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Sultan Hamid II van Pontianak en de federale staatsvorming van Indonesië: een politieke biografie van Max Alkadrie (1913-1978)
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Summary

The summary of this dissertation about Max Alkadrie, Sultan Hamid II van Pontianak (1913-1978) consists of three chronological episodes. The central question in this dissertation is: to whom did Hamid belong and did he want to belong? Related questions are: who was Hamid and whom did he represent? Given his prominent role during decolonization, what is his significance for the federal state formation, independence and identity of Indonesia and why is this not reflected in the historical literature? Each episode also has its own time-bound questions. The episodes cover:

1. Hamid's youth during the colonial regime, 1913-1945
2. Hamid's position and actions during decolonization, 1945-1949
3. Hamid's position and actions in independent Indonesia, 1950-1978

The associated questions are:

1. Who and what shaped Hamid in his youth during the colonial regime?
2. What was Hamid's position during decolonization in relation to the Dutch administrators, the Indonesian Republicans and the other Indonesian federalists? What was his influence on the process that led to the downfall of the colonial system that had shaped him?
3. What was left for Hamid in an independent Indonesia? What was his position and what drove him?

A hybrid youth, 1913-1945

Although this political biography focuses on the period of the decolonization of Indonesia, in order to understand Hamid's position and actions it is essential to know how he was shaped in his youth. Determining factors in this period are the pluralistic and segregated colonial state in which he grew up as Max Alkadrie, as well as the position of his family in that state, his ethnic hybridity, his noble, Islamic origins, his Christian European upbringing and his education at Dutch institutions. His entire youth is focused on becoming familiar with European culture and Dutch government with the aim of becoming one of them. Yet he always remained an Indonesian to the Dutch and never was regarded as one of them.

Hamid was born in 1913 as the son of a sultan in Pontianak, West Kalimantan (Kalimantan Barat, West-Borneo). The Dutch East Indies colony was governed by a complex system of direct and indirect government, depending on the cooperation of native rulers. Hamid's ancestors were *primus inter pares* among the self-governed people in West Kalimantan and were very loyal to the Dutch supreme government. They had a subordinate but-at least compared to surrounding sultanates- an important and privileged position within the colonial government. This would be decisive for Hamid's later appointment as sultan and his position during decolonization and after Indonesia achieved independence.

As the son of a sultan, Hamid had a special position within the ethnically and socially segregated state. Also, within his own family he held an exceptional position: receiving an European and higher education, and as the only one growing up outside his family, wandering around in various parts of the archipelago. As a child he named himself Max. He learned several languages, became familiar with English, Malay-Arabic, Javanese and Dutch customs, with both Christianity and Islam, and with both the outer province of West Kalimantan and the cultural and political heart of the colony in Java. This made Max a cosmopolitan, aware of the ethnic, cultural and religious pluralism within the

archipelago, which would influence his preference for a federation after the Second World War.

His privileged position gave him the exceptional opportunity to follow a training course at the Royal Military Academy (KMA) in the Netherlands. There, Max became an officer in the colonial Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL), which was quite unique for a non-European. Upon his return to the Dutch East Indies, he was granted the legal status of European, he married the Dutch Didi van Delden and had two children with her. The Japanese occupation followed shortly thereafter. Although Max, as an 'Indonesian' -according the Japanese-, could be freed as prisoner of war, he chose to remain captive and interned in POW-camps because of his loyalty to the Dutch sovereign and out of solidarity with his KNIL colleagues. As a result of this captivity, Max was not only separated from his family for three and a half years, also-quite ironically- he was the only man in his family to survive the war. His father and brothers, like the rest of the administrative elite in West Kalimantan, were brutally murdered by the Japanese Navy because of their liaisons with the Dutch government.

