

# Hacking History

**A Digital Humanities Research on J.B Van Heutsz in the Dutch  
Press (1924-1990)**

Juffermans, P.M. 3337758

## **Preface**

This thesis is written in light of recent developments spearheaded by the buzzword ‘Big Data’. This thesis is pioneering in the field of Digital Humanities, experimenting with distant reading approaches that may or may not enable scholars in the distant future to examine and analyse large chunks of data from a relative distance. This master thesis should therefore be approached as an experiment. The methodology of the thesis is a product of trial and error. The approach of this thesis should be understood as forming part of a continuous and ongoing development of experimental approaches requiring constant assessment and reorientation. While hoping to find a digital ‘Eldorado’, this thesis sets out to contribute to ‘the constitutions’ for digital research using distant reading and hopefully be part of the metaphorical ‘Pax Romana’ that seems at times needed within the Digital Humanities community to push the debate to the next level.

This thesis was confronted by many ‘Digital Hurdles’ that are familiar to many who try to get a grip on Digital Humanities approaches. It was, moreover faced with dilemmas that seemed unsolvable within the available time, making it a product of a ‘tug-of-war’ between the limitations of technology and time. The constant battle between these two forced me to make choices that may not have created ‘perfect conditions’ for sailing the digital ocean of data. Since this thesis is one of the many expeditions that search for a ‘Digital Eldorado’ on this uncharted ocean of digital data, it may not always be fun to read. Although epics about explorers of the new world seem to tell a thrilling story, the reality of such stories is that on a day-to-day basis the tale is much more down to earth than the historical narratives in popular culture like us to believe. The analogy about heroic explorers of unknown oceans and continents in search of the mythical city of gold as metaphor for this thesis fits perfectly. While, at first sight, it seems that this thesis might be such a thrilling epic, the actual exploration of the ‘digital ocean of data’ is a lot less thrilling than popular culture would like us to believe. Thus, the actual exploration of the tools used for this thesis is necessarily detailed, helping create a more accurate map of this digital ocean. The search itself however, especially the exploration of concept maps, can be somewhat ‘boring’. Hence, a word of advice to the reader. For ‘fast-twitch’ readers, I would recommend that they skip the close-reading analysis of concept maps, and ‘jump’ to the conclusion. For ‘slow-twitch’ readers I recommend that they stay the distance of the full history of events. I sincerely hope that both type of readers will reach the conclusion (in their own way) and recognise them selves in it.

In this thesis I have tried to show the full process of concept map exploration, illustrating the usability while also showing that in some cases the usability might be questioned. I have decided to show both sides of the story in order to explicate that: while experimental approaches of history might be valuable, such approaches also need a lot of re-evaluation and demand conscious elaboration about whether such approaches are adding to a new insight into historical subjects. It is my hope that, at the end of the day, historians will benefit by them, enabling them to investigate and narrate new narratives.

Since this thesis is part of new developments in data analysis, the form and set up of this thesis might be slightly different from traditional historical researches. Therefore, I will advise the reader to print the added attachments and keep these alongside the thesis. This will increase the readability of the research. Especially during the analysis I often point towards the attachments. I have decided not to incorporate the tables and concept maps in the thesis itself because this would mean that the reader has to continuously go through the thesis.

Because this thesis is somewhat of a historical exploration in Digital Humanities, trying to find approaches to incorporate new methods of analysis for historical research, this thesis has taken up more time than at first expected. New ‘digital hurdles’ and theoretical problems repeatedly confronted me. One of such problems was with extracting newspapers from the corpus. *De Tijd* for instance featured prominently during the WWII period, one of the reasons to select this newspaper. Unfortunately, after many failed attempts, using the newspaper title, the name of the publisher and many other methods of extraction, this newspaper could not be extracted with SPSS. The same may be argued for the newspapers *Ons Volk*, *Het Vrije Volk* and *Het Volk*, however by using the publisher (*De Arbeiderspers*) rather than the title, I was still able to extract these newspapers. A problem of a completely different nature was my footnotes: how do I refer to large chunks of data in a scientifically responsible manner? No such guidelines exist as of yet. I have chosen to refer to the concepts that were used for close reading. These concepts may be found in a selection of articles that have been extracted from the database used for this research. I will refer to the name of the concept and database used for close reading rather than all used articles separate: with some exceptions when such references seemed necessary. Only when I quote sources did I add a full reference to the used source.

I hope that this thesis is as much fun to read as it was to for me to write. It has been a painstaking process fraught with many frustrations and bureaucratic hurdles, but the end product of this thesis was hopefully worth all of the headaches. Enjoy.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank the following people who have aided me in writing this thesis. In the first place my mentor Joris Van Eijnaten, professor of cultural history and currently the Director of the Department of Cultural History at the University of Utrecht. Despite a busy agenda, he was always on stand-by for giving me the much needed guidance, pushing me towards new subjects, approaches and supervisors that all contributed to my personal development.

I would like to thank José de Kruif, researcher in computational history, for the tutorial about SPSS. She has given this tutorial with a lot of patience and her enthusiasm about SPSS and her willingness to help at any time enabled me to make use of this sophisticated program with relative ease.

I would like to thank Pim Huijnen and Jasmijn van Gorp for introducing me to Digital Humanities.

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## **Table of contents**

INTRODUCTION .....	5
METHODOLOGY PART 1: DISTANT READING VERSUS CLOSE READING .....	8
METHODOLOGY PART 2: IMPERIAL EPICS AND MEDIA FRAMING .....	12
PART 1 THE TRAJECTORY OF DUTCH IMPERIALISM: A LITERATURE REVIEW .....	15
CHAPTER 1: THE PATH TOWARDS THE EMPIRE AND THE POLITICS OF DUTCH IMPERIALISM.....	15

CHAPTER 2 THE RISE OF THE DUTCH PRESS 1604-1910 .....	17
CHAPTER 3 JOHANNES BENEDICTUS VAN HEUTSZ .....	18
CHAPTER 4 DUTCH IMPERIALISM IN THE INTERBELLUM.....	20
CHAPTER 5 THE DUTCH PRESS IN THE INTERBELLUM.....	21
CHAPTER 6 DUTCH IMPERIALISM DURING WORLD WAR II .....	24
CHAPTER 7 THE PRESS DURING WWII.....	25
CHAPTER 8 THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION.....	29
CHAPTER 9 THE PRESS AND DECOLONIZATION .....	31
CHAPTER 10 AN EARLY POST-COLONIAL NETHERLANDS .....	33
CHAPTER 11 THE PRESS IN A POST-COLONIAL NETHERLANDS .....	35
CHAPTER 12 COLONIALISM IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE.....	37
PART 2: BEYOND DISTANT READING .....	40
CHAPTER 13 HACKING HISTORY .....	46
USING DIGITAL TOOLS .....	46
CHAPTER 14 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1924-1929 .....	55
CHAPTER 15 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1930-1940.....	68
CHAPTER 16 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1940-45 .....	85
CHAPTER 17 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1950-60.....	95
CHAPTER 18 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1960-70.....	102
CHAPTER 19 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1970-80.....	117
CHAPTER 20 VAN HEUTSZ IN CONCEPT MAPS 1980-90.....	131
CONCLUSION.....	141
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	153

## Introduction

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 2015 Robbert Dijkgraaf, former president of the Royal Dutch Academy of Science and currently the director of the prestigious Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, published a column in the Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*. The column, entitled *Dataïsme*, argued that modern-day science became increasingly influenced by current technological developments leading to a vast accumulation of digitized data and unprecedented computational power. This development, according to Dijkgraaf, comes with unparalleled opportunities yet to be discovered. Headed by the buzzword ‘big data’, scientists try to build a digital model of reality that is supposed to help researchers gain new understandings and enable them to analyse large chunks of data on an unrivalled scale. The use and availability of such large amounts of data permits scholars for example, to study the formation of public opinion. As Dijkgraaf adds, it also enables companies to influence public

opinion. Dijkgraaf, originally a mathematician, recognizes a huge potential in the use of so-called ‘big data’, primarily for the humanities to investigate new narratives.<sup>1</sup>

While the fantasy of some scholars runs wild, predicting a scholarly ‘Walhalla’, researches in Humanities employing these new techniques remain largely absent. In order to contribute to this new trend of scholarly ‘prodigy’, this thesis sets out to test such new possibilities. Can you conduct a research based on and directed by digital tools? Trained as a historian, I propose to study the formation of public opinion about a historical figure in Dutch newspapers. Paradoxes in public opinion might be regarded as an interesting point of conflict and disagreement. Therefore this study aims to reach new understandings of such conflicts in public opinion by making use of distant reading tools.

Such conflicts in public opinion may currently be found in modern perceptions on the history of Western Imperialism. On 25, 26 and 27 January 2015 critical reflections on Dutch colonial heroes are expressed as a response to the new film ‘Michiel de Ruyter’. A simple search on Google on this conflict results in claims such as: ‘racist, imperialist, murderer, slave trader, extortionist, colonial thief and war criminal’ as a protest against the framing of such figures as heroes. However, responses to such protests are equally countered by claims of people who support such epics by saying: ‘it belongs to our national history’ and who degradingly refer to the protesters as ‘whiners’.<sup>2</sup>

In the same way that Michiel de Ruyter invites debate today, general J.B Van Heutsz became a point of debate from his appearance onto Dutch public stage. The concept of media framing analysis gives me the tools to study how the media affected perceptions on Van Heutsz and contributes to the understanding of how to explain such perceptions. The frames chosen by the media to narrate these imperial military endeavours contribute to our understanding of how media affect perceptions on these ‘thrilling past times’. Whereas most of the perceptions on these imperial quests during the age of Imperialism are framed in one way, modern frames might create a different perception. An example of how frames changed about Van Heutsz can be illustrated by the following quote from the *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* from 1978:

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Dataïsme’ in: *NRC Handelsblad* 18-04-2015.

<sup>2</sup> Google search on: ‘Protest tegen film Michiel de Ruyter’.

‘Wat voor de een een held is, is voor de ander een schurk. Zelfs de tijd geeft hierover geen uitsluitsel, want de geschiedenis wordt door de overwinnaars geschreven. De succesrijke generaal van vandaag is de boeman van morgen, zoals de stenen huldeblijken aan de veroveraar van Atjeh, Van Heutsz, bewijzen.’<sup>3</sup>

It is these changes (or continuities) in judgement, the paradox of being a hero according to some and a villain according to others, that is central to this research. This research sets out to study the framing of these imperial military heroes in Dutch newspapers. In order to manage the scale of this research, I have decided to study only one military hero in Dutch Imperial history: J.B. Van Heutsz. Van Heutsz may well be an ideal case study in order to explicate how framing might affect the understanding of a national figure. As the quote of the *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* already suggests, the understanding of Van Heutsz as a national figure was subject to a change of perception. For instance, Van Heutsz received several monuments in honour of his person. These monuments were subjected to critique from the moment the erection was proposed and became a focal point for protests: such responses lasted over 65 years. Still, J.B Van Heutsz was at first presented as a hero notwithstanding the fact that since his appearance on the public stage he had been both criticised and glorified. It thus seems that studying the methods of framing Van Heutsz in the Dutch press might help to gain a deeper understanding of the effects of framing on these interpretations. In order to answer my primary question ‘can you do a research based on and directed by digital tools?’, I decided to focus on Van Heutsz. This thesis will try to answer the question - How was the name of ‘Van Heutsz’ framed in the Dutch newspapers in the period 1924-1990? - using digital tools.

In the following part I will elaborate on the methods employed, especially the symbiosis of the close and distant reading method. In this section I will discuss on a theoretical level the limitations and possibilities of distant reading and how close reading is able or unable to complement. This section will not discuss how the distant reading tools have been employed in this research. Such a detailed explanation can be found just after the literature discussion. This choice has been made because in my experience the tools used for distant reading can only be understood with the necessary historical context. Therefore, I will

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Commentaar Monument voor terroristen’ in: *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* 01-05-1978.

first provide this context by discussing some scholarly literature. I will explain how the tools are used, explored and how they work after I have provided an interpretive framework.

The discussion of the scholarly work focuses on two primary questions, how did Dutch Imperialism evolve? And how did the Dutch press evolve alongside the trajectory of Dutch Imperialism? I am aware that studies on Colonialism and Imperialism have a much wider scope, including debates such as; can we speak of a conscious Imperial project?<sup>4</sup> And to what extent can we speak of a post-colonial world? It involves debates centred on the book of Edward Said 'Orientalism' and theoretical explorations of a western imperial mindset, to name just a few. However, such debates, although interesting, have no added value for this research and are not part of the scope of this thesis. The literature discussed just serves as an interpretative frame during the exploration. This thesis is focused more on the tools than on the debate that exists within the scholarly literature about colonialism, imperialism and post-colonialism.

### **Methodology Part 1: distant reading versus close reading**

This research is set up in a twofold manner, it uses orthodox close reading and an approach of a more experimental nature: distant reading. Asking a broader question than usual - how was the name 'Van Heutsz' framed in the newspapers? - enables me to grasp a wider process of connotation development. The vocabulary used in the newspaper articles gives me tools to determine how newspapers approached events centred on Van Heutsz. It shows the position of each newspaper in the debate. The close reading analysis is primarily used in order to provide contextual knowledge concerning the process of framing. In short, the close reading analysis focuses on the vocabulary used in the portrayal of Van Heutsz. The portrayal of Van Heutsz is relevant because, as a source from 1927 notes already:

'Zooals over alle grote mannen, zoo zijn er ook over Generaal Van Heutsz tal van anecdoten in omloop. Zijn ze geheel waar, gedeeltelijk waar of geheel verzonnen? Wie zal het ooit

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<sup>4</sup> Bernard Porter, *Absent minded Imperialist*

weten. Maar zelfs verzonden anecdoten kunnen een mensch typeeren, zooals zijn tijdgenoten hem zagen.’<sup>5</sup>

These anecdotes are central to this research and specifically the close reading method. This study tries to map the frames pertaining to Van Heutsz by explicitly using these anecdotes and news events in Dutch newspapers as part of the framing analysis. As concluded earlier, newspapers are a very useful source for a research that tries to uncover the popular image on Van Heutsz and study the framing of Van Heutsz in order to understand how his public image came to be.

The second method of research, the distant reading approach, will make use of digital tools to investigate a larger corpus. Recent developments in the Digital Humanities (DH) enable me as a researcher to mine large corpora of texts. In theory, approaching large selections of sources from a distance should enable a researcher to either explore or maybe even analyse larger chunks of data. The gathering and selection of these larger collections of sources starts with the digitization of original sources. Once digitized, the sources can be searched and exported by a search engine such as Delpher or Textcavator. For this research Delpher and Textcavator were used to find, explore and export the entire corpus that was found with the key search ‘Van Heutsz’. The total number of hits on this key search in Textcavator was 5991.<sup>6</sup> All of these items can be searched and possibly analysed with the help of SPSS Modeler that allows researchers to mine large corpora of texts. A more detailed explanation of the tools used for this research can be found in part 2.

Methodologically distant reading faces some obstacles. The corpus of the Dutch National Library (KB) is incomplete and the articles used for this research, in some eras, experience noticeable Optical Character Recognition (OCR) problems. The KB writes in a disclaimer about OCR that; in order for the computer to search through digitized sources, the computer needs to ‘know’ which words appear in the source. With the help of OCR software scans can be changed into text-files that are readable for the computer. The older the source, the more likely that OCR flaws are created. A different layout, different spelling, a different type and decay of sources may explain this. The KB is faced with a dilemma, having one budget for both the digitization of sources and the development of software. The KB therefore

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<sup>5</sup> ‘VAN HEUTSZ ALS ONDER-KONING’, in: *De Telegraaf* 09-06-1927.

<sup>6</sup> Key Search on Van Heutsz on textcavator, settings: landelijke kranten only; the years 1924-1990 only.

needs to make a choice. Researchers demand a large source selection but also a reliable and accurate OCR. If the Dutch National Library likes to offer a large source selection, it comes at a cost.<sup>7</sup> This dilemma between quantity and quality is one of the many obstacles in digital research. To give an example of a source with OCR errors:

‘DX uiterst zrlld/.aam verleende hooge utilitaire onderscheidingen t> prei en de groote  
verdrietisten op militair gebied. Maar men zou aan de beteekenis van generaal Swart te kort  
doen MOT hem alleen als krijgsman te kenschetsen. Waarlijk niet /ouder reden huldigde  
generaal Snijders fn |M 3 den jubilaris als soldaat en staatsman van groote bekwaamheid.  
helder in/.iebt en nimmer falende overgave aati /i|ti plicht.’<sup>8</sup>

These OCR errors may have profound consequences for research. On a theoretical level it could be argued that it increases the distance between the researched object and the researcher. This distance between a researcher and a studied object is created because the researcher is no longer confronted with the original source (possibly missing potential knowledge that comes from direct interaction with original sources). Instead of direct interaction with a studied object, a researcher is confronted with text files scanned and reproduced by a computer. These computer-generated text files are at times hardly readable and its original content changed, which also increases a distance between a researcher and a studied object. Of a more practical nature, it obstructs the researcher in distant reading. How this affects and influences this research will be explained later in part 2 when the tools used for this thesis are discussed.

However, other issues with distant reading exist as well, for instance with the use of SPSS Modeler. SPSS Modeler is a highly sophisticated program, offering many options for distant reading and source extraction. Due to its complexity and my limited time, mastering SPSS Modeler was a challenge. I basically needed to do four things at once; firstly, learn how SPSS works and discover its options, secondly develop a strategy in order to make use of SPSS in a research, thirdly use the program while trying to master it and finally write a thesis while doing all of this at the same time. Because of this, I sometimes had to make choices that limited my options and prevented me from making full use of the potential of SPSS. For instance, articles from the Dutch newspaper *De Tijd* in the 80s could not be generated. I will give a more detailed description of these tools and the problems encountered in part 2.

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/platform/pages/?title=kwaliteit+%28ocr%29> (visited on 14-10-2015).

<sup>8</sup> ‘Generaal Swart; Soldaat en staatsman’ in: *De Telegraaf* 12-10-1938.

Even though such problems exist, the shared enthusiasm formulated by scholars active in Digital Humanities is reason enough to investigate what possibilities might be uncovered. As some scholars argue, distant reading might be able to push research in new directions, offer options to ask new questions, produce new approaches and provide new answers. For this thesis, distant reading might provide new analytic possibilities to map how frames evolved within a larger corpus. The tools used for this research might enable me as researcher to uncover and define larger patterns in data. Such patterns include the reasons why newspapers wrote about Van Heutsz, changes in vocabulary, changes in the intensity of attention paid to Van Heutsz by newspapers over time and how ideas are related and evolved in a larger corpus. These in turn provides insights the methods of framing of newspapers and may contribute to a wider understanding ‘how’ and possibly even ‘why’ news items might be covered over a longer period of time.

Although I am aware that, as yet distant reading is a less powerful instrument for analysing contextual developments than close reading, distant reading today still offers opportunities for analysing more basic processes. Although the limitations of the KB corpus and the challenges of OCR affect possible outcomes, similar challenges can also be found in traditional historical research. When doing a historical research the sources are always a challenge. Some sources cannot be read, some sources are missing or damaged, etc. Thus, although the specific nature of the problems encountered in the exploration of digital sources may be called unique, distant reading does not have a ‘monopoly’ on problems with sources.

To aid readability, I decided to correct the OCR flaws when quoting sources. Thus the quoted sources have been altered to correct OCR flaws made by the computer. While source challenges remain part of historic research, using distant reading may enable researchers to research historical processes on a larger scale, thus creating new insights or uncovering unknown patterns. How we are able to use distant reading to uncover such patterns is the primary aim of this research. In using the tool ‘concept maps’ I am trying to determine how such a tool may assist in historical analysis. The use of concept maps in this thesis is thus an experiment that tries to understand how such a tool might be used for future research.

I propose to split my research into decades with three notable exceptions: 1924-1929, the Second World War and the period 1945-1949 in order to analyse the framing of Van Heutsz. Thus this research starts analysing newspapers from 1924 onwards. I have decided to start in 1924 because I am only interested in studying the framing of the myth of - and

metaphors surrounding the name ‘Van Heutsz’ that were created after his death. The choice to study the framing of Van Heutsz in decades is made in order to create workable pieces of data; big enough to be of relevance, but not too large in order for SPSS to work efficiently and properly. The three periods of five years have been singled out for various reasons. The first five years (1924-1929) is due to practical considerations, the period 1924-1940 was simply too comprehensive to allow drawing a sophisticated conclusions. A second reason not to analyse the entire period 1924-1940 is the economic crisis. The crisis might have had profound consequences for the approach of the Dutch empire by contemporaries. The Second World War is analysed separately due to the fact that Dutch news agencies were subjected to Nazi censorship during this period. The period between 1945-1949 can also be understood as a deviant period; in this period Indonesia fought for independence, which was achieved in 1949. All three periods can therefore be understood as facing special circumstances that (might have) affected the coverage of news on this particular subject.

Before we can start to use the DH tools selected for this research we need to have an interpretive frame in order to contextualise the results of the tools. I propose therefore to start with an overview of some scholarly literature that helps us understand and interpret the results of the used tools. This will be part 1 of the research. In part 1 of this thesis, the aim will be on scholarly literature about Dutch colonial and imperial history, focusing on how the Dutch got to dictate the Dutch East-Indies until the end of the nineteenth century and relate this development to the press.

