

Notes

1. Background, guiding principles and methodology

- 1 The armed clashes in New Guinea in 1962, even if involving deaths and injuries, are considered to constitute a low-intensity conflict, which is sometimes referred to as 'the Netherlands' last small colonial war'.
- 2 The acronyms stand for the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, KITLV-KNAW), the Netherlands Institute for Military History (Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, NIMH), and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies, NIOD-KNAW).
- 3 In a later formulation from early 2017, the research was to be about 'the most important questions about decolonization policy, violence, and war — with a focus on (accounting for) the Dutch military conduct — [will be] answered, with close attention given to the historical, political, and international context and the legacy of the war'. This and other documents related to the study can be found at NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI [archive number to be determined after inclusion of the collection in the NIOD archive in 2022].
- 4 The number of Indonesian victims is calculated on the basis of Dutch military documentation, see Christiaan Harinck, Nico van Horn and Bart Luttikhuis, 'Wie telt de Indonesische doden?', *De Groene Amsterdammer* 141:30 (2017). The most recent estimates are given by Rémy Limpach, "'Ze vielen als gemaaid koren". Een beschouwing over de verliescijfers in Indonesië, 1945-49', *Militaire Spectator* 1 (2022). Estimates of the number of civilian casualties during the *bersiap* period range from 3,000 to several times this amount; see the chapter by Esther Captain and Onno Sinke in this book. The number of deaths as a result of internal strife among the Indonesians is unknown but is somewhere in the tens of thousands.
- 5 Speech by Foreign Affairs Minister Bot on 15 August 2005, at *Stichting Herdenking 15 augustus 1945*.
- 6 Letter from Prime Minister De Jong to the Lower House of Parliament, 29 January 1969; *Handelingen Tweede Kamer*, 1968-1969, appendix 10.008, no. 1.
- 7 See the chapter by Gert Oostindie and Meindert van der Kaaij in this book; also Maurice Swirc, 'Gelijke monniken, gelijke kepie gaat niet op', *De Groene Amsterdammer* 39 (2019).
- 8 Stef Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog. De Nederlandse oorlogsmisdaden in Indonesië en hun verwerking* (Amsterdam 2002); see also, for example, Peter Romijn, 'Myth and Understanding: Recent Controversy

- about Dutch Historiography on the Netherlands Indonesian Conflict', R.S. Kisner (ed.), *The Low Countries and beyond* (New York 1993) 219-229; Stef Scagliola, 'Cleo's "unfinished business". Coming to Terms with Dutch War Crimes in Indonesia's War of Independence', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14:3-4 (2012) 419-439; Martijn Eickhoff, 'Weggestreept verleden? Nederlandse historici en het Rawagededebat', *Colofon* 194 (2013) 53-67; Chris Lorenz, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering en de universele mensenrechten. De casus "Rawagede"', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 128:1 (2015) 109-130.
- 9 This was the Dutch-language commercial edition of the author's 2015 dissertation from the University of Bern; by this time Limpach had started working for the NIMH.
 - 10 Piet Kamphuis, Gert Oostindie and Marjan Schwegman, 'Onderzoek geweld in "Indië"', *de Volkskrant* 19 June 2012.
 - 11 Research proposal by KITLV-NIMH-NIOD, 26 September 2012. NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI [archive number to be determined after inclusion of the collection in the NIOD archive in 2022].
 - 12 The cabinet decision was made on 2 December 2016, the decree on implementation and financing on 23 February 2017, and the subsidy decision on 20 July 2017.
 - 13 The term 'co-financing' is used here, given that the institutes themselves also made funds available for the research both in the period 2012-2016 and throughout the duration of the research programme (2017-2021).
 - 14 From the article in *de Volkskrant*, 19 June 2012: 'Such a study can also give us more insight into the circumstances under which soldiers may lose their self-control as well as which soldiers are most at risk in this respect. This is particularly important for the selection, training, and the conduct of our soldiers, now and in the future. [...] This kind of [research] is also important for our understanding of current and possibly future Dutch military deployment in crisis areas.'
 - 15 By the end of this book, we list the full composition of the research teams as well as the various forums that were involved.
 - 16 Upon stepping down as director of NIOD on 1 September 2021, Frank van Vree continued his role in the research programme as programme director. Gert Oostindie also continued his role within the research programme after retiring on 1 January 2022.
 - 17 The Scientific Advisory Board gave its advice, but the responsibility for the content of the text lies with the directors of the research programme and the authors.
 - 18 See, for example, the open letter by Jeffry Pondaag and Francisca Pattipilohy (November 2017) on <https://historibersama.com/>. See also note 2 of this chapter.
 - 19 See P.M.H. Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen: Het Nederlands militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië 1945-1950* (The Hague 1991); Jaap De Moor, *Westerling's oorlog: Indonesië 1945-1950: De geschiedenis van de commando's en parachutisten in Nederlands-Indië 1945-1950* (Amsterdam 1999); Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, 'The Civil and Military Dimensions of Dutch Counter-insurgency on Java, 1947-1949', *British Journal for Military History* 1:2 (2015) 67-83; and Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van Generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016).
 - 20 See e.g. Henk Schulte Nordholt, 'War Crime Study, Covering Up or Opening up the Past?', *The Jakarta Post*, 9 August 2018, and Selamat Ginting, 'Menggugat Proyek Sejarah Belanda', *Republika*, 8 March 2019.
 - 21 The parallels with the Srebrenica study carried out by NIOD are clear. See Hans Blom et al., *Srebrenica: een 'veilig gebied', reconstructie, achtergronden, gevolgen en analyses van de val van een safe area* (Amsterdam 2002) 49, for the guiding principles of the NIOD researchers: 'The researchers wanted to avoid taking on the role of the executioner, precisely because of the pressing political questions on the topic. Playing that role was not their job. After all, the assignment was to carry out a historical scientific study, which invariably involves an analytical-explanatory assessment. Political verdicts should be formed and formulated in the public and political arena.' Michiel Baud and Frank van Vree, 'Geschiedschrijving, politiek en moraal', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 116 (2003) 64-77, 64, are extremely critical about what they characterize as the 'anxiousness with which the authors have tried to circumvent [...] moral and political positions'. On the complexity of making legal moral judgements about the colonial past, see for example A.H.M. De Baets, 'Historical Imprescriptibility', *Storia della Storiografia* 59-60 (2011) 128-149 and W. de Haan, 'Knowing What We Know Now: International Crimes in Historical Perspective', *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 13:4 (2015) 783-799.
 - 22 See also NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI. See also note 2 of this chapter. f
 - 23 For more on this, see the chapter by Gert Oostindie and Meindert van der Kaaij in this book.

- 24 An example of this is the opening sentence of Sutan Sjahrir's brochure *Onze strijd* [Our Struggle], written in October 1945: 'Now that the Indonesian Republic has been in existence for two months...', see Sutan Sjahrir, *Onze strijd* (Amsterdam 1946).
- 25 On this subject, see the following chapter.
- 26 S. Meuwese, J. Pen and T. Roos, 'Toepasselijkheid van het oorlogsrecht in de Nederlands-Indonesische Oorlog', *Nederlands Juristenblad* 96:31 (2021) 2586-2592.
- 27 See the chapter by Esther Zwinkels in this book.
- 28 Taufik Abdullah et al. (ed.), *Indonesia dalam arus sejarah. 6: Perang dan Revolusi* (Jakarta 2012), 202-210. See also Abdul Wahid, 'The Untold Story of the Surabaya Battle of 1945', *The Jakarta Post*, 12 November 2013.
- 29 Emphasis added. Letter from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence and the State Secretary of Health, Welfare, and Sport to the Lower House, 2 December 2016; NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI.

1 2. The Netherlands and Indonesia 1945-1949. The political-historical context

- 1 This chapter was written on the basis of the existing Dutch and English-language historiography. For an overview of the most important works used per theme, see 'Further reading' in this volume.
- 2 With the exception of Papua (New Guinea), which was extremely difficult to access.
- 3 P.M.H. Groen et al., *Krijgsgeweld en kolonie: Opkomst en ondergang van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid 1816-2010* (Amsterdam 2021); Piet Hagen, *Koloniale oorlogen in Indonesië. Vijf eeuwen verzet tegen vreemde overheersing* (Amsterdam 2018) 26, 885-906; G.J. Knaap et al., *Oorlogen overzee. Militair optreden door compagnie en staat buiten Europa, 1595-1814* (Amsterdam 2015).
- 4 Until 1872, Elmina in what is now Ghana also belonged to the Dutch Empire.
- 5 Quoted in Loc De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. 1* (The Hague 1969) 179. De Jong called this 'a truly monumental disregard of the real situation'.
- 6 Ethan Mark, *Japan's Occupation of Java in the Second World War. A Transnational History* (London 2019) 2; David Van Reybrouck, *Revolusi. Indonesië en het ontstaan van de moderne wereld* (Amsterdam 2020) 247, 290.
- 7 For more information, see the next chapter.
- 8 Quoted in De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. XI* (a, b, c): *Nederlands-Indië* (The Hague 1984-1986), XI, 491 and XI b, 1027, and Tom van den Berge, *H.J. Van Mook: 1894-1965. Een vrij en gelukkig Indonesië: biografie* (Bussum 2014) 204, respectively.
- 9 De Jong, *Koninkrijk, XI* c, 635, 650.
- 10 The former KNIL captain Raymond Westerling staged a bloody but failed coup against the Indonesian state on 22-23 January 1950 with several hundred KNIL soldiers. This 'APRA coup' took place without the knowledge of the political and military authorities in The Hague, but the latter were actively involved in the cover-up. 'APRA' stood for *Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil*, the Just King Legion.
- 11 On this subject, see the next chapter.
- 12 In February 1945, SEAC founded the organization RAPWI (Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees); in July 1945, Indonesia was added to SEAC's field of activity and with it the RAPWI.
- 13 See the chapter by Esther Captain and Onno Sinke in this book.
- 14 On the eve of the Second World War, Indonesia had about 70 million inhabitants and the Netherlands 9 million.
- 15 'It is a privilege to perform this transfer of sovereignty before history, or rather before God, who alone knows why this union in freedom was not achieved earlier nor later, and who knows of the failure of the generations [...]' Quoted in Loc De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. XII* (Leiden 1988) 982.
- 16 De Jong, *Koninkrijk, XII*, 982; Herman Burgers, *De garoeda en de ooievaar. Indonesië van kolonie tot nationale staat* (Leiden 2010) 449, 656; Hans Daalder, *Vier jaar nachtmerrie de Indonesische kwestie 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2014) 381-385; John Jansen van Galen, *Afscheid van de koloniën. Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid 1942-2012* (Amsterdam 2013) 266-268; J.J.P. de Jong, *De terugtocht. Nederland en de dekolonisatie van Indonesië* (Amsterdam 2016) 281-282; Hans Meijer, *Indische rekening. Indië, Nederland en de backpack-kwestie 1945-2000* (Amsterdam 2005).
- 17 See Jeroen Kemperman's contribution in this volume for more information.

1 3. The war in Indonesia 1945-1949. The military-historical context

- 1 This chapter is mainly based on the synthesis in the recent NIMH book, P. Groen et al. (ed.), *Krijggeweld en Kolonie. Opkomst en ondergang van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid 1916-2010* (Amsterdam 2021) supplemented by some recent studies. For an overview of the most important titles for each theme, see the 'Further reading' section of this publication.
- 2 L. van Poelgeest, 'Figuranten op het Indische toneel. De Japanners in Nederlands-Indië 1946-1949', E. Touwen-Bouwisma and P. Groen (eds), *Tussen Banzai en Bersiap. De afwikkeling van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Nederlands-Indië* (The Hague 1996) 95-107.
- 3 R. Limpach, "'Ze vielen als gemaaid koren". Een beschouwing over de verliescijfers in Indonesië, 1945-49', *Militaire Spectator* 1 (2022).
- 4 R. Limpach, *De Brandende Kampongs van Generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016), 778.
- 5 Groen et al., *Krijggeweld en kolonie*, 333-334.
- 6 See Rémy Limpach, 'Information costs lives', this book.
- 7 Schilling, Memorandum, 25-11-1945, in P.J. Drooglever, M.J.B. Schouten and S.L. van der Wal, *Officiële bescheiden, betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950* ('s-Gravenhage 1971-1996), II, 164-165; Petra M.H. Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen. Het Nederlands militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië 1945-1950* (Den Haag 1991) 46-50, 278.
- 8 Quoted in Groen, *Marsroutes*, 285-287.
- 9 T.B. Simatupang, *Het laatste jaar van de Indonesische vrijheidsstrijd 1948-1949. Een authentiek verslag door de voormalige chef-staf van de indonesische strijdkrachten* (Kampen 1985) 59; also 34, 74, 115-116, 130-134.
- 10 R.J.J. Stevens, 'Manipulatie van informatie? De rol van de Nederlandse militaire inlichtingendienst in Indonesië ten tijde van het Nederlands-Indisch conflict 1945-1949' *Parlementaire Geschiedenis van Nederland na 1945: Politieke Opstellen* 11-12 (Nijmegen 1992) 149-168.
- 11 Christiaan Harinck and Jonathan Verwey, 'Wie kwamen, wie zagen, wie schreven?', <https://www.kitlv.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/C.H.C.-Harinck-J.-Verwey-Wie-kwamen-wie-zagen-wie-schreven-voor-de-KITLV-website.pdf> (2015) 6; Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog*, 295-296. The figures in this section are from Groen et al., *Krijggeweld en kolonie*.
- 12 On paper, the size of a division was 20,000 men (not more than 15,000 men in practice), of a brigade, 3,000; a regiment, 2,000-3,000; a battalion, 800; a company, 125-190; a platoon, 36; and a squad, 12.
- 13 For more on this, see chapter 1.2.
- 14 On the blockade, see Martin Hoekstra, 'De Republiek in een wurggreep: De Nederlandse marineblokkade tijdens de Indonesische Onafhankelijkheidsoorlog (1945-1949)', Research master's thesis (Leiden 2018).
- 15 Groen et al., *Krijggeweld*, 166, 208-217, 221-225; Christiaan Harinck, 'Zoeken, aangrijpen en vernietigen!' *Het Nederlandse militaire optreden in Indonesië, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022).
- 16 This is discussed in more detail in the chapter by Esther Zwinkels in this volume.
- 17 For the 'APRA coup', see the previous chapter. The failed uprising in Makassar in April of that year by some 800 Indonesian, mostly Moluccan KNIL soldiers led by Captain Andi Aziz and the proclamation of the Republic Maluku Selatan on 25 April 1950 also fall outside this framework, as does the bloody battle between former KNIL soldiers and Indonesian troops in Makassar in early August 1950, prior to the evacuation of the KNIL. In addition, between 1950 and 1962 an armed low-intensity conflict took place in Papua/New Guinea between Indonesian and Dutch armed forces.
- 18 The figures relating to *bersiap* are analysed in more detail in the chapter by Esther Captain and Onno Sinke, this volume.
- 19 Richard McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946: Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution* (New York 2005); Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 225-243.
- 20 See chapter 1.2.
- 21 Simatupang, *Het laatste jaar*, 108.
- 22 Groen et al., *Krijggeweld en kolonie*, 336.
- 23 Quoted in Groen et al., *Krijggeweld en kolonie*, 341.
- 24 See the chapter by Gert Oostindie and Meindert van der Kaaij in this book.
- 25 J. van Doorn, W. Hendrix, *Het Nederlands-Indonesisch conflict: Ontsporing van Geweld* (Amsterdam 1985) 313. See the contribution by Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Bart Luttkhuis in this book.
- 26 Limpach, 'Ze vielen als gemaaid koren'. The concept of 'asymmetric warfare' is not used, because it can

- evoke the image of superior, late-colonial European warfare versus an opponent that is less developed in every respect. In open combat situations, there was indeed an asymmetry in favour of the much better-armed Dutch units. On this, see for example Abdul Haris Nasution, *Fundamentals of Guerrilla Warfare* (New York 1965); Groen et al., *Krijggeweld en kolonie*, 316; NIMH, 57, 3293, Diary A.T. Hendriksen, 1 August 1946; B.H. Ern , *Bren naar voren, partisanen! Het O.V.W. bataljon 1-12 R.I. op Java* (Groningen 1949) 70; G.P. Birney, *De marinier uit Soerabaja* (2007) 330-331, 354; G. Janssen, *Dorp en dessa. Verhaal van een dorp in Brabant en zijn jongens-soldaten in de vrijheidsstrijd van Indonesi  1945-1951* (Reusel 1998) 206. On the other hand, when it came to other aspects of the war, there was an asymmetry in favour of the Indonesian armed forces: for example, more popular support, the intelligence position, knowledge of the language, culture and terrain, and morale.
- 27 Stan Meuwese, 'Geersing legitimeert standrechtelijke executies van Westerling', *Militair Rechtelijk Tijdschrift* 113:2 (2020).

11 The human dimension

- 1 Translated as: 'Corps of the Uprising of the Indonesian People'.
- 2 NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries collection [archive number to be determined after inclusion of the collection in the NIOD archive in 2022], IN18001 interview 16 January 2018.
- 3 Interview 25-07-1997, Collection Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis Indonesi  (SMGI) 1095.1, (<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/oralhistoryarchive-smgi>); F. Steijlen, *Memories of "The East": abstracts of the Dutch interviews about the Netherlands East Indies, Indonesia and New Guinea (1930-1962) in the Oral History project collection* (Leiden 2002) 63-4.
- 4 By narratives, we mean interpretative stories that reflect norms, values and beliefs.
- 5 Peter H hn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier, Wolf Schmid, *Handbook of narratology* (Berlin 2014) 353-63. On multiple perspectives in the context of the research programme, see NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI.
- 6 For a more detailed account of the methodology and results, see: Eveline Buchheim, Satrio Dwicahyo, Fridus Steijlen and Stephanie Welvaart, *Sporen vol betekenis. In gesprek met 'Getuigen & Tijdgenoten' over de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog/Meniti Arti. Bertukar Makna Bersama 'Saksi & Rekan Sezaman' tentang Perang Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (Amsterdam 2022).
- 7 For example, the interview collection of the foundation for Indonesian oral history, Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis Indonesi  (SMGI) (<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/oralhistoryarchive-smgi>); the Dutch veterans interview collection (ICNV) (<https://www.nlveteraneninstituut.nl/>); the collection *Erfgoed van de oorlog, Getuigenverbalen* [War heritage, witnesses' stories] (<https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-22t-hrun>); the interview collection of ANRI (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia) in Indonesia; the collection of interviews with 235 missionaries who worked in Indonesia, Katholiek Documentatie Centrum (KDC) in Nijmegen; and finally, the collections of NIOD, the KITLV/Leiden University Library, the NIMH and Bevrijdingsmuseum Zeeland.
- 8 A.L. Stoler, 2008. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton 2008).
- 9 Email from F.S. to Witnesses & Contemporaries, received on 7 October 2020.
- 10 Email from C.v.E. to Witnesses & Contemporaries, received on 15 September 2017.
- 11 Email from M. Ferares to Witnesses & Contemporaries, received on 28 February 2017. Mr Ferares wrote *De revolutie die verboden werd; Indonesi  1945-1949* [The revolution that was forbidden; Indonesia 1945-1949]; see also <https://iisg.amsterdam/en/blog/book-blog/revolution-was-forbidden>, consulted on 11 May 2021.
- 12 NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries, IN18006.
- 13 Ibidem, IN18002.
- 14 Ibidem, IN18003.
- 15 The participants in the witness seminar held on 6 March 2018 were Ami Emanuel, Robert Schabracq and Connie Suverkropp.
- 16 NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries, IN18005.
- 17 For the history of Payakumbuh, see also Buchheim et al., *Sporen vol betekenis*, as well as R my Limpach, *Tasten in het duister. Inlichtingenstrijd tijdens de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022).

