

## Dou, Ruma Labo Dana: dinamika politik di Kesultanan Bima 1905-1957

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### Abstrak

#### **ABSTRAK**

Disertasi ini mengenai kesultanan Bima dengan fokus kajian pada dinamika politik antar elite dan fragmentasi kekuasaan dalam mempertahankan kedaulatan di tengah ancaman dan tantangan dari luar dan dalam. Studi mempersoalkan bagaimana kesultanan Bima dapat bertahan di saat elite terfragmentasi dalam penguasaan sumberdaya, dan dampaknya pada integrasi dan perubahan secara struktural. Fokus kajian dimulai dari tahun 1905 saat penetrasi kekuasaan kolonial melalui kekuatan militer, yang menunjukkan melemahnya kontrol Sultan atas politik dan ekonomi di Bima. Adapun masa akhir kajian tahun 1957, yakni sejak diberlakukannya UU No.1 tahun 1957 tentang Pokok-Pokok Pemerintahan Daerah yang menjadi awal berdirinya Kabupaten Bima sebagai daerah otonom baru, menggantikan sistem birokrasi kesultanan Bima.

Secara struktural, kekuasaan di Bima dijalankan oleh dua kelompok elite, yaitu Mawa'a Bilmana (?yang membawa kebijaksanaan?) dan Manggampo Donggo (?yang menghimpun?). Konvensi antar kelompok menggariskan bahwa tureli nggampo atau raja bicara (perdana menteri) diambil dari kelompok Mawa'a Bilmana, sedangkan Sultan dari kelompok Manggampo Donggo. Pada dasarnya, kedua kelompok elite ini berpandangan sama dalam memperjuangkan kepentingan dou (rakyat) dan dana (negara), meski berbeda dalam cara dan visi politik dalam mengelola kekuasaan. Temuan studi menunjukkan bahwa konvensi menyangkut distribusi kekuasaan tersebut dilanggar sultan.

Pendorong utamanya adalah melemahnya dukungan bangsawan Mawaa Bilmana, sementara di sisi lain sultan semakin lemah dalam menggalang kekuatan internal pendukung otoritasnya. Kondisi inilah yang melahirkan kebutuhan sultan akan perlunya dukungan eksternal guna mempertahankan kekuasaannya. Hal ini tercermin dari keputusan sultan untuk beraliansi dengan kekuatan luar demi mempertahankan kekuasaannya dari tekanan bangsawan lokal. Keputusan Sultan ini ditentang bangsawan Mawa'a Bilmana yang berpandangan bahwa persekutuan dengan kekuatan luar akan dapat merusak tatanan tradisional dan mengancam kedaulatan negara. Langkah sultan tersebut juga menimbulkan perlawanan dari para elite baru, yakni kaum terpelajar. Bahkan, kelompok ini menuntut agar tatanan ?feudal? diubah dengan sistem baru yang menghargai dan mengakomodasi perbedaan dalam format ?negara berdaulat?, yang didasarkan pada nilai-nilai demokrasi dan kedaulatan rakyat.

Menariknya, meski atmosfer perubahan menggema, para elite baru ini justru tetap mengharap kehadiran figur bangsawan untuk memimpin dan mempersatukan rakyat yang terpolarisasi berdasarkan kepentingan dan politik aliran. Harapan ini terkabul dengan tampilnya Putra Muh. Salahudin bernama Abdul Kahir menjadi pemimpin daerah (1954-1959, 1960- 1964). Bahkan, di era demokratisasi ini, hadirnya Ferry Zulkarnaen anak Abdul Kahir menjadi Bupati Bima (2005-2010, 2010-2015) menunjukkan bahwa

kelompok bangsawan Manggampo Donggo masih memiliki pengaruh yang cukup kuat di masyarakat. Sultan dianggap mampu menjadi hawo ro ninu (?menaungi dan melindungi?) rakyat untuk menciptakan keteraturan sosial guna mewujudkan kepentingan rakyat dan negara.

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<b>ABSTRACT</b><br>

This study of Bima's Kingdom is focused on political dynamic at elite level which's reflected a kind of fragmentation of powers for supporting principles of ?kedaulatan/democracy?. Problem statement of this study is how was Bima's kingdom able to survive facing the challenge waves, internally and externally. Moreover, how were the impacts of power struggle on social integration as well as structural change. Period of study is started in 1905 when the colonial power had started to penetrate by military/army force. The significant of 1957 was related to the changing system of beuracracy from feudal (Kesultanan Bima) to legal-rational (Kabupaten Bima as an autonomy district) due to implementing UU no.1/1957 on Local Government Principles.

Structurally, regarding the history of Bima, there were two dominant ruler groups: (1) Mawa'a Bilmana (the Wisdom givers) and (2) Manggampo Donggo (the pollers). Their roles had been based on a political consensus that a Lord of Speech (Prime Minister) would be from Mawa'a Bilmana group, Soultan (the King) would be from Manggampo Donggo. This convention had been ruled for inter-generations. Basically, both of elite groups had similar point of views for fulfilling people's (dou) interests as well as country/state (dana). In fact, they had different visions in a matters of managing economic resources and politic of government which was stimulated the broken of Elite's convention. Finding study has shown that the main cause factor was related to the Soultan's basis of power at local level has been corrupted. Therefore, He tried to allie with external forces, such us: Ducth, Japan, NICA, NIT. Lord of Speech perceived its negatively which could treat Bima's traditional structure, and also the freedom of Bima.

The friction between Soultan and Lord of Speech reflected the disability of government for managing economic as well as security matters. Moreover, it also shown the different interests of both. Actually, it could be understandable if there was an assumption that the power of Soultan should be maintained by hand in hand with alliens forces, particularly for handling internal challenges. Soulthan policy was also critised by new elites (such us: educated peoples) who asked the changing of the feudal structure into a new system, a kind of ?demokratic state? which recognized and democratic values as well as people's power. Interestingly, eventhough the authority of Lords/Manggampo Donggo was going down and down by time even the political climates was changed, but peoples (including new elite group) still dreamed for having a figure (Soultan) who would not be only capable to lead them, but also able to integrate Bima's peoples which had been fragmented in order of interests.

The dream was come true by promoted a son of Muhammad Salahudin which named Abdul Kahir was lead Bima as major (1954-1959, 1960- 1964). Moreover, during democratizaion era, the lords is still playing significant roles which proved by Ferry Zulkarnaen (son of Abdul Kahir). Ferry has been elected as Major of Bima District (2005-2010, 2010-2015). This fact has reflected that Manggampo Donggo has still strong and significant roles in society, particularly at grassroots level. Peoples have perceived that Soutan has able to create hawo ro ninu or ?to accomodate and protect? peoples (dou).</i>