

INTISARI

Friksi-Friksi di Kesultanan Moloku Kie Raha

Studi ini berupaya memahami dan menafsirkan kelakuan politik bangsawan dan birokrat-politisi dalam meresitasi sistem politik kesultanan saat mendorong pembentukan Provinsi Maluku Utara. Gegara itu, mereka berkelahi sebelum provinsi terbentuk. Adalah Sultan Mudaffar, yang menghasratkan Maluku Utara ditetapkan menjadi *Daerah Istimewa Moloku Kie Raha*, dan Sultan menjadi gubernur seumur hidup, menjadi pemicu konflik. Konflik bangsawan dengan birokrat-politisi ini dianggap merupakan pemicu konflik Maluku Utara tahun 1999-2000. Birokrat-politisi menuding Sultan Mudaffar menghidupkan feodalisme untuk menguasai sumberdaya ekonomi paska provinsi. Konflik sekarang mereka lanjutkan dengan cara saling menyingkirkan dari arena politik lokal. Setelah dua puluh tahun provinsi terbentuk mengikuti konsep Otda biasa, sementara keadaan politik, ekonomi, dan kesejahteraan rakyat kian mundur, birokrat-politisi mendukung Otsus yang digagas sultan Husain Alting Sjah.

Masalah utama yang hendak dijawab studi ini adalah: Kewibawaan kesultanan dijadikan media simbolik (tameng) birokrat-politisi mengkamufase kegagalan berhadapan dengan praktek pemerintahan yang mengandalkan kuasa administrasi dan birokrasi. Studi ini menggunakan perspektif Post-Strukturalisme. Data lapangan dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, obrolan santai, dan pengamatan, antara bulan September 2015-Agustus 2016. Semula, kerja lapangan di Ternate saja. Namun, isu Otsus yang ditiupkan Sultan Husain telah mengubah peta politik tradisional, lapangan penelitian diperluas menjangkau Tidore.

Jejak friksi bangsawan dengan birokrat-politisi sekarang bisa dilacak dalam laporan para sarjana tentang proses saling desak orang non-Austronesia dan Austroneis, penduduk pertama kepulauan Maluku, di daratan Halmahera. Mitos/Hikayat asal musal mengisyaratkan masa-masa damai terjadi saat kelompok-kelompok sosial di sini masih berbentuk komunitas, di mana hubungan antar individu dan antar kelompok terjalin setara. Ketika negara/kerajaan dibentuk, konflik menjadi bagian dari kehidupan sehari-hari mereka. Ketika bangsawan menafsirkan secara stratatif nilai budaya yang mengajarkan semangat saling mengasihi antar sesama dalam kehidupan sehari-hari; tafsir mana dipakai merumuskan filsafat politik kesultanan: *Jau se Ngofa-ngare*, dan kesultanan menetapkan *zuriyat* dan restu leluhur menjadi syarat utama calon sultan, pemimpin-*momole*, atau pemimpin pra-kesultanan, termarginalkan menjadi *bala kusu* (sahaya), kemudian hilang sebagai pendiri kesultanan. Dinamika sosial-politik konfliktual seperti ini yang membuat kerajaan tidak memiliki kohesi sosial-budaya sehingga gagal merespon perubahan di zaman modern. Seperti halnya leluhur, bangsawan dan birokrat-politisi sekarang juga tidak memiliki kohesi sosial-budaya sehingga mereka tidak mampu bekerjasama membangun daerah. Ditambah kurang pengalaman dalam berpemerintahan, mereka kemudian menjadi pecundang yang menim-bulkan kegaduhan politik nyaris tanpa henti di era reformasi kini.

Kata kunci: *Konflik, marginalisasi politik, hegemoni politik, pemimpin semu.*

ABSTRACT

Frictions in the Sultante of Moloku Kie Raha

This study attempts to understand and interpret political behaviors of aristocrats and bureaucrats-politicians in reciting the sultanate's political system when promoting the formation of North Maluku Province. For that reason, they fought before the province was formed. It was Sultan Mudaffar, who wished North Maluku to become Moloku Kie Raha Special Region, and he became a governor for a lifetime, which then triggered conflict. The conflict aristocrats and bureaucrats-politicians was considered to be the trigger for the conflict in North Maluku in 1999-2000. The bureaucrats-politicians accused Sultan Mudaffar of reviving feudalism to control economic resources after becoming a province. Now, they continue such conflict by undermining each other from the local political arena. After twenty years the province was established following the ordinary concept of regional Autonomy and the political, economic and welfare conditions of the people were increasingly declining, the bureaucrats-politicians supported the Special Autonomy initiated by the Sultan Husain Alting Sjah.

The main problem to be answered by this study is: The authority of sultante used as a symbolic media (shield) for bureaucrats and politicians to camouflage failures is dealing with governance practices that rely to administrative and bureaucratic powers. This study employed a post-structuralism perspective. Field data were collected through in-depth interviews, casual conversation, and observations from September 2015 until August 2016. Initially, the field work was carried out only in Ternate. However, because the issue of Special Autonomy initiated by Sultan Husain has changed the traditional political map, the research field was expanded to Tidore.

The friction between aristocrats and bureaucrats-politicians can be traced back to scholars' reports that non-Austronesians and Austronesians, the first inhabitants of the Maluku islands on the Halmahera mainland, pushed each other. Myths/tales of origins indicate that a period of peace occurred when social groups here were still in the form of community, in which relations between individuals and between groups were established equally. When a state/kingdom were established, conflict became a part of their daily lives. When aristocrats interpreted cultural values that teach the mutual love of each other in daily life based on strata; of which interpretation was used to formulate the political philosophy of the sultanate, *Jau se Ngofa-ngare*, and the sultanate determined *zuriyat* and the blessing of the ancestors to be the main requirement for the prospective sultan, then leaders-*momole*, or leaders prior to the sultanate were marginalized to be *bala kusu* (grass roots) and disappeared as the founders of the sultanate. This socio-political conflict made the kingdom did not have socio-cultural cohesion so that it failed to respond to changes in modern times. Like ancestors, aristocrats and bureaucrats-politicians now also did not have socio-cultural cohesion so they were not able to work together to develop their region. In addition to lack of experience in governance, they later became losers who caused continuous political disruption in the current reform era.

Keywords: *Conflict, political marginalization, political hegemony, pseudo-leaders.*