- 18 See essay about Dutch monuments in *Sporen vol betekenis*.
- 19 The term 'cultural archive' was originally introduced by the literary scholar Edward Saïd, one of the founders of postcolonial studies. Wekker sees the 'cultural archive' as a repository of memories that are stored in all kinds of places. In people's minds and hearts, for example, but also in popular culture, in everyday knowledge, in rules, and all of this on the basis of years of colonial rule. It is a direct consequence of the paternalistic ideas and racist stereotypes on which colonial relations were built.
- 20 See, for example, the multiple voices recorded in G. Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië* (Amsterdam 2015).
- 21 NIOD, archive Research – ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries, PR18012.
- 22 In memory studies, the many and complex connections between individual memory and collective memory have received a lot of attention in recent years. For an overview, for example, see A. Erll, A. Nünning, and S.B. Young, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin 2008).
- 23 NIOD, archive Research – ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries, IN18010.
- 24 NIOD, archive Research – ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries, IN18003.
- 25 NIOD, archive Research – ODGOI, Witnesses & Contemporaries, IN21004.
- 26 As contained, for example, in the album in the NIOD archive with inv.no: BC622/A5545.
- 27 NIOD, Collectie Viergever, bc 901.
- 28 NIOD, Collectie van Eersel, bc 631.

III 1. 'Hatred of foreign elements and their "accomplices"

- 1 Special thanks to the editorial board and to Robert Cribb, Petra Groen, Jan Hoffenaar and Henk Schulte Nordholt of the Scientific Advisory Board for their critical comments and valuable suggestions on earlier versions of this chapter. We would also like to thank our interns and research assistants for their valuable assistance and pleasant collaboration during the research. In Indonesia: Muhammad Alif Ichsan, Oktoriza Dhia, Tia Farahdiba and Antonia Asta Gaudi. In the Netherlands: Bastiaan van den Akker, Maarten van den Bent, Nuranisa Halim, Thirza van Hofwegen and John Soedirman. For translations: Tia Farahdiba, Taufiq Hanafi and John Soedirman. For data on the number of victims: Chrissy Flohr, Ron Habiboe, Marijn Versteegen and Daanjan Wisselink.
- 2 Esther Captain and Guno Jones, *Oorlogserfgoed overzee. De erfenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Aruba, Curaçao, Indonesië en Suriname* (Amsterdam 2010) 156-157.
- 3 Johan Fabricius, *Hoe ik Indië terugvond* (The Hague 1947) 71.
- 4 Mestika Zed, Mukhlis PaEni, 'Masa Bersiap' Abdullah, A.B. Lopian (ed.), *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah VI, Perang dan revolusi* (Jakarta 2012) 204.
- 5 Anton Lucas, *One soul, one struggle. Region and Revolution in Indonesia* (Sydney 1991) 113.
- 6 Taomo Zhou, *Migration in the Time of Revolution. China, Indonesia and the Cold War* (Ithaca and London 2018) 19.
- 7 Mestika Zed, Mukhlis PaEni, 'Masa Bersiap', Abdullah and Lopian, *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah*, 202.
- 8 Ibidem, 204; Abdul Wahid, 'The untold story of the Surabaya battle of 1945' in *The Jakarta Post*, 12 November 2013. For a further explanation of the term *bersiap*: Esther Captain and Onno Sinke, *Het geluid van geweld. Bersiap en de dynamiek van geweld in de eerste fase van de Indonesische Revolutie, 1945-1946* (Amsterdam 2022).
- 9 Benedict Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution. Occupation and Resistance 1944-1946* (Ithaca/London 1972) 39-48.
- 10 Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampings van generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016) 52.
- 11 Furthermore, there were trained members of the *Heiho* (Indonesian auxiliary soldiers), the *Keibodan* (with 1.2 million members on Java in 1945) and *Bogodan* (with 700,000 members on Sumatra), a kind of auxiliary police or civil guard. See: Mary van Delden, *De Republikeinse kampen in Nederlands-Indië oktober 1945-mei 1947. Orde in de chaos?* (Kockengen 2007) 84-85; H.W. van den Doel, *Afscheid van Indië. De val van het Nederlandse imperium in Azië* (Amsterdam 2000) 66.
- 12 Van Delden, *Republikeinse kampen*, 85.
- 13 Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries. The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949* (Jakarta 2009; first edition 1991) 50; Abu Hanifah, *Tales of a revolution*, Angus and Robertson (Sydney/London 1972) 174-183.
- 14 See e.g.o.: Harriët Salm, 'Wie zijn de daders, wie de slachtoffers?' *Trouw*, 20 June 2019; Robbert de Witt, 'De eindeloze strijd om Indië' *Elsevier Weekblad*, 6 March 2021.

- 15 See: Robert, Cribb, 'The brief genocide of Eurasians in Indonesia, 1945/46', D. Moses, ed., *Empire, colony, genocide. Conquest, occupation, and subaltern resistance in world history* (New York/Oxford 2008) 424-439, specifically 436; William Frederick, 'The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's National Revolution (1945-1949): a "Brief genocide" reconsidered', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14-3/4 (2012) 359-380, specifically 376; Remco Raben, 'On genocide and mass violence in colonial Indonesia', *Journal of Genocide Research*, (2012) 14-3/4, 485-502, specifically 492. This is discussed in more detail Captain and Sinke, *Het geluid van geweld*.
- 16 Herman Bussemaker, *Bersiap! Opstand in het paradijs. De Bersiap-periode op Java en Sumatra 1945-1946* (Zutphen 2005).
- 17 We have based our research on literature studies in Dutch, Indonesian and English-language publications as well as archival research, including at the Australian War Memorial (AWM), the Dutch National Archives (NA-HANA), the Netherlands Institute for Military History (NIMH), the Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD) and Dutch and Indonesian newspapers. See: Captain and Sinke, *Het geluid van geweld*.
- 18 Following Harry Poeze and Mary van Delden, see also: Harry A. Poeze, 'Walking the tightrope: internal Indonesian conflict, 1945-1949', Bart Luttikhuis and Dirk A. Moses, (eds), *Colonial counterinsurgency and mass violence. The Dutch empire in Indonesia* (London/New York 2014). Also *Journal of Genocide Studies*, 176-197 and Mary van Delden, 'De andere kant van de Bersiap', as a series of articles in *Pelita Nieuws*, 2017.
- 19 In addition to the term extreme violence, we will use words such as atrocities, excessive violence and ruthless violence as synonyms for these forms of violence in order to avoid too much repetition.
- 20 Christian Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies. Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World* (Cambridge 2010).
- 21 Marieke Bloembergen, *Uit zorg en angst. De geschiedenis van de politie in Nederlands-Indië*. (Amsterdam/Leiden 2009); Henk Schulte Nordholt, *Een staat van geweld* (Rotterdam 2000).
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- 25 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 265-270. For more on Westerling's operation and his Depot Special Forces, see: 270 et seq.
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- 27 See for example: 'Belanda memboesoekan di mata internasional', *Merab-Poetih*, 18 October 1945. The name 'NICA' was used interchangeably for civilians and soldiers and for both KNIL soldiers and British Indian soldiers.
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- 31 Mary Somer Heidhues, 'Anti-Chinese violence in Java during the Indonesian Revolution, 1945-49', Luttikhuis and Moses, *Colonial counterinsurgency and mass violence*, 156-161; Zhou, *Migration in the time of revolution*, 19.
- 32 Frederick, *Visions and heat*, 242; Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 216.
- 33 Witness statement H.R.H. van Affelen of Saemsvoort, recorded by J.W.F. Meeng, 26-11-1947, NL-HaNA, Netherland Forces Intelligence Service [nefis] and Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst [CMI] in The Netherlands East Indies (henceforth NEFIS/CMI) . 2.10.62, inv.no 2039; Testimony L. Sinsu-Andries, recorded by J.W.F. Meeng, 29-11-1947, NL-HaNA NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv.no 2039.
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- 35 Testimony L. Sinsu-Andries, recorded by J.W.F. Meeng, 29-11-1947, 2, NL-HaNA NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv.no 2039.

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- 41 Report M.R. Vrijens, 6-8-1947, NL-HaNA NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv.no 2035.
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- 45 Richard McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946. Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution* (London/New York 2005) 22-23 and 63.
- 46 J.A. de Moor, *Westerling's oorlog. Indonesië 1945-1950* (Amsterdam 1999) 99-107; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 184 and 232.
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- 48 Ibidem.
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- 51 Ibidem 165-168.
- 52 Ibidem 168.
- 53 Takao Fusayama, *A Japanese memoir of Sumatra, 1945-1946. Love and hatred in the liberation war* (Ithaca/New York 1993) 70-76. This reading is confirmed by a Dutch source: Commanding Officer Amacab, half-monthly reporting period 1-15 January 1946, 5-2-1946, NL-HaNA NEFIS/CMI, 2.10.62, inv.no 725, 13. Indonesian sources also mention dozens of Japanese casualties in this period: Legiun Veteran Republik Indonesia Propinsi Sumatera Utara, *Veteran Pejuang Kemerdekaan dan Legiun Veteran R.I. Sumatera Utara*. Legiun Veteran R.I. Sumatera Utara (Medan 2001) 178; Biro Sejarah, *Medan Area Mengisi Proklamasi* (Medan 1976) 620.
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 - 63 Richard Chauvel, 'Ambon: not a revolution but a counterrevolution', Kahin, *Regional dynamics*, 245; Gin Keat Ooi, 'Of "permanent possession"-territories under the imperial Japanese navy', Post et al., *The encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War*, 82-83.
 - 64 A.H. Nasution, *Sekitar perang kemerdekaan Indonesia*, Jil. I, Proklamasi, Angkasa, Bandung 1977, 425; Richard Chauvel, 'Ambon: not a revolution but a counterrevolution', Kahin, *Regional dynamics*, 245; J.H.J. Brendgen, *Belevenissen van een K.N.I.L.-officier in de periode 1942-1950. Belevenissen vóór en bij politieke acties* (personal copy, Haarlem 1980) 47.
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 - 68 For a reference with source description, see Captain and Sinke, *Het geluid van geweld*.
 - 69 Ibidem.
 - 70 Ibidem.
 - 71 Memorandum [G.J.] Wolhoff and [H.J.] Koerts for the CO NICA Makassar [C. Lion Cachet], 14-10-1945, 1, Special Collections Leiden University. Collection Willem IJzereef D H 1284, inv.no 11; *De Zuid-Celebes affaire. Kapitein Westerling en de standrechtelijke executies* (Dieren 1984) 25; AWM, 8/3/14, War Diary 2/14 Battalion, 19-10-1945.
 - 72 Instructions of Major L.E. Walcott [16-10-1945], AWM 52, 8/2/21/36, War Diary 21 Infantry Brigade October 1945, Appendix 35.
 - 73 C. Giebel, *Morotai. De bevrijding van de Grote Oost en Borneo* (Wever 1976) 140; IJzereef, *De Zuid-Celebes affaire*, 5.
 - 74 McMillan, *British occupation of Indonesia*, 22-23; J.A. de Moor, *Westerling's oorlog. Indonesië 1945-1950* (Amsterdam 1999) 104-107.
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 - 77 Ibidem 140.
 - 78 Petra Groen, 'Colonial warfare and military ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941', Luttikhuis and Moses, *Colonial counterinsurgency and mass violence*, 40-42; 'Slotbeschouwing', Groen et al., *Krijsgeweld en kolonie*, 504.
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 - 80 IJzereef, *De Zuid-Celebesaffaire*, 25-51; Harvey, 'South Sulawesi', *Regional dynamics*, 214-217. Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 252. On 1 February 1946, the Australians handed over command to the 80th British-Indian Infantry Brigade. By mid-July 1946, civil and military power had been handed back to the Dutch. Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 252-253.
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 - 82 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 265-270.
 - 83 AWM 52, 8/3/14/90, War Diary 2/14 Infantry Battalion October 1945, 19-10-1945.
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- 89 Frederick, 'The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's National Revolution', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14-3/4 (2012) 372; G. Roger Knight, 'Death in Slawi: The "Sugar Factory Murders", Ethnicity, Conflicted Loyalties and the Context of Violence in the Early Revolution in Indonesia', October 1945 *Itinerario*, XLI, no. 3, 606-626, specifically 618; Robert Cribb, 'The brief genocide', Moses, *Empire, Colony, Genocide*, 425.
- 90 Van Delden, *Republikeinse kampen*, 137-138 and 150-152.
- 91 Copy of Report no. 1 by Lieutenant Commander A.J. Leland to Captain E. Tyndale Cooper, 3-11-1945, NIMH, 509, inv.no 219; Cribb, 'The brief genocide', Moses, ed., *Empire, colony, genocide*, 425. According to Mary van Delden, by interning (Indo-)Europeans, Sukarno wanted to prevent the deaths of thousands of them, which he knew would only damage the international reputation of the Republic. Van Delden, *De Republikeinse kampen*, 137-138 and 150-152.
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- 98 Suhario Padmowidjoro, translated by Frank Palmos, *Revolution in the city of heroes. A memoir of the battle that sparked Indonesia's national revolution* (Singapore 2016) 130-131; Bussemaker, *Bersiap!*, 214-215. Chairul Riza, *Radio Pemberontakan dan Perannya dalam Revolusi Kemerdekaan di Surabaya 1945-1947* (Surabaya 2006).
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- 101 Interrogation Slamet-Depok., drawn up on 12-05-1946 by J. v. der Valk (buitenkantoor NEFIS Semarang), NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv.no 65.
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- 103 Code telegram DIRVO to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, NL-HaNA, Code-archief Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2.05.117, inv.no 22595.
- 104 NIOD, Collections of sheets L. de Jong to be used for *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, XII, chapter 7; L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, XII,

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- 119 Henk Schulte Nordholt, 'A genealogy of violence', Freek Colombijn and J. Thomas Lindblad (eds), *Roots of Violence in Indonesia*, 33-62.
- 120 Remco Raben, 'Hoe wordt men vrij? De lange dekolonisatie van Indonesië', Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben (eds), *Van Indië tot Indonesië* (Amsterdam 2007) 23.
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- 123 Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries*; Schulte Nordholt, 'A genealogy of violence', Colombijn and Lindblad, *Roots of Violence in Indonesia*, 33-62.
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- 128 *De Maasbode* (Rotterdam), 18 December 1948; *Nieuw Nederland* (Amsterdam), 13 January 1949; *De Volkskrant* (Amsterdam), 10 November 1949; *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam), 8 and 11 November 1949; *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 9 December 1949; *Het Nieuwsblad van het Zuiden* (Tilburg), 21 December 1949; *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Amsterdam), 24 December 1949.
- 129 Henrike Vellinga, *'Wij hadden daar een historische verantwoordelijkheid': de Bersiap-periode (1945-1946) in memoires en dagboeken van Nederlandse militairen*, thesis Leiden University 2020, 7. For a comprehensive discussion of this issue, see chapter 6 of our book *Het geluid van geweld*.
- 130 For the punishment of offenders, see the chapter by Esther Zwinkels in this volume.

111 2. Revolutionary worlds

- 1 Special thanks to Ireen Hoogenboom and Frank van Vree for their contribution to this chapter.
- 2 NL-HaNA, Marine en Leger Inlichtingendienst, de Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service en de Centrale Militaire Inlichtingendienst in Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter NEFIS/CMI), 2.10.62 inv.no 1312, pamphlet R.W. Mongisidi, annex to VII to Agno. DD2/73, 6 November 1946.
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- Anne-Lot Hoek, Sarkawi B. Husain, Julianto Ibrahim, Gerry van Klinken, Hans Meijer, Erniwati Nur, Onno Sinke, Mawardi Umar, Anne van der Veer, Abdul Wahid, Tri Wahyuning M. Irsyam and Muhammad Yuanda Zara.
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 - 12 A.D. Moses, *The Problems of Genocide: Permanent Security and the Language of Transgression* (Cambridge, 2021), 258-59; G. Agamben, *State of Exception*, K. Attell, trans. (London, 2005), chapter 1.
 - 13 See, for example, W.H. Frederick, *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution* (Athens, 1989), 188-189; B. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution, Occupation and Resistance 1944-1946* (Ithaca, 1972) h.5, 130; A. Kahin, 'West Sumatra: Outpost of the Republic', in A. Kahin, ed., *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution* (Honolulu, 1985) 151; A. Lucas, 'The Tiga Daerah Affair: Social Revolution or Rebellion?', in A. Kahin, *Regional Dynamics*, 27; E. Morris, 'Aceh: Social Revolution and the Islamic Vision', in A. Kahin, *Regional Dynamics*, 90; J.R.W. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution 1945-1946: A Study in the Social History of the Indonesian Revolution* (Ithaca, 1964) 62-63, 69.
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111 3. 'Information costs lives'

- 1 This chapter is a summary of my forthcoming book in Dutch, *Stumbling in the Dark. The Battle for Intelligence in the Indonesian War of Independence, 1945-1949* (to be published in 2022). With thanks to my colleagues in this research programme, Florine van Berne, Wim Decherling, Karel Kraan, Camiel Raaijmakers and, in particular, Tico Onderwater.
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- 109 Abdul Haris Nasution, *Fundamentals of Guerrilla Warfare* (New York 1965) 323.
- 110 Alex Kawilarang, *Officier in dienst van de Republiek Indonesië* (Breda 1993) 117.
- 111 A.J. Pekelharing, *Belevissen van een Nederlandse jongen in de oorlog* (Epe 1996) 188-189; H. Harrewijn, *4de Afdeling Veld Artillerie. Van Oldebroek tot Oldebroek* (no location 1989) 137; M. Onnen, *De Luchtdoelartilleriegroep Militaire Luchtvaart 1947-1949 voortgekomen uit het Eerste Regiment Lichte Luchtdoelartillerie* (Lochem no date) 160; NIMH, Sweep, 155, Memoirs of W. Dofferhoff; NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv.no 224, security reports B-division.
- 112 Anton Lucas, *One soul one struggle. Region and Revolution in Indonesia* (Sydney 1991) 184; Antony Reid, *The Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-1950* (Hawthorn 1974) 89; Willy Meelhuizen, *Revolutie in Soerabaja, 17 augustus – 1 december* (Zutphen 2000) 265-269; Allan Akbar, 'Kawan Atau Lawan? Tuduhan Mata-mata Belanda pada Masa Revolusi 1945-1949', *Jurnal Sejarah* (November 2018) [special issue] 2, no. 1, 30-42, here 39-40.
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- 114 NL-HaNA, NEFIS/CM1 2.10.62, inv.no 5556.
- 115 Ibidem, inv.no 5552.
- 116 Ibidem, inv.no 5695.
- 117 Ibidem, inv.no 5556, 5653, 5686.
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- 119 Ibidem, inv.no 7179.
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- 121 M.H.J.P. Paulissen (ed.), *Oost-Java. Gedenkboek der 4^e Infanterie-brigade* (The Hague 1950) 272.
- 122 De Moor, *Westerling's Oorlog* 537-538; Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing van geweld* 258.
- 123 Volders, *Ik was korporaal in Nederlands-Indië* 64.
- 124 NIMH, 545, 162, Dallinga, Mannen van 3-6 RVA, 94.
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- 135 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs* 529-535.
- 136 Ibidem 451, 512, 613.
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- 140 SMGI, Interview Freddy Onsoe, 1331.1; NIMH, Interview Carper.
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- 142 NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv.no 1305, Report Bieger, 31 March 1948.
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- 145 NL-HaNA, Mariniersbrigade in Nederlands-Indië, 2.13.126, inv.no 999, VDMB annual report 1946-1947, s-2 A. Nypels, 15 April 1947.
- 146 Birney, *Marinier uit Soerabaja* 315.
- 147 Ibidem, 253.
- 148 NIMH, 545, 110, diary Dijkstra, 27 May 1948.
- 149 NIOD, IC, 2019, L.W. Sijsenaar, 20 January 1969.
- 150 NIMH, 509, 1230, diary Doelman, 4 November 1947.

- 151 Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing van geweld* 301.
- 152 NIMH, 509, 751, Troop Command Batavia, Intelligence service.
- 153 S.M. Jalhay, *Allen Zwijgen. Merdeka en Andjing Nica tot apra* (Purmerend 1993) 204-205; Petra Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen. Het Nederlands Militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië, 1945-1950* (The Hague 1991) 200-202.
- 154 For these cases see, for example, Scholtens, 'Rawagede', or Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*.
- 155 On the deployment of heavy weaponry, see the chapter by Azarja Harmanny, 'The myth of "the Dutch method"'.
- 156 Paulissen, *Oost-Java. Gedenkboek der 4^e Infanterie-brigade* 376.
- 157 E. Vallen, J. de Bruijn and A. Bakermans, *Gedenkboek 402 bataljon* (Maastricht, no date) 176-179.
- 158 NIMH, 0111/1 (1065), Overview military history Inf. XIII, no date.
- 159 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs* 731-733.
- 160 NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv.no 195, security report T-brigade, 20-27 February 1947.
- 161 Ibidem, inv.no 1326, NEFIS report Schuurman, 6 March 1948.
- 162 NL-HaNA, KMP 2.03.01, inv.no 4472, Notes Hueting interview, 8 April 1969.

111 4. The myth of the 'Dutch method'

- 1 This article is based upon the forthcoming monograph *Grof geschut. Artillerie en luchtmacht in de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022). The monograph is also to be published as *Iron fist. Artillery and air power in the Indonesian war of independence, 1945-1949*.
- 2 The organization of the Dutch artillery was modelled after the British Army, albeit with slightly different terminology. The Dutch called a battery an *afdeling*, and a troop a *batterij*. To prevent confusion, English-language nomenclature is used in this chapter.
- 3 Interview with Ahmet Suwito, Karanganyar, 19 August 2017 (translation Ravie Ananda); NIMH, 509, Dekolonisatie Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië, 1441, Korpsgeschiedenis 3-6 RVA.
- 4 Author's translation, the original text reads: 'untuk para korban kanonade / 786 korban (...) rakyat tak berdosa korban kekejaman tentara Belanda (...)'
- 5 Historische Collectie Korps Veldartillerie (HCKVA), 106-1, Action Report E-Battery 3-6 RVA from 21 July 1947; NIMH, 545, Sweep, Egodocumenten Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië, 445, Letters of K. Kloeten, 3-6 RVA; Klaas Kloeten, Catherine-Trueman-Kloeten and Elizabeth Smith-Kloeten, *Klaas Kloeten: his story* (Stratford 2016) 154-155.
- 6 The shelling was recently highlighted by Ravie Ananda, who wrote about it on his weblog, *Wahyu Pancasila*, 20 May 2013, kebumen2013.com/mengenang-peristiwa-canonade-candi-karanganyar-kebumen-1947, and Conrad Woldringh, *Roeien & Reizen*, 20 December 2016, woldringh-naarden.blogspot.com/2016/12/the-cannonade-of-candi-indonesia-on.html (both accessed 1 March 2021); the operation was then briefly mentioned in Harinck, Van Horn and Lutikhuis, 'Wie telt de Indonesische doden?', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 30 July 2017.
- 7 *Nota betreffende het archiefonderzoek naar de gegevens omtrent excessen in Indonesië begaan door Nederlandse militairen in de periode 1945-1950* (1969).
- 8 Jacques van Doorn and Wim Hendrix, *Ontsporing van geweld: het Nederlands-Indonesisch conflict* (4th edition, Zutphen 2012) 242-245; Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016) chapter 5.
- 9 See the forthcoming monograph *Grof geschut. Artillerie en luchtmacht in de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022). The monograph is also to be published as *Iron fist. Artillery and air power in the Indonesian war of independence, 1945-1949*.
- 10 Doctrinecommissie Koninklijke Landmacht, *Leidraad vuursteun* (2002) 15. This chapter will use the terms 'heavy weapons', 'auxiliary weapons' and 'support weapons', which were also used in the years 1945-1949.
- 11 Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing van geweld*, 206-212; for a historiographical overview, see the forthcoming study on technical violence by Harmanny, *Iron fist*.
- 12 The meta-level – the international comparison – is addressed in Azarja Harmanny and Brian McAllister Linn, "The normal order" of things: contextualizing "technical violence" in the Netherlands-Indonesia war', Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Bart Lutikhuis (eds), *Empire's violent end: comparing Dutch, British and French wars of decolonization 1945-1962* (Ithaca 2022); on the importance of micro-level studies, see Peter Romijn, 'Learning on "the job": Dutch war volunteers entering the Indonesian war of independ-

- ence, 1945-46' *Journal of genocidal research* 14:3-4 (2012) 317-336, specifically 319; Roel Frakking and Martin Thomas, 'Indrukken van de microdynamiek van revolutionair en contrarevolutionair geweld. Bewijs uit laat-koloniaal Zuidoost-Azië en Afrika vergeleken', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 135:2 (2020) 111-31.
- 13 NIMH, Sweep, 445; idem, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6-RVA in Indonesië, 1946-1949'; Ton Schilling, 'Brug naar de zon. "Het Eiland" van het Leger-Hospitaal in Batavia', *Katholieke Illustratie*, 23 June 1949.
 - 14 See, for example, Stephen Biddle, *Military power: explaining victory and defeat in modern battle* (Princeton 2006); John Ellis, *Brute force: allied strategy and tactics in the Second World War* (New York 1990).
 - 15 See also Azarja Harmanny and Brian McAllister Linn, "Technisch geweld" in de Nederlands-Indonesische oorlog. Zware wapens in de periode van dekolonisatie' *BMGN* 135:2 (2020) 93-110, specifically 101.
 - 16 *Officiële bescheiden betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950*, samengesteld door S.L. van der Wal (1978), P.J. Drooglever and M.J.B. Schouten (*NIB*), II, no. 204, Idenburg to Van Mook, 20 December 1945; Jaap de Moor, *Generaal Spoor: triomfen en tragiek van een legercommandant* (Amsterdam 2011) 179; Petra Groen et al., *Krijgsgeweld en kolonie. Opkomst en ondergang van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid, 1816-2010* (Amsterdam 2021) 146.
 - 17 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6-R.V.A.', 3.
 - 18 NL-HANA, 2.13.126, Mariniersbrigade in Nederlands-Indië, inv.no 151, cdt. MB to cdt. Marine Corps, 5 April 1946; M.R.H. Calmeyer, *Herinneringen. Memoires van een christen, militair en politicus. Ingeleid en bewerkt door J. Hoffenaar* (The Hague 1997) 394.
 - 19 R.E. van Holst Pellekaan and C. de Regt, *Operaties in de Oost: de Koninklijke Marine in de Indische archipel (1945-1951)* (Amsterdam 2003) 350; Ger Teitler, *Vlootvoogd in de knel. Vice-admiraal A.S. Pinke tussen de marinestaf, Indië en de Indonesische revolutie* (Assen/Maastricht 1990) 107.
 - 20 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 48; NIMH, *Dekolonisatie*, 1053, Oorlogsdagboek Infanterie V KNIL.
 - 21 Petra Spaan and Henriëtte van Reijnsing, 'Tweede Generatie Indië-Gangers', 2 *Vandaag* (TROS, 21 December 1996).
 - 22 Ben Bouman, *Succes in een verloren oorlog: het 6^e Regiment Veldartillerie en zijn Speciale Troepen in de onafhankelijkheidsstrijd van de Republiek Indonesië, 1946-1949* (Nijmegen 2015) 55, 87, 114; Jan Hoffenaar et al., *Vuur in beweging: 325 jaar veldartillerie, 1677-2002* (Amsterdam 2002) 104. A troop (Dutch: *batterij*) was a unit with most often four artillery pieces. Most artillery batteries in Indonesia had two battle troops.
 - 23 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6-R.V.A.', 29.
 - 24 NIMH, *Dekolonisatie*, 777, 'Ervaringen Politie Acties', chapter III - Artillerie.
 - 25 Hoffenaar et al., *Vuur in beweging*, 104-106, 124-125; Otto Ward et al., *De militaire luchtvaart van het KNIL in de na-oorlogse jaren 1945-1950* (Houten 1988) 279; Van Holst Pellekaan and De Regt, *Operaties in de oost*, 355; Carel Heshusius, *KNIL cavalerie 1814-1950: geschiedenis van de cavalerie en panstertroepen van het Koninklijk Nederlands-Indische Leger* (The Hague 1978) 82.
 - 26 NL-HANA, 2.13.132, Strijdkrachten in Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter SNI), inv.no 268, Brigade Artillery Report, 20 July - 1 October 1947.
 - 27 NIMH, *Dekolonisatie*, 1240, Diary of (KNIL) second lieutenant P.E. van Mourik, 1-3 RI.
 - 28 NIMH, Sweep, 445, Letter 3 August 1947; HCKVA, 106-1, Action Report E-Battery 3-6 RVA from 21 July 1947.
 - 29 *Het Parool*, 22 July 1947.
 - 30 NIMH, *Dekolonisatie*, 331, Interview with lieutenant general S.H. Spoor; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 405-406.
 - 31 Peter Dennis, *Troubled days of peace: Mountbatten and South East Asia Command, 1945-46* (Manchester 1987) 126, 134.
 - 32 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 206-207.
 - 33 Darto Harnoko, *Perang Kemerdekaan Kebumen tahun, 1942-1950* (Yogyakarta 1986) 36.
 - 34 NIMH, Sweep, 445, Letters of 2 September and 28 October 1947, 2 July, 1 August and 30 September 1948.
 - 35 Abdul Haris Nasution, *Sekitar Perang Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, Jil. 6, *Perang gerilya semesta* (Bandung 1978) 140.
 - 36 Wiyono, *Sejarah revolusi kemerdekaan 1945-1949 Daerah Jawa Tengah* (Jakarta 1991) 115; NIMH, Sweep, 445, Letters 18 and 26 December 1948; idem, *Dekolonisatie*, 989, Battle Report 3-6 RVA; also in J.K.M.

- Bottema, 'De Nederlandse artillerie in Nederlands-Indië. De artillerie van de 7 December Divisie', *Sinte Barbara* 26:2 (1974) 35-41, specifically 40; NL-HaNA SNI 2.13.132, inv.no 692, gevechtsverslagen van de commandant V-Bataljon Infanterie W- en T-Brigade aan de Colonne IV, 4 Genie Veldcompagnie en 3-6 Regiment Veldartillerie op Midden-Java, 19-22 December 1948.
- 37 Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta (ANRI), Kementerian Pertahanan (Kemenhan), 1352, Laporan Singkat Keadaan Kebumen dan Karanganyar, sampai tanggal 29-9-1947; Fuad Yogo Hardyanto, 'Perang mempertahankan kemerdekaan di Kebumen tahun 1945-1950' (thesis Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta 2010) 64-68.
- 38 Abdul Haris Nasution, *Fundamentals of guerrilla warfare* (New York 1965) 20-21; NIMH, Sweep, 445, letter 15 October 1947.
- 39 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 37.
- 40 Dallinga gave a number of examples of this. Ibidem, 35-38, 43.
- 41 Sjoerd Lapré, *Het Andjing Nica, bataljon (KNIL) in Nederlands-Indië (1945-1950)* (Ermelo 1987) 99.
- 42 Agoeng Wijaya, Arif Zulkifli and Wahyu Dhyatmika, *Soedirman: seorang panglima, seorang martir* (Jakarta 2012) 30-31; NL-HaNA, 2.22.21, Afscheid van Indië, inv.no 990, Perintah Siasat Nomor 1/1948.
- 43 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 83.
- 44 Literally 'dogs of the Nica' (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration), an Indonesian pejorative that was embraced as a badge of honour.
- 45 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 46, 83.
- 46 Kloeten et al., *His Story*, 193; NIMH, Dekolonisatie, 1053, 2nd Quarter 1949.
- 47 See graph in Groen et al., *Krijgsgeweld en kolonie*, 327.
- 48 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 88; NIMH, Dekolonisatie, 1053, 3rd Quarter 1949.
- 49 Petra Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen: het Nederlands militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië 1945-1950* (The Hague 1991) 246, Appendix 5.
- 50 NIMH, Dekolonisatie, 1053, 2nd Quarter 1949.
- 51 Lapré, *Andjing Nica*, 25, 327.
- 52 NIMH, 532, Van Santen, 67, Bevelschrift voor de zuivering van Karanganyar e.o.; NL-HaNA, Strijdkrachten, 1298, Commandementsorder Nr. 14, Bandung, 1 May 1947; NIMH, Sweep, 445, letters 23 October 1947 and 16 March 1948.
- 53 Interview Ahmet Suwito; Ikatan Keluarga Resimen XX Kedu Selatan, *Gelegar di Bagelen: perjuangan Resimen XX Kedu Selatan 1945-1949 dan pengabdian lanjutannya* (Purworejo 2003) 165; Thom Verheul, 'Tabee Toean: op patrouille in Nederlands-Indië' (NCRV 1995).
- 54 NIMH, Van Santen, 67; W.A. Schouten and H.B. Evers, 'Het gebruik van de artillerie, ingedeeld bij de V-Brigade gedurende en na de politionele actie' *Militaire Spectator* 4 (1949) 225-236, specifically 235.
- 55 NIMH, Van Santen, 67; idem., 71, Gevechtsverslag zuivering Karanganyar.
- 56 Lapré, *Andjing Nica*, 99.
- 57 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 40; NIMH, Van Santen, 71.
- 58 HCKVA, 106-1; NL-HaNA SNI 2.13.132, inv.no, 2277, War Log 3-6 RVA; NIMH, Van Santen, 67, Artillerie-bevel.
- 59 NIMH, 445, Letter 23 October 1947; Verheul, 'Tabee Toean'; Ikatan Keluarga Resimen XX, *Gelegar di Bagelen*, 166.
- 60 Verheul, 'Tabee Toean'.
- 61 NIMH, Dekolonisatie, 1053, 3rd Quarter 1947; interview Ahmet Suwito; Verheul, 'Tabee Toean'.
- 62 HCKVA 106-1, Actieverslag; NL-HaNA, Strijdkrachten, 1298, Diverse telegrammen en notities over Karanganyar; 3064, Stafkwartier V-Brigade; 3078, Actiebevelen voor de herdislocatie, hergroepering, bezettingen, verplaatsingen in de gebieden en sectoren van de brigade, 1947.
- 63 Lapré, *Andjing Nica*, 51, 137; Kloeten, *His Story*, 154-155.
- 64 Hugo Klooster, *Bibliography of the Indonesian Revolution* (Leiden 1997) 46-51.
- 65 Nasution, *Perang Kemerdekaan*, jilid 6, 163; Wiyono, *Jawa Tengah*, 102; *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 22 October 1947.
- 66 Harnoko, *Kebumen*, 40; T. Wedy Utomo, *Kisah-kisah Perjuangan Perang Kemerdekaan 1945-1949*, Jilid 1 (Semarang 1985) 137; Ikatan Keluarga Resimen XX, *Gelegar di Bagelen*, 166.
- 67 NL-HaNA, Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service and the Central Military Intelligence in the Dutch East Indies NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv.no 7248, Nefis doc. No. 4446, Extract III c, Kementerian Pertahanan V, Weekoverzicht Gevechtsfront Midden-Java ddo. 18-10-24-10-47.

