately reported to the government of the Republic of Indonesia about the political situation in Madura and urged the government to immediately issue a decree stating that the Madurese state wanted to rejoin the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. After waiting for several days it turned out that the desire had not been received in reply from the government of the Republic of Indonesia, then on March 4, 1950 R. A. Zainalfatah sent back several faction representatives to meet the governor of East Java and requested that Madura de facto obtain legal recognition as a residency area of Madura which was part of the East Java province. . Starting from the state of Madura which was considered not conducive anymore, then on March 19, 1950 the RIS president issued a decree stating that the Madura area was designated as a residence and was followed up by appointing R. Sunarto Hadiwijoyo as resident official and Hanafi as the Pamekasan regent who had just replaced RTA . Zainalfatah Notohadikusumo. The enthusiasm for returning to the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia was based on the United Nations meeting on December 19, 1949. At that time the Three Nations Commission (KTN) ordered the United States to issue a resolution approved by members of the congregation which contained:

1. Freeing the president and vice president and leaders of the Republic of Indonesia who were arrested since December 18, 1948

2. Ordered KTN to provide a full report on the situation in Indonesia since 19 December 1948.

Then the results of these decisions that were successfully achieved by the UN include:

1. Charter of recognition of sovereignty on December 27, 1949
2. Establishment of RIS
3. Establishment of the Union of Indonesia - the Netherlands
4. Establishment of the KNIL army (Koninklijke Nederlands-Indische Leger) and KL (Koninklijke Landmacht) which are integrated into APRIS (Republic of Indonesia Union Armed Forces)
5. Charter of citizenship
6. Approval of the financial economy
7. The issue of West Irian will be discussed within a year later.

4. Conclusion

Imperialism is a process in which the state shares its power under the pretext of conquering and at the same time expanding its territory. As in this case, it was when the Dutch adopted their policies with Indonesia, especially in the period between 1945 and 1947. There was no right statement and reason, because the Dutch had no power from 1942 to 1945, so when they wanted to return their power in 1947 until 1949 it had to act imperialism.

In the history of the Indonesian revolution, Dutch imperialistic actions took place when there was no agreement in the Linggarjati agreement, so the Republicans continued to fight to defend the territory which did not all belong to the Netherlands. In this struggle the Republicans also opposed the feudalist power that had long existed in Indonesia. The aim of the war, the Republicans in accordance with the substance of the Linggarjati agreement, was to demand the largest vote in the countries incorporated in the RIS. With this vote, they can want the union states to be in the hands of the Republicans.

The creation of federal states and the formation of a provisional federal government could give the impression that the centralist administrative system of the old Dutch East Indies had already given way to a decentralized system. That impression was only partly correct. When each federal state was founded, a large number of subjects were designated each time that remained within the competence of the central government; moreover, the *Länder* could only take up the functions that belonged to their competence after the central administration had handed them over, and that transfer was often delayed. The Provisional Federal Government therefore managed the part of the archipelago controlled by the Netherlands mainly in the same centralistic way as was the case in the past; it was essentially a continuation of the existing government in a new outfit. Although the federal states had only limited powers of their own, their existence did have political consequences. The fact that Dutch officials had to obey Indonesian ministers was a striking contrast to the colonial past. The fact that state governments needed the support of their parliaments opened up new political possibilities. For the Republic, there was a substantial difference between the state of East Indonesia and the federal states established after the July offensive. The first was provided for in the Linggarjati agreement; the latter were a blatant violation of it.

Starting from the results of the Dutch government's decision to give recognition of sovereignty to Indonesia, on December 23, 1949 the RIS delegation chaired by Drs. Mohaammad Hatta with members of Sultan Hamid Algardri, Suyono Hadinoto, Dr. Suparmo, Dr. Kusumaatmojo, and Prof. Dr., Supomo left for the Netherlands. The transfer of sovereignty to RIS was held in two places, namely in the Netherlands and in Jakarta and officially submitted on December 27, 1949. The surrender of sovereignty in the Netherlands was carried out by Queen Juliana, Prime Minister Willem Dress and Overseas Minister A.M.J.M. Sassen told Drs. Mohammad Hatta as chairman of the delegation of the Republic of Indonesia United. Then the surrender of sovereignty in Jakarta was carried out by the highest representative of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, A.H.J. Lovink to representatives of the government of the Republic of Indonesia United, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX. Along with this, President Sukarno in Yogyakarta received the surrender of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia from Mr. Assaat representing RIS officials.

With the recognition of sovereignty which was revealed on December 27, 1949, the armed revolution in the Republic of Indonesia ended and de jure the Dutch recognized Indonesian independence in the form of the state of the Republic of Indonesia (RIS). Regarding the agreement of the Indonesian people, on 17 August 1950 the RIS country was dissolved and then the Indonesian Republican Unitary State (NKRI) was established. The national capital which was originally located in Yogyakarta was then moved to Jakarta. Then on December 28,

1950 the Republic of Indonesia was officially accepted as the 60th member of the United Nations and this meant that the independence of the Indonesian state had officially gained international recognition.