Before the scholarly literature about the trajectory of Dutch Imperialism will be discussed in greater detail, I will first give a justification why this research looks specifically at Imperial epics in order to research media framing. Once I have explained the relevance of Dutch Imperial epics for a historical research on media framing, the focus will shift towards creating an interpretive frame that arises from the literature. The discussing of literature will be organised along chapters that cover periods that are similar to the exploration of the corpora.

## **Methodology Part 2: Imperial epics and media framing**

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries governments modernized and the concept of a modern nation state developed. The international competition between those modern states took shape around 1870 in what is now understood to be Imperialism. The Dutch press played

a major role in propagating Imperialism and did this also in favour of Dutch expansion at the end of the nineteenth century. In the Netherlands, as in other European nations, the media experienced major changes due to technological advances and the lowering of taxes resulting in a wide distribution of printed media. Newspapers became one of the first modern mass media and played a significant role in the formation of public opinion. Imperial events received extensive coverage in Dutch newspapers, especially events that happened in the Dutch East-Indies. Vincent Kuitenbrouwer argues that this expansion of Dutch rule in the Dutch East-Indies received wide support by most of the newspapers. These modern media disseminated news of the Dutch Empire amongst large audiences and in turn influenced public opinion.<sup>9</sup>

Parallel to the rise of Imperialism and the rise of mass media was the growing popularity of the military epic in popular culture. Although military heroism has traditionally been part of historical myths and popular subjects in drama and the arts, the mass media created the possibility to spread its modern narratives amongst the masses. This new interest in military epics, according to John M. Mackenzie, was ‘a product of the fear of militarist European nationalisms and the recurrent invasion scares of the nineteenth century and the years before the First World War. Military sentiments and rhetoric spread into civilian life. The cult of the Christian military hero developed’.<sup>10</sup> These narratives created a perspective of privilege and superiority, national and economic well-being and were a subject of national prestige. Newspapers were a popular medium to spread these military epics amongst the population.<sup>11</sup> Since the press played a large part in spreading such colonial epics as news narratives, the development of perceptions of these imperial missions and their heroes can be studied by looking at the Dutch press. By focussing on a particular event or hero, researchers are able to trace the development of perceptions of such narratives by studying how these events were covered in contemporary news items. The ‘pillarization’<sup>12</sup> of the Dutch press presents researchers with a unique possibility to study the portrayal of these heroes from

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<sup>9</sup> Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, ‘Songs of an imperial underdog: imperialism and popular culture in the Netherlands, (1870-1960)’ in: John Mackenzie (red.), *European empires and the people; Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy* (Manchester 2011), 96, 101-102.

<sup>10</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *propaganda and Empire; the manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester 1984), 5.

<sup>11</sup> John Mackenzie, ‘Introduction by John MacKenzie’, in: John Mackenzie (red.), *European empires and the people; Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy* (Manchester 2011), 5; Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 92 .

<sup>12</sup> Compartmentalization (of schools, sports clubs, media, etc) along social, religious and political lines.

different political perspectives and this might create a deeper understanding of how political orientations of the media influenced the framing of these ‘heroic’ persons. Thus, this research aims to study how certain perceptions about historical actors developed in Dutch newspapers.

Kuitenbrouwer notes that most studies which concentrate on the workings of the Imperial press and the creation of Imperial heroes mainly focus on the British and French Empires,<sup>13</sup> thus virtually ignoring the third largest Empire, the Dutch Empire.<sup>14</sup> I therefore propose to focus on the Dutch Empire and its military heroes.

Furthermore Vincent Kuitenbrouwer notes that, in the historiography of popular Imperialism and the cultural aspects of Dutch Imperialism ‘there is a noticeable lack of quantifiable data, which could provide insights into the importance of imperial culture’.<sup>15</sup> It is precisely this quantifiable data of which Kuitenbrouwer speaks, that Digital Humanities makes accessible. The tools used for this research give me the opportunity to quantify such data. The use of such tools combined with close reading enable me to study the framing of the Dutch media, and map the effects of such frames on the popular image of Van Heutsz. Thus in short, this study contributes to our understanding how frames might affect perceptions of our history and in turn contributes to our understanding how frames chosen by the media influence our interpretive possibilities.

Now that I have justified our researched subject and objects, the interpretive frame relevant for this research will be created in the following order: the first chapter will illustrate the rise of Dutch Imperialism and the parallel development of the press. The second chapter will introduce J.B. Van Heutsz: his life, career and his relation with the press. The chapter on Van Heutsz will be followed by a chapter about the developments of Dutch Imperialism after the death of Van Heutsz (1924): discussing in general terms the trajectory of Dutch Imperialism during the interbellum, this is followed by chapters that discuss the periods

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<sup>13</sup> Berny Sebe, *Heroic Imperialist in Africa; The promotion of British and French colonial heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester 2013); John MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850-1950* (Manchester 1992); William Wright, *Warriors of the Queen; fighting generals of the Victorian age* (New York 2014); Chandrika Kaul, *Media and the British Empire* (London 2006); Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes* (London 1994); MacKenzie, *propaganda and Empire*.

<sup>14</sup> Marieke Bloembergen & Vincent Kuitenbrouwer (ed.), ‘A new Imperial History’ in: *BMGN- Low Countries Historical Review* 128 (2013), 1; Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 93-94.

<sup>15</sup> Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 93.

WWII and the post-WWII period. Each studied period is followed by a reflection on the press during the same time frame: the interbellum, WWII and the Post-WWII era. The last chapter gives a short summary of literature that discusses the production and meaning of colonial and imperial heroes and their interaction with the public domain; more specifically the Van Heutsz monuments. I have chosen to discuss the scholarly literature in separate chapters in order to create an interpretive frame against which I can compare both my distant reading and close reading analysis and to contextualise my interpretations.

## Part 1 The Trajectory of Dutch Imperialism: a literature review

### Chapter 1: the path towards the Empire and the politics of Dutch Imperialism

From the seventeenth century onwards the Dutch were involved in extraterritorial expansion and in the last decades of the nineteenth century this desire for expansion gained momentum. Kuitenbrouwer argues that this expansionism of the late nineteenth century is according to historians the ‘Dutch incarnation of modern Imperialism’. The Dutch East-Indies draws the most attention of those studying Dutch Imperialism because of the central role the Dutch East-Indies played in the Dutch Empire but, more importantly, because the Dutch East-Indies was the primary focal point during this ‘unprecedented period of expansion between 1870 and 1910’. In general, scholars point towards the year 1870 in which Modern Dutch Imperialism took shape. Forced by an increasing competitive climate between European powers, a race for colonial possessions took hold of almost all European countries. This increasing competitiveness between European powers led Dutch authorities to argue for complete control over the Dutch East-Indies, pushing territorial expansion by mounting large-scale military campaigns. The war against the sultan of Aceh might well be called one of the largest military efforts during this new period of Dutch colonial expansion.<sup>16</sup> In the next paragraph I will introduce briefly the Aceh war because the Aceh war was one of the primary concerns of Dutch colonial politics and is of vital importance for the life and reputation of Van Heutsz.

Aceh was a region of strategic maritime importance and the raids of ‘Acehnese pirates’ hindered merchant shipping. This and the newly motivated colonial goals of the Netherlands created a strong inclination to get Aceh under Dutch colonial control. A reason to

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<sup>16</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 90-96

start a war against the sultanate of Aceh was quickly found, presented as the ‘treason of Aceh’. When the sultan of Aceh asked for military assistance from American and Italian military forces, the Dutch proclaimed war. Although the war against Aceh was motivated by the ‘treason of Aceh’, J.C. Witte argues that there was hardly any question of treason. Instead this motivation was the product of a consciously created narrative. The Aceh war was expensive, both in terms of loss of life and money. It endangered the position of the Dutch in the Dutch East-Indies and demanded on an increasing scale the investment of taxes. A situation that was in pressing need of a solution; Van Heutsz would become the person who claimed ‘the honour’ of ‘solving’ this in favour of the Dutch.<sup>17</sup>

The early years of Dutch colonial expansion were supported by a conservative policy, known by Dutch historians under the collective term ‘cultivation system’. These conservative policies were abolished in 1870 and replaced by a policy that privileged free trade that opened the Indies for commercial enterprises. According to Drooglever not a complete coincidence, the thirty years war of Aceh started almost simultaneously with this new economic policy. Aceh was known to have large amounts of natural resources which commercial enterprises were eager to prospect. This new liberal policy would be dominant until the 1930s.<sup>18</sup>

While this new philosophy of economic liberalism dominated the economic policies of the Dutch, a new ethical attitude took hold of Dutch politics, in Dutch known as the *Ethische politiek*. This new attitude, inspired by Christian and Socialist politicians, demanded the discontinuation of the traditional relationship with native labourers, known as *koelies*. The Dutch East-Indies were no longer to be viewed exclusively as ‘*wingewest*’, profit region, but instead came to be viewed as a region in which the white Dutch coloniser had a moral obligation to educate and moralise the local population and, in the longer run, increase the autonomy of the Dutch East-Indies under leadership of the Dutch authorities. The moment of revelation of this change was the speech from the throne of 1901, pronounced under the political responsibility of the deeply Christian minister of colonial affairs A.W.F. Idenburg.<sup>19</sup>

The implementation of the ethical policy was accompanied by two developments that are closely related. While the Dutch tried to ‘parent’ the Indonesians, giving them better opportunities to enjoy some form of education, the Dutch East-Indies experienced a rise in

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<sup>17</sup> J.C. De Witte, *Van Heutsz leven en legende* (Bussum 1976), 16-25, 29-42, 46-105.

<sup>18</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonie en Dekolonisatie; Nederland, Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië* (Den Haag 2006), 57-60.

<sup>19</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonie en Dekolonisatie*, 57-62.

political parties. This rise in political organizations within the colonies in the East simultaneously ushered in the emergence of the press. The Indonesian press was directly related to these rising parties. The press, commonly siding with political organisations or their leaders, and the rise of political parties reinforced each other. For the Dutch authorities, this development was the primary reason to closely monitor the press.<sup>20</sup>

### Chapter 3 the rise of the Dutch Press 1604-1910

The disclosure of news about overseas activities in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was in complete control of the VOC. Getting beyond or around the VOC was taboo resulting in an almost full information stop. This situation changed slightly during the nineteenth century. At this time, the press developed and became more accepted, still, until deep into the twentieth century the willingness of the Dutch government to provide information remained limited. The press was forced to gather information by informal and questionable methods whereby extortion and bribery were not shunned.<sup>21</sup>

Although the supply of information was limited and monopolised by the Dutch government, during the nineteenth century the Dutch East-Indies enjoyed a great deal of attention by the press and took hold of the public interest. While the liberal policies, accompanied by the rise of an ethical attitude slowly gained recognition, more and more people were calling for a liberated press. The press, so they argued, was indispensable to detect abuses, creating the possibilities to act against them. Such a change was revealed in an amendment of the law in 1854, which allowed the press to operate 'freely' provided that it did not represent a danger for the public order. Parallel to this development, as a result of the *drukpersreglement* of 1856, the press slightly improved its position echoing the increasing demand for a critical, non-government controlled press. However, the position of the press remained restricted even though society got increasingly more leery of the Dutch government. Although apparently contradictory, the same amendments and laws that gave more freedom to the press, also gave the Dutch authorities a firmer grip on the press. Their duty to safeguard the public order gave the authorities a firmer grip on the press. Their duty to safeguard the

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<sup>20</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonisatie en Dekolonisatie*, 100.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem*, 101.

public order gave the authorities the ‘right’ to demand that all printed materials, prior to publication, be submitted to the authorities. Surprisingly, as direct result of the *drukpersreglement* of 1856, the Dutch press experienced an increase in the number of newspapers. Although this increase in newspapers seems strange at first, this law ended a period of complete randomness in the supply of information. This law would remain in force until 1906 when the situation changed and these preventive policies were abolished.<sup>22</sup>

The peak in popularity of Dutch Imperialism, according to Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, is primarily captivated in the press by two major conflicts in Dutch imperial history. One of which was the thirty years war against the Sultanate of Aceh (1873-1904). Aided by the perceived importance of the Aceh war, the press became fascinated by this pressing conflict, spending most of its attention at the alarming position of the lower classes of colonial society while simultaneously glorifying the actions of Van Heutsz. Kuitenbrouwer argues that the achievements by Van Heutsz ‘were celebrated in books, songs and, to a lesser extent, cartoons in which the achievements of the colonial army were glorified and the Indonesian adversaries insulted’.<sup>23</sup>

In 1910 the total territorial domination of the Dutch East-Indies was completed. Kuitenbrouwer claims that some scholars argue that the completion of the territorial expansion of the Dutch East-Indies constituted a drop in media attention, while others reject this conclusion. Kuitenbrouwer nonetheless argues that drawing such a conclusion is hard in the case of the Netherlands. Studies on: how the public debate was shaped and, how media such as advertisements or films created the image building of the Dutch Empire remain largely absent.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, Kuitenbrouwer recognises the existence of propagandist organisations that willingly and consciously promoted Dutch Imperial endeavours. He also recognises that newspapers and radio played a major role in advocating these Dutch imperial exploits, with the exception of a few Socialist newspapers.<sup>25</sup>

#### **Chapter 4 Johannes Benedictus Van Heutsz**

Johannes Benedictus van Heutsz was born in Coevorden on 3 February 1851. Van Heutsz was born into a family with a strong military and adventurist tradition going back to his

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<sup>22</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonisatie en Dekolonisatie*, 95-105.

<sup>23</sup> Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 94-98.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, 90-119.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, 90-119.

grandfather Johannes Benedictus van Heutsz (1760-1834). Both the grandfather and father of Van Heutsz were officers in the Dutch army and Van Heutsz was to follow in their footsteps. As a child Van Heutsz was not the perfect student but was known as troublesome, boastful and often cheeky but certainly not stupid. At the age of 16, in 1867 Van Heutsz joined the *Instructie Bataljon* in Kempen. After Van Heutsz pledged his oath to the king on 13 August 1872, he returned to Breda as an officer. Quickly after returning to Breda, Van Heutsz joined the Netherlands East-Indies Army (KNIL) and left for Batavia to participate in the Aceh war.

In 1873 the first expedition to Aceh was ended after suffering a humiliating defeat against ‘those Acehnese pirates’ and almost instantly voices began to be heard calling for a second expedition to Aceh in order to restore the lost Dutch prestige. As a direct consequence the Dutch Indian Army (KNIL) was in pressing need of new soldiers and officers. Van Heutsz responded to this demand for new service men, joined the KNIL and was received with enthusiasm. The young and motivated Van Heutsz already showed characteristics of his later personality and was portrayed as brave, confident, at times cocky and a smart ass, down-to-earth, industrious and endowed with great empathy. To what extent this characterisation is true remains speculation since the nature of the young Van Heutsz’s character was characterized only after he had gained fame.<sup>26</sup>

Van Heutsz arrived in Batavia at the start of the second Aceh expedition and he would join three expeditions to Aceh in total. Van Heutsz was able to make a name for himself during the Aceh wars and quickly came to be known as a discerning and atypical officer, enjoying popular support of the troops and presented as one of the best fighting military officers of the Netherlands East-Indies army. Van Heutsz, obsessed with getting military decorations, aimed at making a fruitful career for him self, his personal goal trying to become governor of Aceh. In August 1897 Van Heutsz led a successful military campaign and as a result the newspaper *De Locomotief* proclaimed with enthusiasm that Van Heutsz would be the new governor of Aceh. *De Locomotief* praised Van Heutsz because of his exceptional qualities and even argued that Van Heutsz deserved more. This proclamation was quickly countered by the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* which denied the statements of *De Locomotief*. This was the start of continuous speculations by several newspapers about the instalment of Van Heutsz as governor of Aceh. These speculations had a direct effect on public opinion pushing the debate in favour of Van Heutsz. Supported by the public opinion and the

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<sup>26</sup> De Witte, *Van Heutsz*, 16-56.

prominent scholar Snouck Hurgronje, Van Heutsz was appointed governor of Aceh on 25 March 1899. Over the six years he was active as governor of Aceh, Van Heutsz was to achieve a legendary status and a renowned public figure. Van Heutsz was a celebrated figure mainly because he had ended the Aceh wars in favour of the Dutch. Although Van Heutsz was presented as the pacificator of Aceh in reality the conflict was far from over.<sup>27</sup>

Well aware of the power of the press and its role in the formation of public opinion, Van Heutsz abandoned the policy of the *blauwe leugens* ‘blue lies’, a policy named after the blue coloured and mendacious reports of military actions. Rather than tightening the grip on such reports, Van Heutsz made military reports openly accessible for the press without premeditated editing even though he was perfectly aware that the Aceh war was not a pretty one but rather a war with cruel, and gruesome actions. By doing this, Van Heutsz tried to get on good terms with the press knowing that support from the press could be a decisive factor. As a result of this new policy, military officers began to commit self-censorship, erasing and avoiding gruesome details knowing that the press would magnify such details. Witte claims that Van Heutsz would have argued along the following line: if atrocities are not mentioned, they do not exist. Supported by the press and public opinion, he was presented as the man responsible for the pacification of Aceh. Van Heutsz was portrayed as a just and humane leader and as a result of this public image, ‘the pacificator of Aceh’ was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies in 1904. Conscious of the fact that he was appointed Governor-General as a direct result of this title ‘pacificator of Aceh’, Van Heutsz instructed his successor Van Daalen to be fearless, brutal and silent and to cover up the fact that the pacification of Aceh was far from complete. Although Van Heutsz was largely supported by the press, stories about the atrocities of the military campaigns of Van Heutsz and his successor Van Daalen did circulate reaching its culmination in the press in 1907, leading to heated debates in Dutch parliament. As Governor-General, Van Heutsz was celebrated as a skilful director, while at the same time receiving harsh criticism. In 1909, Van Heutsz retired from office, but not from the public stage. He died in 1924.<sup>28</sup>

## Chapter 5 Dutch Imperialism in the Interbellum

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<sup>27</sup> De Witte, *Van Heutsz*, 16-56.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, 56-104; John Jansen van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien; Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid 1942-2010* (Amsterdam 2013), 145.

Van Heutsz retired just before the beginning of the First World War. While Van Heutsz left office at the peak of the Dutch Empire, tensions were rising between the powers of Europe. As one of the few countries in Europe, the Netherlands was relatively unaffected by the events of the Great War. The Dutch neutrality prevented it from being drawn into the conflict and so was able to continue its colonial policies with relative ease. Nonetheless, the policies in the East gave rise to controversy. As Kuitenbrouwer signals ‘although it remains to be seen to what extent the two processes were actually related’, the ethical policies of the Dutch faced a parallel development: the rise of Islamic nationalist movements and an increasingly outspoken communist movement that opposed colonial practices. While the Social Democrats abandoned their demands for a higher degree of autonomy for the native population, the communists, on the contrary, strengthened their campaign.<sup>29</sup>

The rise of these oppositional movements forced the Dutch to re-evaluate their position in the East-Indies and re-enforce their political claims. It forced Dutch politicians to think about who had the right to rule, and who could claim a greater degree of autonomy. Although Indonesian intellectuals and ‘hyper-ethicists’ expressed several claims for more democracy, the policy remained that the Dutch would stay firmly in control. As opposed to a shift in power in favour of the natives, unfair cooperation between the indigenous population and the Dutch elites would remain the standard. Some minor changes did improve the political position of the native population, but their effects remained limited.<sup>30</sup>

## Chapter 6 The Dutch press in the Interbellum

The abandonment of preventive censorship in 1906 decreased the possibility for the government to actively control the press and prevent unwanted publications. The government had one ace up their sleeves; intervene by the rule of law, using a judge to determine whether the government was within their right to prosecute a journalist. Most of the times the government had the advantage, demanding the journalist to prove whether his argument was right. In principle, this did not limit the freedom of the press since the law, positioning the press on an equal footing with the press in the Netherlands, protected this freedom. The Dutch

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<sup>29</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 109-110.

<sup>30</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonie en Dekolonisatie*, 61-73, 120.

government allowed the formation of public opinion and, as a direct result; criticism of policies and the treatment of colonial subjects manifested itself in the press.<sup>31</sup>

While colonial policies were increasingly confronted with opposition, Maarten Bossenbroek notes that the interest in the Dutch East-Indies decreased in the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, Bob de Graaff concludes that when the colonial expansion in the Dutch East-Indies neared completion, ‘the coverage of current affairs in the East lessened and so the public interest dwindled’. De Graaff argues that the Dutch came to be ‘indifferent’ towards colonial affairs.<sup>33</sup> Henk te Velde on the other hand, argues that the Dutch were not indifferent but, on the contrary, took pride in their Empire. Te Velde explains that nationalist sentiments in society diminished at the end of the nineteenth century, leading to a lack of enthusiasm.<sup>34</sup>

As a direct result of this lack of attention for colonial affairs, the colonial lobby started to propagate the need to improve the ties with the Dutch East-Indies. Consequently, the lobby set up the Colonial Institute which was in charge of informing and reaching the Dutch population in order to mould public opinion into favouring the Dutch Empire. Convinced of the lack of skill of the local population to take charge of their demands of self-rule and aided by the strong belief that the Empire was of primary importance for the economic well being of the Netherlands, the Colonial Institute was put in charge of colonial propaganda. However, the effectiveness of the colonial propaganda remains unclear. De Graaff for instance argues that this propaganda only reached and affected a limited group of government officials while it never fully reached a large audience.<sup>35</sup> Likewise, Arjen Taselaar claims that the Colonial Institute was nothing more than an instrument for wealthy businesses that were not really interested in making propaganda. He argues that ‘the Colonial Institute was already in decline in the 1930s at the time of the Great Depression.’<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonie en Dekolonisatie*, 95-115.

<sup>32</sup> M. Bossenbroek, *Holland op zijn breedst. Indië en Zuid-Afrika in de Nederlandse cultuur omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam 1996), 348, 351-352.

<sup>33</sup> Bob de Graaff, *Kalm temidden van de woeste golven*. *Het ministerie van koloniën en zijn taakomgeving, 1912-1940* (Den Haag 1997) 241; Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 109-110.

<sup>34</sup> Henk t' Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbeseft: liberalisme en nationalisme in Nedelrnad, 1870-1918* (Den Haag 1992), 272-273; Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 109-110.

<sup>35</sup> De Graaff, *Kalm temidden van de woeste golven*, 258.

<sup>36</sup> Henk t' Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbeseft: liberalisme en nationalisme in Nedelrnad, 1870-1918* (Den Haag 1992), 504; Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 110-111.

Although it has been argued that there was a drop in attention for the Empire, Kuitenbrouwer claims that in literature the Empire remained a popular topic. Bolstered by a growing number of publications during the interwar years, the Empire became increasingly more aligned with a central message: the Dutch needed their Empire and the Indonesians needed the Dutch, thus the Empire should remain in existence.<sup>37</sup>

Not only the printed media but also the new media played their part. The Dutch invested deeply in making use of the ‘wireless’, using this new device to spread colonial narratives and news from the colonies. It was emphasized that the radio needed to ‘strengthen the ties between the colonies and the motherland’. At the same time homemade films of the colonial elite were sent home, spreading a romanticized image of a life in the colonies.<sup>38</sup>

Kuitenbrouwer concludes that ‘it can well be argued that the Dutch increasingly lost sense of what was actually going on in the Dutch East-Indies during the interwar years’. While the colonial myth of economic necessity was spread amongst the population, the rise of nationalist movements was increasingly ignored as well as pressures from abroad that demanded change. Kuitenbrouwer claims that at the outset of World War II the Dutch slowly started to realize that the Empire was no longer self-evident. However, by then it was already too late to save the colonial fairy-tale from ending in disaster.<sup>39</sup> In line with the analysis of Kuitenbrouwer, Foray remarks that: ‘in the 1920s and early 1930s, Dutch policy makers and members of the general public were infinitely more concerned with the effects of the international economic crisis, such as massive unemployment, and with the rise of fascist parties in neighbouring countries. At this time, the continued presence and importance of the colonies were simply assumed as fact.’<sup>40</sup> Although Dutch communists argued for the deconstruction of the Empire, they were largely ignored as political dwarfs in a realm of giants. Likewise the demands of Indonesian nationalists were rarely taken into consideration, with a few exceptions where their voices were mediated.

Due to the rising criticism, the Dutch government was more and more inclined to reverse the law of 1906. In 1925, the Governor-General, after re-evaluating the press excesses of that year, concluded that the press was out of control. He claimed that the press was increasingly undermining the Dutch authorities. The fact that some voices in the press aligned

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<sup>37</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 111-112.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem*, 111-113

<sup>39</sup> *Idem*, 113.

<sup>40</sup> Jenifer L. Foray, *Visions of Empire in the Nazi-occupied Netherlands* (New York 2014), 2.

themselves with the goals of Indonesian nationalists provoked European audiences. This political conflict strengthened the oppositional stance of European audiences and the press against the Dutch government, a development that ran parallel to a declining support between the Dutch government and Indonesian society. In order to safeguard the position of Dutch officials in the Dutch East-Indies, the law of 1906 was reversed in 1931, creating a similar situation as existed before 1906. The government created an effective instrument to control the press again, preventing unwanted voices reappearing in the press. At the end of the 1930s the Dutch authorities concluded that their policies created the demanded effect. They argued that the attitude of the press improved. Harsh and undesired criticism of the government disappeared almost entirely.<sup>41</sup>

## Chapter 7 Dutch Imperialism during World War II

In May 1940, Nazi Germany invaded the Netherlands and occupied it within just a few days. As a direct consequence the Dutch mother country got cut off from its colonies and would remain separated during the entire Second World War. Whereas the West Indies (Surinam and the Dutch Antilles) would remain under formal control of the Dutch government in exile residing in London together with the Dutch royal family, the Dutch East-Indies would be governed by colonial officials in the East until its surrender to the Japanese forces in March 1942. Although the Dutch were cut off from their colonies, - or as Foray reasoned- perhaps because of it the Dutch became extremely aware and sentimental of their imperial possessions, especially the East Indies. During the years of military occupation, the Dutch embarked upon debates that discussed the present and historical trajectory of the colonies emphasizing the need for both continuity and change. The Dutch, convinced of the future revival of their kingdom, discussed the form in which this ‘resurrection’ would take shape. These debates, most prominently directed by the clandestine press, contributed to a new ‘imperial consciousness’ of the Dutch.<sup>42</sup> Before the Dutch press is taken into consideration, the Dutch situation under occupation should be briefly discussed.

As soon as the Germans took control of the Netherlands, the Dutch were split up into three notable groups, those resisting German occupation, those supporting German occupation

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<sup>41</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De Kolonie en Dekolonisatie*, 95-115.

<sup>42</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 1-2.

and/or the National-Socialist ideology, and the largest group: those accepting German occupation (thus neither supporting nor resisting the Germans). On the one hand, the resisters of the German occupation operated upon a strong belief that the Dutch kingdom would be resurrected. During the occupation they would try to safeguard and protect the Dutch identity and support any form of resistance against the occupier. On the other hand, the Dutch National Socialist Movement (NSB), already part of the Dutch political landscape before the German invasion, claimed to represent the Dutch and operated from a belief that the Germans were looking for cooperation and collaboration. Members of the NSB believed that they could influence Nazi policies in favour of the Dutch. The *Nederlandse Unie*, being extremely popular, was erected as a response to the German invasion and made similar claims as the NSB. They claimed to represent the Dutch and be a collaboration of different political views that ought to serve and protect the interest of the Dutch nation.<sup>43</sup> Logically, most attention during the Second World War was taken up by the events taking place on the European continent, most notably in the Netherlands itself, but the larger Dutch Empire did not fade away completely from the public eye.

## Chapter 8 the press during WWII

Like the period preceding 1906 and shortly after the 1930s, secrecy and manipulation remained a dominant feature that characterized journalism about the colonies. This situation did not improve at the outset of the Second World War. The claim for the need for secrecy could be argued with greater ease by appealing to the conditions of war. Policies during this time highlighted the responsibilities of the press during wartime conditions.<sup>44</sup> After the Germans successfully invaded the Netherlands the situation of the press changed drastically. The press, now placed under strict supervision of the German occupier, lost the little independence that it had and was forced to supply information in line with German ideology. The Germans gradually banned the conventional newspapers, which operated from their traditional political views. They were forced to either disappear or go underground. Many chose to go underground and became the clandestine press of the Netherlands.

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<sup>43</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 2, 24, 91-106.

<sup>44</sup> Pieter J. Drooglever, *De kolonisatie en Dekolonisatie*, 109.

The clandestine press played a vital role during the war years. The underground press thought of themselves as the protectors of Dutch culture, operating as a watchdog of Dutch morals and values. The underground press had a large influence on public opinion, or at least, pretended to have such an influence. Foray adds that the illegal press also shaped and promoted a general awareness of the Dutch Empire. They tried to convey that the very existence and future of the Dutch Empire, its kingdom, was at risk. However, the clandestine press was not the only press body to make such claims. Especially during the first two years of occupation, the underground press found it difficult to attract popular support. The newspapers of the NSB and the popular and newly erected *Nederlandse Unie* are therefore considered by Foray to lead the way in spreading a general awareness of the Dutch Empire. These two political movements tried to collaborate with the German occupier and mistakenly thought that they would be able to maintain some form of legitimacy and to protect and sustain national pride. In short: all voices of the Dutch press echoed a complex palette of emotions in response to WWII and the conditions of the empire. On the one hand, nostalgia, national pride and, what Foray defines as smug self-satisfaction bordering on self-righteousness circulated in the press. On the other hand fear, unease and a strong belief in the vital importance of the Dutch East-Indies for the stability and future of the metropolis were also expressed.<sup>45</sup>

The supply of information during the war years would reach a level unmatched in the pre-war years. The invasion of the Netherlands by Germany in May 1940 cut off the ties with its former colonies. In line with precautionary steps for such an emergency, the colonies were expected to abandon all connections with the motherland. This ofcourse led to a void in the supply of information. The situation worsened after the invasion of the Dutch East-Indies by Japan in January 1942 leading to the capitulation of Japan in August 1945. During these years of Japanese military dictatorship in the colonies in the East, it was only on rare occasions that some information, although highly censored, left the Dutch East-Indies. Nevertheless both the illegal and legal press thought to have some grip on the Dutch East-Indies. In reality however, nobody was really aware of the affairs of the colonies. The press might have guessed at what was going on, but confirming their beliefs was hardly, if at all possible. If journalists were writing about the Dutch East-Indies, they did this, according to

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<sup>45</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 2-17.

Foray, in a complete ‘information vacuum’ and without any guidance from the Dutch government.<sup>46</sup>

This limited supply of information about the Dutch East-Indies did not prevent the press from writing about the colonies. Depending on their political views, the manner in which the Dutch press wrote about the colonies differed per newspaper. I will illustrate the different perceptions by discussing each newspaper separately. I will start by discussing the perceptions of the clandestine press and will end by summarizing the stance of the legal press.

Foray claims that the resistance movement did not approach the Dutch Empire and its colonies as a trivial part of the Dutch kingdom. Quite on the contrary, these resistance fighters were largely involved in the future of the Dutch Empire, and while WWII progressed the colonial question took an ever more prominent position in the debates on the future of the Dutch kingdom. Especially after the Japanese conquest of the Dutch East-Indies in March 1942, the Dutch resistance movement increasingly directed the Dutch population towards matters that concerned the larger Dutch kingdom and the future of the East. The resistance gripped by an increasing sense of urgency, took it upon themselves to discuss colonial policies, constructing and considering post-war plans for the future of the Dutch East-Indies and the kingdom of the Netherlands. As a direct result of the German occupation, the Dutch - experiencing a process of colonization themselves- started to question the very meaning of Empire.<sup>47</sup>

Whereas Foray argues that the colonial debate took a more prominent position, Kuitenbrouwer claims that the colonial question was already dominant during the interbellum. He acknowledges that, pushed by events in the colonies and WWII, ideas about the colonies were re-evaluated. However, WWII did not change the expectations of the Dutch. Taken by a sense of nostalgia the Dutch expected to return to their colonies once liberated and continue their policies as before. The need for the Empire came to the forefront because of the conviction that the colonies were indispensable for the reconstruction of the mother country.<sup>48</sup>

Foray claims that the colonial question led the Dutch resistance towards new ways of thinking about the Empire and its policies. Foray distinguishes two major approaches to the Empire by the resistance. The experience of a suppressive occupier led some of the Dutch to

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<sup>46</sup> Idem, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 116-119.

reconsider the position of colonial subjects; causing them to pledge for empathy for the colonials and sometimes even support their earlier expressed hope for greater autonomy. Such voices came up within the political leftist oriented resistance movement that felt itself called upon to prepare the Dutch for radical and forthcoming changes that they expected to surface after the liberation. For the leftist, this would also imply the breaking down of the pre-war political and cultural structures of Dutch society, in short: they argued for the depillarisation of society.<sup>49</sup>

*De Waarheid*, the underground replacement of *Het Volksdagblad*, was the clandestine newspaper of the communist resistance. The Dutch communist were among the resistance fighters of the first hour. As such they took the brunt of the German counter efforts resulting in a large number of prosecutions. Although traditionally in opposition to Imperialism, the anti-colonial discourse was less consistent during the war years. Whereas the communists had earlier proclaimed that Indonesia (refusing to call the Dutch East-Indies by its colonial name) should be given independence, in 1935, as result of the Seventh Comintern Congress, this view was reviewed. Threatened by the rise of fascism, the communists departed from their earlier stance advocating immediate independence for Indonesia. Instead they now argued for a stronger military defence of the colonies. The communists were no longer focussed solely on denouncing Imperialism because they feared that any changes would play into the hands of the fascist regimes. The communists refused to give the fascists even a square inch of influence on the colonial possession in the Dutch East-Indies and claimed that the Indonesian people deserved protection against these Fascist savages.<sup>50</sup>

Whereas from the political left argued for change, with the notable exception of the communists, those of a more conservative stance - largely Calvinist and orthodox Protestants – argued for a continuation of Dutch colonial practices. The traumatic experience of losing the Dutch Empire strengthened their belief that the Dutch, considered by them to be a leading imperial power, were the only rightful owners of the Dutch East-Indies. As a direct result, these held on even more tightly to their colonial possessions. Those who argued for the continuity of the Dutch Empire, stressing the indivisible nature of their Empire, elaborated on the strong and traditional belief in the symbiotic relationship existing between the Netherlands and the Dutch East-Indies. This belief was most commonly paraphrased by a famous Dutch saying '*Indië verloren rampspoed geboren*' lose the indies and incur disaster. This gave

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<sup>49</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 1-14.

<sup>50</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 10,15, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72.

expression to the conviction that the Dutch East-Indies were vital for the economic wellbeing of the mother state and its international political reputation. These conservatives aimed at restoring Dutch society along pre-war lines, arguing for the resurrection of the pre-war society. Foray adds that debates that revolved around the Empire did not solely interact with these two visions of Empire but on the contrary, would continuously shift between these two.<sup>51</sup>

During the first two years of German occupation, the legal and supervised newspapers (thus the opposition to the clandestine press) would be at the forefront of directing and informing the general public about the Empire, keeping the Empire well within the centre of public opinion. These legal newspapers, most notably those aligned with the NSB and the *Nederlandse Unie*, repeatedly expressed their concerns. The newspaper of the NSB, *Volk en Vaderland*, already in circulation long before the German invasion, primarily focused on territories that they thought were ‘stolen’ from the Dutch by the Allied forces. They voiced an angry and hostile opinion that framed the Allied forces as invasive and as unwanted guests and tried to convince the Germans to protect the Dutch Empire from them. The press of the *Nederlandse unie* on the contrary, expressed the desire to ‘fight for a strong Dutch people, in close solidarity with the overseas territories’. Their main focus was on the glorious Dutch Imperial past.<sup>52</sup>

Like the resistance movement, the supporters of the German occupation were equally concerned with the present-day and future position of the Dutch colonial possessions. The closest allies of the Nazis in the Netherlands, the NSB, continuously stressed the importance of the historic relationship with the Dutch East-Indies drawing on slogans such as ‘*Indië verloren, rampspoed geboren*’, arguing for the creation of a ‘Greater Netherlands’. Although they argued for an active involvement of the new regime in taking charge of these colonial possessions, the Germans did not share this interest. Consequently, they refused to take charge of the Dutch East-Indies.<sup>53</sup>

## Chapter 9 The process of decolonization

<sup>51</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 3-6, 14.

<sup>52</sup> *Idem*, 16-17, 90.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, 3, 24, 93-94, 96, 98.

The first of the Post-war years in the Netherlands is characterized by two events that have shaped and directed Dutch history: the *wederopbouw* (reconstruction) and the decolonization of the Dutch East-Indies.

The period immediately following the Second World War is characterised by the term *wederopbouw*. The *wederopbouw* was concerned with restoring and even improving Dutch society in relation to pre-wartime conditions: rebuilding the Dutch economy and restoring social-cultural and political infrastructure in the form of pillars and their media. The *wederopbouw* period usually covers the years 1945-1965. This period is characterized by a broad consensus that all forces should be united in rebuilding Dutch society. The Dutch accepted a lean period in favour of stability and reinvestments. The Marshall-plan was of great importance for the financing of the reconstruction. While the Dutch focused on the '*wederopbouw*', they were also confronted with the issues of the Empire.

At the end of the Second World War, in May 1945, the political and moral authority of the Dutch in the Dutch East-Indies was again contested. The decolonization of the East or the establishment of an independent Indonesia had been visible in outline as far back as the Interbellum. The rise of Indonesian nationalism and the political awakening of the Indonesian colonials pushed the debate towards questions of rights, authority and independence. The events of the Second World War had made the Dutch aware of the fact that such developments were increasingly more possible. As Foray argues, 'the creation of the independent nation Indonesia in 1949 lurks in the background of this wartime story'.<sup>54</sup>

Immediately after the liberation of the Netherlands, the Dutch planned their return to the Dutch East-Indies. However, their planned return did not go as envisioned. On the 17 august 1945, just two days after the surrender of Japan, two previously banned Indonesian nationalists, Koesno Sosrodihardjo, better known as Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta announced the independence of Indonesia. The involvement of both men was hardly any surprise. Both were banned to Dutch prison camps in the 1920s and 1930s because of their political views and ambitions. Aided by the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East-Indies, these two political leaders used the opportunity to denounce the Dutch. The Dutch

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<sup>54</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 8.

government, however, did not recognize their claims and was determined to reinstate Dutch rule.<sup>55</sup>

The Dutch launched two *politionele acties* or police actions in order to protect and maintain Dutch authority in the Dutch East-Indies. The Dutch remained convinced that the restoration of the Indonesian society after WWII, whether it would become Indonesia or not, could only succeed with their help. The two *politionele acties* were therefore aimed at restoring Dutch authority in the East. With major bloodshed caused by both sides, the *politionele acties* failed to reverse the process of decolonization. On 27 December 1949, and with international support, the sovereignty of Indonesia was a fact. The Dutch lost their most prized colonial possession; the Dutch East-Indies was no more.<sup>56</sup>

Although Indonesia gained independence, not all ties were broken with the Netherlands. Financial ties with the Netherlands would endure until 1957. The Dutch GDP derived from the relationship with Indonesia would amount to about 2,2% in 1948, 4,4% in 1949, and 2,1% in 1956. After the event known as *zwarte sinterklaas*, where Soekarno nationalized Dutch businesses on 5 December 1957, the income derived from Indonesia would drop to zero.<sup>57</sup> Thus, even though the Dutch were at first convinced of the truth of the slogan ‘*Indië verloren, rampspoed geboren*’, which argued that the Dutch East-Indies were indispensable for the economy of the Netherlands, these figures disprove the truth of such claims.

## Chapter 10 the press and decolonization

The Dutch East-Indies and the Dutch press were disconnected for about five years. The clandestine press during WWII tried to inform its readers about the Empire as best they could and tried to maintain an Imperial consciousness. The supply of information about the Indies during WWII, however, was limited making statements about the East troublesome. After the Second World War the Dutch were completely ignorant of the situation in the Dutch East-Indies. The timing and nature of the proclamation of independence, therefore, came as a shock for many Dutch people.

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<sup>55</sup> Foray, *visions of the press*, 8.

<sup>56</sup> P.J. Drooglever, *De kolonie en dekolonisatie*, 183-204.

<sup>57</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 306-315.

According to Foray, the Dutch clandestine press tried to prepare the Dutch for the future of the Dutch Empire, trying to keep the Dutch informed about their Empire and their readers informed Imperial citizens. They actively contributed to discussions about the past, present and future of the Dutch Empire and, according to Foray, as a direct result prepared the Dutch audience for the decolonization of the Dutch Empire. The trajectory of this process of decolonization was envisioned by the clandestine press to be led by the Dutch, in close collaboration with Indonesian nationalists and without violence. As we now know, the process of decolonization would not be along the path of this wartime ideal of decolonization, but on the contrary would follow a violent and undesired path.<sup>58</sup>

After the war the Dutch clandestine press was no longer illegal but found itself once more among the legal and accepted press-bodies in the Netherlands. The Dutch press, freed from German control and from the dangers of prosecution, could now freely write about any subject they deemed valuable. Most newspapers would be revived or drawn out of the shadows and, just as had been the case in the interbellum, align with political parties voicing particular political views. Whereas in the Netherlands the press saw its position improve, in Indonesia the press remained under strict control. In the independent nation of Indonesia, laws were passed that put the new government in control over the entire press, forcing undesired voices of the press to fall silent. Although the Indonesian government abolished the *drukpersreglement* in 1954, the press remained under the supervision and control of the Indonesian government. The freedom of the press, enjoyed in the Dutch East-Indies in the period between 1910 and 1931, would never return after Indonesia had won independence. Whereas in the Netherlands the press developed into a free press protected by the law, in Indonesia the press would develop along the lines of censorship and government control.<sup>59</sup>

Although Foray claims that the press in WWII strengthened the awareness of the Dutch about their empire, Kuitenbrouwer disagrees with this view. He claims that WWII had a different effect on the Dutch:

‘although critical reflections on such topics was taboo for decades, they implicitly led to a reappraisal of notions of ‘self’ and ‘otherness’ that have had an impact on ideas about national identity in the Netherlands and its place in the wider world. This, combined with specific

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<sup>58</sup> Foray, *Visions of the press*, 299-301.

<sup>59</sup> P.J. Drooglever, *De Kolonie en Dekolonisatie*, 114-115.

events in Indonesia [...], undermined the ideas about these countries that had developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>60</sup>

For the Dutch, WWII created a nostalgic image of the East under colonial rule. After the war however, such images would be confronted with a new vision of reality that did not conform to such images at all. The colonial history would be re-evaluated after the fall of the Dutch empire in 1949 and this 'new image' would be increasingly popular from 1969 onwards.<sup>61</sup> This new image will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter .

## Chapter 11 An Early Post-Colonial Netherlands

It has been argued that the period of *Wederopbouw* stops in 1965. The Dutch came out of their period of reconstruction as victors. They were able to restore and even stimulate the economy, create stability and wealth, and, consequently opportunism was the atmosphere of the day. In 1965, Dutch society faced a new period of radical change. The rise of new leftist youth movements demanding a greater degree of individual freedom, challenging the Dutch pillarized society and challenging the authorities, as well as the current morals and values.

Roel van Duijn, Rob Stolk, Luud Schimmelpennink and Hans Metz founded one of these youth movements, known as Provo, in 1965. Provo was a movement which had its roots in non-violent anarchism and was mostly visible in provocations of the authorities. Provo aimed primarily at the young generations and was a mixture of 'nozems' or street youths and artistic minds. They were viewed as a deregulating and revolutionary force that claimed to defend the proletariat (whom the provos regarded as powerless and without chance given the accumulation of capital by industry) against the forces of capitalism. The Provos were primarily concerned with the environment, personal freedom (such as freedom of love), emancipation, renewal of the arts, the deconstruction of authority and the widening of democracy. Their most durable success was the deconstruction of authority in the Netherlands, which contributed to the depillarisation of society in the Netherlands. The Provo movement was disbanded after two years but paved the way for other youth organizations

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<sup>60</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 116.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem.

such as the *kabouterbeweging*.<sup>62</sup>

The *Kabouterbeweging* (the Gnome movement) was a youth movement that fitted in effortlessly within the new and rising hippie culture. The *kabouterbeweging* was founded by former Provos Roel van Duijn and Robert Jasper Grootveld. This movement challenged the Dutch *burgerlijkheid* or small-minded bourgeois mentality, and consumerism and tried to promote emancipation and environmental policies. The *Kabouterbeweging* was active in the period 1969-1974.<sup>63</sup> Together these youth movements are considered to be one of the contributors to the depillarisation of Dutch society and to achieving a greater degree of individual freedom.

At the end of the 1960s these youth movements also aimed their protests against what they perceived as the militarization of society. Protests against the atomic bomb, the involvement of the American army in Vietnam and the bloody efforts of the Portuguese to protect their colonial possessions in Africa were some of their main objectives against which their discontent was projected. In light of these protests, the youth movements also started to debate and critically reflect on Dutch colonial history.<sup>64</sup>

While these new youth movements captivated Dutch society, the fall of the Dutch Empire constituted large migration movements from and towards the former colony of Indonesia. 450,000 former colonial subjects from the East would migrate to the Netherlands in total. These large migration movements gave rise to a greater awareness of Dutch colonial history. Not only would these migrants (merely by their physical presence) remind the Dutch of their former Empire, they also brought with them their culture, stories, frustrations and hopes from the colonies. For instance: the Christian Moluccan population was presented as a traditional ally in the Dutch East-Indies and was heavily invested in the *Koninklijke Nederlands Indisch Leger* (KNIL). After the decolonisation, the Moluccans feared prosecution of the new Indonesian government because of their earlier and long lasting colonial collaboration but also because their religious beliefs. In order to protect these Moluccans and maintain the good relationship with the Moluccan people, the Dutch government promised them an independent Moluccan state. However, it was not able to keep its promise resulting in a Moluccan sense of betrayal by the Dutch government. Influenced by the radicalization of the 60s (such as the black activists the Black Panthers), the second-generation Malaccan migrants were frustrated by the neglect of the Dutch government and

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<sup>62</sup> Roel van Duijn, *De Geschiedenis van de Provotarische beweging 1965-1967* (Amsterdam 1985).

<sup>63</sup> Coen Tasman, *Louter kabouter, kroniek van een beweging* (Amsterdam, Babylon/De Geus, 1996).

<sup>64</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 523.

their unwillingness to fulfil their promises for an independent Malaccan nation. In 1977, as a response, these Moluccan migrants occupied the Indonesian consulate and took hostage of two trains and a primary school. Although supported by leftist political movements (not only youth movements), the Moluccans failed in pursuing their goals.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, this conflict between the second-generation Moluccan migrants ended in violence, sending a shockwave through the Netherlands. The Moluccan example illustrates the tensions that emerged between colonial migrants, the government, the Dutch colonial past and post-colonial society.

## Chapter 12 The Press in a Post-Colonial Netherlands

Dutch society was strongly segregated on the basis of political and religious convictions, the so-called ‘*zuilen*’ or pillars. These *zuilen* could be found everywhere in Dutch society; there were Socialist butchers, Protestant newspapers, Catholic schools, etc. The organisation of the Dutch media landscape originated with the rise of newspapers and later radio. I will focus on the development of broadcasting institutions in order to illustrate what the pillarization of the Dutch media is, and to understand what the youth aimed at when speaking of depillarization. When I have illustrated the trajectory of Dutch media the focus will shift back to newspapers in particular.

The organisation of the Dutch radio followed in the footsteps of the Dutch tradition of pillarisation inherited from newspapers. Every pillar in Dutch society; socialist, Protestant, Catholic and liberal,<sup>66</sup> claimed their own broadcasting company in order to (re)present their own ideology and to strengthen their own culture.<sup>67</sup>

The organisation of these broadcasting companies is a good illustration of the consequences of media pillarization. Whereas the pillarization of the Dutch broadcasting companies is rather straightforward, Dutch newspapers did not always identify with a certain pillar; an example of an independent newspaper being *De Telegraaf*. Thus the Dutch media for a large part rooted in the pillars organized along political ideologies and sometimes even

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<sup>65</sup> Idem, 522-525, 531-532.

<sup>66</sup> The liberals opposed the pillarized society, however since the rest of society did not agree, they were forced to be its own pillar. Liberal institutions consequently did not openly identify with liberals but usually presented themselves as ‘algemeen’ meaning general or non-associated, still they were viewed by many to be liberal nonetheless.

<sup>67</sup> Huub Wijffjes and Bert Hogeboom, ‘De Dagraad van Beeld en Geluid’ in: Bert Hoogkamp, Sonja De Leeuw and Huub Wijffjes (ed.), *Een Eeuw van Beeld en Geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van Radio en Televisie in Nederland* (Hilversum 2012), 48-49.

aligning with political parties. The Dutch media found its legitimacy and support in the fairly constant political backing by the Dutch pillars. Although during the period of *wederopbouw* these pillars were successfully resurrected and able to thrive, the new youth movements aimed at depillarization from 1965 onwards.

The depillarization of Dutch society had profound consequences for the support of the media pillars. Faced by a declining support of the youth, these media pillars sought to regain their legitimacy. Likewise, newspapers saw their traditional support being contested. Although it should be noted that the broadcasting pillars faced larger challenges due to the depillarisation than the newspapers did, which did not necessarily identify with a given pillar. Newspapers on the other hand, faced an increasingly competitive climate due to the introduction of radio and television. Newspapers saw their media monopoly disappear and feared for their existence, sometimes opting for stronger ties with the pillarized broadcasting companies or even trying to set up their own (commercial) broadcasting company in defence of their (commercial) existence. As a result of depillarization and the increased competition between the media, newspapers were looking for methods to defend their financial position, leading to a further commercialization and sometimes fusion of two or more newspapers. Thus, Dutch newspapers saw their commercial base threatened and increasingly faced declining support.

While the Dutch press, and the media at large faced the challenges of depillarization and increasing competitiveness, views on the Empire and Dutch colonial history faced an equally dramatic change. Due to the opening of large segments of the colonial archives, the Dutch press (and historians) were increasingly more able to reflect upon Dutch colonial history. No longer limited, the press revealed the '*zwarte bladzijde*' or black page of Dutch history and actively participated in the debate that sought to reshape the Dutch colonial memory. In his essay '*God dekoloniseert niet*' Jos de Beurs even argues that the Dutch withdrew in a radical historic moralism after the fall of their Empire. It would appear all too often that the Dutch would criticize their own history, without taking into account what options were available to those in charge at the time. John Jansen van Galen and De Beurs claimed that questions such as: 'did we (the Dutch) act right?' were most commonly answered by a steadfast no!<sup>68</sup> Kuitenbrouwer argues likewise that from 1969 onwards: 'whereas before the war people talked of 'development' and 'harmony' between colonisers and colonised, terms such as 'exploitation' and 'oppression' became the norm'. Kuitenbrouwer claims that

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<sup>68</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 512-577.

there was a complete reversal of the colonial narrative after the 1960s.<sup>69</sup>

### Chapter 13 Colonialism in the Public Sphere

The colonial and imperial endeavours were commonly promoted by the erection of statues, monuments and street names etc. This was done to celebrate public figures considered to have played an important part in Dutch colonial and imperial history. In this part of the literature review, I reflect upon these monuments. I intend to show why these monument were erected and how they were viewed over time. I will primarily focus on monuments that commemorated Van Heutsz, most notably the *Van Heutsz* monuments.

During the colonial era, colonial and imperial quests were promoted in order to ensure popular support. Aided by rising rates of literacy and the rise of a ‘burgeoning printing culture’, new forms of entertainment and extensive advertising; the promotion of colonial and imperial heroes fitted seamlessly into this development and became increasingly interwoven with the adventurist tradition in popular culture. The entertainment industry zoomed in on these colonial heroes. Nor did the promotion of these heroes stop at the distribution of printed materials; it was further encouraged by the erection and dedication of statues, monuments and street names.<sup>70</sup> Historical figures such as Jan Pieterszoon Coen and Van Heutsz received such these accolades in honour of their colonial and imperial successes.

Van Heutsz received several public tributes; a mausoleum, three monuments, a military regiment carrying his name, a Van Heutsz fund, a ship christened ‘H.M. Van Heutsz’, street names etc. Most of these Van Heutsz monuments were erected immediately after his death in 1924. Since then, people began to press for a re-burial of Van Heutsz and later for several commemorations.

The re-burial of Van Heutsz took place in 1927 and was executed with a large military parade that ended at his grand mausoleum. This large and glorious burial was received with popular enthusiasm. Only the communists were spreading anti-imperialist pamphlets during the reburial. This large tribute fitted in with the complacent and conservative colonial pride that was the dominant mood in the Netherlands during the 1920s and 30s. For contemporaries the name of Van Heutsz was connected with the greatness and unity of the Dutch East-Indies. Marieke Bloembergen even argues that Van Heutsz was the source for the Dutch pride at this

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<sup>69</sup> Kuitenbrouwer, *European empires*, 117.

<sup>70</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *European empires*, 2-5.

time. Directly after the re-burial of Van Heutsz, three monuments were erected, the first in Batavia (1927), the second in Coevorden (1933) and the last in Amsterdam (1935).<sup>71</sup>

Several committees supervised the erection of the monuments; an honorary-committee took charge of these committees. The composition of these committees was intended to be the broadest representation as possible. This wide representation was not intended to reflect their shared enthusiasm, but reflected primarily the concerns about the trajectory of the Dutch Empire. The economic crisis and the rise of Indonesian nationalism challenged the progressive ethical policies of the Dutch. According to Bloembergen the honouring of Van Heutsz was primarily intended to contribute to a more conservative colonial politics.<sup>72</sup>

The erection of these monuments did not go without an argument, but was surrounded by voices that either contested or glorified Van Heutsz. For a large part, Van Heutsz was viewed as a hero, celebrated and honoured because of his role in the building of the Dutch Empire. Those who contested Van Heutsz's position as a hero did so primarily because of his performance during the Aceh War. The disputes about the Van Heutsz tributes were so widely spread that even members of the committee, such as Snouck Hurgronje and Idenburg, cooperated with reluctance.<sup>73</sup>

The first erection of a Van Heutsz monument was in Batavia and met with critical acclaim. The governor-general B.C. de Jonge, for instance, contested the erection of a Van Heutsz monument in Batavia. He feared that Indonesian nationalist would use the Van Heutsz monument as a symbol of the Dutch oppression. The erection of this monument caused protests against the 'Van Heutsz cult' from Indonesian nationalists, communists and socialists who experienced it as an Imperial provocation.<sup>74</sup>

The responses in Batavia were not that different from those in the Netherlands. The question -is Van Heutsz a hero?- led to several debates. For the *Vrijzinnige Bond* and the *Christelijke Historische Unie*, such a question should be answered with a resounding yes. They argued that: the Dutch were always protectors and promoters of freedom; Van Heutsz was a great pacificator. Members of the political left, the socialists and communists, argued otherwise. They claimed that Van Heutsz was an extortionist of the Indonesian people and as a military officer an enemy of social democracy. They voiced such criticisms even during the

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<sup>71</sup> Marieke Bloembergen, 'Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument; Het Nederlandse koloniale geheugen' in: Wim van der Doel (red.), *Plaatsen van Herinnering: Nederland in de twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam 2005), 73-75, 77; Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 516-517.

<sup>72</sup> Bloembergen, 'Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument', 74-76.

<sup>73</sup> Idem, 75-77.

<sup>74</sup> Idem, 77.

inauguration of the Van Heutsz monument. Banners with the text: ‘The memorial of Van Heutsz is just a bloody suppression’, and pamphlets with similar messages were spread. Already on the first night the Van Heutsz monument was defaced.<sup>75</sup> Ironically, a communist artist Frits Van Hall designed the Van Heutsz monument. Van Galen argues that Van Hall might have said: ‘the plaque of Van Heutsz can easily be removed by a crowbar and replaced by the text “Freedom, Merdeka, Indonesia” making it into a liberation monument’ rather than a monument of Imperial oppression.<sup>76</sup> Little did he know about the future of the Van Heutsz monuments.

Criticism of the Van Heutsz monuments would endure. Even the son of Van Heutsz, J.B. Van Heutsz jr., *sturmbahnführer der Waffen-ss*, argued in 1943 for the destruction of the Van Heutsz monument.<sup>77</sup>

In the 1960s, in the heyday of decolonization, the Van Heutsz monuments in Coevorden and Amsterdam became a target for protests, happenings and frivolous actions. Led by the Provo youth movement, Van Heutsz was compared with the Nazis, labelled a mass murderer and other accusations.<sup>78</sup> According to Bloembergen: the youth used the monument as focal point to express their discontent of the conformist and authoritarian climate of the 1950s. Personal development was the goal of these youngsters. These youth movements would not limit themselves to the Van Heutsz monument, all over Europe Imperial monuments and symbols of Imperial authority were attacked, vandalized and criticized. In the period 1965-1969 the Van Heutsz monument would be in the centre of attention at least once a year because of these protest movements. Most of these protesters identified themselves with the political left, only on one occasion would there be a demonstration organized by the political right in this period.<sup>79</sup>

Although the Van Heutsz monument held everyone’s attention, the interest in the post-colonial Netherlands and Indonesia remained largely absent. In the background of these protests, the changing stance of the Netherlands in relation to its own imperial past played a part, but would only reach center stage after 1969. At this time, the excesses of the *politioenele acties* were reviewed on television, leading to heated debates and reviewings of the Dutch role in Indonesia. The criminologist W.H. Nagel argued in that same year for the complete

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<sup>75</sup> Idem, 77-79.

<sup>76</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 517-518.

<sup>77</sup> Bloembergen, ‘Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument’, 80.

<sup>78</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 518.

<sup>79</sup> Bloembergen, ‘Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument’, 82.

destruction of the Van Heutsz monument. Bloembergen argues that from the moment that Nagels' article appeared in *Vrij Nederland* the Van Heutsz monuments became the subject of a developing debate on Dutch colonialism and the creation of an alternative Dutch colonial memory.<sup>80</sup>

In the 80s protests surfaced again which argued for the alteration of the Van Heutsz monument. In 1984, the plaque of Van Heutsz was stolen from the monument, leaving two iron pikes at the former place of this plaque. To date this plaque has not been returned or found.<sup>81</sup> In the 80s, the Van Heutsz monument was also subjected to a (second) bombing.<sup>82</sup> The bombing of the Van Heutsz monument was claimed by a group called 'Koetoh Reh', supposedly named after a Kampong in Aceh that was subjected to the raids of Van Heutsz. Koetoh Reh protested against an agreement between the Dutch and the Indonesian government facilitating an exchange of knowledge and experts. According to members of Koetoh Reh, such an agreement would legitimize the new dictatorial regime in Indonesia. While these events unfolded, the story of Van Hall, as argued by Van Galen, resurfaced and in 1991 the son of Van Hall argued for renaming the Van Heutsz monument. It would take until 1998 before the Amsterdam government took these suggestions into consideration.<sup>83</sup>

In 2000, the institute Clingendael was asked to give advice on the Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam. They advised to change the monument into the Nederlands-Indië monument 1596-1949. The Amsterdam government would partly copy their advice and they renamed the monument in 2001. In 2012, others asked that the monument be changed back to its original form in order to commemorate the war crimes committed by the Dutch in Indonesia. Van Galen argues consequently that simply by looking at the Van Heutsz monument it becomes clear that the effects and the history of Dutch colonialism and the decolonization are far from processed and absorbed. On the contrary, second and third-generation post-colonial migrants will never forget on remembering the Dutch presence of their colonial past.<sup>84</sup>

## Part 2: Beyond Distant Reading

### Distant Reading Methods: introducing digital tools

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<sup>80</sup> Idem, 84.

<sup>81</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 518.

<sup>82</sup> The first bombing was done by provo protesters

<sup>83</sup> Bloembergen, 'Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument', 84-86.

<sup>84</sup> Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 519-521.

This section of the research will focus exclusively on distant reading. I will briefly introduce each tool used in this research. I identify two types of usage between the tools: exploratory and data mining. I will start with the introduction of the exploratory tools (Delpher and Textcavator) and end with the data-mining tool (SPSS).

### **The Exploratory Tools: Delpher and Textcavator**

The tools I used to construct my corpora were Textcavator and Delpher. Both tools are search engines that allow the user to search through a large corpus of digitized newspaper articles. Delpher is a search engine developed for the Dutch national library (KB); Textcavator is a more sophisticated search engine developed by the University of Utrecht for the research project Translantis. Textcavator was used to extract my sub-corpora. Using the key search 'Van Heutzs', I was able to extract an entire sub-corpus found with this key search per decade and convert it into csv-files. Delpher on the other hand offers a tool known as an N-gram viewer. This tool has been used to determine the popularity of Van Heutzs in the Dutch press.

#### **Delpher**

Delpher offers the possibility to search through the KB corpus of digitized newspapers on the basis of key searches. Using the key search 'Van Heutzs' Delpher generates articles in which the name 'Van Heutzs' is mentioned regardless of the subject matter. As a result, the search on 'Van Heutzs' generates more newspaper articles than just articles that are about the person 'Van Heutzs'. Given the fact that, Van Heutzs during a certain period was considered to be one of the greatest men of Dutch colonial history, several objects, locations and organisations were named after him. For example, the name Van Heutzs was used for street names, a military regiment, company and a barracks, as a ship, and a fund (the *Van Heutzs-fonds*). Thus, using the key search 'Van Heutzs' generated more results than I strictly need for this research.

Delpher offers a tool to investigate the corpus found with the key search 'Van Heutzs'. This tool, known as an N-gram viewer, cuts documents in a N number of words. N in this instance is variable. Thus a N-gram for the key search 'Van Heutzs' consists of two grams, 'Van' and 'Heutzs'. The N-gram viewer therefore searches for the word combination of both 'Van' and 'Heutzs' in the corpus, counts the frequencies and displays these frequencies

against a timeline. The number of newspaper articles that include the name 'Van Heutsz' is presented as a relative frequency. What such a tool offers is a possibility to convert a key search into a graphical display. This picture generated by an N-gram thus shows how often the word combination 'Van Heutsz' appears in the total corpus of the KB set against a timeline. This tool does not offer contextual information but gives the researcher an overview of certain words or names appearing in the corpus and when certain words or names are used more often than in other periods. This tool could therefore tell us something about the popularity of Van Heutsz during certain periods. Unfortunately, the N-gram viewer of the KB does not offer the possibility to specify your search. It therefore includes all the newspapers within the corpus. The results generated are thus an accumulation of results covering all digitized newspapers, colonial, local and national.

### **Textcavator**

While Delpher offers N-gram viewer, Textcavator offers a different tool to explore the corpus generated by the key search 'Van Heutsz'. Known as word clouds, the tool offers the researcher a quick method to extract words that appear most frequently in the corpus. In short, it is a word count. Other than with the Delpher N-gram viewer, in Textcavator I searched on Van Heutsz per decade. Looking more closely at these word clouds, what can be seen is that at certain points in time, Van Heutsz was discussed in relation to certain words. These words may indicate possible subjects.