- 68 Piet de Blaauw and Harry van de Westelaken, 'Reportage: de oorlogsmisdaden van Nederland in voormalig Nederlands-Indië', *Altijd Wat* (NCRV, 19 November 2013); correspondence Ravie Ananda, 6 February 2018.
- 69 NIMH, Sweep, 445, letter 23 October 1947.
- 70 ANRI, Sekretariat Negara, 400, Organisasi Kepolisian Kebumen, Laporan dari Kebumen, 11 November 1947.
- 71 *NIB*, 11, no. 260, Report October 1947; 658, no. 354, Lt-GG to Minog, 18 November 1947; *NIB*, XII, no. 110, Army Commander to Lt.-GG, 15 December 1947.
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- 73 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 43.
- 74 Rieks Venema, *Losse flodders 2-12 R.V.A.: artillerie herinneringen Midden-Java '47-'50* (Assendelft 1994) 53, 97; NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 43.
- 75 See e.g. NL-HaNA SNI, 2.13.132, inv.no 2790, Brief van het Hoofdkwartier U-Brigade met een overzicht van de toegepaste vechtwijze in het gebied rond Batavia, 1946; Marinus Muller, *Mijn tijd in Indië* (n.p. 1999) 36.
- 76 NIMH, Dekolonisatie, 1037, Korpsgeschiedenis 3-11 RI, Combat Report 8 January 1948.
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- 78 Hilma Bruinsma, 'Taboe in het theemeubel', blog 89 puntaal.nl/taboe-in-het-theemeubel (accessed 3 March 2021).
- 79 Hans Smits, 'De dingen waar je over zwijgt. De tien verloren jaren van de Indië-veteranen', *Vrij Nederland*, 11 January 1992.
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- 81 Stathis Kalyvas, *The logic of violence in civil war* (Cambridge 2006) 89, 148-149; Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Bart Luttkhuis, 'Extrem geweld tijdens dekolonisatieoorlogen in vergelijkend perspectief, 1945-1962', *BMGN* 135:2 (2020) 34-51, specifically 41.
- 82 Kalyvas, *Violence in civil war*, 147; Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Bart Luttkhuis, 'Introduction: beyond the league table of barbarity', in idem (eds), *Empire's violent end*.
- 83 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 113, 390; NL-HaNA SNI, 2.13.132, inv.no 475, Rapport inzake gewelddadige optreden van Nederlandse troepen en rapport inzake een vermeende Nederlandse bestandsschending; Smits, 'Verloren jaren'; NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 39, 46.
- 84 NIMH, Van Santen, 3, Verlieslijst Infanterie v.
- 85 Smits, 'Verloren jaren'; Kloeten et al., *His Story*, 189; J.M. Kolff, *De belevenissen van onze gemobiliseerde verwanten, verzetslieden en de oorlogsvrijwilligers 1939-1950* (n.p. 1955) 91-92; Lapre, *Andjing Nica*, 90-106; NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 67-68.
- 86 Correspondence Lt. Gen. TNI AD b.d. Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo 16 July 2019; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 395; Bouman, *Succes in een verloren oorlog*, 87, 114; Venema, *Losse flodders*, 14, 51.
- 87 Schouten and Evers, 'Artillerie', 232; Trevor Dupuy, *The evolution of weapons and warfare* (New York 1990) 332.
- 88 NL-HaNA SNI, 2.13.132, inv.no 2277, 1st Quarter 1949; 3064, battle report; V. van Arcken, *Tactiek, deel VI: het tactisch aspect van de strijd op Java en Sumatra 1945 tot...* (Bandung 1948); Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 393-394.
- 89 For more on this type of portrayal, see Lawrence Keeley, *War before civilization: the myth of the peaceful savage* (New York 1997) 54.
- 90 Interview Kabul Waluyo, Patuk, 27 February 2020 (translation Bambang Widyonarko); interview Warsito Redjo, Gading, 23 February 2020 (translation idem); NL-HaNA SNI, 2.13.132, inv.no 139, 1, 2, and 3 Field Artillery Battery, 1946.
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- 96 NIMH, Sweep, 162, 'Mannen van 3-6 RVA', 88.

- 97 Bruinsma, 'Taboe in het theemeubel', blog 89.
- 98 Frans Hazekamp, *Twee broers, twee luitenants in Indië: verslag van de militaire diensttijd van de broers Frans en Ted Hazekamp in Engeland en Nederlands Oost-Indië 1945-1950* (Baarn 2008) 140.
- 99 In 22 of the 29 passages labelled as 'technical violence' in the NIMH Diary Project of Dutch military personnel in Indonesia in 1945-1949, the diarist identified 'reducing risks' as their motivation. See also Schoonoord, *De mariniersbrigade 1943-1949: wording en inzet in Indonesië* (dissertation University of Amsterdam 1988) 125; Stef Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog: de Nederlandse oorlogsmisdaden in Indonesië en hun verwerking* (Amsterdam 2002) 80-100; Gert Oostindie with Ireen Hoogenboom and Jonathan Verwey, *Soldaat in Indonesië 1945-1950: getuigenissen van een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2015) 220-229; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 113, 391-399, 700-703; Bart Luttikhuis and Christiaan Harinck, 'Voorbij het koloniale perspectief: Indonesische bronnen en het onderzoek naar de oorlog in Indonesië, 1945-1949', *BMGN* 132:2 (2017) 51-76, specifically 74.
- 100 See, among others, Yuki Tanaka and Marilyn Young (eds), *Bombing civilians: a twentieth-century history* (New York 2009).
- 101 'Debate on *De brandende kampongs van Generaal Spoor* by Rémy Limpach, with Bart Luttikhuis, Abdul Wahid, Robert Cribb, Harry Poeze', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 173:4 (2017) 559-79.
- 102 Tamar Meisels, *Contemporary just war: theory and practice* (New York 2018) 78-82.
- 103 Michael Walzer, *Just and unjust wars: a moral argument with historical illustrations* (London 1977) XIX, 144; Judith Gardam, *Necessity, proportionality and the use of force by states* (Cambridge 2004) 1-22.
- 104 Walzer, *Just and unjust wars*, 155.
- 105 Martin Shaw, *The new Western way of war: risk-transfer war and its crisis in Iraq* (Cambridge 2005) 88.
- 106 See, among others, Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing van geweld*; Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië*; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*.
- 107 See, for example, Cornelius Friesendorf, 'British operations among the people and civilian risk', *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 30:3 (2019) 615-40.
- 108 John Keegan, *The face of battle: a study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme* (New York 1976) 275-292; Dierk Walter, *Colonial violence: European empires and the use of force* (New York 2017) 31, 47-48.
- 109 Patrick Porter, *Military orientalism: Eastern war through Western eyes* (London 2009) 81; Christiaan Harinck, 'Beschoten en beschreven. De Indonesische tegenstander in de Nederlandse militaire vastlegging, 1945-1949', *Leidschrift* 31:3 (2016) 19-38, specifically 34.
- 110 Groen et al., *Krijgsgeweld en kolonie*, 154; see also Petra Groen, 'Colonial warfare and military ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14:3-4 (2012) 277-296, specifically 289, and Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 708.
- 111 Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, 'The Use and Abuse of the "Dutch Approach" to Counter-Insurgency', *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36:6 (2013) 867-897.
- 112 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 779.

111 5. The law as a weapon

- 1 I am grateful to my colleagues in the research programme, Wim Dechering, Stan Meuwese, Karel Kraan, Pia Potter and Herman Roozenbeek, for their contributions to this research.
- 2 National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague (hereinafter NL-HaNA), Attorney General of the Dutch East Indies (Procureur-Generaal Nederlands-Indië, hereinafter PG), 2.10.17, inv. no. 1323, Pencil annotation 'vdL' [public prosecutor Van der Laan] to PG, 27 March [1947].
- 3 For a description of extreme violence, see chapter 1 and the Interim conclusions.
- 4 Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Bart Luttikhuis, 'Extrem geweld tijdens dekolonisatieoorlogen in vergelijkend perspectief, 1945-1962', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 135:2 (2020) 34-51, 46, 50.
- 5 C.F. Rüter, *Enkele aspecten van de strafrechtelijke reactie op oorlogsmisdrijven en misdrijven tegen de menselijkheid* (Amsterdam 1973) 166; R.P. Budding, *Beheersing van geweld. Het optreden van de Nederlandse landstrijdkrachten in Indonesië 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 1996) 65.
- 6 Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van Generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016) 487-496, 770.
- 7 The term 'Dutch military personnel' refers to members of the Dutch armed forces, including the KNIL and the Royal Navy.
- 8 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 509-530; Remco Raben, 'Zonder vorm van proces', *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 10 (2014) 32-39.

- 9 Budding, *Beheersing van geweld*, 43; Hans Abma, 'Doodstraf Nederlands-Indië', *VU Magazine* 20 (1991) 23-28, 23.
- 10 Certain aspects were addressed in the *Militair-Rechtelijk Tijdschrift* (hereinafter MRT), *Tijdschrift van het Recht* and appendix 8 of the *Excessennota*: Kamerstuk 10 008, no. 3. session 1968-1969, memo on archival research into data concerning excesses committed by Dutch military personnel in Indonesia between 1945 and 1950 [published in 1995 with an introduction by Jan Bank]. Investigation and enforcement also form part of the criminal justice chain, but we only address them briefly here.
- 11 Nico van Horn, 'De Excessennota na een halve eeuw. Een bestandsopname', *Leidschrift* 31:3 (2016), 79-94.
- 12 In the forthcoming monograph Esther Zwinkels, *The Harsh Sword of Lady Justice. Law and Impunity in the Indonesian War of Independence, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022) [the translated edition of: *De klewang van Vrouwe Justitia. Recht en onrecht in de Indonesische Onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022)] the Indonesian perspective is addressed in more detail, along with topics not considered here, such as the amnesty scheme and the administration of justice by the Republic. The figures and findings set out in this chapter are explained and substantiated in more detail in the monograph, based on archival material, egodocuments, interviews, documentaries, newspapers and the scholarly literature.
- 13 In order to address the subject of this chapter, we have taken the law as it was considered applicable by the Dutch authorities as our starting point. This does not alter the fact that the status of the Republic of Indonesia and the applicability of international agreements, treaties and declarations on the conflict should be matters of debate. See Stan Meuwese, Jurjen Pen, Theo de Roos, 'Toepasselijkheid van het oorlogsrecht in de Nederlands-Indonesische oorlog', *Nederlands Juristenblad* 96:31 (2021) 2586-2592.
- 14 It was only with the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the Supplementary Protocol II of 1977 that some rules on non-international conflicts were enshrined in treaties: Liesbeth Lijnzaad and Marten Zwanenburg, 'Internationaal humanitair recht', Nathalie Horbach, René Lefebvre, Olivier Ribbelink (eds), *Handboek internationaal recht* (The Hague 2007) 553-589, 561. As noted in chapter I.1, however, a strong case can be made that the core rules of international humanitarian law already applied during this conflict, or that they were in any case declared applicable by the Netherlands; see further the section below on the humanitarian law of war as a guide.
- 15 Bt. GG 10 May 1940 no. 12, Staatsblad van Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter Stbl. NI) 1940, no. 134.
- 16 The military government that came to power when martial law was invoked.
- 17 Regulations on the State of War and State of Siege (SOB), Stbl. NI 1939 no. 582.
- 18 These measures were not imposed solely on the basis of martial law.
- 19 W.C. Nieuwenhuyzen, 'De regeling op den staat van oorlog en beleg in Nederlandsch-Indië', *Militaire Spectator* 69 (1900) 772-789, 774-781.
- 20 Henk Schulte Nordholt, *Een staat van geweld* (Rotterdam 2000) 8.
- 21 As the supreme commander of the army and navy in Indonesia (I.S. art. 31 and 32, Stbl. NI 1925 no. 447), the (lieutenant) governor general was authorized to instruct the army commander general (CLG) to make, amend or revoke provisions: Netherlands Institute of Military History (hereinafter NIMH), 513, Spoor, inv. no. 233, Course material SOB, 1943-1944.
- 22 SOB Regulations, art. 37. The powers under emergency law were a matter of debate, both at the time and today: J.P. Loof, *Mensenrechten en staatsveiligheid: verenigbare grootheden? Opschorting en beperking van mensenrechtenbescherming tijdens noodtoestanden en andere situaties die de staatsveiligheid bedreigen* (Nijmegen 2005) 19-110.
- 23 NL-HaNA, Strijdkrachten in Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter SNI) 2.13.132, inv. no. 1313, Colonel De Vries to CLG, 22 August 1947.
- 24 Idem, Pencil annotation Spoor on letter Colonel De Vries to CLG 22 August 1947; Idem, Head of Political Affairs Office (Van Lier) to CLG, 26 August 1947.
- 25 SOB Regulation, art. 6 and 7.
- 26 The Netherlands considered all of the kingdom's residents – including Indonesians – to be Dutch subjects and subject to Dutch authority. Not all subjects had the status of Dutch citizens, however.
- 27 The situation beyond these two main islands was less clear. On 15 July 1946, for example, the State of Siege was revoked in the regions of Borneo and the Greater East, and the State of War came into force in parts of Kalimantan and Bali, and from 11 December 1946 also in parts of South Sulawesi; see Stbl. NI 1946, nos. 71 and 139. Moreover, orders also provided that in areas where the state of emergency was no longer in force, certain measures taken by the Military Authority could remain in force for longer; see

- Stbl. NI 1946, no. 66; 1947, no. 118; 1948, no. 146; and 1949, no. 181.
- 28 Matthew Groves and Alison Duxbury, 'The reform of military justice', Alison Duxbury and Matthew Groves (eds), *Military Justice in the Modern Age* (Cambridge 2016) 1-12.
 - 29 The Dutch *WvS* (1881) applied to the KL and the KM; the *WvS* for the Dutch East Indies (1918) applied to the KNIL.
 - 30 The Dutch *WvMS* (1923) applied to the KL and the KM; the *WvMS* for the Dutch East Indies (1934) applied to the KNIL. There was also a military disciplinary code (Wet op de Krijgstucht, WKt) for the KL (1903) and the KNIL (1934).
 - 31 Cathryn Corns and John Hughes-Wilson, *Blindfold and Alone: British Military Executions in the Great War* (London 2005, 1st edition 2001) 39-41.
 - 32 NL-HANA, Procureur-Generaal bij het Hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter PG), 2.10.17, inv. no. 1326, Spoor, 13 April 1949. This applied in particular to the KNIL, because KNIL judge advocates were answerable to the *advocaat-fiscaal* (prosecutor) of the high military court (HMG), a role fulfilled by the attorney general in Indonesia. Judge advocates for the KL were officially answerable to the HMG in the Netherlands.
 - 33 E. Bonn jr., 'Het Openbaar-Ministerie in Indonesië van 15.8.1945 tot 27.12.1949', *Tijdschrift voor Strafrecht* LX (1951) 111-124, 111.
 - 34 The KL's field court martial (KRV KL) was based in Jakarta, with chambers where justice was administered in Surabaya, Bandung, Semarang and Medan, among others; the KNIL's field courts martial (KRV KL) were based in Jakarta and Makassar and administered justice in Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya and Palembang, among others; and the KM had a naval court martial (*zeekrijgsraad*) in Jakarta and later in Surabaya, where a separate court martial for the Marine Brigade also operated for several months.
 - 35 'Regtspleging bij de Landmagt' (for KL) and 'Regtspleging bij de Zeemagt' (for KM). The revised military judicial procedure of 1945 (*Herziene Rechtspleging bij de Landmacht*, HRL) applied to the KNIL: Stbl. NI 1945, no. 112. Due to the 'state of war', the procedure of the KL's courts martial deviated from that of courts martial in times of peace.
 - 36 Bonn jr., 'Openbaar Ministerie'. At the KNIL, the judge advocate was not a soldier; at the KL, the judge advocate was a reserve officer in many cases.
 - 37 Bt. Lt.-GG, 22 September 1945 no.2, Stbl. NI 1946 no. 135.
 - 38 VMG 522, 24 March 1948.
 - 39 VMG 505, 31 May 1946; NL-HANA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 3551.
 - 40 H.H.A. de Graaff, *De militair-rechterlijke organisatie en haar verband met de bevelsverhoudingen bij de landmacht 1795-1955* (s-Gravenhage 1957) 374.
 - 41 Bt. CLG nr. Kab/312, 31 May 1946; NL-HANA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 3551.
 - 42 HRL NI, art. 15.
 - 43 Arie J. van Veen, *Militaire Politie in Nederlands-Indië 1945-1951* (Amsterdam 1997) 105-113.
 - 44 Ibidem, 107.
 - 45 M.P. Plantenga, 'Krijgsraden bij troepen te velde', *MRT XLV* (1952) 145-197, 146.
 - 46 Ed., 'Krijgsraad te Velde K.N.I.L. te Batavia', *MRT XLIII* (1950) 99-103.
 - 47 Museum Bronbeek Arnhem, 2002/05/03-1, Typescript 'Juridische zaken', J.W. Keiser, 1947.
 - 48 NL-HANA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 64, AM KRV KL (Van Leeuwen) to CLG, 31 December 1947.
 - 49 NL-HANA, General Staff (Generale Staf/Staf van de Bevelhebber der Landstrijdkrachten, hereinafter GS NL) 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, AM KRV KL Jakarta (Van Leeuwen), 2 October 1947.
 - 50 NL-HANA, GS NL 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, Minister for War (Fiévez) to Minister for Justice, 7 August 1947. In order to guarantee legal knowledge and experience, the army established a separate legal service in the Netherlands in 1949, the Militair Juridische Dienst: De Graaff, *De militair-rechterlijke organisatie*, 355-356.
 - 51 Plantenga, 'Krijgsraden', 146.
 - 52 Bonn jr., 'Openbaar Ministerie', 111.
 - 53 NIMH, 509 Dekolonisatie van Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter Dekolonisatie), inv. no. 1574, s' Jacob to Tak Labrijn, 12 October 1948.
 - 54 NL-HANA, GS NL 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, De Graaff to Van Leeuwen [private], 24 November 1947; ibidem inv. no. 2837, Chief GS (Kruls) to president KRV KL NI, 4 November 1947.
 - 55 NIMH, Dekolonisatie, inv. no. 1574, Tak Labrijn to Lt.-GG, CLG, etc., 3 September 1948.