The merger between the Madurese state and the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia began with the merger with RIS which was constitutionally possible through articles 43 and 44 of the RIS constitution provided that the merger was desired by the people and also regulated by federal law. Then later on March 8, 1950 the RIS government with the approval of the parliament (DPR) and the Senate RIS issued Emergency Law number 11 of 1950 which essentially regulated the procedures for changing the composition of the RIS state. Based on this Emergency Law, the states combine themselves with the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta, including in this case the Madurese state.

References

- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Arsip Kementrian Penerangan No. 99*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Arsip Kabinet Kementrian Djogdjakarta, no. 84*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Arsip Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, no. 1033*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Algemene Secretarie, No. 1265.*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Algemene Secretarie, No. 1267, Voorlopige Kostenraming van de Negara Madura*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Algemene Secretarie, No. 15440*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia): *Arsip Kementrian Penerangan No. 99, Tahun 1950*
- ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), *Algemene Secretarie, No. 4734, ,Komite Penentoean Kedoedoekan Madoera Pamekasan, 23 Februari 1948*
- Sinpo*, XXXVIII, No.671, 20 April 1948, p. 2
- Bastian, W. Ch. J. (1965). "Personalia Staatkundige Eenheden van de Republiek der Verenigde Staten van Indonesie per 1 September 1949" in *Prive Bundel*
- De Beus, J.G.(1987). *Het laatste jaar van Nederlands-Indië :Van de zwaardhouw der Tweede Politionele Actie tot de handtekening onder de Souvereiniteitsoverdracht.* Leuven:AD. Donker
- Burgers, Herman, (2011). *De Garoeda en de Ooeivaar: Indonesie Van Kolonie Tot Nationale Staat* , Leiden: KITLV-Uitgeverij
- Cribb, Robert (2010). *Para Jago Dan Kaum Revolusioner Jakarta 1945-1949.* Translated by Tim Masup Jakarta ,Jakarta: Masup
- Gase, R.A. (2003). *Beel in Batavia: Het Kabinet-Beel en de federale opbouw van Indonesie.* Amsterdam, 2003
- Gerbrandy, P.S. (1950). *Indonesia.* London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd.
- Heru Sukadri et.al (1991). *Sejarah Revolusi Kemerdekaan (1945-1949) Daerah Jawa Timur.* Jakarta: ISDN Publisher
- H. Nina Lubis, et.al. (2005). *Peta Cikal Bakal TNI.* Bandung: Pusat Penelitian Kemasyarakatan dan Kebudayaan Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Padjadjaran
- Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung. (1983). *Renville.* Translated by Hanny Rungkat and Ny, M. Th Sidjabat ,Jakarta: Sinar Harapan
- Kahin, George Mc Turnan. (2013). *Nasionalisme dan Revolusi Indoneasia.* Translated by Tim Komunitas Bambu, Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu
- Kodam VI Siliwangi.(1981). *Siliwangi Dari Masa ke Masa,* Bandung: Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Bandung
- Mutam Muchtar.(1987). *Peran Ulama Dalam Perlawanan Terhadap Agresi Militer Belanda I Di Pamekasan Madura.* Unpublished undergraduate thesis, Surabaya: Fakultas Adab IAIN Sunan Ampel
- M. Sjamsoel Ariefin.(1950). *Negara Madoera.* Sampang: Koninklijk Bataviaasche Genootschap Bibliotheek
- Osman Raliby.(1953). *Documenta Historica, Djilid I.* Djakarta: Bulan Bintang
- Pembentukan Negara Madura Tahun 1948 Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Republik.* Surabaya: Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur, 2002
- Poeze. Harry A. (2008). *Di Negeri Penjajah: Orang Indonesia di Negeri Belanda 1600 – 1950.* Translated by Hazil Tanzil . Jakarta: KITLV
- R.H.A. Saleh.(2000). *Mari Bung, Rebut Kembali !.* Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan
- Regerings Voorlichting Dienst.* (1946). *Indonesia's Toekomst.* Batavia: Unknown publisher
- Smeulders, Bart.(2011). "De intenties van Nederland in Indie, 1945 – 1947". in *Jonge historici schrijven geschiedenis*, Publicatie nummer 9

- Smith, C.(1976). *De Dekolonisatie van Indonesie, Feiten en Beschouwingen*. Jakarta: Intermedia
- Sulfan Afandi.(2006). "Perjuangan Rakyat Pamekasan Mempertahankan Kemerdekaan Dalam Agresi Militer Belanda I Di Madura Tahun 1947", in *Avatara*, Vol 4, No. 2, Juli 2016, Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah, FISIP, Universitas Negeri Surabaya
- Tim Penyusun. (2004). *Pamekasan Dalam Sejarah*, Pamekasan: Pemda Pamekasan
- Mohammad Moestadji. (1988). *Perjuangan Rakyat Madura Dari Daerah RI Ke Daerah RI*, Surabaya: Bina Pustaka Utama
- Sudarno, et al. (1983). *Sejarah Pemerintah Militer dan Peran Pamong Praja Di Jawa Timur Selama Perjuangan Fisik Tahun 1945-1950*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka