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COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES  
ON THE  
INDONESIAN QUESTION

REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON  
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MADURA

/LETTER

LETTER DATED 18 MAY 1948 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES ON THE INDONESIAN QUESTION TRANSMITTING  
THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MADURA

16 May 1948

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit a report of the Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question on political developments in Madura, which is submitted in accordance with the first of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council at its two hundred and fifty-ninth meeting on 26 February 1948.

The Committee regrets that the necessity for extensive consultation with the parties precluded the dispatch of the report at an earlier date.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

/s/ T. K. Critchley  
T. K. CRITCHLEY,  
Chairman

President of the Security Council,  
United Nations,  
Lake Success,  
New York.

/SECURITY COUNCIL

SECURITY COUNCIL

COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES ON THE INDOONESIAN QUESTION

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES TO THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MADURA

I. NARRATIVE

1. Upon receipt of the terms of the Security Council's resolution of 28 February 1948, requesting the Committee of Good Offices to pay particular attention to political developments in western Java and Madura, and to report to the Council thereon at frequent intervals, the Committee considered the question of the most satisfactory means of obtaining information to form the basis of its reports. The Committee agreed that its primary task was to furnish the Security Council with a body of established facts and decided to address to the delegations of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia a series of questions on the political developments in these areas.
2. In the case of Madura, the Committee felt that the most significant political developments related to the plebiscite held on 23 January for the purpose of consulting the population as to the form of government and the status of the area. Accordingly, the Committee's questions on Madura were concerned with the circumstances surrounding the holding of the plebiscite and the manner in which the plebiscite was conducted. These questions were transmitted to the delegations of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia on 15 March with the request that they submit replies as soon as possible. A reply was received from the Republican delegation on 10 April and from the Netherlands delegation on 26 April.
3. Replies from the parties to the Committee's questions on Madura disagreed upon matters of fact in a number of instances and were incomplete in other instances. A drafting sub-committee was therefore set up to meet representatives of the parties in an endeavour to reconcile these factual discrepancies and to obtain additional information. As a result of the sub-committee meetings, several amendments or clarifications were made by the parties to their replies.
4. The following report is therefore based on the answers of the parties to the Committee's list of questions, and statements made by the representatives of the parties in meetings with the Committee's drafting sub-committee.

/II. BACKGROUND

## II. BACKGROUND OF THE PLEBISCITE

5. During the first week of September 1947, while the island of Madura was partly under Republican and partly under Netherlands control, a meeting took place at Bangkalan in the Netherlands-controlled area, between Mr. R. A. A. Tjakraningrat, Republican Resident of Madura, on the one hand, and Netherlands civil authorities and the military commander of the Netherlands forces in Madura on the other hand. The following is a summary of the conclusions reached in the course of these discussions as furnished in English translation by the Netherlands delegation:

1. Acting in concert they will strive with all energy to put into practice the principles of Linggadjati.
2. The Resident<sup>1</sup> of Madura, who has resumed his task in full extent, will as soon as possible choose between Pamakasan and Sampang as seat of his administration, in consultation with the military commander, who will do everything possible to provide the necessary office and suitable living quarters. He sees to it that all indispensable functions, especially all civil service posts, will be filled.
3. The administration of the Resident is the only administration of Madura. As soon as the Resident again exerts his functions in full extent in a place within easy reach, the presence of Mr. Deeleman (delegate of Recomba<sup>2</sup>) on Madura becomes superfluous and he will then, at the Recomba office in Soerabaja, especially attend to Madura's interests with the services of the central government and the technical services and also in the ports of East Java. The university-trained young indologists, who might prove to be wanted in Madura, will be put at the disposal of the Resident, eventually to be put at the disposal of certain Regents<sup>3</sup> as agreed upon with the Recomba. Even if, for tactical reasons, this putting at the disposal (of Regents) has not yet been effected formally, they consider themselves to be under the orders of Resident or Regent respectively. It is prescribed that officials of specialist services, including those of the departments of public works and economic affairs, shall, when they come to Madura, report to the Resident (respectively the Regent) before they start work. The judgment of the Resident

1. Head of residency, usually comprising four or five agencies.
2. Government Commissioner for Administrative Affairs
3. Head of a regency, comprising several districts.

((or Regent))

(or Regent) in matters of policy is decisive, subject to appeal to the Reccmba.

The same applies to officials of these services posted in Madura.

4. Basing himself on the agreement of Linggadjati, especially paragraphs 1, 2 and 15, and on the relations with Jogja being de facto broken, the Resident administers Madura in the spirit of the principles enunciated sub-paragraph 1, therewith recognizing the Reccmba as co-ordinator and representative of the central authority until a different regulation is made, either at the creation of the government of the United States of Indonesia or earlier in virtue of a regulation of the interim government. The Resident will exert himself to take in hand the reconstruction of Madura with the greatest speed and energy, especially:

- (a) the special distribution, already begun, of textiles to the whole population of Madura on the conditions concerning free distribution to the poor, prices, payment etc. as made known to him; also, where necessary, distribution of corn;
- (b) promotion of the sailing trade (among other things also applications for materials, to be supplied if necessary on credit);
- (c) promotion of fishing by distribution of materials (yarns, lines, hooks) and supplying the (Madurese) preservers of fish with licences for buying (cheaply) salt, which may be paid in preserved fish at Soerabaja market price, minus costs (transportation, profit middle-man etc.);
- (d) promotion of stock-breeding;
- (e) restoration of the Residency and Regencies public health services. As a temporary emergency measure the supply of vitamin-rich food and simple medical assistance will be undertaken in the most suffering areas, also by the Red Cross;
- (f) all other measures for providing prosperity, especially agriculture, transportation, roads, bridges and commerce.

The Reccmba will do everything possible to support the Resident in the above. He will promote to the utmost of his capacity the free transportation of food to Madura and rapid service to the Madurese sailing vessels in the ports of Java in Reccmba-territory and further to have the necessary expert assistance supplied.

5. Without curtailment of the responsibility, authority and duties of the (Netherlands) military commander of Madura to restore and maintain law and order, to take in (collect) all arms except of the Panong Pradja (republican civil service) and Polisi Negara (republican police) and, wherever necessary to take strong measures, the Resident strives for making military intervention as much as possible superfluous; he strives especially to prevent intimidation, violence, kidnapping and destruction and to have the handing in of arms occur in a peaceable way. The military commander supports these efforts, about which close contact between the Resident and the military commander is maintained.

6. The Resident strives to reinforce the legitimate instrument of authority, to wit the Polisi Negara, as rapidly as possible in such a degree that these police will be able to maintain completely law and order in the present circumstances. From Netherlands side the necessary contribution will be made for arming, clothing, equipping, augmenting, and eventual training (where there is a police training unit of the general police by this unit) of the Polisi Negara. This applies especially for providing means of transportation.

As far as police training units have to be used for police activities these will take place under direction of the Regent as to policy. The Regent co-ordinates these activities with those of the Polisi Negara and will see to it that even the semblance is avoided that the units of the Polisi Negara might be placed under supervision or command of the police-officials of the Netherlands police."

6. Whether Mr. Tjakraningrat, who proceeded from the Republican area to Bangkalan for the purpose of the meeting, had authority to act on behalf of the Madura Republican administration, is a matter on which there is a conflict of opinion between the two parties. The Republican delegation stressed that Mr. Tjakraningrat was acting in a personal capacity and had no authority whatsoever to conclude any agreement with the Netherlands authorities on behalf of the Republican administration. They also maintained that he had no prior consultation with other Republican authorities.

7. The Netherlands delegation stated that, beginning on 21 November 1947, shortly after the complete occupation of the island of Madura by Netherlands forces, Mr. Tjakraningrat, in accordance with the above-mentioned agreement, convened meetings of heads of Republican departments

/and of

and of prominent, political, religious and social leaders at the four regency capitals (Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep). The delegation stated that at these meetings, while the above-mentioned agreement met with general approval, it was urged that the status of Madura should have a stronger and more definite official foundation than an agreement between officials and that the people should be consulted. During December and early January 1948, according to the account of the Netherlands delegation, deputations representing various groups and parties of Madura, including religious and political parties, the Arab and Chinese sections of the populations, the Association of Noblemen and groups and associations representing the common people, came to Bangkalan requesting that Madura be given a legally sound status in the form of a grant of self-government by decree of the central government of the Netherlands Indies. Similar representations, it is stated, were made to Mr. Tjakraningrat in the course of a visit which he paid to Kalianget, the port of Sumenep, on 8 January. Requests for popular consultation were received from other important centres. It was in consequence of this pressure, the Netherlands delegation stated, that a decision was taken to hold a plebiscite on 23 January.

8. The Republican delegation denied that the population of Madura had ever made any kind of popular demand for such a plebiscite. Commenting on the statement of the Netherlands delegation, the Republican delegation contended that it would not have been possible to consult the political parties in Madura since these had been rendered inactive in consequence of the military occupation of the area by the Netherlands authorities. Hence any members of these parties who might have taken steps in the matter did so as private individuals and not as representatives of the parties. The Republican delegation contended that this was true also of the other groups and associations which were said by the Netherlands delegation to have sent representatives.

9. On 14 January Mr. Tjakraningrat summoned at Bangkalan a meeting of about fifty prominent individuals from the whole of Madura. He put before the meeting the requests which he had received and suggested the formation of a committee to study the problem. At this meeting the fifty who attended designated from their own number eleven persons to constitute a "Provisional Committee for the Determination of the Status of Madura." Three of the committee members were from Bangkalan, three from Pamekasan, three from Soemenep and two from Sampang. The Chairman of the Committee had been the head of the Cultural Section of the Republican Department

/of Education

of Education in Madura and formerly local President of the Partai-Nasional Indonesia (Republican). Among the members of the Committee, one, Mr. Sjamso, had been in charge of Republican propaganda in Bangkalan, two members were judges (one of them having been a former leader of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Nationalist Party of Indonesia)) and three were members of the Perkoempoelan Kebangsan Madura (Organization of the People of Madura). The Netherlands delegation considered it significant that no official of the Pamong Pradja (Republican civil service) or of the police was elected.

10. It was further decided at the meeting on 14 January that a resolution for submission to the people of Madura demanding the granting of self-government should be drafted by the full committee of fifty at a meeting to be held on 16 January, that a plebiscite committee should be elected on 15 January in each regency, that there should be formed throughout Madura sub-district\* committees consisting of one elected representative for each dessa (autonomous village) and that the people should be consulted in each dessa on 23 January, when the member of the sub-district committee for the dessa would be present to answer questions. The members of the central and regency committees were to exert control to guarantee freedom of speech and vote.

11. On 16 January the full committee met in Pamekasan. It dropped the word "provisional" from its title and adopted the following resolution:

Heard: the discussions in the meeting of 16 January 1948 are of the opinion:

- (a) that as from 11 November 1947 the relations between Madura and the Central Government of the Republic of Indonesia have been severed;
- (b) that in this connection, in the interest of the people and the country, the government has been in the hands of R. A. A. Tjakraningrat as from 21 November 1947;
- (c) that this government was autonomous, co-operating with the Central Government;
- (d) that said government was only of a provisional character, until its position would be definitely established;

Whereas:

- (a) the people of Madura are entitled to independence and self-determination, in accordance with the general principles as laid down in the Linggadjati agreement;
- (b) in connection with the present political situation of Indonesia the time has now come to determine the status of Madura;

\* A sub-district usually contains four or five dessas.

Resolve: to ask the people of Madura to agree to the following fundamental conclusion and conceptions of the Committee to establish the status of Madura (komite Penentoean kedoedoekan Madcera):

- (a) to declare the relations between Madura and the Republic of Indonesia severed;
- (b) to establish the status of Madura as a free Negara (Negara Merdeka) within the United States of Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Serikat);
- (c) to designate Mr. R. A. M. Sis Tjakraningrat, Regent of Ponghalan, as representative of Madura in the provisional Senate of the Interim Government;
- (d) to ask Mr. R. A. A. Tjakraningrat to take charge of the government of the Negara Madura as Wali Negara;
- (e) to authorize the Wali Negara of Madura and the Committee to establish the status of Madura (komite Penentoean kedoedoekan Madcera):

1. to organize and establish the government on a democratic basis in accordance with the general principles of the Lingadjati agreement;
2. to appoint at most two representatives of Madura in the Provisional Senate of the Interim Government;
3. to increase the number of members of the Committee to establish the status of Madura, according to needs;
- (f) to request the Netherlands Government to recognize the status of Madura as referred to in article (b).

12. The Republican delegation pointed out that the Chairman of the Committee for the Determination of the Status of Madura, Mr. Sukaris, was an official under the Resident. They claimed that the actions both of the Committee and of Mr. Sukaris were subject to review by the Resident (Mr. Tjakraningrat) at whose residence the meeting of 16 January was held. The Netherlands delegation denied that the actions of the Committee were subject to such review.

### III. METHOD OF HOLDING THE PLEBISCITE

13. The decision to hold the plebiscite in accordance with the terms of the above-mentioned resolution was announced on 16 January by reading the resolution at the meeting of the Committee for the Determination of the Status of Madura. The parties disagreed as to the degree of publicity given during the period between 16 January and the holding of the plebiscite on 23 January. The Republican delegation alleged that after the

/reading

reading of the resolution at the meeting of the committee on 16 January no further official announcement was made until the holding of the plebiscite itself. It further contended that the intervening period of seven days was not sufficient to allow those who were opposed to the plebiscite to express their views. On the other hand, the Netherlands delegation stated that the decision to hold the plebiscite as well as the date and hour on which the vote would be held (between 3.00 p.m. and 6.00 p.m. on 23 January) were announced personally in each dessa by the dessa's representative on the sub-district committee on 16 January and following days.

Replying to the complaint of the Republican delegation that no announcement was made through press and radio, the Netherlands representatives pointed out that no press or radio facilities exist in Madura and that, since a large proportion of the population is illiterate, the only effective way to make a public announcement is by word of mouth. The people were informed according to the Netherlands delegation, that they were free to discuss the resolution, which was read both in Malay and Madurese and explained, and they were told that they might vote on it as they wished.

14. According to the Netherlands delegation's account, the actual conduct of the plebiscite was in the hands of the sub-district committees, under the supervision of the central committee and the regency committees. For the purpose of the plebiscite the dessa (of which there are 988 in the whole of Madura) was taken as the administrative unit. According to a decision taken by the central committee, all male citizens of the dessas of eighteen years or older, and those under eighteen years if married, had the right to vote. On account of religious customs women did not vote.

15. In order to insure freedom from influence on the part of the government, the Netherlands delegation stated, no civil servants or police or military personnel were allowed to attend the meetings at which plebiscite issues were discussed.

16. At the same time as the holding of the plebiscite was announced in each dessa, the resolution which had been drawn up by the Committee for the Determination of the Status of Madura was read and an explanation given orally of the questions to be voted upon. The Republican delegation alleged, however, that in some districts people sought clarification of the resolution and were told by the chairman of the meeting that they need not ask any questions, since the meaning was quite clear.

17. The plebiscite was held on 23 January in all areas of Madura except a number of small outlying islands, including Kangean, Sapudi, Giligenteng

/and Puteran,

and Futeran, which, the Netherlands delegation explained, could not be reached because of lack of communications.

The votes were taken, the Netherlands delegation stated, after the issues had been fully discussed and when it appeared that no further discussion was desired. The electors separated themselves into three groups according to whether they voted for the resolution quoted in paragraph 11, voted against it or abstained. This method of voting, the Netherlands delegation contended, is the only one possible for a people the vast majority of whom are illiterate but who have an acute sense of the issues at stake.

18. The present population of Madura is approximately 2,075,000, compared with 1,865,312 in July 1947 and approximately 2,500,000 in 1941. Out of a total of 305,566 males eligible to vote in the plebiscite, 219,663 exercised the franchise. Thus about 11 per cent of the total population, and 73 per cent of the eligible voters, took part in the plebiscite, the result of which was as follows:

In favour	:	199,510
Against	:	9,923
Abstentions:		10,230

19. The customary method of popular consultation in Madura is discussion in the dessa under the leadership of a government official, in a meeting of the married male adult members of the population of the dessa who are still capable of doing work. Thus, while this was the first occasion on which a plebiscite had been held in Madura, the methods used in obtaining the vote conformed largely to traditional practice. Two important differences, however, were (1) that unmarried men between eighteen and twenty-one years of age were also allowed to vote, and (2) no government civil officers or police were present at the consultations.

20. On the question as to whether any opposition to the plebiscite was expressed there was some difference of opinion. The Republican delegation claimed that potential opponents were not given an opportunity to express their views. It was pointed out by the Netherlands delegation, however, that in two villages, of which one was in the Bangkalan and the other one in the Panekhasan regency, some electors decided to abstain from voting when the sub-district committee representative proved unable to elucidate satisfactorily a question as to the degree of autonomy which Madura might expect to enjoy as a negara (state). The Republican delegation claimed that some of these individuals were subsequently questioned by the military police. The Netherlands delegation also pointed

/out that

out that in the Lenteng sub-district of Sumenep a majority voted against the resolution because they were not convinced that Madura would be able as a negara to count permanently upon the support and protection of the Netherlands.

21. The Republican delegation alleged that after the plebiscite a number of people living in the villages of Kemajoran Bangkalan, and Burneh Temor Lorong Bangkalan, who had voted against the resolution, were summoned and investigated by the Military Security Service (Militaire Veiligheidsdienst). Among these were said to be a Mr. Zaini and a Mr. Ladji Abdullah, both of Bangkalan. The Netherlands delegation denied that any individuals or groups concerned with the plebiscite had been subjected to intimidation.

22. The Republican delegation contended that freedom of speech was prevented by the existence of regulations issued under the State of War and Siege prohibiting the assembly of more than four persons at one time.

The Netherlands delegation stated that these regulations were not enforced so as to prohibit any meetings in connection with the plebiscite.

#### IV. DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWING THE PLEBISCITE

23. Following the plebiscite, the Central Committee requested Mr. Tjakraningrat to accept the resolution, and, in accordance with its terms, to take charge of the government of the negara Madura (state of Madura) as its Wali Negara (head of state). The Committee appointed its chairman, Mr. Sukaris, and one of the members, Mr. Justice Ahmed Sharif, to present the resolution to the Lieutenant Governor General of the Netherlands Indies. Accordingly Mr. Sukaris and Mr. Justice Sharif proceeded to Batavia in company with Mr. Tjakraningrat on 15 February. A petition asking that Madura should be recognized as having the status of a negara in the projected United States of Indonesia, with Mr. Tjakraningrat as its Wali Negara, was presented to the Lieutenant Governor General under date of 29 January as follows:

"To  
His Excellency  
the Lieutenant Governor-General  
of the Netherlands Indies  
B A T A V I A

We the undersigned:

1. Raden Soekaris, and

/2. Raden Soedirman

2. Raden Soedirman,  
respectively Chairman and Secretary of the Committee for the  
Determination of the Status of Madura, herewith have the honour  
to inform Your Excellency

that at the urgent request of the various groups of the people of  
Madura, from the groups of officials, clergy, businessmen, as  
well as from the groups of the common people, among whom was  
the Persatuan Kebangsaan Madura (Madurese National Union), on  
14 January 1948 several notabilities from the community in  
Madura met at the residence of the Regent of Bangkalan to discuss  
the desire for self-determination on the part of the people of  
Madura, in the light of the present political situation in Madura;

that as a result of this meeting a provisional Committee for the  
Determination of the Status of Madura was formed, composed of  
three representatives of the people of the regency of Pamekasan,  
three of Sumenep, two of Sampang, and three of Bangkalan. It  
was agreed to nominate R. A. A. Tjakraningrat, Resident of Madura  
delegated to the Rescomba, as advisor;

that the provisional Committee was entrusted with the task of  
discussing with the leaders of the people in the various areas  
the formation of a permanent committee by democratic procedure;

that on 16 January 1948, at the residence of the Regent of  
Pamekasan a Committee for the Determination of the Status of  
Madura was formed, with a composition similar to that of the  
provisional Committee, comprising delegates of the people of  
the whole residency of Madura, while the undersigned were chosen  
as Chairman and Secretary;

that on the same day the Committee adopted a resolution, of which  
the full text is attached to this petition as an enclosure;

that with respect to this resolution the Committee with the  
assistance of the Sub-Committees to be formed forthwith in each  
Regency and District, will solicit the agreement of the people  
through the method of voting, to be conducted simultaneously in  
every village throughout Madura on 23 January 1948 at 15.00 hours;

that it was also ruled that the persons qualified to vote were  
male inhabitants of the villages who have attained the age of

/eighteen

eighteen years and male inhabitants not yet having attained the age of eighteen years but already married;

that the method used at the voting was as follows: in every village on 23 January 1948 at 15.00 hours, an assembly of the qualified voters was held, whereupon an explanation on the purport and the purpose of the resolution and the voting upon the resolution was given to the assembled people, after which the assembly were free to cast their vote in favour, against or blank;

that on 23 January 1948 from 15.00 hours to 18.00 hours the votes were taken in the manner described above, and producing the following result:

(a) Number of qualified voters	305,546
(b) Turn - out	219,663
(c) In favour	199,510
(d) Against	9,923
(e) Blank	10,230;

that, therefore, it can be concluded from the above result that:

1. 71,88% of the qualified voters cast their votes
2. 90,82% of the votes cast was in favour
3. 4,51% of the votes cast was against
4. 4,65% of the votes cast was blank;

that on the ground of decision taken by the people of Madura as stated in the foregoing, we, on behalf of the people of Madura, herewith respectfully request Your Excellency - in Your Excellency's capacity of representative of the Netherlands Government - to recognize Madura as having the Status of a Negara, which will be a part of the United States of Indonesia; and to recognize R. A. A. Tjakraningrat as Wali Negara.

We fully trust that Your Excellency will be guided by wisdom in disposing of this request of the people of Madura; and on behalf of the whole population of Madura we express our deep gratitude for favour and sincerity displayed by Your Excellency in the capacity of representative of the Netherlands Government.

Pamekasan, 29 January 1948

On behalf of the Committee for the  
Determination of the Status of Madura:

Chairman Secretary  
(s) (R. Soekaris) (s) (R. Soedirman)

Approved:

The Resident, delegated to the Reomba

(s) (R. A. A. Tjakraningrat)"

/24. The creation

24. The creation of a Madura state was recognized by the Netherlands Indies Government in a decree issued by the Lieutenant Governor General under date of 20 February in the following terms as furnished by the Netherlands delegation in English translation:

"Read the report of the 'Komite Penentoean Medoedoekan Madoera' of January 29th 1948 with regard to the verdict of the peoples of Madura on January 23rd 1948, when the resolution of the 'Komite Penseboean Kedoedoekan Madoera' of January 16th 1948 was accepted;

Considering that this verdict and the contents of the resolution accepted with it have confirmed in a convincing manner the desire, already repeatedly expressed before in various ways, on the part of the residents of the island of Madura, to organize, by democratic means, in a political unit, with the status of Negara, in order to be able to join as such the sovereign United States of Indonesia to be formed:

Considering further that for the organization and construction of such a political unit a provisional representative body is necessary;

It has been approved and understood:

1. To hear the resolution accepted on January 23rd 1948 by the people of Madura and therefore to recognize Madura as a political unit with the status of Negara, to be organized further;
2. To determine that the territory of the Negara Madura comprises the island Madura with the surrounding islands belonging to it;
3. To recognize as Wali Negara of Madura:  
R. A. A. Tjakraningrat, Resident of Madura;
4. To institute a provisional Council of Madura ('Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Madoera') to prepare the political organization of the Negara Madura, with the provision that:
  - (a) this Council in its first composition shall consist of fifty members;
  - (b) forty members shall be elected according to regulations to be drafted by the Wali Negara, in so far as necessary in consultation with the 'Komite Penenkoean Kedoedoekan Madoera';

(c) ten members shall be appointed by the Wali Negara in consultation with the 'Komite Penenboean Kedoeoekan Madoera' and the Government Commissioner for Administrative Affairs for Eastern Java, to represent those groups of the population, who are not deemed to be sufficiently represented by the members meant (sub-paragraph (b)) and and who should be considered for this because of numerical strength or on account of their social, cultural or economic significance.