- 56 See *The Harsh Sword of Lady Justice* for an explanation of these considerations with reference to actual cases.
- 57 S.A. Lapré, *Ned. Indië 1940-1950 in kort bestek: en enkele gevolgen, o.a. de coup-Westerling en het Zuid-molukse verzet* (Ermelo 1989) 164-166.
- 58 Career considerations were also a factor in the attorney general's advice not to prosecute the responsible commander for the executions in Rawagede.
- 59 NIMH, Dekolonisatie, inv. no. 1574, AM KRV KL (Van Leeuwen) to CLG, 31 December 1947; the then adjutant battalion commander A.J.A.C. Nooteboom discussed the settlement of rape, Tessel Pollmann, *Bruidstraantjes en andere Indische geschiedenissen* (Meppel 1999) 108. The issuing of disciplinary penalties for rape is also recorded in the registers of the courts martial, including: NL-HaNA, Krijgsraden (te Velde) in Nederland, Europa, Canada, Australië, Nederlands-Indië, Nieuw-Guinea en het Verre Oosten (hereinafter KRV) 2.09.19, inv. no. 230, Weekly case register Jakarta 1947-1949. Certain crimes could be dealt with as disciplinary offences for practical reasons, as will be explained further below.
- 60 NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 1326; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 660-661.
- 61 B.P. Pieters and A. Vermeer (eds), *Inleiding humanitair oorlogsrecht* (The Hague 2011) 53.
- 62 Pollmann, *Bruidstraantjes*, 113.
- 63 Rüter, *Enkele aspecten*, 23-24. Structural criminality is criminality that is not committed incidentally, but multiple times, and emerges as the result of certain structures.
- 64 Idem, 26-27.
- 65 Pollmann, *Bruidstraantjes*, 112, 114.
- 66 See comments in the margin in dossiers, for example: NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 1308.
- 67 NL-HaNA, GS NL 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, AM KRV KL Jakarta (Van Leeuwen) to head squad G6 GS (De Graaff), 30 October 1947.
- 68 Interview collection Dutch war veterans (ICNV), Interview 555, R.W. Asser, 22 February 2006.
- 69 Chinese who had settled in Indonesia, known as *peranakans*, were viewed by the Chinese government as Chinese citizens.
- 70 NL-HaNA, Mariniersbrigade in Nederlands-Indië (hereinafter MB) 2.13.126, inv. no. 1729, Report S-2 MB (Nypels), 20 November 1947.
- 71 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 627, 641-643.
- 72 NL-HaNA KRV, 2.09.19, inv. no. 49, Opening session KRV KNIL Jakarta, 28 February 1946. Words are underlined in the original.
- 73 At the time of the Aceh War, the general line at the KNIL was that the law of war did not apply to 'uncivilized peoples', but that it should be followed 'in principle'. Military necessary, however, would always be the deciding factor: P.M.H. Groen, 'Een moordgeschiedenis: koloniale oorlogvoering en militaire ethiek rond 1900', J. Thomas Lindblad and Willem van der Molen (eds) *Macht en majesteit. Opstellen voor Cees Fasseur* (Leiden 2002) 43-64, 50-56, 61-62.
- 74 Directoraat Centrale Opleidingen (DCO), *Uittreksel uit de bepalingen uit het conventionele oorlogsrecht* (Bandung 1948).
- 75 NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 2898, Chief GS (Buurman van Vreeden) to division and troop commanders, 18 December 1946.
- 76 Meuwese, 'Toepasselijkheid'.
- 77 Stbl. NI 1946, no. 44, 'Ordonnantie begripsomschrijving oorlogsmisdrijven', 1 June 1946.
- 78 Supplement to Stbl. NI, no. 15031.
- 79 In the public domain, the term 'war crimes' has a broader meaning than this formal-legal one alone, but to avoid confusion I do not use the term here to refer to violent crimes committed by Dutch soldiers.
- 80 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 549.
- 81 The on-board training and the several weeks of supplementary training from departments did not devote any time to the law of war or criminal law. See, for example: NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 2902, C-IDiv (by order of head Operations dept., De Jong), 30 August 1946; Idem, C-IDiv (Chief Staff, Holle) to commanders, 8 November 1946; Idem, Territorial/Troop commander W-Java (by order of Chief Staff, Holle), 7 September 1948.
- 82 *Handboek voor den soldaat. Deel I* (Breda 1940); *Voorschrift voor de Uitoefening van de Politiek-Politonele Taak van het Leger* (hereinafter VPTL) (no location 1945).
- 83 VPTL (Batavia-Centrum 1937) 32.
- 84 See various orders: NIMH, 516 Lentz, Operational orders C III Inf. Brigade Group.

- 85 NL-HaNA, Regeringsonderzoek naar wandaden in Nederlands-Indië in 1945-1949, 2.13.160, inv. no. 4, Routine order no. 5, 21 July 1947.
- 86 *Excessennota*, appendix 11.
- 87 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 617.
- 88 Judgement ZKR and sentence HMG, printed in *MRT* XLI (1948), 326-340; B.V.A. Röling, 'Brandstichtingsaffaire', *MRT* XLII (1949), 219-223; *Vrij Nederland*, Anne-Lot Hoek, 'Jongens, laten we dit huis sparen', 23 June 2012, 38-41.
- 89 NL-HaNA, Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken: Bureau Statistische Archieven Overzeese Rijksdelen 2.04.53.20, inv. no. 35, memo on the psychological climate, F.J.E. Hogewind, 4 May 1969. The memo was written for the *Excessennota*, but not included.
- 90 On 5 of the *Excessennota*, however, there is a reference to 141 cases. This difference is probably explained by the erroneous inclusion of cases of looting by the navy.
- 91 Gert Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië, 1945-1950. Getuigenissen van een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2015) 10.
- 92 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 45.
- 93 Archive research KITLV [2012-2016].
- 94 See *The Harsh Sword of Lady Justice* for more a more detailed explanation and substantiation.
- 95 NL-HaNA, GS NL 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, AM KRV KL (Van Leeuwen) to head squad G6 (De Graaff), 30 October 1947.
- 96 At the KM: KB 22 October 1942, Stbl. NL C65. At the KL: KB 27 July 1944, Stbl. NL E53.
- 97 NL-HaNA, GS NL 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, Circular AM KRV KL (Van Leeuwen), 30 October 1947. Further research is required to draw any conclusions about the scale on which this may have taken place.
- 98 Based on the number of cause numbers in the cause lists of the courts martial. Not all cause numbers were in use..
- 99 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 263, Weekly case register Semarang 1946-1948, aud.nos. 292-591; idem, 246, Weekly case register Surabaya 1947-1949; idem, 229 and 230, Weekly case registers Jakarta 1947-1949. These figures do not include the cases that were referred to a different court martial; in Jakarta, more than a third of the cases.
- 100 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 230, Weekly case register Jakarta 1947-1949.
- 101 *Excessennota*, appendix 6, 3.
- 102 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 230, Weekly case register Jakarta 1947-1949. These reasons cannot be derived from the registry, but they can be gleaned from the dossiers of the attorney general.
- 103 'Installatie van de Kamer van het Hoog Militair Gerechtshof in Indonesië', *MRT* XLIII (1950) 388-400, 397.
- 104 Ibidem. These figures come from the HMG and concern the period 1946-1949, and are also mentioned in appendix 8 of the *Excessennota*. However, they do not correspond to the figures in appendix 6 of the memo. Temporary courts martial tried at least 22 KNIL cases. Further details and substantiation can be found in *The Harsh Sword of Lady Justice*.
- 105 *Excessennota* appendices 4, 6. Although the term is avoided in the rest of the memo, it is mentioned in this appendix on the archival research.
- 106 The full description in appendix 6 reads: '[...] offences, which may nowadays fall within the scope of the Wartime Offences Act (Act of 10 July 1952, Stb. 1952, 408), insofar as they were perpetrated by Dutch servicemen in Indonesia in 1946-1950, in particular whereby abuse was made of power, opportunity or means to benefit the accused as a serviceman, and whereby civilians (regardless of whether they belonged to the resistance force) were involved as the injured party'.
- 107 Based on my own research and archive research by KITLV.
- 108 The death penalty in peacetime was abolished in the Netherlands in 1870, but it continued to exist in the law of war and military penal law until 1983. The death penalty was maintained in the colony (in both the WvS and WvMS).
- 109 The death sentence given to A.P.H. Orval was implemented, and W.J. Syaranamual was shot 'as he fled' before the execution could be carried out. *Excessennota*, appendix 7, III-8 and III-34.
- 110 J.A.A. van Doorn and W.J. Hendrix, *Ontsporing van geweld: het Nederlands-Indonesisch conflict* (4th edition, Zutphen 2012), 301.
- 111 See, for example, the judgements of KRV Jakarta, in which article 38 was applied as grounds for exclusion from punishment: judgements published in *MRT* 1952 and the *Excessennota*, appendix 7, I-18 and I-31.

- 112 Art. 38 Ned. WvMS (1923) and art. 32 Ind. WvMS (1934); C.A. Weststeijn, 'Het nieuwe artikel 38 Wet Militair Strafrecht. Een onderzoek naar de wenselijkheid en de functionaliteit van het nieuwe artikel 38 MSr in relatie met het huidige (internationale) militair strafrecht' (Law master's thesis, Tilburg University 2012).
- 113 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 178, Trial of Kokubu Shigehiko.
- 114 Ibidem, inv. no. 67, Trial of A.A. Gilles; *Excessennota*, appendix 7, III-44. According to testimonies, the heads were never actually displayed.
- 115 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 42, Trial of W.P. Manshanden; *Excessennota*, appendix 7, I-28.
- 116 *Het Dagblad*, 'Roofmoordenaar werd tot doodstraf veroordeeld', 26 August 1947; Idem, 'Ex.-M.P.-er ter dood veroordeeld', 22 April 1948; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 500.
- 117 NIMH, Dekolonisatie, inv. no. 1574, AM KRV KL (Van Leeuwen) to CLG, 31 December 1947; NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 2898, Circular on behalf of Adjutant General, head of IICV (Van Gorkum), 22 January 1948.
- 118 NL-HaNA, GS NL 2.13.196, inv. no. 2837, Memo AM KRV KL Jakarta (Van Leeuwen) to CLG/legal advisor, 30 October 1947.
- 119 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 109, Judgements various TKRs.
- 120 See *The Harsh Sword of Lady Justice* for a more detailed explanation of the differences between the different parts of the armed forces.
- 121 R. Cribb, 'Convict Exile and Penal Settlement in Colonial Indonesia', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 18 (2017).
- 122 Internment was based on art. 20 and art. 36 SOB in areas where the SOB was in force, and on the Governor Generals' 'exorbitant rights' for the rest of the archipelago: art. 45-48, *Regeringsreglement*.
- 123 In the sources, the term 'prisoners' (*gevangenen*) tends to be used indiscriminately to refer to internees, detainees and convicts.
- 124 NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 125, documents SOB Bali and Lombok; NL-HaNA, PG, inv. no. 136, PG to Adjutant General, 5 June 1946; NL-HaNA, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering (hereinafter AS) 2.10.14, inv. no. 3287, 'Nieuwe algemene regeling', 9 April 1947.
- 125 NL-HaNA, AS 2.10.14, inv. no. 3287, CLG (Spoor) to Lt.-GG, 29 August 1947.
- 126 VMG 517, 24 September 1947.
- 127 NL-HaNA, AS 2.10.14, inv. no. 3287, PG (Felderhof) to Representative PG Recomba East Java, 6 November 1947.
- 128 P.M.H. Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen. Het Nederlands militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië 1945-1950* (s-Gravenhage 1991), Appendix 16, 264.
- 129 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 520.
- 130 Idem, 529-541.
- 131 Pramoeodya Ananta Toer, trans. A. van der Helm, *In de fuik* (originally published as *Mereka jang dilumpuhkan* 1951; Breda 1994).
- 132 NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 1273, Detainee guidelines, East Java, 10 May 1948.
- 133 This, too, was done on the basis of art. 20 and art. 36 SOB.
- 134 NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 1278, Report Representative PG in Yogyakarta (Bieger), 17 January 1949; ibidem, inv. no. 1337, Appendices report AM TKR Surabaya (De la Parra), 28 June 1947.
- 135 NL-HaNA, SNI, 2.13.132 inv. no. 435, Head Office Political Affairs (Van Lier), 7 May 1948.
- 136 See, among others: NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 80, Judgements TKR Surabaya; *Nieuwe Courant*, 'Doodstraffen voor de Bronbeek-moordenaars', 23 July 1948. Alleged *bersiap* killers were sometimes executed without trial, without any consequences; see, for example: Henk van Maurik, *Djokja achter de horizon* (Nijmegen 1949) 206.
- 137 Ordinance temporary extraordinary provisions of criminal law, Stbl. NI 1945, no. 135.
- 138 Art.169 WvS NI NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 2898, Circular PG (Felderhof), 30 July 1948.
- 139 Regulations 5/1946 (for East Java), 5 February 1946. See also Ordinance temporary special criminal provisions, Stbl. NI 1948 no. 17.
- 140 NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 122, Hawthorn Proclamation, 13 October 1945. Similar proclamations were applicable in other areas.
- 141 NL-HaNA MB, 2.13.126, inv. no. 662, Bt. 12 January 1948 no. 7 (Stbl. NI 1948 no.17). The maximum sentences were set at ten years at that time.
- 142 VMG 514, 19 July 1947.

- 143 In *The Harsh Sword of Lady Justice*, these and other courts are examined in more detail.
- 144 L.A.E. Suermondt, 'Vergeten rechtspleging. De bijzondere krijgsgerechten in het voormalige Nederlands Oost-Indië 1948-1949', *MRT XCIII* (2000) 116-155.
- 145 Various reports in archives and egodocuments, including: Rein Posthuma, *Arts in verzet* (Midwoud 2010) 111-113; NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 1313, Head Office Political Affairs (Van Lier) to CLG, 26 August 1947.
- 146 VMG 522, 5 March 1948; NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 1273, Circular PG (Felderhof), 13 February 1948.
- 147 NL-HaNA, PG 2.10.17, inv. no. 1117, Report [Central Java] Bieger, 12 December 1948.
- 148 See, for example: NL-HaNA, MB 2.13.126, inv. no. 1702, Register BKG.
- 149 Research newspaper collection of the National Library of the Netherlands: www.delpher.nl; archival research. The same assessment was made by historian Willem IJzereef on the basis of his archival research: *de Volkskrant*, 'Een handgranaat was al genoeg voor de doodstraf', 25 April 1989. See also Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Ontsporing*, 110-111.
- 150 NL-HaNA, KRV 2.09.19, inv. no. 79, Trial of Supardan.
- 151 Ibidem, inv. no. 60, Dossier Nordmann; ibidem, inv. no. 195 Register KRV KNIL; *Excessennota*, appendix 7, III-21-23-24 and 25; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 502-503.
- 152 NL-HaNA, AS 2.10.14, inv. no. 3737, Dir. Justice (Gieben) to Lt.-GG and PG, 7 July 1947; ibidem, inv. no. 4722, Telegrams ordering suspension sentences, December 1948.
- 153 See, for example: NIMH, 528 Aan- en Afvoertroepen (AAT), inv. no. 37, Diary L.P.J. Dijkema, 31 January 1949.
- 154 NL-HaNA, SNI 2.13.132, inv. no. 3551, Lists judgements KRV; NIMH, 526 Veldhuizen, inv. no. 11 Diary Th.A.M. Veldhuizen, 14 May 1948.
- 155 NL-HaNA, AS 2.10.14, inv. no. 4619, Dept. Justice (Gieben) to president, AMS, public prosecutor TKR and KRV, 26 June 1946; 'Krijgsraad te Velde K.N.I.L.', 99-103.
- 156 Soegih Arto, *Indonesia and I* (Singapore 1994) 132.
- 157 Sukirman A. Rachman, 'Sejarah revolusi kemerdekaan', *Laporan penelitian sejarah dan nilai tradisional Sulawesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang 1996) 1-54, 37; Leiden University Library, DH 973 Lambers, inv. no. 11, Lambers to Felderhof, 17 October 1946; Pramoedya, *In de fuik*.
- 158 NL-HaNA NEFIS/CMi 2.10.62, inv. no. 6226, C Bambu Runcing to MP Jakarta, 27 July 1948; A. Mannaungi, *Corat coret masa revolusi: memoir H.A. Mannaungi* (Pare-Pare 2002) 146.

111 6. Silence, information and deception in the Indonesian War of Independence

- This chapter provides an overview of the conclusions that are reflected in the monograph by Remco Raben and Peter Romijn, with the help of Maarten van der Bent and Anne van Mourik, *Talen van geweld. Stille, informatie en misleiding in de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* [Languages of Violence. Silence, Information, and Deception in the Indonesian War of Independence, 1945-1949] (Amsterdam 2022), which is incorporated into the series that is part of the research programme 'Independence, Decolonization, Violence, and War in Indonesia 1945-1950'. For more detailed source references, please refer to this book.
- Bruce Rocheleau 'Politics, Accountability, and Information Management', George Kelley (ed.) *Selected Readings on Information Technology Management: Contemporary Issues* (Hershey and New York 2008) 323-357.
- Huw Bennett and Peter Romijn, "'Liever geen onderzoek." Hoe schandalen over koloniaal geweld in de Britse en Nederlandse politiek onschadelijk gemaakt konden worden (1945-1960)', *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 135:2 (2020) 52-71.
- This began already during the war; during the investigation in 1969 that led to the 'Memorandum on excesses' [*Excessennota*], the chairman of the commission, E.J. Korthals Altes, tasked the members of the 'coordination group' with looking into what was known about the misconduct of Dutch troops at each of their own ministries. The results can be found National Archives (NL-HaNA), The Hague (NL-HaNA): access no. 2.04.53.20 (Ministry of the Interior, section Static Archives of Overseas Territories), inv. no. 32. Also in the archives of the General Secretary of the Dutch East Indies government (2.10.14), inv. no. 3741-3796 and in the archives of the Attorney General of the Supreme Court of the Dutch East Indies (2.10.17), inv. no. 1283-1351 in the National Archives in The Hague. In these archives, all the cases that could be labelled as 'excesses' have been placed in a separate series.
- Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain. Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Oxford 2009) 139.