Sultan Hamid II of Pontianak and decolonization, 1945-1949

For Max, the decolonization of Indonesia began with his appointment as Sultan Hamid II of Pontianak in October 1945. Although not a crown prince, aspiring to a military career, and with little to no interests in politics, the murder of his father and his brothers (the other successors) made him the sole heir to the Pontianak sultan's throne. In the meantime, the capitulation of Japan and the declaration of independence by Sukarno and Hatta in August 1945 led to a power struggle, which the Dutch Governor-General Van Mook tried to bring under control. By making the loyal Max Alkadrie sultan and self-governor of Pontianak, Van Mook wanted to restore Dutch authority in West Kalimantan. According to his own words, Max accepted the sultan's throne at the request of the people of West Kalimantan, but without Van Mook's urgent request, he would probably have remained active in the KNIL. By accepting the positions of sultan and self-governor, he actively supported the colonial Dutch authority and in the eyes of many he a puppet of the Dutch government. Nevertheless, he took his administrative tasks seriously. Frequently he traveled through West Kalimantan to gain better knowledge of the country and its diverse population. As a result of these introductory trips, he became aware of the local desire for independence, although there was no political engagement yet. He never shook off his puppet image. Shortly after Hamid's appointment as sultan, Van Mook introduced a federal plan to keep the Indian colony under control while prolonging Dutch authority for as long as possible. Hamid supported the federal plan. On the one hand, out of loyalty to the Dutch authority. On the other hand, based on the awareness, gained in his cosmopolitan experiences and his position in West Kalimantan, that that the pluralistic population, would be better served by a federal state system through a unitary system by which the Republicans wanted to govern from Java. In addition, Hamid had a practical argument for cooperation with the Dutch government. As a result of the murder of the native administrators and a shortage of educated and experienced inhabitants, he had to deal with a shortage of staff for the administration and the education in West Kalimantan.

During the decolonization, Hamid tried to gain a position in between the colonial Dutch government and the nationalists of the Republic, who wanted a unitary state under the leadership of Sukarno and Hatta. Both parties kept Hamid and the other federalists out of their bilateral consultations. At the first discussions on state formation between the federalists and the Dutch government (on the Hoge Veluwe (April 1946) and in Malino (March 1947)) Hamid took part as an advisor to the Dutch East Indies government and as a representative of West Kalimantan. The press placed Hamid among the Indonesian delegation, as if the Indonesians formed one unit, Yet, in reality

they were divided into the federalists and the unitarists of the Republic. Van Mook bonded these Indonesian advisors, such as Hamid, with the Dutch government as means of a counterweight to the Republicans. Nevertheless, they always remained bystanders and outsiders.

As a token of appreciation, Hamid was regularly honored by the Dutch authorities and received promotions within the KNIL. Without active military service, he eventually become major general and was appointed adjutant to the queen in 1946. This makes Hamid the highest ranking Indonesian KNIL officer and the only Indonesian adjutant to the Dutch monarch ever. However, he never became a full member of the Dutch delegation. Their 'friend Max' was kept at a distance by the Dutch administrators.

The Indonesian federalists such as Hamid had no real power, because their regions fell under Dutch authority and they didn't not want to join the Republic. The fact that the Dutch administration consistently conducted discussions with the federalists or with the Republicans separately, in order to maintain control over the colony and the decolonization process, is indicative of the colonial segregation system that still functioned fully during the process of decolonization.

Between January 1947 and July 1948, various federal states (negaras) and autonomous regions (daerahs) were set up under Van Mook's encouragement to prepare for the independence of Indonesia and to isolate the power of the Republic. Kalimantan was strongly divided politically. Under Hamid's leadership, West Kalimantan was transformed into the 'special region' Daerah Istimewa Kalimantan Barat (DIKB) in May 1947. Although the Netherlands retained supreme authority, the three largest population groups were represented for the first time in the daerah administration (the West Borneo/Kalimantan Council, WBR): Malay Indonesians, Dayaks and Chinese. Hamid was elected as regional head (kepala daerah). In the East and South of Kalimantan, self-governing people wanted to join the Republic. For the time being, the Dayak population wanted to remain under Dutch rule in order to escape the feudal authority of the Malay aristocracy.

After Hamid had arranged a place in the future federation for West Kalimantan, which would henceforth be called Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan), he wanted to see the federal system implemented in the rest of Indonesia as well. The sub-areas would then be able to manage their own affairs regionally, without interference from the Republic, and they could gain the same influence at national level. However, the Dutch and Republicans kept the federalists outside their negotiations. Hamid would receive the same status for the DIKB as the East Indonesian state (Negara Indonesia Timur, NIT) and the Republic until the transfer of sovereignty. Hamid's frustration with the influence of the Republicans and his knowledge that the population in the Republic suffered from poverty, inspired him to support a Dutch military offensive against the Republic (Operation Product/Agressi I, 21 July- 5 August 1947). Although Hamid also identified himself as a nationalist and aspired independence, he explicitly placed himself at the Dutch side supporting the military operation. This only brought him disadvantages. The military action lead to the internationalization of the conflict, and more foreign recognition of and support for the Republic. Meanwhile, the position of the Netherlands, with which Hamid was identified as their puppet, eroded and federal developments come to a standstill.

While the Republicans were seen abroad as 'the Indonesians', much to Hamid's annoyance, Hamid went on a world tour with other federalists mid-1947. He wanted to spread the message to foreign powers and the international media that the Republic does not represent all Indonesians. He wants to go to the UN Security Council in New York, but is ignored. After the United States, Hamid also visits the Netherlands, London, the Middle East, India and Pakistan. This voyage made the federalists more confident, but they also had to deal with the necessary disappointments and internal frictions.

They couldn't get rid of their puppet image, weren't internationally recognized and were not been able to increase their influence on the building of the new state of Indonesia. Instead, the position of the Republicans was strengthened, although the global interest in the Indonesian conflict appeared to be limited anyway. The fact that Hamid's world tour had done little for him and the federal idea, while the Republicans instead were internationally recognized, had a lot to do with Hamid's pro-Dutch attitude, his criticism of the Republic, and his personality. In addition, it is a disadvantage that he didn't represent an independent state, but a political concept that was associated with the Dutch colonizer. Another difference with the Republicans was, that the federalists didn't act together. Although they shared the idea of a federation, in practice they weren't seen as 'the federalists', the same way the Republicans were identified with the Republic.

When Van Mook sets up a federal interim government without involving Hamid nor West Kalimantan, and the NIT also recognizes the Republic, Hamid is keen to gain access to the most important meetings about the future of Indonesia.

The federalists wanted a sovereign interim government, but the highest authority of this so called provisional Federal Government (VFR) would be completely managed by the Dutch hands. This is a reason for Hamid, as well as the Republicans, to decline membership. In doing so, for the first time he distances himself from Van Mook and shares an approach with the Republicans. Yet distancing him from the Dutch government didn't bring him closer to the Republicans.

When the federalists failed to gain collective access to the bilateral consultations between the Republic and the Netherlands, Hamid changed course. In the spring of 1948, he strengthened his political position by improving his relationship with Republican prominent figures and convinced the Dutch government to appoint him as a member of their negotiating delegation.

In July 1948, the federalists, on the initiative of the Balinese Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, decided to improve their negotiating position by uniting in the Federal Consultation Meeting (BFO). Later, Hamid is elected chairman of the BFO. In the role relations, he is often split between the federalists individually, between federalists and Republicans, and between the Indonesians and the Dutch. The BFO is divided between the conservative federalists who are pro-Dutch and the more progressives who are open to cooperation with the Republicans, such as vice-chairman Anak Agung. Hamid is considered a conservative, but as chairman he tried to maintain a neutral standpoint above the parties and mediate. As such, he couldn't represent his own daerah West Kalimantan, as vice-chairman Anak Agung could for East Indonesia (NIT). This shows his isolated position and lack of support and power base. As a result of his own exclusion and of that of the federalists as a collective, Hamid became more autonomous in the course of the decolonization process and found himself increasingly isolated.