### **The data mining Tool: SPSS Modeler**

What is SPSS Modeler? And how do I propose to use it? To get right to the point, IBM introduces SPSS Modeler in the following words:

'IBM®SPSS® Modeler is a data mining, modelling and reporting tool. It gives you a [...] graphical interface that enables you [...] to uncover patterns and trends in your data. You can then use the statistical algorithms built into the product's advanced analytics to create data models that predict future outcomes from your current and historical data'.<sup>85</sup>

SPSS Modeler creates the possibility to structure and organize large volumes of text and as a direct result makes these texts transparent for possible analysis by sophisticated data mining. In order to do so, SPSS offers a wide range of possibilities for the researcher to do

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<sup>85</sup> [http://127.0.0.1:51857/help/index.jsp?topic=/com.ibm.spss.modeler.tutorial/examples\\_intro.htm](http://127.0.0.1:51857/help/index.jsp?topic=/com.ibm.spss.modeler.tutorial/examples_intro.htm) (visited on 24th of May 2015).

just that. Before I get to the data mingling of these large corpora of texts, first I need to explain how you can structure and organize these large volumes of text using SPSS. Once I have explained how I structured my texts, the data mining of the corpora will be discussed.

Before I can start with the structuring of the corpora, I need to insert a corpus that consists of a text file, csv-file or whatever you might choose to work with. Once our data file is loaded into SPSS, the structuring may begin. The user should insert a modelling node with the name 'Text mining' and connect this with your inserted files. The text-mining node offers the possibility to extract a number of concepts and categories. A detailed explanation of the terminology may be found in the appendix. In short, concepts are words that are extracted out of the corpus and the user is able to define these concepts by using types. These types can be saved to a dictionary.

The dictionary is central in generating concepts and structuring your data. SPSS comes with several dictionaries the user may choose from. The dictionary consists of lists of words that are given a certain definition or function. The user is able to customize the dictionary by pairing concepts, for instance, words that should be understood as a synonym. For this research *Indonesië* and *Nederlands-Indië* could be regarded as indicating the same geographical entity and thus as 'synonyms'. The user can also create an 'exclude list'. All words that are included in the exclude list will no longer be extracted but, on the contrary, shall be discarded and no longer be visible. This option has been used in advance to eliminate words that could be singled out as useless for this research. Inexperienced in selecting and recognizing concepts that may or may not be excluded, and thus afraid of removing relevant concepts, I was careful in using this option. Your dictionary is thus central in organizing your textual data. The last method that allows the user to customize the dictionary is by defining concepts by using types. I will discuss this specific option later.<sup>86</sup>

As I have shown in the methodology, OCR flaws are common. Such flaws influence the creation of concepts. In order to remove such flaws from the concept list, the user should manually go through the list of concepts and in turn delete or adapt concepts in which such OCR flaws are found. An extremely time-consuming task which has taken almost all of my time during the structuring. To illustrate this point, most corpora required me to check a concept list counting 5,000 concepts per corpus per period. This results in a maximum of

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<sup>86</sup> [http://127.0.0.1:51857/help/index.jsp?topic=/com.ibm.spss.modeler.tutorial/examples\\_intro.htm](http://127.0.0.1:51857/help/index.jsp?topic=/com.ibm.spss.modeler.tutorial/examples_intro.htm) (visited on 24th of may 2015)

175,000 concepts that were checked, altered, removed and paired. Since I was confronted by a deadline I faced a dilemma; when do I know or how do I decide that a concept list is finished? Do I continue with structuring my concept list by removing or pairing concepts? Or may I conclude that for this research removing obvious OCR flaws is enough? Because of my deadline I decided that removing the obvious OCR flaws and pairing some obvious concepts was the minimum requirement to continue my thesis. In short, I paired the following concepts: all variations of the name Van Heutsz paired under the concept Heutsz, all variations of the former colony Indonesia grouped under the concept *Indonesië*, all variations of the country The Netherlands under the term *Nederland*.

### **Text mining analysis**

Now that we have concluded how to structure a corpus in SPSS Modeler, I can move on to the mining of corpora. In order to do this in a structured matter, I propose to explain first what concept maps are. After I have explained this, I will discuss the methods of exploration.

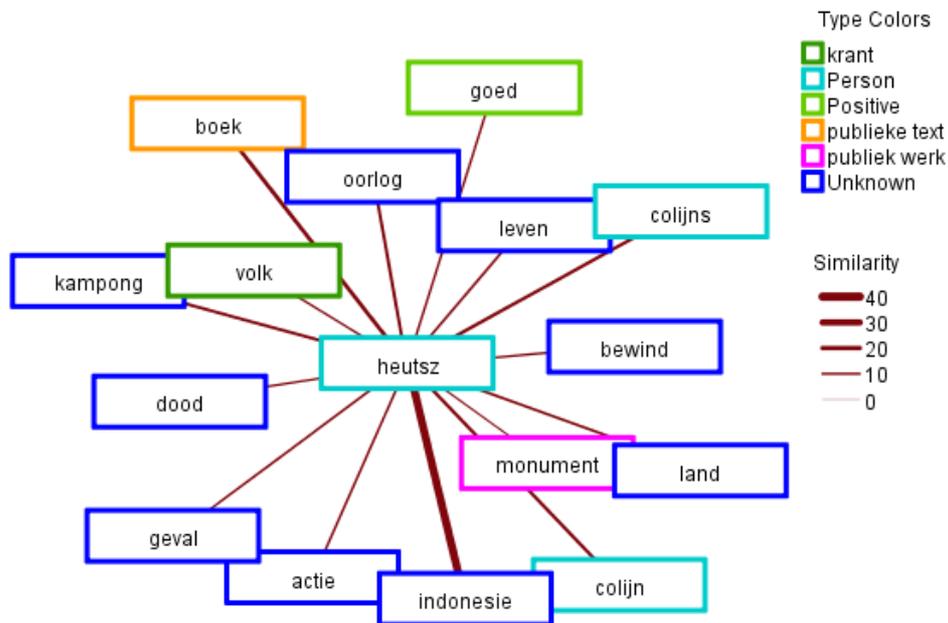
### **Concept maps**

In general, concept maps are used as a method of representing relationships between ideas, words, and, in some cases images. A concept map connects each word or 'concept' with another word or 'concept'. The relation between concepts indicates a link between the original idea, word or phrase. The use of concept maps may be explained as; it should enforce or stimulate logical thinking by showing connections and should illustrate how a set of words or ideas form a larger whole. A concept map may also present a hierarchy of documents.<sup>87</sup> Thus a concept represents a larger idea that is then related to a central theme, subject or research question. Taken together these concepts, form a complicated scheme of related ideas that may be connected to the researched subject. SPSS generates such a concept map on the basis of a concept list that may be customized by selecting a specific dictionary and the custom adjustments by the researcher. It isolates concepts by co-occurrence and represents these concept relationships in a graphical display as shown below. In short: concept maps are a graphical display of concept relationships. It enables you to explore how concepts are

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<sup>87</sup> [Joseph D. Novak & Alberto J. Cañas \(2006\). "The Theory Underlying Concept Maps and How To Construct and Use Them", Institute for Human and Machine Cognition \(visited on 19<sup>th</sup> of Oktober 2015\)](#)

interrelated. The concept map indicates different types by different colours. For this thesis, all concept maps are generated on the basis of the concept ‘Heutz’. I have added an example of a concept map (generated for the period 1980-1990) to illustrate what a concept map looks like. I will not yet analyse this concept map, but will briefly show what it indicates.



On the right side of this image you can find directions on how to read this concept map. To explain briefly: what this image shows is that the concept ‘Heutz’ is predominantly related with the concept ‘Indonesia’. The second-strongest link is with the concept ‘book’.

Looking close at the interface of the concept map a list of ‘type colours’ is indicated in the top right-hand corner. These types, as explained earlier, define the concept. For instance, ‘Colijn’ is a person and ‘goed’ is a positive word. With the help of the dictionary, SPSS is able to extract such information about individual concepts quite independently. However, it is not always right. In order to make sure that SPSS was flawless in indicating that a concept is for instance a person, I needed to check all types recognized by SPSS, and, when needed, correct them. Furthermore, some of the type definitions, such as the concept book (which is indicated by the type ‘public text’) or monument (a ‘public work’) have been

created by me. These are just one of the many features that allow the user to adjust and personalize the dictionary that comes with SPSS. These types, once finished, can then become part of larger clusters allowing the user to generate, for instance, relationships between types. The creation and checking of these types was also a highly time-consuming task to perform. Again, since my thesis faced a deadline, I was not able to complete this labour-intensive task and was forced to eventually stop creating (new) types. I did, however, check all of the types recognized by SPSS and if needed adjusted them. This constituted the minimum requirement for this thesis to be scientifically reliable.

### **Chapter 15 The Hacking of History; using digital tools**

The distant reading of the corpora and the exploration of the concept maps will be done in the same order as my explanation of the DH tools. I thus propose to start with explaining the use of the exploratory tools Delpher and Textcavator and then progress to the exploration of the concept maps. The exploration will be done chronologically, starting in the early periods and moving to the later. Within every period I will differentiate between the entire corpus, and four selected newspapers; *De Telegraaf*, *De Tijd*, *De Waarheid* and newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers*. These four newspapers have been selected for two reasons. In the first place, these four newspapers are to be found in all the studied periods (except *De Tijd*) with a reasonable number of articles per studied period. The second reason is related to the political orientation of each newspaper. *De Telegraaf* has no ties with any political organization, *De Tijd* is Catholic, *De Waarheid* communist and newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* are socialist/social-democratic. The reason for selecting newspapers supporting the political left and those who do not is that Kuitenbrouwer, Foray, Bloembergen and Van Galen have suggested that politicians operating from the political left were less favourable, of and more critical towards colonial endeavours.<sup>88</sup> Following their hypothesis, we can ‘test’ whether it is true that we are more likely to find critical perceptions of Van Heutsz in newspapers operating from a socialist/communist perspective and also how they continued their ideological fight.

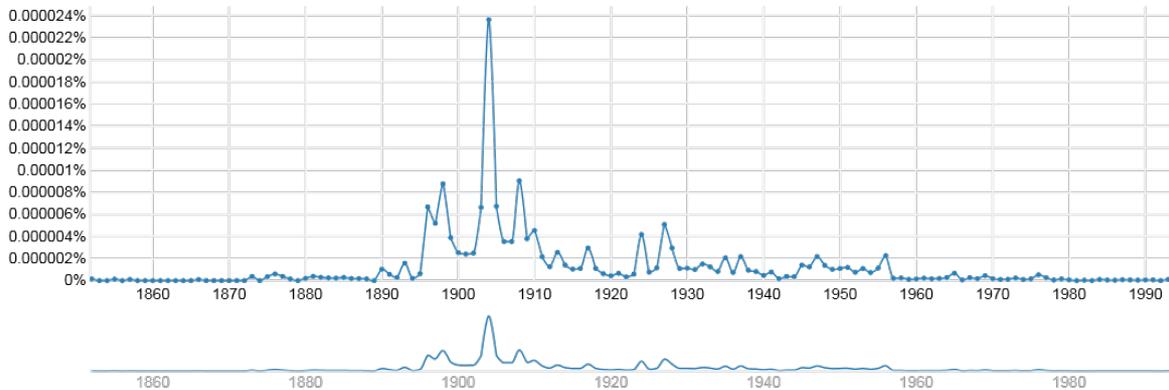
#### **N-gram viewer with Delpher**

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<sup>88</sup>Foray, *visions of Empire*, 10,15, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72; Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, ‘*European empires*,’ 90-119; Marieke Bloembergen, ‘Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument’ 73-75, 77; Van Galen, *Afscheid van de Kolonien*, 516-517.

When generating an N-gram for the key search ‘Van Heutsz’ with Delpher, the following picture is generated.

### N-Gram Viewer with the key search ‘Van Heutsz’ N= 24 926



What this picture shows is that the name Van Heutsz appears in the corpus for the first time in 1855. The N-gram viewer has an interactive display, which creates the possibility to investigate the content of the articles in which ‘Van Heutsz’ is mentioned. In order to do so, the user should move his cursor to one of the points in the graph and click. If I click on 1855, I can see that articles mentioning the name Van Heutsz use this name to mention that a certain person bearing the name J.F. van Heutsz was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. In 1857, we can spot the name van Heutsz appearing for the second time in the corpus. This time J.F van Heutsz goes into retirement with the blessing of the king. In 1866, the name van Heutsz appears again in the corpus, this time it is about a person named H.J van Heutsz. H.J van Heutsz is mentioned in the newspapers to inform the readers that this person was promoted to a certain rank in the army. In 1873 we encounter our research subject, J.B van Heutsz, for the first time. Looking closer to the results, Van Heutsz is here merely mentioned in some colonial newspapers to inform the public that Van Heutsz joined the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) and arrived in Batavia. He was mentioned together with a number of other persons. The first small peak in the N-gram is in 1890. Van Heutsz is here mentioned in relation to his actions in the Aceh war. The same can be concluded for the years 1896, 97, 98, 99, 1901, 02, 03. From 1890 onwards, one can discern the peaks increasing, to culminate in 1904, the year that Van Heutsz becomes governor-general of the Dutch East-Indies and also the year in which the ‘General Van Heutsz fund’ was erected. The graph clearly shows that Van Heutsz featured most prominently in the public eye between the years 1896-1910, in

other words during his years as a military officer in Aceh and as governor-general of the Dutch East-Indies until shortly after his retirement. Van Heutsz apparently attracted the most attention from the press in 1904, the year that he was appointed to the office of governor-general resulting in the press actively discussing Van Heutsz. After Van Heutsz is in retirement in 1909, peaks become less frequent and less pronounced than during his active (military) career.

On the basis of an N-gram viewer only it is difficult to explain and understand why the other peaks after 1909 are found. Apart from 1924, the year Van Heutsz died, the other peaks are less obvious. As I have shown with the first encounters with the name Van Heutsz in the corpus, the researcher needs to make use of close reading as an analytical rather than an exploratory instrument in order to understand the chart of the N-gram viewer. Since I regard close reading as analysis rather than exploration, I will not try to explain the other peaks after 1924 but leave this to the exploration of the text mining tools.

The results of the N-gram viewer are limited but valuable nonetheless. It shows when the name Van Heutsz was frequently mentioned in newspapers, but in order to understand why this happened, the researcher should still investigate further by examining the content of the newspaper articles. As I have shown, the N-gram of Van Heutsz may hold some exploratory value. It shows when the name 'Van Heutsz' featured prominently in the press, possibly indicating the heyday of Van Heutsz fame. This in turn directs a research towards certain periods in time and confirms earlier assumptions about the popularity of Van Heutsz during certain periods. In the case of Van Heutsz, the N-gram viewer, rather than producing any unexpected results, confirmed earlier assumptions on when to expect Van Heutsz to be prominent in the press.

### **Texcavator and word clouds**

In the following section I will explain what word clouds/counts might tell us about the corpora found with Textcavator. In order to make it more understandable I coloured characteristic words in the table found in the appendix. First I will discuss general characteristics of the corpora, following that, I will focus on more specific differences between the corpora.

The first thing to focus on is our key search ‘Van Heutsz’. One would expect that our key search features prominently in all periods. This assumption is true for most periods, with two notable exceptions, the periods 1945-1949 and 1950-1960. If we take a closer look at these two periods, the word count shows that place names are overly represented. The reason why we encounter such a word count during these two periods can be explained by close reading. Close reading shows that during these periods, the corpus is ‘polluted’ by newspaper articles that inform readers about Dutch ship movements. Since there was a ship called Van Heutsz at the time, the search engine includes all those articles. They are so numerous, in fact, that generating a word cloud results in the words occurring in these articles dominating the word count. What this shows is that these messages about Dutch ship movements should be excluded from the corpus in order to be able to work with the corpora from 1945-1949 and 1950-1960.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the word cloud showed me that the corpora are polluted for the periods 1945-1949 and 1950-1960, pointing me towards the first problem with my sub-corpora.

Since the discussed literature focussed on the Van Heutsz monument, I propose to include the word ‘monument’ in the word clouds. If we focus on the word ‘monument’ (marked in dark grey), we see that it becomes more prominent in the later periods. Whereas the word ‘monument’ still features prominently in the first period (1924-1929) and relatively prominently in the second (1930-1940) it slowly loses prominence over time. In the period 1960-1970 the word ‘monument’ seems to regain prominence and even becomes the most prominent word after ‘Heutsz’ in the period 1980-1990. It seems that Van Heutsz is more often discussed in relation to his monument in later periods than in comparison to earlier periods.

According to Foray, semantics played a vital part. She states that ‘Specifically, the names ‘Indies’ and ‘Indonesia’ were not interchangeable terms’. Until the middle of WWII, everyone – with the sole exception of the communist- used the words ‘Indië’ or ‘*Nederlands-Indië*’ when writing about the Dutch East Indies. The Indonesian people, on the other hand, were called ‘*Indonesiërs*’ or Indonesians. According to Foray, the use of such semantics changed after the Dutch queen used ‘*Indonesië*’ instead of ‘*Indië*’ or ‘*Nederlands-Indië*’ in

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<sup>89</sup> This was a very labour intensive task to perform; I ended up deleting about a thousand pages for each period by hand in order to get rid of all of these articles. I have tried to do this with the help of SPSS but because of numerous OCR flaws in the titles was hardly possible. After countless attempts, I decided to convert my CSV files into flat files so I could adjust my data by going through all of the meta-data by hand, deleting all articles that obstructed further exploration. These adapted flat files were in turn converted back into csv-files with SPSS, which enabled me to continue my research.

her influential radio speech of 7 December 1942. Using *Indonesië* rather than *Indië* or *Nederlands-Indië* was a deliberate decision. As it happens, *Indonesië* was the name used by Indonesian nationalist in the colonies. Thus the use of *Indië*, *Nederlands-Indië* or *Indonesië* was a matter of political preference. For the Dutch, using *Indië* or *Nederlands-Indië* was a way of denying the claims of Indonesian nationalist. Foray claims that the use of *Indonesië* became more accepted after 1945, but that those who opposed Indonesian independence or even a greater degree of autonomy, strictly refrained from using this name.<sup>90</sup>

Such semantic changes can be shown if we focus on the usage of such terms. In line with the suggestions of Foray, such a shift in vocabulary can be seen after 1949. If we focus on the three earliest periods, 1924-1929, 1930-1940, 1940-1945, the name of Van Heutsz is often mentioned in relation to India. The word India refers to the word *Indië*, not to former British-India (India is an OCR flaw). Unsurprisingly, if we look at the usage of the word India (marked in dark green), we can see that this word loses its prominence (in the vocabulary) over time while the word Indonesia becomes more prominent after 1949. The same can be concluded for the usage of the word Batavia that becomes *Djakarta* after 1949. We can thus clearly recognize the process of decolonisation by merely looking at the usage of the words *Indië*, *Indonesia*, *Batavia*, *Djakarta*.

In addition to pointing out issues in the corpora, confirming suspicions (Van Heutsz was most commonly discussed in relation to the Aceh war and the army) and extracting historical events by very basic methods of analysis (the process of decolonisation) the word count tool also allows the extraction of more specific information about the corpora. To illustrate what kind of specific information a word cloud might yield, I have marked some words in light green in the period 1980-1990. We see in relation to what events Van Heutsz is most commonly discussed in the period 1980-1990. What the words in light green indicate is that two events drew a considerable amount of attention in the press. As Bloembergen already described for the 1980s-1990s, it is in this period that the protest group Koetoh Reh was involved in a bombing of the Van Heutsz monument.<sup>91</sup> If we look at the word cloud of this period, this event (Koetoh Reh tried to blow up the Van Heutsz monument with dynamite) can be recognized. The second event that drew a large amount of attention were the actions of the Van Heutsz Company protesting against (the guarding of) nuclear arms. Thus the use of such tools primarily assists in ‘testing’ the suggested interpretations in the scholarly literature.

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<sup>90</sup> Foray, *Visions of the press*, 18.

<sup>91</sup> Bloembergen, ‘Amsterdam: Het Van Heutszmonument’, 84-86.

Consequently, extracting specific information from a corpus using a word cloud is primarily valuable if the researcher has in-depth knowledge about the content of the corpus and the historiography of the subject.

Bloembergen already indicated that during the 60s, the protests of the Provo movement attracted a large amount of attention.<sup>92</sup> If we look at the results of the word cloud of this period, 1960-1970, the statement of Bloembergen may be confirmed. Looking at the words marked in grey, we can see that Van Heutsz was discussed in relation to the Provos, his monument, the regiment Van Heutsz, in relation to war and the Van Heutsz monument and Coevorden (the birth place of Van Heutsz). According to the word count: what drew the most attention of the press were the happenings and protests of the Provos directed against the Van Heutsz-monument in Coevorden and all it stood for.

In the Second World War, Van Heutsz is most often mentioned in relation to events linked to the Second World War. It is hardly surprising that in this period events happening in Europe and the Dutch East-Indies (the conquest of the Dutch East-Indies by the Japanese for instance) drew the most attention. What can be extracted is that debates on *Indië* and other areas that were once under Dutch control, are discussed in relation to subjects like: order, control, authority, war, attacks, etc. Besides the fact that WWII obviously attracted a considerable amount of attention in the press, the fact that Van Heutsz seems to be brought in relation to WWII may also be explained by the fact that father and son Van Heutsz shared the same initials: J.B. J.B van Heutsz jr. was in active military service as a paramedic for the German SS. The most characteristic words for this corpus have been marked in army green.

In the two earlier periods, 1924-1929 and 1930-1940, the person Van Heutsz and his actions in the Dutch East-Indies were more commonly debated than in the preceding periods. Unique for the first two periods are the central place of his burial and the erection of his monument. A specially appointed committee directed the erection of the monument just as another committee supervised his burial. The words indicating that these two events played a major role in these sub-corpora are coloured yellow in the period 1924-1929. If we focus more on the period 1930-1940, (marked in turquoise), the first thing that stands out is the lack of words directing us towards a singular subject or subjects. If we look more closely certain conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, place the monument still holds a central place in the

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<sup>92</sup> Idem, 82.

corpus. Secondly, however, we can also see that Colijn, the death of Van Heutsz and the ship M.S. Van Heutsz drew a considerable amount of attention.

Although it maybe hazardous and possibly unscientific to draw conclusions on the basis of a word count, it does facilitate a deeper understanding of the studied sub-corpora. In this instance the word count pointed towards problems in the corpora of 1945-49, 1950-1960, and hinted at the subjects discussed. It would seem that a careful conclusion may be drawn from the word cloud. In the earlier periods, Van Heutsz is most often mentioned in relation to India (Indië), the erection of his monument and his death. In the later periods, Van Heutsz is most often mentioned in connection with his monument, protests and the Van Heutsz Company.

### **Selecting concepts for close reading and comparing the concept maps of ‘Van Heutsz’**

Both the N-gram and the word clouds have directed us towards certain interpretations, confirmed us in our earlier expectations and assumptions and pointed out possible problems in the sub-corpora. It is clear that distant reading in itself is usually not enough to truly interpret and understand the results generated. Quite often the researcher needs to investigate in greater detail what he is observing. This is also true for understanding concept maps. In order to understand concept maps we need to understand what each discussed concept represents. I will make use of close reading in order to aid such an understanding.

Whereas word clouds are generated on the basis of all national and local newspapers, SPSS modeler presents the researcher with more options to investigate the sub-corpora in greater detail. For each sub-corpus I discuss the concept map of the entire sub-corpus, *De Telegraaf* (as an independent newspaper), *De Tijd* (as a representative of a Catholic newspaper), newspapers published by the *Arbeiderspers* (primarily *Ons Volk*, *Het Volk* and *Het Vrije Volk*) (as a representative of socialist newspapers) and *de Tribune* and *Het Volksdagblad* (later this will become *De Waarheid*) (communist newspapers).

Concept maps rely heavily on ‘good concepts’. The creation of these concepts is dependent on the use of the SPSS dictionary and the custom adjustments made by the user. Confronted by a deadline I chose to stop working on my dictionary (which includes making types and clustering concepts as I have explained earlier on page 41, 42 & 43). This had profound consequences for my concept maps. Given my limited time, I was faced by a dilemma that touched upon the symbiotic relationship between the dictionary and the value of

concepts. What is it that I am looking at? What do these concepts represent? Which concepts to select? And how to compare all concept maps?

There are two rather obvious choices for selecting methods of comparing concept maps: 1. Focus on the strongest links on concept maps and compare these in order to determine shifts in concept relationships, or 2. Focus on concepts that are selected on the basis of hermeneutics and compare the approach of these concepts or 'ideas' by making use of close reading. Since I wanted to use all concept maps, neither of these two strategies turned out to be usable. The first strategy resulted in a comparison of concepts that was problematic because of the, at times, random concepts. This problem can be illustrated by looking at the strongest links on the concept maps of the full sub-corpus in the period 1930-1940 and 1940-1945. The second method of comparison resulted in too few concepts in order to use all concept maps and more importantly, demanded that I would take the studied literature as point of departure. Without having the proper strategy to approach the original sources that allowed me to isolate usable concepts, using the literature would have been the only feasible method to make use of hermeneutics. Not wanting to rely fully on the interpretation of other scholars, afraid of ending up in a hermeneutical circle and being accused of teleology, I chose an entirely different approach. A strategy to select concepts for close reading, which I thought, would be free of bias and both the most objective and the least dependant on interpretations of others. This method, then, would allow me to explore concept maps objectively, helping me understand if and how concept maps could be used as an analytical rather than an exploratory tool.

In light of the above, I decided that the best strategy for the selection of concepts used for close reading, while simultaneously enabling me to compare concept maps, was a computational method. This allowed me to compare the approach of the same concepts in different newspapers in different time intervals. I have compared all the concept maps over time and focussed on the most commonly shared concepts. Thus, I have counted all concepts of all concept maps. The counting of the concepts that were selected by SPSS to be on the concept maps resulted in a list of concepts that featured an X number of times. The concepts that featured most frequently on my concept maps were chosen to be part of my close reading analysis. A minimum requirement for a concept to be analysed was that it occurred on at least six concept maps in the entire period of study (1924-1990). Using this approach I would be able to compare multiple concept maps over a longer period. I was able to avoid the risk of

comparing concepts that could not be compared by always focussing on concepts that could be found on several concept maps in several time periods. This allowed me to understand and compare what each and every concept represents and would hopefully enable me to determine shifts in the use and approach of the concepts. With this method I was hoping to be able to define and narrate any shifts in the approach of Van Heutsz. This could be a different use of the concept because: 1. The concept featured in a different newspaper in the same time period, or 2. It featured in different time periods or 3. Both. Thus, I focused on the concepts or ideas that were most often related to the researched subject ‘Van Heutsz’.

The method of comparison of the concept maps resulted in a list of recurrent concepts in all studied periods. The comparison resulted in the following list of concepts: *grote* (14), *Indonesië* (13), *staat* (10), *goed* (9), *Nederland* (9), *Atjeh* (6), *leven* (6), *volk* (6) and *plaats* (6). Whereas some of these concepts may also be selected based on hermeneutics, for instance *Indonesië*, *Nederland* and *Atjeh*, others would not have been. The concept *grote* for instance appeared in 14 concept maps. It featured in *De Arbeiderspers* in the period 1930-40, 40-45, 50-60, 70-80, 80-90, in *De Telegraaf* in the periods 1950-60, 60-70, 80-90 and in *De Waarheid* (or its predecessors) in the periods 1930-40, 60-70, 70-80, 80-90. Comparing such concepts over a longer time period may create a deeper understanding about the development of the framing of Van Heutsz. It allows me to compare how the approach of a concept has evolved over time and how this approach of a concept differs between newspapers. Since these concepts are to be found in more time periods and on different concept maps I would thus argue that such concepts require a closer look. It could well be argued that, taken together these concepts constitute ‘a leitmotif’.

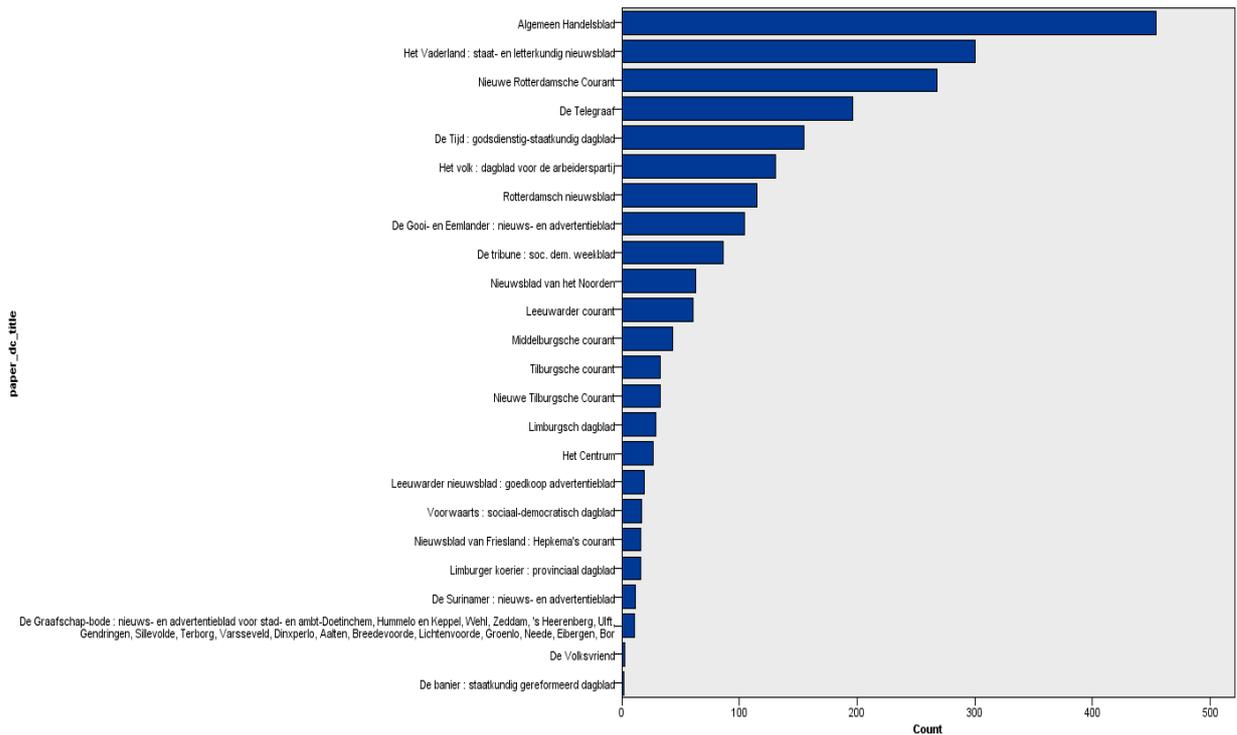
The analysis will be done per period. For each period I discuss the composition of each sub-corpus in order to gain an overview to contextualise each sub-corpus. The analysis of the distribution helps us to gain a deeper insight into the representation of the included newspapers and in turn helps us understand how to interpret and contextualise the concept map generated for each full sub-corpus. The analysis of each concept map generated for the full sub-corpus gives us an indication of how the name Van Heutsz generally appeared in the newspapers. It indicates the average approach of the name Van Heutsz in newspapers. Since the concept map of the full sub-corpora is an average, it enables me to compare and contextualise how the selected newspapers (*De Telegraaf*, *De Arbeiderspers*, *De Tijd*, *De Waarheid*) deviate from the most common approach. This comparison, together with the

comparison of the selected newspapers, gives me the tools to determine the selected frame for each newspaper.

### Chapter 16 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1924-1929

Before we focus on the concept maps, an understanding of the newspapers featured per studied period is necessary before analysing the concept map of the full-sub-corpus on Van Heutsz. If we are able to generate the distribution of newspapers for these sub-corpora, a deeper understanding can be reached of what political views are represented. A better understanding of the distribution of newspapers helps the researcher to evaluate the concept map generated for the entire sub-corpus. If we look at the distribution of newspapers in the sub-corpus of the period 1924-1929 the following graph is generated.

#### Newspaper distribution 1924-1929 n= 2193

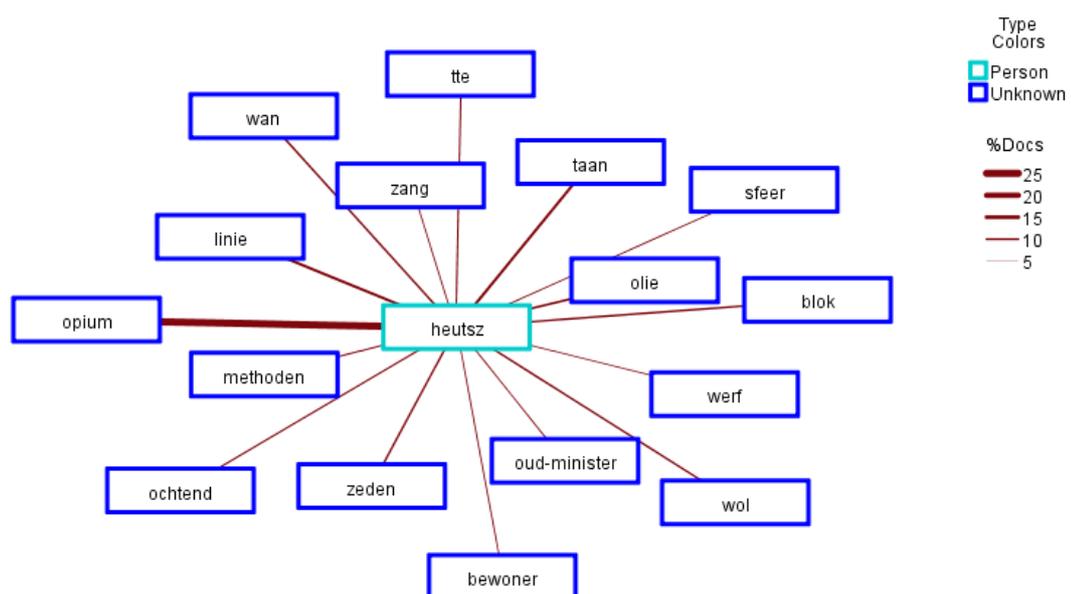


The vertical axis shows the newspaper titles that are included in the corpus, on the bottom horizontal axis the document count is indicated. Consequently, what this graph shows is that, during the period 1924-1929 *Algemeen Handelsblad* is most prominently represented in this

period. Followed by *Het Vaderland*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* and *De Telegraaf*. What this graph indicates is that certain newspapers are more dominant than others, which might affect the representation of Van Heutsz in the concept map of the full sub-corpus. The political orientation of newspapers affects how they approached a subject like Imperialism. Therefore it is necessary to understand which newspaper, and thus which political view, may be overrepresented. For instance, in accordance with the literature, socialist and communist newspapers have been understood to be more critical towards Imperialism. Thus, knowing which newspaper features more prominently may help the researcher to understand why certain interpretations feature more prominently than others in his studied sub-corpus. It gives the researcher a deeper understanding of how his sub-corpus is constructed. As we can see, *Algemeen Handelsblad* wrote the most on Van Heutsz during the years 1924-1929, *De Banier* the least. With this knowledge, the researcher is now able to contextualise his results generated from the SPSS tools.

Since we now understand how newspapers were distributed in the sub-corpus 1924-1929, I can move on to the concept maps about Van Heutsz. First, I propose to look at the concept map of the full sub-corpus for this period. The concept map based on the entire sub-corpus 1924-1929 gives us the following image:

**Concept map Van Heutsz generated for the entire sub-corpus 1924-1929 N = 2193**



On the basis of this concept map, we see that the name Van Heutsz is most commonly related with the concept opium in the period 1924-1929. Since none of the recurrent concepts are to be found on this concept map, the only concept that seems valuable to analyse is the concept *opium*. Whereas the word count of this period did not indicate this concept relationship; apparently the word opium did not appear amongst the first 100 most commonly used words in the corpus. The concept map indicates that Van Heutsz and opium have a strong relation. In order to find an explanation why Van Heutsz and opium are related, the researcher needs to use close reading. If we scan the newspaper articles within this sub-corpus the following explanation may be given: during this period a large concealment of opium was found on the ship H.M Van Heutsz.<sup>93</sup> Contrary to my expectations, the name Van Heutsz in the entire sub-corpus was linked most prominently with this event and not with his death or his state funeral.

While this link appears to be strong for the entire corpus, if we look at the newspapers separately, it appears that the name Van Heutsz was linked with different concepts. The difference between a concept map of the entire corpus and a concept map of a single newspaper may show on the one hand how Van Heutsz was most commonly discussed in the entire corpus, while it also shows the priorities and methods of framing of the different newspapers. It follows that every newspaper has its own political views, and this in turn should affect how Van Heutsz was discussed and related.

Since we have established how the name Van Heutsz was most commonly discussed in all of the newspapers in the study period. I propose to focus on our selected newspapers, *De Telegraaf*, *De Tribune*, *De Tijd*, and newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers*. The concepts I propose to discuss for the period 1924-1929 are *plaats*, *volk*, *werk*, *staat*, *leven*, *Indonesië*, and *goed*. Thereafter I will focus on topical concepts for the period 1924-1929. The most relevant topical concepts for this period are *monument* and *werk*. At the end of the analysis, the results are contextualised and the concept maps explained in a broader context derived from the analysis of the proposed concepts.

Let us start with the two most prominent concepts that may be found in the concept maps of 1924-1929: *volk* (people) and *plaats* (place, moment). Both the concepts *volk* and *plaats* can be found in the concept maps of *De Arbeiderspers* and *De Tribune*. The concept

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<sup>93</sup> All articles containing the concept *opium* for the full sub-corpus 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

*volk* can also be found on the concept map of *De Telegraaf* and *plaats* features on the concept map of *De Tijd*. Both of these concepts can also be found on other concept maps in different time periods. *Plaats* can also be found on the concept maps generated for the full sub-corpus in the periods 1950-60 and 1970-80, whereas it is found in *De Waarheid* in the period 1970-80, *De Tijd* 1930-40 and in *De Telegraaf* 1930-40. The concept *Volk* may also be found on the concept maps of *De Arbeiderspers* 1930-40 and on the concept map of the full sub-corpus during the periods 1950-60 and 1980-90.

The content of the articles containing the concept *plaats* during this period depends on the newspaper. If we look at this concept in the newspaper *De Tribune*, the concept *plaats* occurs in newspaper articles that oppose the representation and glorification of Van Heutsz. The communists refuted Imperialism as ideology and protested against its practices. They recognized Van Heutsz as a primary agent in consolidating the Dutch Empire and was therefore one of the symbolic representations of the Dutch Empire. As a direct result, the communists resisted his grand state burial and the proposal to erect a Van Heutsz monument. They used Van Heutsz as a symbol to oppose and criticize Imperialism. The communists experienced the funeral procession and the proposal to erect a monument for Van Heutsz in the socialist city of Amsterdam as an imperial provocation.<sup>94</sup> *Plaats* was used to discuss the place of the monument but was also used in listing arguments. For instance;

‘In de eerste plaats is de Van Heutsz-demonstratie een antwoord op de groote meeting tegen de ontwapening, die S.D.A.P. en N.V.V. het vorig najaar hebben gehouden. De Nederlandse imperialisten willen eventjes aan het verstand van de brave klein-burgers, die van ontwapening droomen, brengen dat ze er niet aan denken, afstand te doen van de machtsmiddelen die ze voor hun politiek noodig hebben. [...]. In den tweede plaats past de lijkstoet van Van Heutsz als pendant bij de demonstratie [...]. Het is alsof die Van Heutsz-lijkstoet zeggen wil: ik bourgeoisie, heb maling aan de vredeswensen van de Nederlandsde arbeidersklasse.’<sup>95</sup>

The use of the concept *plaats* in newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* may be compared with the use that can be found in *De Tribune*. The difference between the two is that in *De Tribune* a vocabulary was adapted that expressed more clearly their disregard for both Van Heutsz and Imperialism. *De Tribune* for instance would call Van Heutsz a

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<sup>94</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Uittarting’ in: *De Tribune* 02-06-1927.

*roofmoordenaar* (murderous thief). They held Van Heutsz responsible for the exploitation of the Indonesians and compared the imperialists with leeches.<sup>96</sup> The newspapers that were published by *De Arbeiderspers* formulated their rejection of Imperialism and the glorification of Van Heutsz in a more moderate way. For instance:

‘Het zal op dien dag niet aan militair machtsvertoon in Amsterdam ontbreken en op deze wijze meent het Nederlandsche imperialisme en militarisme de laatste en beste hulde te moeten brengen aan den man, die ongetwijfeld op voortreffelijke wijze het Nederlandsche imperialisme tijdens zijn leven heeft gediend. Wij wenschen de verdiensten van een man als Van Heutsz niet te verkleinen: ongetwijfeld heeft hij den lande gewichtige diensten bewezen en was hij iemand, die ver boven zijn omgeving uitstak. Maar wij zien hem in de eerste plaats als den man, die vooral tijdens zijn landvoogdij, uitgestrekte landstreken met geweld en ten koste van veel bloed en ellende onder het Nederlandsche gezag heeft gebracht.’<sup>97</sup>

A subtle but clear difference between the two leftish newspapers. An explanation for the careful framing of Van Heutsz by the socialists may possibly lie in the already unstable position of the Social Democrats in Dutch politics after the failed attempt of Troelstra, the so-called ‘*vergissing van Troelstra*’ to start a revolution in 1918. As Wijnen argued: the Socialists already refused to cooperate with any political party other than those who had ties with the political left, but after *de vergissing van Troelstra* initially refrained from participating in any political debate.<sup>98</sup> However, such an explanation remains to be proven.

The concept *plaats* in *De Tijd* also referred to articles discussing the burial of Van Heutsz and the erection of his monument. Other than the two leftish oriented newspapers, *De Tijd* did not contest the glorification of Van Heutsz. Most of the articles in which the concept *plaats* can be found discussed the form and details of the tributes.<sup>99</sup> *De Tijd* expressed their support for Van Heutsz by expressions like *schitterende loopbaan, grote generaal, vredestichter, een der grootste figuren [...] die nederland de laatste eeuw heeft voortgebracht* and *deze kranigen vaderlander*. Van Heutsz was characterised in these articles by *De Tijd* as a person with enormous energy, devotion to duty, courage and a large amount of will power

<sup>96</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Demonstratie van het Nederl Imperialisme’ in: *Het Volk* 03-06-1927.

<sup>98</sup> J. S. Wijnen, *Vergissing van Troelstra* (Hilversum 1999), 29.

<sup>99</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the *De Tijd* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

and endurance. *Plaats* in this instance featured mostly in relation to debates that discussed where the monument would fit and where the ceremonies would take place.<sup>100</sup>

The next concept, the concept *Volk* seems to include articles that respond to both sides of the debate (those contesting and supporting Imperialism). Depending on the newspaper, articles in which the concept *volk* was used either attacked the arguments of the anti-imperialists (the political left) or defended such claims. Looking at the concept map of *De Telegraaf*, articles that feature the concept *volk* argue in favour of the tributes. *Volk* in these articles was primarily used to describe the value of the actions of Van Heutsz for the Dutch and the Indonesian people. *De Telegraaf* in these articles contests the anti-imperialists and refuses the arguments in favour of *ontwapening* or disarmament raised by the political left. *De Telegraaf* also argues that the erection of monuments such as the Van Heutsz monument should be done more often. They claim that it provides work for the workers; it would be good for tourism, improve the national awareness about ‘our great men’ and increase patriotism. *De Telegraaf* responds to the cry for revolution and demonstrations voiced by newspapers representing the political left (most notably *De Tribune*). *De Telegraaf* argues that the Dutch should not fear the revolutionaries or their intention of obstructing the erection of monuments of national glory since it has already been proven that the Dutch are not prone to revolutions. If there was a real risk of revolution it would have happened at the introduction of general suffrage, so they claim.<sup>101</sup> It should be noted that *De Tijd* was more directly concerned with countering the claims of the political left than *De Telegraaf*.

The concept *volk* in *De Telegraaf* usually referred to the Dutch or Indonesian people in debates that asserted the need for Empire and/or the pivotal role Van Heutsz played for the Dutch, the colonial subjects and the colonies.<sup>102</sup> The fact that *volk* may be found on the concept map of *De Telegraaf* and not of *De Tijd* shows the priorities of these newspapers. Whereas *De Tijd* was more interested in the details of the multiple attempts to glorify Van Heutsz, *De Telegraaf* paid more attention to the larger debate that revolved around the Dutch people, the Indonesians and the ‘undeniable role of Van Heutsz’ for these two groups. Although both newspapers supported the tributes paid to Van Heutsz, their methods and focal points differed slightly. *De Tijd* focussed more on narrating the story of the person Van Heutsz and responded more directly to claims voiced in leftish newspapers. *De Telegraaf*, on

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<sup>100</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>101</sup> All articles containing the concept *volk* for the *De Telegraaf* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem.

the other hand, responded more indirectly to these attacks and placed Van Heutsz in a broader context. The differences between these two newspapers cannot be explained merely by looking at the concept maps, however. In hindsight, it makes sense that *plaats* has a strong link with *De Tijd* and *volk* with *De Telegraaf* if you relate this incidence with the nature of their approach and arguments. *De Telegraaf* might well be more patriotic and *De Tijd* more interested in the personality cult of Van Heutsz.

The concept *volk* found on the concept map of the newspaper *Ons Volk* referred to the position of the Indonesian people and/or the ‘voiceless’ working classes. *Volk* in this instance was adopted to express that they voiced the opinion of the masses. *Ons Volk* claimed that those who argued in favour of the erection of a monument, especially those included in the committee, formed a select and biased group that only consisted of beneficiaries of the colonial endeavours in the Indies. They argued that the majority of people would not care about the monument nor would it make them happy or supportive. On the contrary, it was an insult to the many. It was an attempt to control and influence the masses in favour of the propertied (colonial) classes. *Ons Volk* used *volk* to contest the claims of those in favour of the Van Heutsz tributes, trying to show that the erection of a monument and/or cenotaph lacked popular support and was part of imperial propaganda.<sup>103</sup>

If we look at the content of the concept *volk* for the communist newspaper *De Tribune*, two uses are dominant. In the first place, articles in which the concept *volk* may be found, responded to the ‘attacks’ on communist ideology and, to what they experienced as an unjust crusade against the soviets and the communists. Part of their prosecution was their active resistance against the ideology of Imperialism. In response to these attacks the communists claimed that they had the moral authority to use *volk* to express a utopian idea of human equality and to judge those who participated in the veneration of Van Heutsz. This idealistic idea about human equality was in direct opposition to Imperialism. *De Tribune* claimed that the ‘Van Heutsz honours’ were an attempt to influence the public opinion in favour of Imperialism. They argue that it was an active form of propaganda (or imperial advertisement) disqualifying opposition, an imperial deception clouding the minds of the people. The second use of the concept *volk* was a reference to the homonymous social-democratic newspaper *Ons*

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<sup>103</sup> All articles containing the concept *volk* for the *Ons Volk* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

*Volk. De Waarheid* usually referred to *Ons Volk* to agree with statements made in this newspaper about Imperialism and Van Heutsz.<sup>104</sup>

The third concept that may be found in several concept maps in several periods is the concept ‘*goed*’ (good). The concept *goed* may be found on the concept maps of *De Arbeiderspers* of 1924-29, 1960-70, on the concept map of *De Tribune/Waarheid* of 1924-29, 1960-70, 1970-80, *De Tijd* 1930-40, 1960-70 and on the concept map of the full sub-corpora 1970-80, 1980-90. Judging on the meaning of the word *goed* (good), one would expect a positive relation with the name Van Heutsz. However judging on the newspapers in which this concept features during the studied period 1924-29 (both leftish newspapers), we might like to re-evaluate such an expectation.

Indeed if we look at the concept *goed* in the newspaper *De Tribune*, the concept does not refer to a positive judgement about Van Heutsz. Instead, *goed* may be found in articles that mock the re-burial of Van Heutsz or contest Imperialism. *Goed* in most cases is used to judge those who resist Imperialism and to call for a stronger organisation of the resistance against the practices of Imperialism. *Goed* was also ironically used to judge the practices of the Imperialists. *Goed* in this instance was used, for example, to express sarcastically that the successors of Van Heutsz did a good job in continuing the hangman’s job.<sup>105</sup>

Whereas the link between Van Heutsz and *goed* is moderate for *De Tribune*, in *Ons Volk* the link is considerably stronger. Looking at the concept *goed* in *Ons Volk* a parallel use may be observed between this newspaper and *De Tribune*. As in *De Tribune* the concept *goed* was addressed to question ‘the Van Heutsz system’, as well as the actions and ‘achievements’ of Van Heutsz. The Van Heutsz system was described in *Ons Volk* as ‘violent Imperialism’ a form of Imperialism marked by violence and aggressive military actions. Looking at the context in which the concept *goed* was used in *Ons Volk*, what stands out is that the actions of Van Heutsz are more fiercely rejected than previously encountered for this newspaper. Quite often expressions are found that question whether one should honour such a contestable man. In response to the Van Heutsz monument *Ons Volk* suggests that the erection of a monument or statue should be supported by a majority of the Dutch people. Since a statue for the socialist protagonist Domela Nieuwehuis was rejected on the grounds that it lacked popular

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<sup>104</sup> All articles containing the concept *volk* for the *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>105</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

support, the same could be argued for Van Heutsz. *Ons Volk* described the military actions and ‘horrific practices’ that happened under Van Heutsz in great detail. They claimed that their judgement of Van Heutsz was sound, whereas those who approached Van Heutsz as a hero were undeniably wrong. They also claimed that a good reason for the erection of a monument was soberness, limiting the erection of statues to men who were considered to be of great importance to the entire Dutch population, contributing to greater ideals for mankind. These men are the ones who deserved a statue. The actions of Van Heutsz, so they claim, may be called into question if one judged his actions more objectively. On these grounds *Ons Volk* claims that resisting the Van Heutsz monument was quite feasible. The primary focal point of *Ons Volk* was the military actions of Van Heutsz and what they perceived as militarism.<sup>106</sup>

The fourth concept that features on concept maps in several time periods is *staat*. The concept *staat* can be found on the concept map of *De Tijd* in the period 1924-1929 and 1930-1940, *De Arbeiderspers* 1930-40, 1960-70, *De Waarheid* 1970-1980, *De Telegraaf* 1930-40, 1960-70 and 1970-80, and on the concept map generated for the full sub-corpora in the period 1950-60 and 1970-80.

The word *staat* in Dutch may refer to several things. *Staat* is used as reference to the government, it means he/she/it stands, or it may be used as a synonym to the verb ‘is’, as in ‘*staat onder bevel van*’ meaning ‘is under the command of’. Looking at the content of the concept *staat* for the newspaper *De Tijd* in the period 1924-1929, all three uses can be found. When *staat* referred to the government, it was usually set in a context that expressed the responsibilities of the government. It discussed colonial politics or policies and the duty for the government to honour those who served the greater good (greater good is in this case serving colonial politics in favour of the Dutch). If *staat* referred to ‘to stand’ it was used to describe the position of the Dutch government, the Dutch colonial officials or general Van Heutsz. The position of the government and the colonial officials was usually described in relation to the ethical politics, contesting the claims of the political left that colonialism was only to serve capitalism. The position of general Van Heutsz was usually described as one without many options, forced to do whatever was necessary. The third and final use of *staat*, as a synonym of the verb ‘to be’, was most commonly used to describe certainty, options or the position of command; *staat vast* or ‘with certainty’, *in staat stellen* ‘to enable’, *staat onder*

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<sup>106</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the *Ons Volk* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

*bevel van* ‘is under the command of’. These expressions usually described events that were considered by *De Tijd* as fixed.<sup>107</sup>

The fifth concept of interest is the concept *Indonesië*. This concept may be found on the concept maps of *De Tijd* 1924-29, 1930-40, 1960-70, *De Arbeiderspers* 1950-60, 1960-70, 1980-1990, *De Telegraaf* 1930-40, 40-45, 1970-80, *De Waarheid* 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-90, and on the concept map of the full sub-corpus of the period 1980-90. The concept *Indonesië* can be misleading. As I have explained before, semantics made quite a difference, using *Indonesië* rather than *Nederlands-Indië* or *Indië* being a conscious political choice. However, my dictionary groups all of the references to the Dutch East-Indies under a single concept *Indonesië*. Thus, close reading is required to see what use has been made.

For this time period, the concept *Indonesië* can only be found on the concept map of *De Tijd*. They used *Indië* or *Nederlands-Indië* to refer to Indonesia. The subjects of the concept *Indonesië* vary since *Indië* was central to the life of Van Heutsz and played a large part in Dutch colonialism. The concept *Indonesië* thus includes all sorts of articles; articles that are of a general nature: informing the public about military movements (such as the Van Heutsz Company) or the travel plans of the queen to the colonies in the East, articles that discussed the erection of the Van Heutsz monument or his burial, articles that contest claims of the anti-imperialist, reflections on the life and career of Van Heutsz and his role in military-strategies and political-economic policies,<sup>108</sup> etc. The diversity of the articles may be explained by the central role of the Dutch East-Indies in Dutch colonial politics. For instance, the concept *Indonesië* also features in articles in which colonial officials are mentioned or cited (such as the governor general of the Dutch East-Indies or the governor of Aceh etc.) usually reflecting on and comparing Van Heutsz.<sup>109</sup> In line with my earlier conclusions about the newspaper *De Tijd* ‘they were more concerned with contesting the claims of the political left’. The concept *Indonesië* included a number of references to articles that contested the claims of the political left. Such articles argued for instance:

‘De nationale betooging, die de begrafenis van generaal Van Heutsz is geworden, wordt door de socialistische en communistische pers misbruikt tot ophitsing. Het Volk en de Voorwaarts vinden geen goed woord voor de van Heutsz-vereering en kankeren tegen de partijdigheid der

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<sup>107</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the *De Tijd* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>108</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Tijd* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem.

politie, die de roode meistoeten zou belemmeren en de begrafenis van den Atjeh onderdrukker beschermen. De Tribune doet het alles nog wat dikker over. Onder den titel De bloedhond van Heutsz geeft het blad een uitvoerig verslag van de protestvergadering, in de hoofdstad tegen de vereering van den Atjeh-held gehouden. [...]. Zullen wij ons land niet tot het China van Europa laten maken, Indien wij deze en dergelijk ophitsing tot revolutie en het gemeene zaak maken met de Russische Sovjet ongestraft blijven dulden?’<sup>110</sup>

As it seems, *De Tijd* responded more directly to the attempts of the political left to obstruct the tributes paid to Van Heutsz. At times the leftish press even demonized Van Heutsz, and this also demanded a response from the catholic press.<sup>111</sup> This quote also confirms my earlier analysis: the communists were fiercer in demonizing Van Heutsz than the socialists.

The last concept that recurs in more time periods is the concept *leven* (life). This concept may be found in *De Tribune* 1924-1929 and 1970-80, in newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* of 1960-70, and on the concept maps of the full sub corpora of 1950-60, 1970-80 and 1980-90. The concept features in *De Tribune* during the period 1924-29 in articles that discuss the ‘atrocities of the life of Van Heutsz’ calling him a brute and referring to a pamphlet (carrying the name *het leven van Van Heutsz*) written by the communists and distributed at Van Heutsz’s burial. The concept *leven* featured primarily in articles that proclaimed a social revolution, showing that Van Heutsz tributes are a provocation to the proletariat (both Dutch and Indonesian) and contesting the expressed belief that the celebration of Van Heutsz was in the name of freedom. Instead, *De Tribune* argues that Van Heutsz was an enemy of life and freedom.<sup>112</sup>

The concept *werk* (work) is a concept that recurs on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* and *De Tribune* in the period 1924-1929, and for the period 1930-40 it may be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf*, *De Tijd* and *Het Volksdagblad*. The concept *werk* may also be found on the concept map of *Het Vaderland* (an German approved newspaper from the WWII period) in the period 1940-45. I therefore discuss this concept to make a comparison between both periods and WWII. If we focus on the concept *werk* on the concept maps of both *De Telegraaf* and *De Tribune* there is one shared use. Both newspapers use the concept *werk* to refer to the design competition of the Van Heutsz monument. *Werk* in this instance is used to

<sup>110</sup> ‘Ophitsing’ in: *De Tijd* 11-06-1927.

<sup>111</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Tijd* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>112</sup> All articles containing the concept *leven* for the *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz..

refer to the designs of this competition and eventually to the final design of the monument.<sup>113</sup> However, there is also a second use of the concept *werk*. In *De Telegraaf* the concept *werk* is used to describe the ‘professional successes’ of Van Heutsz and to ascribe the magnitude of his endeavours,<sup>114</sup> whereas in *De Tribune* it was used to refer to the work of the lower classes (soldiers, workers etc). *De Tribune* used *werk* primarily to show that the ‘real persons who did all of the work’ (the soldiers) were the victims whereas the elite (the generals) were made heroes. These workers were suppressed by the forces of a capitalist elite and forced into position comparable to the Indonesians (according to *De Tribune*).<sup>115</sup> Thus the concept *werk* referred in many cases to the same events, while the scope and aim of these articles differed greatly. *De Telegraaf* was supportive and focused on Van Heutsz; *De Tribune* was oppositional and focussed on the proletariat.

If we take into account the analysis above, some concepts may now fit in with a larger picture. For instance, if we look at the concept map of *De Arbeiderspers* the concept *monument* can now easily be contextualised. The word *monument* is clearly related to the concepts *plaats*, *volk*, *goed* and *dood*. Likewise, the concept *tentoonstelling* and *werk* seem related for the concept map of *De Telegraaf*.

Not only are we able to contextualise more concepts on the basis of the analysis, interpreting the concept map of the full sub-corpus is also more feasible. The concepts *methoden* (referring to the *Van Heutszmethoden*) and *linie* (referring to a military tactics called *geconcentreerde linie*) can now be understood within the larger context. For instance, if we look at the analysis of the concept *goed*, the concept *methoden* is most likely to be employed by *Ons Volk* and is used to judge the methods of Van Heutsz.

With this in-depth knowledge of the content of the concepts, a broader analysis is possible. The differences between the concept maps indicate the differences between the newspapers and how they approached Van Heutsz. Whereas the concept map of the entire sub-corpus indicates that Van Heutsz was most commonly discussed in relation to a large concealment of opium on the ship named after Van Heutsz, such a relationship may not be found for the selected newspapers. Focussing on specific newspapers gives the researcher the

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<sup>113</sup> All articles containing the concept *werk* for the *De Telegraaf* and *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>114</sup> All articles containing the concept *Werk* for the *De Telegraaf* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>115</sup> All articles containing the concept *Werk* for the *De Tribune* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

opportunity to detect differences in the usage of the name Van Heutsz. Interestingly, the concept maps of the socialist and the catholic newspapers seem to show striking similarities in focus, whereas *De Telegraaf* seems to focus on entirely different subjects when discussing Van Heutsz. Although the concept map of *De Tribune* appeared to be useless, close reading disproved such an interpretation. This in turn shows that close reading is required before any conclusions may be drawn.

After completing the close reading of the concepts, the concept maps could be interpreted in greater detail. We can now see that, *De Tijd* and newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* did discuss the same issue, although their approach differed greatly. *De Telegraaf*, nowadays understood to be a popular sensation-oriented newspaper, was mainly positive and approached the subject of Van Heutsz with the greatest variety and patriotism. *De Tribune*, on the other hand, acted in accordance with the expectations and analysis of the studied literature and denounced the practices of Imperialism and the tributes paid to Van Heutsz most clearly. The reason for these newspapers to discuss Van Heutsz was rather obvious, the death of Van Heutsz and the tributes that were consequently proposed and executed, leading to debates that addresses the practices of Imperialism. Indeed, it seems that Van Heutsz and the Van Heutsz monument were used to symbolize and even serve the current political needs of the day. The supporters used Van Heutsz to argue for a greater degree of authority on the colonies. Expressing the need for more control and, as suggested by the literature, promote more conservative politics.

If we turn our attention to the publisher *De Arbeiderspers* again we find a different concept map. Newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* were mostly concerned with the Van Heutsz monument when discussing Van Heutsz. Again, if we make use of close reading we are able to determine the exact content of these concepts. The concept *monument* refers to articles that discuss if a monument should be erected, and if so, where this monument should be erected. It should be noted that most of these (socialist) articles contested the need for a monument.<sup>116</sup> The debate about the monument is linked with the concepts *plaats* (place), and *vraag* (question) and *raad* referring to the *gemeenteraad* (municipal council), the political body that was politically responsible for the erection of the monument. The words *dood* (dead) and *generaal* (general), are obvious and refer to the death of general Van Heutsz.

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<sup>116</sup> All articles containing the concept *monument* for the *Ons Volk* 1924-1929 found by the key search Van Heutsz..

If we compare the concept map of *De Arbeiderspers* with the concept map of the catholic newspaper *De Tijd*, it turns out that they are remarkably similar. Again we can see a strong link with the concepts *monument* and *plaats*. Obviously these words referred to the same debate that was conducted in the newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers*. The difference however, is that *De Tijd* chose to approach this debate in a less judgemental way and leaning towards the positive rather than the negative spectrum of interpretations. The word *Indonesië* is misleading in this instance. *De Tijd* did not use the word *Indonesië* but rather *Indië* or *Nederlands-Indië*. The Dutch East-Indies in this instance was used in relation to Van Heutsz's past, the current political situation, the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army and in relation to his burial.

In relation to the other concept maps, the concept map of the Communists is somewhat vague. Without close reading, this concept map would be very hard, if not impossible to interpret. The strongest link is with the concept *zoals*, meaning 'as' or 'just as', the second strongest link with *deel*, meaning 'part' and the third strongest links are with *geheel*, 'total' or 'entire(ly)', and *plaats*. Whereas the concepts in the previous concept map could have been guessed, these concept relationships may not be that simple. Looking at the concept *zoals*, what can be concluded is that its use is quite diverse. It does not refer to a particular subject but instead refers to a diverse range of articles that discuss colonialism, Imperialism and the erection of the Van Heutsz monument. Unsurprisingly, all of these articles share a negative approach in relation to Imperialism. Some articles also contested the heroic position of most Dutch historical actors in Dutch colonial history, including Van Heutsz. It always involved Marxist theories and interpretations and a Marxist discourse (using words such as *arbeidersklasse* (working class) and *proletariaat* (proletariat)). The concept *deel* is equally diverse in its use. Surprisingly the concept *deel* is often used in the same articles as the concept *zoals*.