5. To stipulate that it shall be the particular task of the Council to formulate as soon as possible, in co-operation with the Wali Negara and the Government Commissioner for Eastern Java, a project for the political organization of the Negara and to deliberate upon the relation of the Negara to the United States of Indonesia to be formed, and to the Kingdom of the Netherlands;

6. To stipulate that in anticipation of the coming into existence of the political organization meant sub-paragraph 5 the Wali Negara exercises the authority ceded to him in consultation with the Council, in so far as necessary;

7. To stipulate that the pecuniary means required for the activities of the Wali Negara and of the Council shall provisionally be made available by the (Netherlands) Government, to be repaid later."

25. It was contended by the Republican delegation that this action on the part of the Netherlands Indies Government was contrary to Article 6 of the twelve principles accepted by the parties aboard the U.S.S. Renville on 17 January 1948, which reads:

"6. That provision be made for a suitable period of not less than six months nor more than one year after the signing of the agreement, during which time uncoerced and free discussion and consideration of vital issues will proceed. At the end of this period, free elections will be held for self-determination by the people of their political relationship to the United States of Indonesia."

The Netherlands delegation argued on the other hand, that the population of a particular territory had the right to voice its opinion at any stage of the political development but that this did not affect the application of Articles 4 and 5 of the six additional principles agreed to by the parties aboard the U.S.S. Renville on 19 January 1948, the text of which is as follows:

/"4. Within a period

"4. Within a period of not less than six months or more than one year from the signing of this agreement, a plebiscite will be held to determine whether the populations of the various territories of Java, Madura and Sumatra wish their territory to form part of the Republic of Indonesia or of another state within the United States of Indonesia, such plebiscite to be conducted under observation by the Committee of Good Offices should either party, in accordance with the procedure set forth in paragraph 3 above, request the services of the Committee in this capacity. The parties may agree that another method for ascertaining the will of the populations may be employed in place of a plebiscite.

"5. Following the delineation of the states in accordance with the procedure set forth in paragraph 4 above, a constitutional convention will be convened, through democratic procedures, to draft a constitution for the United States of Indonesia. The representation of the various states in the convention will be in proportion to their populations."

26. In accordance with the decree of the Lt. Governor General quoted above, the Committee for the Determination of the Status of Madura decided that a Provisional Council should be elected. This Council comprised forty elected members (ten for the Regency of Bangkalan, ten for Sempang, eight for Pamekasan and twelve for Sumenep) and ten members appointed by the Resident, after consultation with a committee for preparation of the elections, to represent minority groups. The election of the forty members of the Council took place in three stages as follows:

1st Stage: The electors in each dessa, who in this election included women, elected on 15 March one candidate per 100 electors to act as elector in the second stage. Where the number of candidates was equal to the number of electors to be elected, the candidates were considered elected automatically. Where there were fewer candidates, additional persons were appointed as electors by the preparatory committee.

Where there were more candidates than vacancies, a vote took place in the following manner in view of the illiteracy of the large majority of the population. The candidates were seated in front of the polling booth, each wearing a distinguishing sign (usually a colour or some kind of flower or leaf). Each elector was handed a number of sticks corresponding to the number of candidates to be elected. The electors dropped these sticks secretly into boxes inside the polling booth which bore the same distinguishing marks as those worn by the candidates.

/The candidates

The candidates whose boxes were found to contain the highest number of sticks were declared elected.

2nd Stage: On 20 March the second stage of the elections took place in twenty districts throughout Madura. The 2,000 candidates who had been chosen by the approximately 200,000 persons participating in the first stage now became the electors in the second stage. On this occasion the vote was a written one as well as being secret. Two hundred candidates were thus elected to take part in the next stage.

3rd Stage: The final elections took place in the four Regency capitals five days after the 200 electors had received a complete list of candidates totalling 175, or approximately 45 per regency. After the lists had been checked, the electors registered their votes in booths for a number of candidates equal to the number to be elected for the regency.