Although he was very much dedicated to all his administrative tasks and fully committed to a rightful government, he was not always taken seriously, both by members of the Dutch government and by his fellow countrymen. This was partly due to his solitary actions and temperamental, sometimes impulsive, if not licentious behavior. He was quite a lover of drinks and parties and had a reputation as a playboy. He liked to joke around and was not always very diplomatic in his statements.

When the Netherlands started a second military offensive against the Republic at the end of 1948 (Operation Kraai/Agressi II, December 19, 1948- January 5, 1949), it captured its political leaders and the federalists' fortunes turned. It caused major disputes within the BFO on the support for and cooperation with the Republican leaders. Nevertheless, now the BFO members could make demands towards the Dutch and the Republicans, play a mediating role, and ultimately strengthen their position.

During the military offensive, Hamid became more critical of the Dutch due to the rigid and harsh actions of the Dutch government. His attitude towards the Republicans also changed. Anak Agung managed to convince him into supporting and cooperating with the Republicans. This support, in addition to international pressure on the Netherlands and the Roem-Van Roijen agreement in May 1949, led partly to the release of the Republican leaders. Hamid and Anak Agung also finally succeeded in getting the BFO to the negotiating table of the Republican-Dutch consultations in June 1949. The downside was that Hamid's changed attitude distanced him further from the Dutch government, while the Republicans do not really accept him either. The Republicans only entered into cooperation, based on their so-called Trace Baru strategy, to achieve independence as quickly as possible, not out of sympathy for the federalists. Hamid's actions were too little too late to win the trust of the Republicans, as it turns out later.

The influence of the federalists also remained modest. This became clear to Hamid at the Inter-Indonesian Conference (IIC), a consultation between the Republicans and the BFO that was initiated by Anak Agung in July-August 1949 to promote their mutual cooperation and their position vis-à-vis the Dutch delegation. The outcome of the IIC was disappointing for Hamid, especially on military matters. The conference did increase understanding between the federalists and the Republicans, but the political and military upper hand was clearly held by the Republic. This was also the case at the Round Table Conference (RTC, Konferensi Meja Bundar) in The Hague. There, the BFO members, together with the Republican and Dutch negotiating delegations, shaped the state structure and the transfer of sovereignty of Indonesia from August to early November 1949. Hamid led the BFO delegation at the RTC and was chairman of various committees, but achieved little.

After the RTC, Hamid became broker ('formateur') and minister of the first government of the United States of Indonesia (VSI or Republik Indonesia Serikat, RIS), as the federation would be called. Within the VSI government, the BFO members were by far a minority, with Hamid and Anak Agung being the only convinced federalists. Unlike Anak Agung, Hamid didn't receive a portfolio. At the transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949 in Amsterdam, Hamid represented Indonesia with Prime Minister Hatta, among others. Hamid had brought the federalists to the negotiating table and helped make Indonesia a sovereign federation, but within his government he virtually stood alone. Although he would remain a KNIL officer until April 1, 1950 and adjutant to the Queen until 1958, he would no longer be part of the Dutch due to the transfer of sovereignty.

Isolation after the Independence, 1950-1978

After the transfer of sovereignty Hamid quickly got isolated. As minister without portfolio Soekarno assigns him with the job of designing a coat of arms for Indonesia, which Hamid draws himself. Until 2012 it was almost unknown that Hamid designed the so-called *Garuda Pancasila*. This was a consequence of his support to the Dutch colonial reign and his resistance to the liquidation of the federation, which was started by Republicans immediately after the transfer of sovereignty.