- 6 *Nota betreffende het archiefonderzoek naar de gegevens omtrent excessen in Indonesië begaan door Nederlandse militairen in de periode 1945-1950*, published as: Jan Bank (ed.) *De Excessennota* (The Hague 1995).
- 7 Soekarno, *Indonesië klaagt aan! Pleitrede voor den landraad te Bandoeng op 2 december 1930 gehouden door Ir. Soekarno* (Amsterdam 1931) 36.
- 8 Lieutenant Colonel J.F. Warouw to various commanders, 14 April 1949, NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv. no. 3753.
- 9 G. Nijpels, 'Oorlogsgebruiken in onzen strijd met minder beschaafden', *Orgaan der Vereeniging ter Beoefening van de Krijgswetenschap 1904-1905* (The Hague 1905) 587-698.
- 10 Petra Groen, 'Een moordgeschiedenis. Koloniale oorlogvoering en militaire ethiek rond 1900', J. Thomas Lindblad and Willem van der Molen (eds), *Macht en majesteit. Opstellen voor Cees Fasseur bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar in de geschiedenis van Indonesië aan de Universiteit Leiden*. Semaian 22 (Leiden 2002) 43-64, esp. 54-60; Handelingen Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal 1907-1908 appendix B 106-108; Petra Groen et al., *Krijgsgeweld en kolonie. Opkomst en ondergang van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid 1816-2010*. Militaire geschiedenis van Nederland 6 (Amsterdam 2021) 120, 213-217.
- 11 Sartono Kartodirdjo, 'Agrarian Radicalism in Java: Its Setting and Development', Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca 1972) 71-125; Robert E. Elson, 'Cane-burning in the Pasuruan Area: An Expression of Social Discontent', *Between People and Statistics. Essays on Modern Indonesian History Presented to P. Creutzberg* (The Hague and Amsterdam 1979) 219-233.
- 12 Bob de Graaff, 'Kalm te midden van woedende golven'. *Het ministerie van Koloniën en zijn taakomgeving 1912-1940* (The Hague 1997) 241.
- 13 Alastair M. Taylor, *Indonesian Independence and the United Nations* (Westport 1960) 171-195; see also the contribution of Jeroen Kemperman in this volume.
- 14 Minutes of the Council of Military Affairs of the Kingdom, 31 July 1946, NL-HaNA, Archives Council of Ministers, access no. 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 997.
- 15 Remco Raben, 'Zonder een vorm van proces. Indonesiërs in Nederlandse kampen', *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 10 (2014) 33-39.
- 16 Vice-Admiral Pinke to Van Mook, 12 September 1946, NL-HaNA, Council of Ministers 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 1073.
- 17 This was the position represented by the Commission-General in a letter to Minister Jonkman, 15 January 1947, NL-HaNA, Council of Ministers 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 1073.
- 18 Petra Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen. Het Nederlands militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië 1945-1950* (The Hague 1991) 259 (appendix 12).
- 19 This was also the finding of J.A.A. van Doorn and W.J. Hendrix in their book *Ontsporing van geweld. Het Nederlands-Indonesisch conflict* (Rotterdam 1970) 215.
- 20 Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen*, 261-262 (appendices 13 and 14), Groen gives the official numbers of those killed in 1949 from the official reports of the Dutch troops.
- 21 This is confirmed in a very different context for the reports on Tanjung Balai on 4 August 1947, where according to Dutch reports 300 'adversaries' were killed, but according to Indonesian sources the Dutch troops had killed 300 'inhabitants' in a wild shooting spree. See Bart Lutikhuis and C.H.C. Harinck, 'Nothing to Report? Challenging Dutch Discourse on Colonial Counterinsurgency in Indonesia, 1945-1949', Philip Dwyer and Amanda Nettelbeck (eds), *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World* (Palgrave Macmillan 2018) 265-286, esp. 269-270.
- 22 Battle Report Operation Shark, 5 March 1949, 4, NL-HaNA, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering (hereinafter AS) 2.10.14, inv. no. 3753.
- 23 Willem IJzereef, *De Zuid-Celebes affaire. Kapitein Westerling en de standrechtelijke executies* (Dieren 1984) 142. Compare the statement of High Representative of the Crown Tony Lovink about 'retaliating terror with terror' on South Sulawesi, Lovink to Van Maarseveen, 19 July 1949, NL-HaNA, Archives of the Ministry of Colonies: East Indies Archive, access no. 2.10.36.15, inv. no. 76.
- 24 Note assistant-wedana Trowulan Margono to *wedana* of Mojokerto: 'Serangan terhadap desa Modongan, Bitjak dan Balongwono oleh Mariniers', 5 June 1949, NL-HaNA, Archive Marine Brigade Dutch East Indies, access no. 2.13.126, inv. no. 637; the file also contains official reports from eyewitnesses. The data was confirmed in a conversation with Bp. Sudardji, dusun Wates Lor, desa Balongwono, 24 August 2019.
- 25 See for example Prayoga Kartomihardjo, Prapto Saptono and Sukarsono, *Monumen perjuangan Jawa Timur* (Jakarta 1986) 132-137. Our research trips in the regions around Bojonegoro and Mojokerto in

- East Java and around Yogyakarta showed how each village has its experiences and memories of violent action by Dutch patrol units. See Remco Raben, 'The Hyper-local Indonesian Revolution. Stories and Sensations from around Bojonegoro and Mojokerto', NIOD, archive Research - ODGOI.
- 26 G.C. Zijlmans, *Eindstrijd en ondergang van de Indische bestuursdienst. Het corps binnenlands bestuur op Java 1945-1950* (Amsterdam and Dieren 1985) 216-217.
 - 27 Letter from W. Schols to P.J. Koets, 7 August 1947, NL-HaNA, Archive P.J. Koets, access no. 2.2.1.100, inv. no. 31.
 - 28 Zijlmans, *Eindstrijd*, 213; see also Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, 'The Civil and Military Dimensions of Dutch Counter-Insurgency on Java, 1947-49', *British Journal for Military History* 1:2 (2015), bjmh.gold.ac.uk/article/view/614.
 - 29 A.W. Reijgwart (ed.), *1-15 R.I. De Blijvertjes. Onbewust voorloper van de Mobiele Luchtbrigade* (Hengelo 2002) 222-223.
 - 30 Interview with Bp. Bibit, dukuh Srontakan, desa Argomulyo, kabupaten Bantul, 19 February 2020; interview with Bp. Sumaryamtono, dukuh Samben, desa Argomulyo, kabupaten Bantul, 12 February 2020. See also Sudrajat and Harianti, 'Tragedi Setu Legi: Sebuah kajian lisan' (thesis Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, n.d.); 'Desa Argomulyo kecamatan Sedayu kabupaten Bantul' (anonymous typescript, n.p. n.d.; private collection). The monument in Sedayu reports, apart from the soldiers who were killed, 102 (not 104) *rakyat pejuang*, fighters of the people, which is more a claim to call everyone a resistance fighter than a true reflection of the nature of those killed. The Somenggalan memorial cemetery in Sedayu for locals who were killed in the independence war also contains the graves of children, women and the elderly.
 - 31 Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van Generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016) 207.
 - 32 NL-HaNA, Archive of H.J. van Mook, access no. 2.2.1.123, inv. no. 371-388; Tom van den Berge, *H.J. van Mook 1894-1965. Een vrij en gelukkig Indonesië* (Bussum 2014).
 - 33 Letter from Koets to Van Mook, 6 December 1948, NL-HaNA, P.J. Koets 2.2.1.100, inv.no. 30.
 - 34 Zijlmans, *Eindstrijd*, 183 and 213.
 - 35 Questionnaire P.A. Lanting, 8, University Library Leiden (hereafter: UBL), G.C. Zijlmans Collection, access no. H 1201, file 134.
 - 36 IJzereef, *De Zuid-Celebes affaire*, 91.
 - 37 Report and interview of A.M.H. Holland, UBL, Zijlmans Collection H 1201, file 134; Zijlmans, *Eindstrijd*, 216.
 - 38 See for example: Telegram army commander to troop commanders on Java and Sumatra, 10 April 1949, NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv. no. 3760; see also the contribution by Esther Zwinkels in this volume.
 - 39 Muhammad Yuanda Zara, *Voluntary Participation, State Involvement: Indonesian Propaganda in the Struggle for Maintaining Independence, 1945-1949* (dissertation University of Amsterdam 2016).
 - 40 Interview with Bp. Sumaryamtono, dukuh Samben, desa Argomulyo, kecamatan Sedayu, 12 February 2020. Sudrajat and Harianti, *Tragedi Setu Legi: Sebuah kajian lisan* (thesis Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, n.d.) 11-12; 'Desa Argomulyo kecamatan Sedayu kabupaten Bantul' (anonymous typescript; private collection). Weekly operative report no. 3, 26 March 1949, NL-HaNA, Archive Ministry of Defence, Armed forces Dutch East Indies, access no. 2.13.132, inv.no. 1100.
 - 41 Second interrogation Mardjo Sir, 24 May 1949, NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv.no. 3753.
 - 42 Lieutenant Colonel J.F. Warouw to various commanders, 14 April 1949, NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv.no. 3753.
 - 43 Letter from Colonel H.E.M. Bakhuis (Korps Militaire Politie, Centrale Justitiele Afdeling) to attorney general, 23 November 1949, NL-HaNA, Attorney General 2.10.17, inv. no. 1296.
 - 44 Telegram letter from commander of judicial department of the military police V in Surabaya to the commander of military police, 29 August 1949, NL-HaNA, Armed forces Dutch East Indies 2.13.132, inv. no. 3939.
 - 45 See the contribution by Jeroen Kemperman in this volume, as well as J. Kemperman, E. Keizer and T. van den Berge, *Diplomatie en geweld. De internationale context van de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022).
 - 46 See the contribution by Esther Zwinkels in this volume, as well as Esther Zwinkels, *De klewang van Vrouwe Justitia. Recht en onrecht in de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog, 1945-1949* (Amsterdam 2022).
 - 47 'Progressieve Groep. Beginselverklaring', *Het Dagblad*, 11 March 1946.

- 48 Beb Vuijk, 'De zuivering van Pesing', *De Baanbreker*, 4 May 1946.
- 49 H.P.L. Wiessing, 'Eer is teer, dr Drees!', *De Vrije Katheder* 8:11 (March 1949) 2-5.
- 50 C.L.W. Fock, note to the Prime Minister, 15 June 1949, NL-HaNA, Archives Ministries of General Warfare, access no. 2.03.01, inv. no. 4445.
- 51 Louis Zweers, *De gecensureerde oorlog. Militairen versus media in Nederlands-Indië 1945-1949* (Zutphen 2013).
- 52 Zweers, *De gecensureerde oorlog*; Floribert Baudet, *Het vierde wapen. Voorlichting, propaganda en volksweerbearheid 1944-1953* (Amsterdam 2013).
- 53 Instructions RVD-Batavia (date 1946), NL-HaNA, Archive Ch.O. van der Plas, access no. 2.2.1.266, inv. no. 208.
- 54 Memo Six to Beel, 11 July 1946, NL-HaNA, Ministries of General Warfare 2.03.01, inv. no. 6320.
- 55 Code telegram Lt GG to Minister of Colonies, situation report 23 January 1947, NL-HaNA, Archive Ministry for the Colonies: Reports Indonesia, access no. 2.10.29, inv. no. 91.
- 56 Daily overview Operations Office, General Headquarters, 27 January 1947, NL-HaNA, Reports Indonesia 2.10.29, inv. no. 193.
- 57 J. Schouten (ARP) in Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 11 July 1947, 2081.
- 58 Antoine Weijzen, *De Indië-weigeraars. Vergeten slachtoffers van een koloniale oorlog* (Utrecht 2015) 56-57, 148, et seq.
- 59 Gerda Jansen Hendriks, *Een voorbeeldige kolonie. Nederlands-Indië in 50 jaar overheidsfilms 1912-1962* (dissertation University of Amsterdam 2014).
- 60 See Raben and Romijn, *Talen van geweld*, as well as the introduction by Maarten van der Bent (ed.), *Van Rij and Stam. Rapporten van de Commissie van onderzoek naar beweerde excessen gepleegd door Nederlandse militairen in Indonesië, 1949-1954* (Amsterdam 2022).
- 61 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 326.
- 62 Note Van Mook, 27 November 1946 and letter Lt GG to Minister of Overseas Territories, 27 November 1946 (minute), NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv. no. 3741; see also *Excessennota*, 66.
- 63 *Friesch Dagblad*, 31 May 1947.
- 64 Jonkman in Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 11 July 1947, 2064.
- 65 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 307-310.
- 66 Van Mook to Jonkman, 21 April 1948, NL-HaNA, Attorney General 2.10.17, inv. no. 1325, folder xiii.
- 67 Minutes of the Council of Ministers, 23 August 1948, NL-HaNA, Council of Ministers 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 391.
- 68 *Excessennota*, 58-59; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 320-323.
- 69 Van der Bent (ed.), *Van Rij en Stam*.
- 70 Spoor Minutes Council of Ministers, 21 January 1947, NL-HaNA, Council of Ministers 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 389; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 269-270.
- 71 See, among other things, reporting on this by the Commission-General, 28 January 1947, *Officiële bescheiden betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950*. S.L. van der Wal, P.J. Drooglever and M.J.B. Schouten (eds) (20 vols.; The Hague 1971-1996) (hereafter: *NIB*) VII, 259-261.
- 72 Van Poll to Beel, personal, 1 February 1947, *NIB* VII, 303.
- 73 Situation reports from Mook to Jonkman, December 1946-February 1947, *NIB* VI, nos. 310 and 324, and VII, nos. 44, 121, 181.
- 74 Pieter 't Hoen, 'Duizenden vermoord op Zuid-Celebes door het K.N.I.L.' *Het Parool*, 29 May 1947.
- 75 'Het gevangenen-transport uit Bondowoso', *Nieuwsblad van het Zuiden*, 6 December 1947.
- 76 Minutes of the Council of Ministers, 15 December 1947, NL-HaNA, Council of Ministers 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 389.
- 77 About the Bondowoso affair, see Ad van Liempt, *De lijktrein. Waarom 46 gevangenen de reis naar Surabaya niet overleefden* (The Hague 1997); Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 543-544.
- 78 Cabinet Army Commander to Lt GG, 25 March 1948, NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv. no. 3776.
- 79 Cabinet Army Commander to High Representative of the Crown, 8 December 1948, NL-HaNA, General Secretary 2.10.14, inv. no. 4732; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 638.
- 80 J. Buskes, 'Spoor's afgebrande dessa's', *Tijd en Taak*, 14 August 1948 and 12 September 1948.
- 81 Marleen van den Berg, 'Zending met hart voor de zaak. Ds. Hilderling en de kwestie Peniwen, 1949', Marleen van den Berg and George Harinck (eds), *Voor de geest en het moreel van de troepen. De kerken en de oorlog in Indonesië, 1945-1950* (Hilversum 2018) 91-108.

- 82 'Een officier schrijft uit Djokja aan zijn vrienden', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 26 February 1946.
- 83 *Excessennota*, 106-107.
- 84 Communication in the Council of Ministers, 11 October 1948, NL-HaNA, Council of Ministers 2.02.05.02, inv. no. 391.
- 85 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 632-635.
- 86 *Excessennota*, 106-107; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 632-635.
- 87 Goedhart in Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 18 February 1949, 1295-1296.
- 88 For the Van Rij-Stam report, see Van der Bent (ed.), *Van Rij en Stam*.
- 89 *Excessennota*, 29-30.
- 90 Van Maarseveen to Goedhart, personal letter, 28 September 1949, NL-HaNA, General Warfare 2.03.01, inv. no. 12014.
- 91 Petra Groen et al. *Krijgsgeweld en kolonie*, 213-217.
- 92 Raben and Romijn, *Talen van Geweld*.
- 93 In Dutch penal law, the principle of opportunity allows a public prosecutor to decide not to persecute a criminal act out of considerations derived from the general interest.

111 7. Silence as a strategy

- 1 This chapter is based on *Diplomatie en Geweld; De internationale context van de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog* [Diplomacy and Violence; The International Context of the Indonesian War of Independence] (Amsterdam 2022) by Jeroen Kemperman, Emma Keizer and Tom van den Berge, which contains a more detailed account of the discussion in this chapter.
- 2 Sutan Sjahrir, *Our Struggle*, translated by Benedict R. O'G. Anderson (Ithaca 1968) 25.
- 3 See the definition of the concept of diplomacy at: <https://www.encyclo.nl/begrip/diplomatie>.
- 4 Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, *Twenty years Indonesian foreign policy* (The Hague/Paris 1973) 71. Anak Agung, who was born on Bali, was prime minister and foreign minister of the federal state of East Indonesia between 1947 and 1949. After the transfer of sovereignty, he became minister of foreign affairs of the United States of Indonesia.
- 5 Especially in the various studies by J.J.P. de Jong, but also, for example, in Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War: The United States and the struggle for Indonesian independence, 1945-49* (Ithaca/London 1981) and Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: US foreign policy and Indonesian nationalism, 1920-1949* (Amsterdam 2002).
- 6 Kemperman, Keizer and Van den Berge, *Diplomatie en Geweld*, 25-34.
- 7 United States National Archives and Records Administration (hereinafter NARA), RG 59, A1 1360, box 2, 'Second phase SWNCC study on Indonesia' (first draft written in SEA), 4 June 1947, 6. See also 10-11.
- 8 Foreign Relations of the U.S. (hereinafter FRUS), 1948, VI, 600, Acting Secretary of State to the Acting United States Representative at the United Nations (Jessup) at Paris, 23 December 1948. Drafted by Rusk on behalf of Lovett.
- 9 Officiële bescheiden betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950, samengesteld door S.L. van der Wal (1978), P.J. Drooglever en M.J.B. Schouten (hereinafter *NIB*), IV, 733.
- 10 NARA, RG 59, A1 1265, box 15, Indonesia - General Correspondence 1946-1947, Kenneth P. Landon (SEA) to Butterworth (FE), 8 December 1947.
- 11 For a more detailed analysis, see Kemperman, Keizer and Van den Berge, *Diplomatie en Geweld*, 34-40.
- 12 Based on 'Een vierkantsverhouding in Zuidoost-Azië' by Tom van den Berge, in *Diplomatie en Geweld*, 63-93.
- 13 FRUS, 1949, VII, 1, 174-176 and 187; NARA, RG 59, Central Decimal Files 45-49, box 2154, Memorandum of Conversation, 'Indonesia and SC action', 18 January 1949; *NIB*, XVII, 124-125, 133-134 (footnote), 139 and 169.
- 14 This quote is attributed to Charles de Gaulle.
- 15 Based on 'Under the counter' by Emma Keizer, in *Diplomatie en Geweld*, 95-129.
- 16 The National Archives in Kew (hereinafter TNA), DEFE 4/5 (92), 'Military assistance to the Dutch', report by the Joint Planning Staff, 16 July 1947, appendix to Minutes of meeting of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, 23 July 1947.
- 17 NARA, RG 59, Central Decimal Files 45-49, box 2158, Department of State, Outgoing Telegram, Acheson to American Consulate Batavia (Cochran), no. 287, 19 May 1949.
- 18 *NIB*, IV, 445.