In this manner the elections were completed on 15 April. The press reported that the forty elected members of the Provisional Council represented the following political tendencies:

Moslem group (corresponding to the Masjumi Party in the Republic of Indonesia)	17
Young Socialist group (corresponding to the Pesindo in the Republic)	7
Nationalist group (corresponding to the Partai Nasional in the Republic)	3
Former T.N.I. (Republican armed forces) officers who at the time of the elections were officers of the police, according to the Netherlands delegation, the Republican delegation claiming that one of these officers was still under arrest when elected	4
No specific affiliation, but having a mainly federalist tendency	9

It may be noted that two of the successful candidates were women.

27. According to the Netherlands delegation, while Madura is eventually to be an autonomous state it must first have a constitution and there must be a transfer of powers from the Netherlands Indies Government. At the present time, pending the organization of the new state, the administration remains as it was before the plebiscite; Mr. Tjakraningrat continues to act in his capacity as Resident rather than as Wali Negara, and, in that capacity, is responsible to the Netherlands Indies Government through the Recomba. The term of office and the scope of the authority of the Wali Negara remain to be formulated by the Provisional Council in

/consultation

consultation with the Wali Negara designate and the Recomba of East Java. The activities of the Provisional Council are to be directed principally towards the establishment of the constitutional structure of the Negara and its relations with the projected United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. All such activities are to be carried out in co-operation with the Wali Negara and the Recomba of East Java.

The necessary funds over and above local revenues required for the activities of the Wali Negara and the Provisional Council are to be furnished in the first instance by the Netherlands Indies Government, but are eventually to be repaid. The question of the establishment of a legislative body will be a matter for determination by the Provisional Council, which is scheduled to hold its first session during May 1948.

28. For the maintenance of law and order, the present government of Madura relies in the first place on the civil police (Polisi Negara), now 900 strong with 300 recruits in training. Under the supreme command of the Resident, the police are at the disposal of the Regents, who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order. There is now being organized a Security Battalion, described as being comparable to the Philippines constabulary, which will be equipped with somewhat heavier arms than are normally used by police. This force will be at the disposal of the Wali Negara. There is also a military force consisting of 685 Netherlands troops, concentrated in the principal centres, and of the Barizan Tjakra, an organization of 450 Madurese auxiliaries. All of these military forces are under the orders of the Netherlands Territorial commander of East Java at Sourabaya.

29. In reply to questions designed to ascertain in what respect the creation of a Madura state would promote or limit the representative character of the governmental organization, the Netherlands delegation drew attention to the election of a Provisional Council. This Council, it was pointed out, would not only be charged with the tasks of formulating, in co-operation with the Wali Negara and the Recomba of East Java, a project for the political organization of the Negara, and of considering the relations of the Negara to the projected United States of Indonesia and to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, but would also have to be consulted, "as far as necessary"; by the Wali Negara in the execution of the authority ceded to him.

The Republican delegation, on the other hand, argued that the procedure followed in the creation of the Negara Madura, itself limited the representative character of the governmental organization.

In this connection it should be noted that traditionally in Madura  
/the only

the only administrative officials elected by popular will are the dessa chiefs.

30. The delegations were invited to state the contingencies upon which the future character of the government of Madura would depend. The Netherlands delegation stated that, in accordance with the 4th and 5th of the Six Additional Principles accepted by the parties on 19 January 1948, in the event of a political agreement being reached with the Republican Government, the delineation of states would be determined by means of a decision taken by the populations of the territories of Java, Madura and Sumatra within a period of not less than six months nor more than one year from the signing of this agreement. Consequently, in the view of the Netherlands delegation, the creation of a Madurese state can be only of a provisional character. The Republican delegation, on the other hand, did not consider that there was any justification for the separation of Madura from Java, since economically, sociologically and politically it does not form a self-contained unit.

31. It appears that, while legally the governmental organization of Madura has been changed from a residency to a "free Madura state", in practice no administrative changes have so far been made and any further developments are dependent upon the deliberations of the Provisional Council.

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