As a Dutch-minded federalist, Hamid was never popular with the Republicans. He had many political opponents and but a few supporters. Within the BFO he lost his leading role to Anak Agung and was only supported by the governments of West-Kalimantan, East-Sumatra, Riau and Belitung, who only had a meager power base. When Hamid, as one of the few, strongly opposed the dissolution of the federation and became more and more radical in this position, he became increasingly isolated. Soldiers were sent to West-Kalimantan and people were set up against Hamid personally. He wasn't upset only by the destruction of the federation, even more by the undemocratic and militaristic way in

which it was conducted; against all RTC-agreements and the provisional constitution. He's not the only one uttering these complaints. Anak Agung for example share's these thoughts, but doesn't put up the same resistance as Hamid. Their frustration is aggravated as their complaint can't be filed and met anywhere. Within the national VSI government of the Republicans, an individual negara or daerah cannot appeal to the United Nations Commission that takes care of Indonesia (UNCI), and asking help from the Dutch government is obviously out of the question. All this pushes Hamid to the limit, while Anak Agung gives up on a lost battle.

Hamid becomes so frustrated and distraught that in a fit of mental confusion he devised, together with the infamous Dutch captain Raymond Westerling, a murderous plan to attack the national council of ministers-of which he himself is a member- and to kill the three government members they hold responsible for the harsh, undemocratic liquidation of the federation. Almost immediately Hamid understands the reprehensibility of this plan and calls it off. That was to no avail of his future. The plan came to light and in the weeks following a series of events lead up to his arrest. Although Hamid's political influence was in effect minimal, the Republicans saw a threat in the large support base that Hamid still had among the former KNIL soldiers who were in the being transferred to the USI federal army (APRIS). There have been no indications that Hamid wanted to use these former KNIL soldiers against the VSI, but his contact with Westerling may have made the Republicans fear the worst.

In early April 1950, Hamid was arrested. He was immediately dismissed as VSI minister and lost his sultan title and everything that went with it. The West Kalimantan district was dissolved and incorporated into the Republic. On 17 August of that year, on *hari Merdeka* (independence day), Indonesia formally became a unitary state. The only people who still caring about Hamid were his wife Didi, who had been living in the Netherlands with their children already for some time for safety reasons, and the Dutch Prime Minister Willem Drees. This was to no avail. In 1953, Hamid was sentenced to ten years in prison for high treason. He was released early in 1958. He had lost his standing, his income, and his privileges. Due to his eight-years captivity and the previous unsafe situation during the de-colonization he had rarely been together with his family. After his release, Hamid visited his wife and children in the Netherlands every two years, but they would never live together again. As a free man, Hamid tried to build a life as a businessman, using his network and knowledge in the Netherlands to improve Indonesian business. Alas, before his enterprises could really take off, Hamid was captured again in 1962. This time together with Anak Agung and former Republican dignitaries such as Sjahrir and Roem, with whom he had re-established contact after years of silence. Sukarno was convinced of a conspiracy against him. Although this proved to be unfounded, Hamid and the others were imprisoned for years without trial. In this period Hamid is called Max by his fellow prisoners, as well as by his family and friends, and is just as much a part of the group as the others.

In 1965, a new power struggle breaks out in Indonesia; in short, between the army and the communists. Sukarno eventually has to make way for General Suharto. Due to the changed political climate, the fortunes of the political captives change. This leads to Hamid and his fellow prisoners being released in 1966. Shortly before that Sjahrir had died. Under Sukarno's reign, Hamid had always been the other, the outsider, the puppet of the colonial opponent. Under Suharto, as a former political prisoner of Sukarno and an anti-communist, he automatically ends up on the favourable side. He was no longer seen as a threat to the ruling power. However, this does not automatically meant that Hamid would become part of the new ruling power. For that he was way too much of a past figure. Moreover,

he learned the hard way after two imprisonments and kept his distance from all politics. Hamid went on to live in Jakarta and lived a quiet life. He earned his living as the chairman of an airline company. In 1970, he visited Sukarno on his deathbed asking and receiving forgiveness from his old antagonist. Hamid died in 1978.