- 19 FRUS, 1947, VI, 959-960 and 971-972. *NIB*, IX, 491.
- 20 Poeze, *Verguisd en vergeten*, 1, 675; Van den Berge, *H.J. van Mook*, 251; J.J.P. de Jong, *Avondschot*, 55. See also George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca 1952), 227.
- 21 FRUS, 1947, VI, 1082; FRUS, 1948, VI, 86-87.
- 22 NARA, RG 59, Central Decimal Files 45-49, box 2150, Graham in Batavia (no. 120) to Secretary of State in Washington, no. 83, 28 January 1948. The revised version of the minutes reads as follows: 'Dr. Graham stated the Committee did not have powers of arbitration and added: "Whatever you are, you are". We are not saying what that is because we don't have the power. You might have in the political discussions negotiations with the Netherlands Government about that.' *NIB*, XII, 824.
- 23 FRUS, 1948, VI, Consul General at Batavia (Livengood) to the Secretary of State, 21 May 1948, 227.
- 24 NARA, RG 84, A1 1030B, box 26, Department of State, Intelligence Research Report, 'Developments in the Netherlands East Indies Situation, May 6, 1946 to October 6, 1946', 1 November 1946, 71.
- 25 McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War*, 99; TNA Kew, DEFE 4/5 (92), 'Future situation in Indonesia', report by the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee, 18 July 1947, appendix to Minutes of meeting of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, 23 July 1947.
- 26 NARA, RG 59, A1 558-CA, box 7, File 'Indonesia 883076', memo from George F. Kennan to Secretary of State and to Under Secretary of State Lovett, 17 December 1948. See also Gouda, *American visions*, 294-296.
- 27 TNA Kew, FO 371/63602, F 9005, From Batavia to Foreign Office, Mitcheson, No. 500, 3 July 1947.
- 28 United Nations Security Council (hereinafter UNSC), S/1085, Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question, Fourth interim report of the Committee to the Security Council, 15 November 1948, XII. Repeated by the committee in S/1156, Report dated 26 December 1948 from the Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question, 27 December 1948, 8.
- 29 NARA, RG 59, Central Decimal Files 45-49, box 2158, Assistant Secretary of State Ernest A. Gross to Senator Warren G. Magnuson, 22 August 1949.
- 30 For a more detailed analysis, see Kemperman, Keizer and Van den Berge, *Diplomatie en Geweld*, 140-164.
- 31 McMillan, *British occupation*, 69-75, quote on 70. See also Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016) 225-243.
- 32 *NIB*, II, 460.
- 33 UNSC, Security Council official records, 1st year: 12th meeting, held at Church House, Westminster, London, on Thursday, 7 February 1946, 185, 187. NARA, RG 59, Central Decimal Files 45-49, box 2149, 'Review of previous consideration of the Indonesian case before the Security Council', no date, appendix to document dated 13 June 1946, 3.
- 34 FRUS, 1948, VI, 598-599, Acting Secretary of State [Rusk on behalf of Lovett] to the Acting United States Representative at the United Nations (Jessup) at Paris, 23 December 1948.
- 35 Hermann von der Dunk once noted that the traditional Dutch aversion to violence seemed to play less of a role in overseas situations 'where there was no equal opponent to fear and when fortunate trade beckoned'. According to him, the German occupation of 1940-1945 may have reinforced the principled condemnation of violence, but it also brought an 'unswerving law-and-order mindset' to the foreground, which led the Dutch in Indonesia to 'enforce their alleged right, if necessary through the use of violence.' Hermann von der Dunk, "'Toen werd het levensgevaarlijk'; Nederland, oorlog en geweld', in Conny Kristel (ed.), *Met alle geweld; Botsingen en tegenstellingen in burgerlijk Nederland* (Amsterdam 2003) 13-33, q.v. 21 and 29-30.
- 36 William T. Sherman, *Sherman's Civil War: Selected Correspondence of William T. Sherman, 1860-1865*, eds Jean V. Berlin and Brooks D. Simpson (Chapel Hill N.C. 1999) 708. Sherman does not appear to have done much to reduce the cruelty of his war.
- 37 Two staff members at Harvard Law School have even argued that 'the laws of war [...] have been formulated, and in fact have served, to legitimate ever more destructive methods of combat'. Chris af Jochnik and Roger Normand, 'The Legitimation of Violence: A Critical History of the Laws of War', in Michael N. Schmitt and Wolff Heintschel von Heinegg (eds), *The development and principles of International Humanitarian War*, London/New York 2016, 49-95, q.v. 51.

111 8. Beyond colonial guilt ranking

- 1 The preliminary results of the NIAS study appeared in 2020 as a series of articles in the Dutch-Flemish historical journal *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review*. The end result of our project, which included

- the more detailed thematic comparisons and a number of additional comparisons, was published as: Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Bart Luttkhuis (eds), *Empire's Violent End. Comparing Dutch, British, and French Wars of Decolonization, 1945-1962* (Ithaca and London 2022). The thematic approach of the NIAS project was the result of the asymmetry in available data and topics.
- 2 E.B. Kielstra, 'De Atjeh-oorlog verdedigd', *Onze eeuw*, 1 (1901), 1093-1094; Kielstra, 'De Franschen op Madagaskar', *Onze Eeuw*, 2 (1902) 901-932.
 - 3 Douglas Porch, 'Bugeaud, Gallieni, Lyautey: The development of French colonial warfare', P. Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton 1986) 388-402; Petra Groen et al., *Krijgsmacht en Kolonie. De opkomst en ondergang van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid, 1816-2010* (Amsterdam 2021) 97-132.
 - 4 During this campaign on South Sulawesi, Captain Raymond Westerling's commando unit and supporting KNIL troops executed at least 3,500 prisoners between December 1946 and February 1947. Westerling himself also made such a relativistic comparison in his memoirs. Raymond Westerling, *Mijn mémoires*, (Antwerpen 1952) 89.
 - 5 J.A. de Moor, *General Spoor. Triomfen en tragiek van een legercommandant* (Amsterdam 2011) 179; Rémy Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam 2016) 230-231, 311, 319, 778-779.
 - 6 For this classic contrasting comparison, see authors such as Thomas Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency, 1919-1960* (New York, 1990); John Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife. Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya to Vietnam* (Chicago, 2005); Michael Burleigh, *Small Wars, Faraway Places. The Genesis of the Modern World, 1945-65* (London, 2014), 329. For an earlier emphasis on de-exceptionalizing, see among others: Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact. A Comparative Approach to the End of Colonial Empires* (Maldon and Oxford 2008) 140-172. For a critique of cursory comparisons between Vietnam and Malaysia, for example, see among others: Martin Thomas, *Fight or Flight. Britain, France and Their Roads from Empire* (Oxford 2014) 162-163.
 - 7 David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged. The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York, 2005), 6.
 - 8 J.A.A. van Doorn and W.J. Hendrix, *Het Nederlands-Indonesisch conflict: Ontsporing van Geweld* (Amsterdam 1985) 47.
 - 9 See, among other things: Martien Hoogland, 'Nederland moet het optreden in Nederlands-Indië in historisch perspectief plaatsen', *HP de Tijd*, 3 May 2017; J.J.P. de Jong, 'Het kantelende beeld van dekolonisatie', *Clingendael Spectator*, 6 February 2018; Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, XII II (Amsterdam 1988) 1015; Limpach also refers to this tendency: Rémy Limpach, 'Zwarte Bladzijden in Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk en Groot-Brittannië', *Geschiedenis Magazine*, no. 4 (June 2017) 52-57.
 - 10 L. de Jong, typescript paragraph 'Oorlogsmisdrijven', 1425-1426 as quoted in Stef Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog: de Nederlandse oorlogsmisdaden in Indonesië en hun verwerking* (Amsterdam 2002) 227.
 - 11 Thomas, *Fight or Flight*, 7.
 - 12 See also the chapter by Esther Zwinkels in this volume.
 - 13 The original Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war dates from 1929.
 - 14 See chapter I.1, the interim conclusions and the chapter by Esther Zwinkels in this volume. See also Boyd van Dijk, 'The Making of the Geneva Conventions: Decolonization, the Cold War, and the Birth of Humanitarian Law' (dissertation, European University Institute 2017); A. Dirk Moses, Marco Duranti and Roland Burke, *Decolonization, Self-Determination, and the Rise of Global Human Rights Politics* (Cambridge 2020); Fabian Klose, *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence: The Wars of Independence in Kenya and Algeria* (Philadelphia 2013); Brian Drohan, *Brutality in an Age of Human Rights: Activism and Counterinsurgency at the End of the British Empire* (Ithaca 2017).
 - 15 Gert Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië 1945-1950. Getuigenissen van een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2015) 82, 138, 156-157, 206, 233, 236, 237, 242. Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, 'Wij vormen hier een soort Duits bezettingsleger'. Ervaringen van een pelotonscommandant op Java', Jan Hofenaar, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, and Anita van Dissel (eds), *Wat een vondst. Verhalen uit de Geschiedenispraktijk* (Amsterdam 2021) 202. For the comparison with the German raid on Putten in October 1944, see also: Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 435, 753 and Diary of Sergeant H. Meiners, 28 April 1946, NIMH 806, inv. 930. It is important to note here that all these contemporary comparisons do not take the Holocaust into account and therefore focus on extreme German violence against non-Jewish Dutch people.

- 16 Raphaëlle Branche, *'Papa, qu'as-tu fait en Algérie?' Enquête sur un silence familial* (Paris 2020) 184, 199.
- 17 Ian Cobain and Jessica Hatcher, 'Kenyan Mau Mau victims in talks with UK government over legal settlement,' *The Guardian*, 5 May 2013.
- 18 These paragraphs are based on the sub-studies by Azarja Harmanny and Brian Linn, "'The Normal Order of Things': Contextualizing "Technical Violence" in the Netherlands-Indonesia War', Brocades Zaalberg and Luttkhuis, *Empire's Violent End*, 120-140, and by Christiaan Harinck, "'Bloodshed on a Rather Large Scale": Tactical Conduct and Noncombatant Casualties in Dutch, French, and British Colonial Counterinsurgency', idem, 141-161.
- 19 Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog*, 56; Jan Hoffenaar et al., *Vuur in beweging: 3325 jaar veldartillerie, 1677-2002* (Amsterdam 2002) 127; Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië*, 146, 163; Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 391-392, 395, 768, caption no. 48.
- 20 In addition to approximately 160 pieces of artillery, the Dutch armed forces theoretically had 150 to 175 fighter planes. Of these, only a third of them could be deployed due to a shortage of crew and in particular a lack of parts. The French in Algeria had a better functioning air force with 300 to 400 attack aircraft. See Azarja Harmanny and Brian Lynn, "'Technisch Geweld' in de Nederlands-Indonesische oorlog' *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review*, 135, no. 2 (2020) 101.
- 21 See the contribution of Azarja Harmanny in this book.
- 22 For a comparative analysis of forced relocation, see: Moritz Feichtinger, 'Strategic Villages. Forced Relocation, Counterinsurgency and Social Engineering in Kenya and Algeria, 1952-1962', Martin Thomas and Gareth Curless (eds), *Decolonization and Conflict. Colonial Comparisons and Legacies* (London 2017) 137-158.
- 23 We thank Petra Groen for this last contrasting insight added to our comparison of mass burning and organized 'population and resources control'.
- 24 John Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (New York 2008) 230-231.
- 25 See also: Thomas and Curless, *Decolonization and Conflict* (London 2017) 100.
- 26 Figures for Algeria and Kenya are based on Moritz Feichtinger, "'A Great Reformatory": social planning and strategic resettlement in late colonial Kenya and Algeria, 1952-63', *Journal of Contemporary History* (2016). For some of these broader notions, see also: Limpach, 'Zwarte Bladzijden', 52-53.
- 27 These paragraphs are based on the sub-project by Pierre Asselin and Henk Schulte Nordholt, 'Cracking Down on Revolutionary Zeal and Violence: Local Dynamics and Early Colonial Responses to the Independence Struggle in Indochina and the Indonesian Archipelago, 1945-1947', Brocades Zaalberg and Luttkhuis, *Empire's Violent End*, 71-95.
- 28 Frances Gouda and Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions of the Netherlands East-Indies/Indonesia: US Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism 1920-1949* (Amsterdam 2002) 305. See: P.M.H. Groen, *Marsroutes en Dwaalsporen: Het Nederlandse militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië 1945-1950* (The Hague 1991) 289-290.
- 29 We must take into account here that many of these military casualties occurred during the peaks in violence seen in late 1945, and in 1947 and 1949. About half of the Dutch troops were killed and the other half died from accidents, disease and hardships, a ratio that was comparable to other conflicts in tropical areas at the time.
- 30 For information on these numbers, see: Van Doorn and Hendrix, *Het Nederlands-Indonesisch conflict*, 165; Christopher Goscha, *Historical Dictionary of the Indochina War, 1945-1954* (Copenhagen 2011) 17, 88-89. For more details on the number of casualties, see the contribution by Harinck, "'Bloodshed on a rather large scale"'.- 31 Goscha, *Historical Dictionary*, 16; Frederik Logevall, *Embers of War. The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam* (New York 2013) 249.
- 32 Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, 'In de Oost', Ben Schoenmaker (ed.), *200 Jaar Koninklijke Landmacht* (Amsterdam 2014) 149.
- 33 Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (London 1977) 252.
- 34 Raphaëlle Branche, *L'embuscade de Palestro* (Paris 2010).
- 35 Brocades Zaalberg, 'In de Oost'; Branche, *L'embuscade*, 181; Feichtinger, "'A Great Reformatory"', 46.
- 36 For Vietnam's numbers, see Goscha, *Historical Dictionary*, 17, 88-89.
- 37 Martin S. Alexander, Martin Evans and J.F.V. Keiger (eds), *The Algerian War and the French Army, 1954-62: Experiences, Images, Testimonies* (New York 2002) 6-7.
- 38 For this statement and for the figures for Indonesia, Malaysia, Kenya, Vietnam and Algeria, see: Harinck,

- “Bloodshed on a rather large scale”. See also: Christiaan Harinck, Nico van Horn and Bart Luttkhuis, ‘Wie telt de Indonesische Doden?’, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, no. 30 (2017).
- 39 Goscha, *Historical Dictionary*, 81, 165.
- 40 For a discussion on the reconstruction of such figures for the Algerian case, see: Raphaëlle Branche, *La guerre d’Algérie: Une histoire apaisée?* (Paris 2005) 204–217.
- 41 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 269, 308; Christopher Hale, *Massacre in Malaya: Exposing Britain’s My Lai* (Stroud 2013); ‘Malaysian lose fight for 1948 “massacre” inquiry’, *BBC News*, 4 September 2012; ‘Relatives lose fight for inquiry into 1948 Batang Kali “massacre”’, *The Guardian*, 25 November 2015. In the Vietnamese village of My Lai, American soldiers killed between 307 and 504 unarmed civilians, including women and children, on 1 March 1968.
- 42 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk XII II*, 1017.
- 43 Karl Hack, “‘Devils that suck the blood of the Malayan People’: The Case for Post-Revisionist Analysis of Counter-insurgency Violence”, *War in History* 25-2 (2018) 213.
- 44 These paragraphs are based on the study by Stef Scagliola and Natalya Vince, ‘The Places, Traces, and Politics of Rape in the Indonesian and the Algerian Wars of Independence’, Brocades Zaalberg and Luttkhuis, *Empire’s Violent End*, 96–119.
- 45 There are many theories about whether rape was used as a political weapon in colonial struggles and whether racism plays a fundamental role, but empirical research is for the most part lacking. Comparative research shows once again that it is difficult to prove empirically that rape was used as a strategy or that racism – even if it was omnipresent – played an important role. This is underscored by the fact that Algerian and Indonesian troops in the colonial armed forces were just as guilty of rape.
- 46 Goscha, *Historical Dictionary*, 450–451.
- 47 Raphaëlle Branche, *La torture et l’armée pendant la guerre d’Algérie, 1954-1962* (Paris, 2001). See also: Raphaëlle Branche, ‘The French Military in its Last Colonial War: Algeria 1954-62: The Reign of Torture’, S. Tobia and C. Andrew (eds), *Interrogation in War and Conflict: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Analysis* (London, 2014), 169–184.
- 48 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, and Limpach’s contribution to this book. The KITLV database of published egodocuments of 1,362 authors contains 83 references to torture (see also Oostindie, *Soldaat*, 205). The NIMH database of unpublished diaries of soldiers contains 23 references to torture; the total number of references to ‘abuse’ is 41. For ‘systematic’, see also the conclusions of the Memorandum on excesses [*De Excessennota*]. Jan Bank (introduction), *De Excessennota. Nota betreffende het archiefonderzoek naar de gegevens omtrent excessen in Indonesië began door Nederlandse militairen in de periode 1945-1949* (The Hague 1995 [1969]).
- 49 See, among others, Drohan, *Brutality*, 187–194.
- 50 For example, in his conclusion Rémy Limpach mentions about seventeen factors that promote violence (not counting intrinsic motives such as sadism). Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*; De Moor, *Generaal Spoor*, 354–355.
- 51 The latter is in line with George Mosse’s brutalization theory, developed on the basis of research into the effects among German veterans of the First World War. George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford 1990). For causal hierarchy, see E.H. Carr’s classic *What is History?* (London 1961).
- 52 See, among others, Limpach, *Brandende kampongs* 748–750.
- 53 Groen, *Marsroutes*; De Moor, *Generaal Spoor*.
- 54 Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, ‘The Civil and Military Dimensions of Dutch Counter-Insurgency on Java, 1947-1949’, *The British Journal of Military History*, 1, no. 2 (2015) 67–83.
- 55 These paragraphs are based on the study by Huw Bennett and Peter Romijn, ‘Not an Afterthought: Accountability for Colonial Violence in the Dutch and British Metropolises’, Brocades Zaalberg and Luttkhuis, *Empire’s Violent End*, 25–48.
- 56 Richard Toye, ‘Arguing about Hola Camp: The Rhetorical Consequences of a Colonial Massacre’ Martin Thomas and Richard Toye (eds), *Rhetorics of Empire: Language of Colonial Conflict After 1900* (Manchester 2017) 187, 207.
- 57 Huw Bennett, *Fighting the Mau Mau. The British army and counterinsurgency in the Kenya emergency* (Cambridge 2021) 89–90, 251–252. The only lawsuit that was filed in Aden – interestingly enough against the only civilian interrogator, and which fell under civil law – led to an acquittal. Drohan, *Brutality*, 144.

- 58 See the chapter by Esther Zwinkels in this volume.
 59 Idem.
 60 Hack, "Devils that suck the blood of the Malayan People", 202-281; Huw Bennett, "A very salutary effect": The Counter-Terror Strategy in the Early Malayan Emergency, June 1948 to December 1949', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32:3 (2009) 415-444.
 61 This paragraph is based on the study by Roel Frakking and Martin Thomas, 'Windows onto the Micro-dynamics of Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence: Evidence from Late Colonial Southeast Asia and Africa Compared', Brocades Zaalberg and Lutikhuis, *Empire's Violent End*, 49-70.

111 9. A guilty conscience

- 1 Meindert van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten. De worsteling met de Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsoorlog vanaf 1950* (Amsterdam 2022).
 2 This theme is discussed and documented at much greater length in *Een kwaad geweten*. Scagliola's book, *Last van de oorlog. De Nederlandse oorlogsmisdaden in Indonesië en hun verwerking* (Amsterdam 2002), mainly covers the period between 1969 and the late 1980s. *Een kwaad geweten* addresses the entire post-war period. This analysis is also based on Gert Oostindie's 'Trauma and the Last Dutch War in Indonesia, 1945-1949' R. Eyerman and G. Scortino (eds) *The trauma of decolonization: Colonial returnees in the national imagination* (New York 2020) 85-109.
 3 See, for example, Christ Klep, *Van wereldmacht tot 'braafste jongetje'. Onze militaire identiteit door de eeuwen heen* (Amsterdam 2019); Chris Lorenz, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering en de universele mensenrechten. De casus "Rawagede"', *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis* 128:1 (2015) 109-130; Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog*.
 4 The discussion about Afro-Caribbean slavery has acted as an important catalyst for this. Compare Peter Romijn, *De lange Tweede Wereldoorlog: Nederland 1940-1949* (Amsterdam 2020); Gert Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland. Vijfenzestig jaar vergeten, herdenken, verdringen* (Amsterdam 2009); Gloria D. Wekker, *Witte onschuld. Paradoxen van kolonialisme en ras* (Amsterdam 2020).
 5 Jacobus A.A. van Doorn, *Indische lessen. Nederland en de koloniale ervaring* (Amsterdam 1995) 57-77.
 6 Jan Hoffenaar, 'Geen woorden maar daden. De terugkeer van de Nederlandse militairen uit Indonesië (1947-1951)', G. Teitler and J. Hoffenaar (eds), *De politionele acties. Afwikkeling en verwerking* (Amsterdam 1990) 79-90; Hans Meijer, 'Zo snel mogelijk gedumpt?' Martin Elands (ed.), *Oost west thuis best? De opvang van uit Nederlands-Indië teruggekeerde militairen 1948-1951* (Doorn 2004) 9-53; Gert Oostindie, with the assistance of Ireen Hoogenboom and Jonathan Verwey, *Soldaat in Indonesië, 1945-1950. Getuigenissen van een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2015) 280-303.
 7 Abram de Swaan, 'Postkoloniale absences', *De Groene Amsterdammer* 19 (2017). See also Paul Bijl, 'Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14:3-4 (2012) 441-461; and Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog* and 'Cleó's "Unfinished Business": Coming to Terms with Dutch War Crimes in Indonesia's War of Independence', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14:3-4 (2012) 419-439.
 8 The Moluccan veterans of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) are henceforth discussed separately; as a separate group, they played a negligible role in Dutch veterans' organizations.
 9 Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië*, 303.
 10 J.C.H. Blom, 'Jaren van rucht en ascense. Enige beschouwingen over de stemming in herrijzend Nederland (1945-1950)', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 96:2 (1981) 300-333; Meijer, 'Zo snel mogelijk' 25.
 11 Raymond Westerling, *Mijn mémoires* (Antwerp 1952); Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 2.
 12 This is all described at length in Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 1, 2, 4, 7 and 8.
 13 Scagliola, *Last van de oorlog*, 105-115.
 14 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 9, 12 and 13.
 15 Oostindie, *Soldaat in Indonesië*, 150-152 and passim.
 16 *NRC Handelsblad*, 14 December 1989, 'Indië-veteranen contra onbegrip en dekolonisatietrauma'; Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 15.
 17 *NRC Handelsblad*, 27 July 1995, 'Afscheid van Indië een stapje verder'; *de Volkskrant*, 27 July 1995, 'Indië-gangers niet tegen bezoek Bot'; *Trouw*, 13 August 1995, 'Den Haag negeerde zestig jaar een datum'.
 18 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 16-18.

- 19 Telephone conversation with Leen Noordzij on 3 March 2021. See also Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 20-21.
- 20 Bauke Geersing, *Kapitein Raymond Westerling en de Zuid-Celebes-affaire (1946-1947). Mythe en werkelijkheid: een markante periode uit de geschiedenis van Nederlands-Indië* (Soesterberg 2019). See also <https://www.kvbk.nl/auteurs/mr-bauke-geersing>, consulted on 1-11-2021.
- 21 Martin Bossenbroek, *De meelstreep* (Amsterdam 2001); H.Th. Bussemaker, *Indisch verdriet. Strijd om erkenning* (Amsterdam 2014); Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland*; Henk Smeets and Fridus Steijlen, *In Nederland gebleven. De geschiedenis van Molukkers 1951-2006* (Amsterdam 2006); Wim Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië, 1945-1995* (Amsterdam 2001).
- 22 Adriaan van Dis, *Leeftocht, veertig jaar onderweg* (Amsterdam 2007) 333.
- 23 Esther Captain, *Achter het kawat was Nederland. Indische oorlogservaringen en -herinneringen 1942-1995* (Kampen 2002).
- 24 Tong-Tong, 15 February 1971, 'Vrouwen hebben geen ziel'.
- 25 Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*. XI en XII (The Hague 1984-1988); Ralph Boekholt and Th. Stevens, *De staat, dr. L. de Jong en Indië. Het proces van het Comité Geschiedkundig Eerherstel Nederlands-Indië tegen de Staat der Nederlanden over deel 11A van 'Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog': 29 maart 1986-10 april 1990* (The Hague 1992); Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 1, 12 and 14.
- 26 Peter Keppey, *Sporen van vernieling. Oorlogsschade, roof en rechtsherstel in Indonesië, 1940-1957* (Amsterdam 2006); Hans Meijer, *Indische rekening. Indië, Nederland en de backpay-kwestie 1945-2005* (Amsterdam 2005); Hinke Piersma, *Bevochten recht. Politieke besluitvorming rond de wetten voor oorlogsslachtoffers* (Amsterdam 2010); Elly Touwen-Bouwsma, *Op zoek naar grenzen. Toepassing en uitvoering van de wetten voor oorlogsslachtoffers* (Amsterdam 2010).
- 27 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 15, 17-18.
- 28 Gert Oostindie and Fridus Steijlen, 'Ethnic "Ferociousness" in Colonial Wars', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 177 (2021) 491-523.
- 29 Smeets and Steijlen, *In Nederland gebleven*.
- 30 Fridus Steijlen, *RMS: van ideaal tot symbool. Moluks nationalisme in Nederland, 1951-1994* (Amsterdam 1996); Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 1, 14, 17-18.
- 31 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 20.
- 32 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 3-4, 6-7.
- 33 Katherine E. McGregor, *History in Uniform. Military ideology and the construction of Indonesia's past* (Leiden 2007).
- 34 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 9, 11, 17.
- 35 NRC Handelsblad 14 February 1992, 'Soeharto haalt uit naar Nederland bij installatie nieuwe ambassadeur'.
- 36 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 17.
- 37 NRC Handelsblad, 17 August 2005, 'Minister Bot lost "unfinished business" op'. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 18.
- 38 Discussions with those involved at KITLV, NIMH and NIOD, inspection of Advice council of ministers regarding 'Cabinet response Limpach study', 1 December 2016. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 22.
- 39 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 3-5; see also introduction to the source publication of the Van Rij-Stam report, part of this programme.
- 40 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 6.
- 41 *Proceedings of the Senate*, 3 December 1958.
- 42 *Trouw*, 16 April 1966, 'Het overlijden van Sjahri'.
- 43 Introduction by Jan Bank to the 1995 reissuing of the *Excessennota, Nota betreffende het archiefonderzoek naar de gegevens omtrent excessen in Indonesië begaan door Nederlandse militairen in de periode 1945-1950* (The Hague 1995) 12.
- 44 *Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, 2 July 1969. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 8 and 9.
- 45 E. Locher-Scholten, 'Een bronnenpublicatie als signaal van koloniaal trauma? Ontstaan en ontvangst van de Officiële bescheiden', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 111:4 (1996) 473-492, 489.
- 46 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 9.
- 47 C. Fasseur, *Dubbelspoor. Herinneringen* (Amsterdam 2016) 144.

- 48 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 10.
- 49 *Trouw*, 27 August 1971, 'Soeharto: hoogtepunt van vriendschap bereikt'.
- 50 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 12.
- 51 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 16-17 and 19-20.
- 52 Memorandum Foreign Affairs HM visit to Indonesia, 9 May 1994, Archive Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018.622842, inv.no 23589.
- 53 *De Volkskrant*, 26 August 1995. By citing those two years, Van Mierlo was probably referring to the two 'police actions'. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 17.
- 54 *De Volkskrant*, 25 February 2000, *Trouw*, 25 and 28 February 2000, *NRC Handelsblad*, 2 March 2000. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 17.
- 55 Interview with Ben Bot, 11 March 2020.
- 56 Ben Bot, *Achteraf bezien. Memoires van een diplomaat en politicus* (Amsterdam 2015) 338. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 19.
- 57 *Proceedings of the House of Representatives 2008-2009*, Verhagen's response to questions from Van Velzen, 21 January 2008.
- 58 *Trouw*, 31 August 2013, 'Snel excuses voor executies voormalig Nederlands-Indië'.
- 59 Email M. van der Kloet (NIMH), 19 April 2021. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 19-20.
- 60 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 20.
- 61 Letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the House of Representatives, 2 December 2016, Handelingen Tweede Kamer 26049, nr. 82. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 22.
- 62 See also the introductory chapter in this book.
- 63 Speech given by King Willem-Alexander in Bogor on 10 March 2020.
- 64 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 1, 3-4, 7-8.
- 65 Note that *Het Vaderland* published an earlier interview with Hueting's on 25 May 1968: 'Ook oorlogsmisdaden uit Indië-tijd onderzoeken'.
- 66 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 9-11.
- 67 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 9, 12.
- 68 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 9, 12.
- 69 Interview with Westerling by journalist Joep Nuttinghausen; *Trouw*, 15 August 2013, 'Westerling gaf het in 1969 al toe'.
- 70 Opinion piece Chris Vos, *NRC Handelsblad*, 30 May 1994, 'Televisie is niet debet aan verdringing van oorlogsmisdaden'; Chris Vos, 'Een open zenuw. Televisie over de koloniale oorlog in Indië 1945-1950', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 2 (1999) 69-99, 84.
- 71 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 1 and 17.
- 72 Some early critical voices were heard from different academic fields, including the Indonesia scholar Hans Teeuw (1956) and the lawyer Christiaan Rüter (1971). But the protests from left-wing academics such as Wim Wertheim and Jan Pluvier against Juliana's state visit in 1971 focused on Suharto's violations of human rights in 1965-1966 and later, not on Dutch extreme violence in 1945-1949. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 7, 10-11.
- 73 Locher-Scholten, 'Een bronnenpublicatie'.
- 74 *Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, parliamentary questions from Den Uyl and Knol, response by Prime Minister Lubbers on 14 April 1987.
- 75 Telephone conversation with Scholtens, 9 March 2021.
- 76 *Trouw*, 17 August 1995, 'Schadeclaims hebben geen zin'. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 19-20.
- 77 Marc van Berkel, *Welk verhaal telt? De oorlogen in Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië 1942-1949 in het geschiedenisonderwijs* (Amsterdam 2017); Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 21.
- 78 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 22.
- 79 See for example Bart Lutikhuis and A. Dirk Moses (eds), *Colonial Counterinsurgency and Mass Violence. The Dutch Empire in Indonesia* (London 2014).
- 80 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 8, 13, 20.
- 81 *NRC Handelsblad*, 28 December 1991, 'Expositie toont stukje vergeten geschiedenis'; *de Volkskrant*, 30 December 1991, 'Oorlog in Indië was geen sinecure, maar een goede opleiding deed wonderen'.
- 82 *NRC Handelsblad*, 15 April 1995, 'Twee Nederlandse fotografen hun tijd vooruit in Indonesië'.
- 83 *Haagsche Courant*, 30 October 1998, 'Voor sommigen doorbreek ik de code'.

- 84 Gerda Jansen Hendriks, *Een voorbeeldige kolonie. Nederlands-Indië in 50 jaar overheidsfilms 1912-1962* (Amsterdam 2014); Louis Zweers, *De gecensureerde oorlog. Militairen versus media in Nederlands-Indië 1945-1949* (Zutphen 2013).
- 85 Vos, 'Een open zenuw', 123; Oostindie, 'Trauma'.
- 86 NIPO research 1995. Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapters 9 and 19.
- 87 Van der Kaaij, *Een kwaad geweten*, chapter 19.
- 88 Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge 2016); Dietmar Rothermund (ed.), *Memories of Post-imperial Nations: The Aftermath of Decolonization, 1945-2013* (Cambridge 2015); R. Eyerman and G. Scortino (eds), *The Trauma of Decolonization: Colonial Returnees in the National Imagination* (New York 2020); Rémy Limpach, 'Zwarte bladzijden in Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk en Groot-Brittannië', *Geschiedenis Magazine* 4 (June 2017) 52-57; Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland* 207-237.
- 89 See <https://vomi-nederland.nl/monumenten/>
- 90 Limpach, *Brandende kampongs*, 40-41, 314, 320. See also NEFIS, internal letter about destruction of documents (NL-HaNA, NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv.no 589); memo D-CMI Reinderhoff 1-12-1949 about destruction of IVG archives (NL-HaNA, NEFIS/CMI 2.10.62, inv.no 2963); order to destroy field security service documents by means of incineration (NL-HaNA, strijdkrachten, 4744). Before the transfer of sovereignty, archives were incinerated by various army bodies, including the intelligence service and the KNIL's military jurisdiction; cf. statement by judge advocate E. Bonn (NL-HaNA, 2.13.160, inv. 3, Notes interview Korthals Altes with E. Bonn, 10-3-1969).
- 91 According to recent surveys, the Dutch population is by far the most critical of the Dutch history of slave trading. The view of colonial history as a whole is divided: in an opinion poll of 30,000 respondents (autumn 2021), 35 per cent said that they were proud of that history, 46 per cent said that they were not. The Dutch military intervention in Indonesia was considered by 45 per cent to be 'unjustified', compared to 21 per cent who considered it 'justified'. EenVandaag Opiniepanel, *Rapporten Onderzoek Koloniale geschiedenis*, 4-9-2021 and 5-10-2021.
- 92 Lorenz, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering'; Bart Luttikhuis, 'Juridisch afgedwongen excuses. Rawagedeh, Zuid-Celebes en de Nederlandse terughoudendheid', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 129:4 (2014) 92-105. German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* concerns the Nazi past, of course, not German colonial history, which became part of the public and political debate only much later and much less prominently; see, for example, E. Ames, M. Klotz and L. Wildenthal, *Germany's Colonial Pasts* (Lincoln 2005).

IV Conclusions

- 1 The following is based on: Rémy Limpach, "Ze vielen als gemaaid koren". Een beschouwing over de verliescijfers in Indonesië, 1945-49', *Military Spectator* 1 (2022); Petra Groen, *Marsroutes en dwaalsporen. Het Nederlands militair-strategisch beleid in Indonesië, 1945-1950* (The Hague 1991) 262; L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog, XII: Epiloog, tweede helft* (The Hague 1988) 865; Gijs Beets, Nicole van der Gaag and Joop de Beer, *De demografische gevolgen van oorlog en geweld in Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië in de Jaren veertig*, unpublished memo, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), December 2021. The NIDI researchers concluded that excess mortality in the period 1940-1950 is likely to have been between 3.3 and 3.8 million. They view this as a lower limit; their calculations indicate that a large proportion of this excess mortality should be attributed to the period of the War of Independence.

v Dealing with the legacies of a violent past

- 1 'Pemerintah Dinilai Pasif Urus Kasus Rawagede' (Government deemed passive in representing Rawagede case), <https://www.jpnn.com/news/pemerintah-dinilai-pasif-urus-kasus-rawagede?page=2>. Consulted on 19 December 2021.
- 2 'Khawatir Sejarah RI Berubah, Sejarawan UI Ini Tolak Riset Belanda' (Fear of change to Indonesian historiography, historians at Universitas Indonesia reject Dutch research), <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3647175/khawatir-sejarah-ri-berubah-sejarawan-ui-ini-tolak-riset-belanda>. Consulted on 19 December 2021. Questions were also asked about the independence and political motives of this research. See 'Ada Apa di Balik Niat Belanda Teliti Perang Kemerdekaan Indonesia?' (What lies behind the Dutch plan to investigate the Indonesian War of Independence?). Consulted on 19 December 2021.

- 3 Christian Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge 2010).
- 4 Ibidem, 3.
- 5 As I understood the covid-pandemic hindered planned workshops in Indonesia and there were problems to access the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, ANRI). In the 1970s the ANRI compiled a series of oral histories, together with a number of witnesses to the Japanese occupation and the revolution. The veterans' organization Angkatan 45 (Batch of '45), which has chapters all over Indonesia, has been very active in collecting oral and written testimonies and memoirs from its members. In addition, there are many memoirs and autobiographies by prominent figures that offer abundant information about this period from an Indonesian perspective.
- 6 For an overview of the development of the historiography after the New Order, see Gerry van Klinken, 'The Battle for History After Suharto', *Critical Asian Studies* 33:3 (2001).
- 7 As artillery was used in the guerrilla war, there were very large numbers of civilian casualties. See the chapter by Azarja Harmanny in this book and the contribution by Christian Harinck, Nico van Horn and Bart Luttkhuis, 'Do the Indonesians count? Calculating the number of Indonesian victims during the Dutch-Indonesian decolonization war, 1945-1949', <https://imperialglobalexeter.com/2017/08/14/do-the-indonesians-count-calculating-the-number-of-indonesian-victims-during-the-dutch-indonesian-decolonization-war-1945-1949/#more-4951>. Consulted on 20 December 2021.
- 8 Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Nyanyi Sunyi Seorang Bisu*, 2, 163.
- 9 See, for example, G. Roger Knight, 'Death in Slawi: The "Sugar Factory Murders", Ethnicity, Conflicted Loyalties and the Context of Violence in the Early Revolution in Indonesia, October 1945', *Itinerario* 41:3 (2017).
- 10 As far as I know, the leaders of the Republic never used the term 'just war', but I believe that the call for *jihad* in the Battle of Surabaya in November 1945 and the concept of *dharmayudha* from *wayang* (shadow play) come close to the idea of a just war.
- 11 In the case that is known as the Peristiwa Tiga Daerah (the 'three regions affair'), youths involved in the 'social revolution' were arrested and convicted of planning to stage a 'coup d'état'. See Anton Lucas, *One Soul, One Struggle: Region and Revolution in Indonesia* (Sydney 1991).
- 12 Howard Dick, Vincent J.H. Houben, J. Thomas Lindblad and Thee Kian Wie (eds), *Emergence of a National Economy: An Economic History of Indonesia, 1800-2000* (Honolulu 2002) 171.