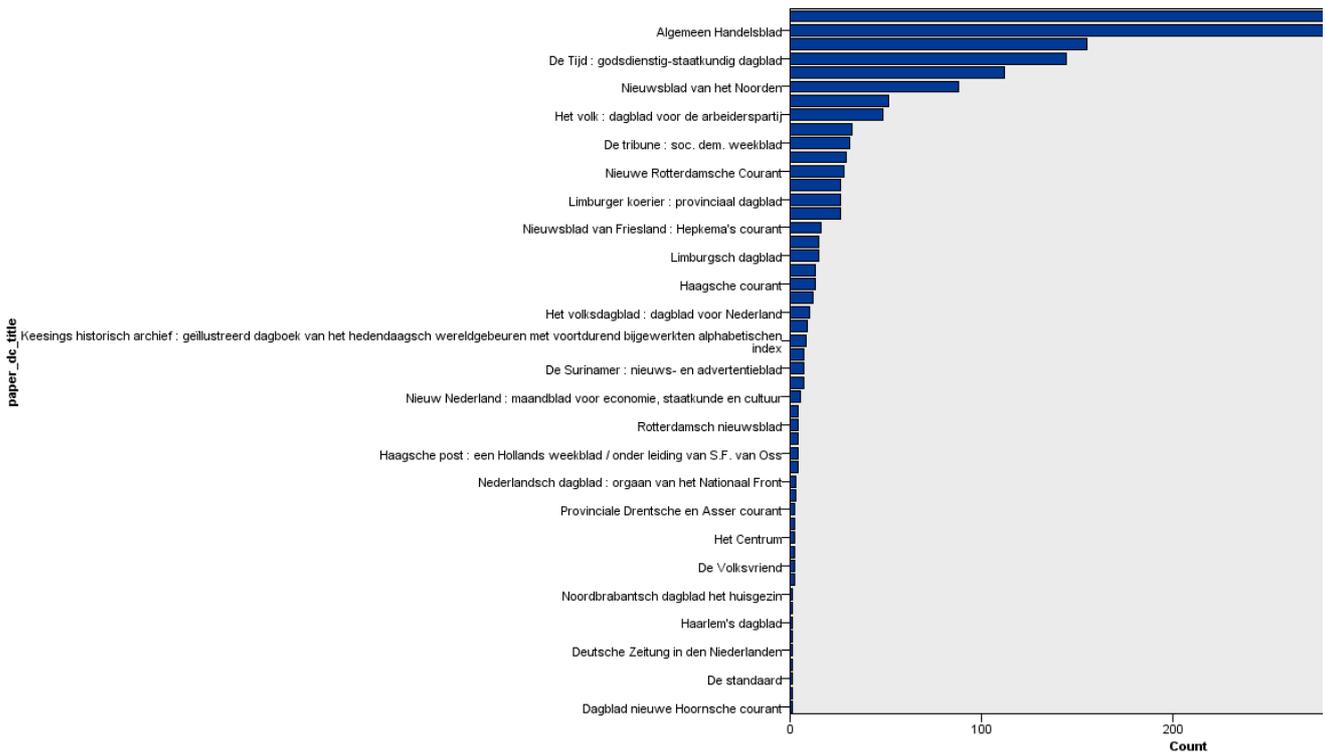
## Chapter 17 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1930-1940

As I have shown, concept maps are useful for the analysis of concept relationships and this in turn helps the researcher understand in relation to which concept Van Heutsz was most frequently discussed. However, in my view concept maps are even more valuable when compared with other concept maps over time. Such comparisons give the researcher the possibility to detect changes in approach and framing of Van Heutsz over time. In the

following section, I will therefore discuss the next period under review and compare the concept maps of this period (1930-1940) with the period I just discussed (1924-1929).

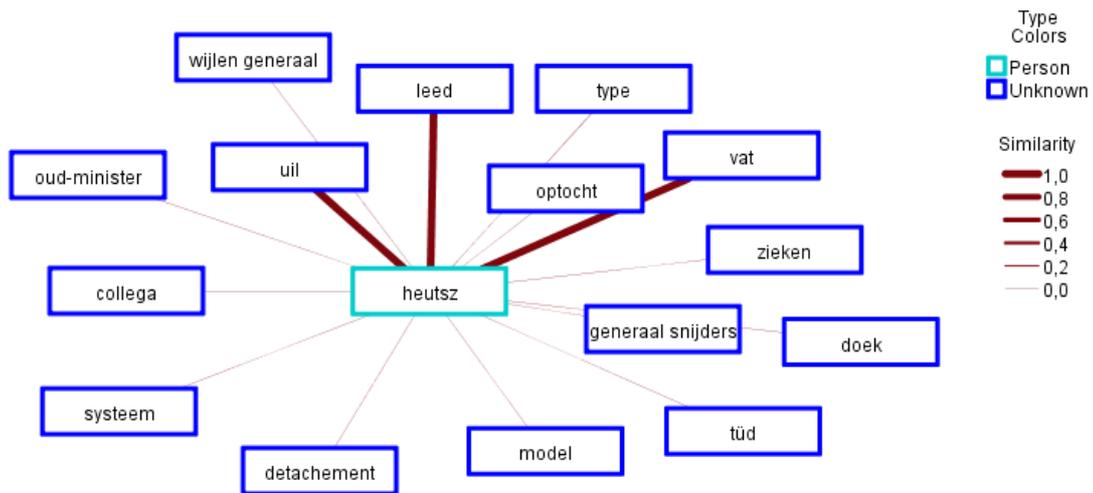
Again, I will focus first on the distribution of our studied sub-corpus.

### Newspaper distribution Van Heutsz 1930-1940 N= 1607



The graph shows that our selected newspapers (*De Telegraaf*, *De Tijd*, *De Tribune*, *Het Volk*) are slightly more prominent in this period than in the previous period, although the differences between this graph and the graph of the period 1924-1929 are marginal. (It should be noted that the highest bar in this graph indicates *De Telegraaf*). Now that we have the allocation of the included newspapers within this corpus, I suggest we look at the concept map generated on the basis of the entire sub-corpus.

### Concept Map Van Heutsz based on full sub-corpus 1930-1940 N = 1607



As was the case with the previous concept map for the entire sub-corpus, none of the studied concepts are to be found on this concept-map, I therefore propose to focus on the strongest links. Apparently three concepts have a strong link with the name Van Heutsz, *leed*, *uil* and *vat* meaning grief or suffering, owl and barrel. Again, in order to interpret the meaning of these concepts, we must resort to close reading.

First let us focus on the concept *leed*, meaning grief or suffering. In some cases the word *leed* is an OCR flaw, it is an incomplete word and should have been *overleed*, meaning ‘died’. In the case that Van Heutsz was mentioned in relation to *overleed*, it was used to discuss the death of Van Heutsz. In newspaper articles the death of Van Heutsz was mentioned in relation to the ten-year anniversary of his death. This second lustrum of his death was reason for *stichting fonds ridderdagen* (foundation fund knight days)<sup>117</sup> to organise a commemoration at the cenotaph of Van Heutsz.<sup>118</sup>

where the concept *leed* did refer to grief or suffering, it was used in relation to several subjects: the suffering of the retired Dutch colonial soldiers, the suffering of Van Heutsz, the suffering of the Dutch troops at the time of the Aceh wars, the suffering of former colonial officials (who happened to have some form of relationship with Van Heutsz) and, in rare

<sup>117</sup> Van Heutsz received a military knighthood. This foundation collected funds in order to organize reunions and sometimes commemoration days for those who were knighted. Van Heutsz was by those knighted military seen as an example and a hero and as a result was commemorated.

<sup>118</sup> All articles containing the concept *leed* for the full sub-corpus 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

cases, the suffering of the Indonesians. And of course some subjects that are not of any interest for this research.<sup>119</sup>

Of these subjects covering the meaning ‘suffering’, one was particularly more recurrent than most others. This was the suffering of colonial officials and the sufferings of the colonies. The reason for discussing the suffering of the colonial officials was that many colonials who worked with Van Heutsz passed away during these years, which led newspapers to memorize these persons and their careers. Suffering in this instance was usually related to their illness or mental state. The use of the concept *leed* may also be found in articles that described the suffering of retired military personnel that served under Van Heutsz. These articles claimed that these men were living in poverty even though they should be (or were) considered heroes. In such articles arguments may be found that claimed that the pension they received was too low. Suffering was also used in relation to the colonial policies and the economic crisis. In these articles Van Heutsz was used to reflect nostalgically on the colonial past. Van Heutsz was here presented as the man who created the Dutch Empire and who was able to exert control, creating peace and prosperity.<sup>120</sup> In short, most of these articles reflected on colonial policies and the colonial officials who took part in these developments.

The concept *uil*, meaning owl, appears to be an OCR flaw. Rather than *uil* the concept should have been *uit* meaning out. Articles using the concept *uil* either commemorated Van Heutsz during the Aceh wars, writing colourful and detailed anecdotes about Van Heutsz as governor-general and as governor of Aceh, or reflected on the current economic policies in the East. Unsurprisingly the economic crisis appears again to be a dominant subject.<sup>121</sup> The concept *vat* appears to be an OCR flaw of multiple words. These words are so diverse that a valuable analysis is virtually impossible. I therefore skip this concept.

The analysis of the concept map of the full sub-corpus points us towards three dominant subjects. Firstly, the commemoration of Van Heutsz’s death took a central place in the corpus. Secondly, the commemoration of several colonial officials took a prominent position, and thirdly, the economic crisis and its effects on the colonies.

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<sup>119</sup> All articles containing the concept *leed* for the full sub-corpus 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>121</sup> All articles containing the concept *uil* for the full sub-corpus 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

Since we have discussed the strongest links in the concept-map of the full sub-corpus, let us turn to the concept maps of the selected newspapers. As in the previous chapter about 1924-1929, the focus will be on the most commonly shared concepts. Again I will start with the concepts that appear most prominently in all periods, thus: *plaats*, *goed*, *staat*, *Indonesië* and *grote*. After discussing these concepts, the focus will shift to the concept *werk*. Whereas the concept *werk* was only found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* and *De Tribune* in the period 1924-1929, in this period *werk* may also be found on the concept-map of *De Tijd*.

Again I will start with the concept *plaats*. The concept *plaats* can be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* and *De Tijd*. In *De Telegraaf* the concept *plaats* gave 25 references. The first use of the concept *plaats* made mention of the plans of the ‘Royal Association of Knights of the Military Order of William’ to erect a statue in Coevorden in honour of Van Heutsz. *Plaats* in this instance referred to the programme of the tributes surrounding the erection of this statue. This use of *plaats* as in ‘*plaatsvinden*’ meaning ‘to take place’ was adopted when the Van Heutsz commemorations were announced to be taking place at the Van Heutsz statue in Coevorden. The second use discussed the position (*plaats*) of the Dutch East-Indies in the Dutch Empire; Van Heutsz was discussed here in relation to his influential role in the expansion of Dutch rule in *Indië*. The third use of *plaats* may be found in anecdotes about the Aceh war. The fourth use referred to events in which colonials were discussed, sometimes because they visited the Dutch metropolis and in other cases to honour their role in the colonies. There are still quite some other uses to be extracted. However, those are not worth discussing here. There are quite some irrelevant articles included such as: the celebration of Sinterklaas, or the proposed plans of the NSB to demolish the central station of Amsterdam and erect statues of national glory on this newly created square instead, the queen who was attending a donation to a church etc.<sup>122</sup>

Articles featuring the concept *plaats* in the newspaper *De Tijd* touch upon similar subjects as *De Telegraaf*. The first encounter is comparable with *De Telegraaf* and discussed the erection and unveiling of the Van Heutsz monuments in Amsterdam and Batavia and the Van Heutsz statue at Coevorden. *Plaats* in this instance referred to ‘the place’ and ‘what would take place’ during these ceremonies. The second use of the concept *plaats* may also be compared with *De Telegraaf* and discussed the position and relation of the Netherlands and

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<sup>122</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the *De Telegraaf* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

the Dutch East-Indies. The third reference to the concept '*plaats*' is unique for *De Tijd* and did not feature in *De Telegraaf*. The concept *plaats* was here used in articles that reflected upon the life and work of Van Heutsz. A fourth use of *plaats* discussed the possibility for a Domela Nieuwenhuis monument (as a counter-monument for the Van Heutsz monument, proposed by the political left). *Plaats* in this instance was primarily used to discuss if and where this monument would be placed. A sixth use of *plaats* discussed the condition of the ship named after Van Heutsz and where it was at the time. The last two uses of *Plaats* are not very useful. The remaining articles are also useless for instance the son of Van Heutsz, J.B. Van Heutsz Jr. participated in a voyage designed to fight leprosy, *plaats* in this instance referred to the places he visited.<sup>123</sup>

In general, the concept *plaats* is very broad. The only real conclusions that may be drawn from the analysis of this concept is that for both *De Tijd* and *De Telegraaf* the debates about the Van Heutsz monuments still occupied a central place in the debates about Van Heutsz. Also, the approach of this subject between these two newspapers was more comparable than in the previous period.

The second concept I propose to discuss for the period 1930-40 is *staat*. *Staat* featured in this period on the concept maps of *De Tijd*, *De Arbeiderspers* and *De Telegraaf*. Whereas the concept *staat* featured in the period 1924-1929, on the concept map of *De Tijd* only (with a rather weak link), during this period the concept *staat* seems to play a more prominent role. Not only did it feature on more concept maps, in some cases the concept relationship between *staat* and *Van Heutsz* was stronger and in other cases similar in strength.

In *De Tijd* the concept *staat* refers to several uses. In the first place the concept *staat* was utilized to debate the position and future of the colonies and colonial politics. Faced by new challenges such as the economic crisis and the rise of totalitarian states, *De Tijd* argued for a change of system. Van Heutsz in these debates was used as an example of a strong leader who was able to change a complete system for the better. *De Tijd* argued that a new Van Heutsz was needed to adapt the colonial system in order to face these new and challenging circumstances. *De Tijd* argues in these reflections on colonial practices that some of the Catholics felt encumbered by a 'new' understanding of colonialism: violent,

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<sup>123</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the *De Tijd* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

suppressing, and favouring the whites, criminal. *De Tijd* tries to convince those who felt burdened by this 'new' understanding that colonialism did in fact improve the conditions of the colonised. Recognizes the expressed criticisms and claiming that they do not wish to contest or justify the wrongs, *De Tijd* tries to shift the focus from the negative to the positive approach. Thus *De Tijd* did not argue for abandoning of the Imperial system, since - they claimed- the benefits of Imperialism for the world outweighed the criticisms. In order to maintain the Empire under control, however, the system should be improved.<sup>124</sup>

The second use of the concept *staat* refers to the position and reputation of Van Heutsz. In this case Van Heutsz was positioned as a great military leader, but first and foremost, as a colonial official who functioned above and beyond any other. For example the position of Van Heutsz was formulated as '*staat hij in nog meerdere mate boven anderen uit in zijn ambt als landvoogd over Aziatisch Nederland*'.<sup>125</sup> The written dedications on the Van Heutsz monument are in line with this use of *staat*. *De Tijd* writes that on the back of the monument the following was written: '*Aan de achterzyde van het voetstuk staat: Zyn scherpe blik, zyn helder verstand, zyn krachtige wil bevestigde het gezag en bevorderde welvaart in Nederlandsch Indië*'.<sup>126</sup> The use of *staat* in this context was usually related to reflections on the colonial past in which the actions of Van Heutsz were memorized and/or set as an example. These reflections are primarily found in articles announcing the unveiling and presentation of the newly erected Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam.<sup>127</sup>

The concept *staat* in the newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* only occurred in four articles. The first article, in which the concept *staat* featured, reflected on a speech given at the unveiling of the Van Heutsz monument in Batavia, broadcast by the radiobroadcasters A.V.R.O. and K.R.O. The governor-general of the Dutch East-Indies B.C De Jonge gave the speech. In which he stated that Van Heutsz far removed from the Dutch, expressing a perceived distance between the Dutch during Van Heutsz's lifetime and the Dutch in 1933. This expression led the socialist newspapers to question whether Van Heutsz's actions would still be accepted if they had taken place in 1933 and, consequently, question whether it was appropriate to erect a monument for such a man. The second article touched upon an entirely different subject. The concept *staat* was used to confirm rumours that Van Heutsz would have

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<sup>124</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the *De Tijd* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>125</sup> 'Generaal Van Heutsz-monument; Koning eert den doode, Zijne Exc. Min.- president Colijn huldigt zijn vroegere chef als groot legeraanvoerder' in: *De Tijd* 15-06-1935.

<sup>126</sup> *De Tijd* 15-06-1935.

<sup>127</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the *De Tijd* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

facilitated the escape of the German emperor Wilhelm following WWI. Apparently, rumours circulated Van Heutsz being involved in the escape of the German emperor to the Netherlands after WWI circulated. This rumour was ‘confirmed’ by the director of the Dutch railways. He claimed that Van Heutsz had travelled to Germany to visit the German Emperor just before the end of WWI, travelling along the exact same route the German Emperor would use, only days later. The third use of the concept *staat* was used in a context where the publication of a book addressing the actions of Soekarno was discussed. The book was published with a cover photo dating from the time of Van Heutsz and was to be sold in the Netherlands only. In the Dutch East-Indies this book was banned. This censorship in the Dutch East-Indies, *Ons Volk* claimed, showed the scandalous arbitrariness of colonial policies. The fourth use can be discarded featuring only a route instruction; Van Heutsz here merely referred to a street name.<sup>128</sup>

In *De Telegraaf* the concept *Staat* totals 24 references. The first use of *staat* expresses that Van Heutsz (as a direct representation of the Dutch people) proved to the world that ‘we’ were capable of resolving the Aceh war. The capabilities of Van Heutsz, in this instance, were presented as a confirmation of the Imperial claims of the Dutch. The second use reflected on the state of the ship Van Heutsz (in this case it was heavily damaged). The third use discussed the status of Van Heutsz in relation to his successor Van Dalen or other leading historical figures; such men were disputed and questioned. *De Telegraaf* in this instance defended the reputation of such historical men, claiming that it is no use criticising historical actors. Instead we should be proud of these men who were responsible for the Netherlands in the conditions of those days. The fourth use is the status and design of the Van Heutsz monuments (in Batavia and Amsterdam). The fifth use found discussed the erection of the monument and its unveiling. The sixth use was related to the burial of Van Heutsz, more specifically who was in command of the military parade. The last use is a medley of articles related to the Dutch East-Indies, Van Heutsz was mentioned in these articles but the focus was on other colonial officials.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the *Ons Volk* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>129</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the *De Telegraaf* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

The third concept that needs to be investigated in greater detail is the concept *goed*. This concept may be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* and *De Tijd* during the period 1930-40.

In *De Tijd* the concept *goed* featured in many articles without there being a direct relation between the concept *goed* and Van Heutsz. For instance: debates about the erection of a monument voor Domela Nieuwenhuis, a reflection on the life and career of Colijn, debates that evaluated the relation between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies and the position of the Dutch East-Indies in the Dutch Empire (they called this relation not good and endangered due to the rising opposition in the colonies and in the Dutch metropolis), damage to the ship Van Heutsz or the inauguration of the new governor-general D.C. de Jonge (called into question because of his relationship with *De Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij* (Royal Packet Navigation Company)). Van Heutsz was mentioned in these articles, usually to reflect upon his policies, but did not feature in any direct relation with the concept. Only in one instance was a direct relation found. In an article discussing the appointment of De Jonge, Colijn and Van Heutsz were both referred to as '*een te goed Vaderlander*'. A far-fetched relation between the concept and Van Heutsz can be found in articles that discussed the unveiling of his monument in Batavia. Aired by the KRO, *De Tijd* called this broadcast *goed*. The only strong relation between the concept *goed* and Van Heutsz can be found at the commemoration of the ten-year anniversary of Van Heutsz's death. Here they claimed that the actions of Van Heutsz '*kwamen ten goede van Ned-Indië*' or benefited the East. Although the relation indicated on the concept map is strong, its relevance for this research is limited.<sup>130</sup>

Just as in *De Tijd* the concept *goed* in *De Telegraaf* yielded many unrelated references between the concept *goed* and Van Heutsz. Three examples can be pointed out in which the concept *goed* was directly related to Van Heutsz. The first was at the unveiling of the Van Heutsz monument in Batavia; here they claimed that they intended to enumerate all of Van Heutsz's many good properties.<sup>131</sup> The second was an article that debated the economic policy for the Dutch East-Indies. In this article they criticised the economic policies that was adopted after the retirement of Van Heutsz. *De Telegraaf* wrote: '*Na Van Heutsz heeft, vooral in details, naast het vele goede dat is verricht, die stijl de economische doorborende blik in de*

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<sup>130</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the *De Tijd* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>131</sup> *De Telegraaf* 16-06-1935.

*naaste toekomst ontbroken*'.<sup>132</sup> The third use of the concept *goed* in relation to Van Heutsz may be found in an article that reviewed Dutch colonial history and the future course of colonial policy. It was stated in this article that Coen stood at the beginning of colonial expansion well and that Van Heutsz finished it; '*haar arbeid goed begonnen door Coen en volbracht door Van Heutsz*'. This article argued that the efforts of these men would be in vain unless national awareness and unity were sustained and protected.<sup>133</sup>

The fourth concept that needs contextualisation is the concept *Indonesië*. The concept *Indonesië* may be found on the concept maps of *De Tijd* and *De Telegraaf*. *De Tijd* made use of the colonial names *Nederlandsch-Indië*, *Indië* or *Indische Archipel* to refer to Indonesia and the concept featured in a wide range of articles. Most of the subjects of these articles discussed the erection and unveiling of the Van Heutsz monuments. For example, it discussed the progress of the construction, the symbolism and the unveiling of the Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam, Coevorden and Batavia. In all of these articles Van Heutsz was discussed and honoured as the man responsible for the effectuation of Dutch authority and peace in the Dutch East-Indies. *De Tijd* did not view the Van Heutsz monument as a personality cult, but as a just reward in honour of his achievements. The articles addressing the Van Heutsz monuments described in great detail the work of Van Heutsz and its importance for colonial politics. The Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam attracted the most attention and was discussed in greatest detail. Other articles memorized the ten-year anniversary of Van Heutsz's death and some articles reflected on colonial officials such as Idenburg and Colijn. In these articles Van Heutsz was primarily remembered by his endurance and perseverance. The concept *Indonesia* covered a small proportion of articles that discussed (memorial) speeches that were given about Van Heutsz. An even smaller proportion discussed the past and future of the colonies in the East. *De Tijd* discussed economic policies, political policies, the value and meaning of the Dutch East-Indies for the Netherlands and the public health in the colonies. These articles discussed Van Heutsz in relation to his career and his policies (all viewed to be good and well executed). There was

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<sup>132</sup> 'Tijdig gewaarschuwd' in: *De Telegraaf* 01-11-1938.

<sup>133</sup> 'Op de verjaardag van de O.- I. Comagnie 'wij moeten niet alleen handhaven, doch ook versterken' in: *De Telegraaf* 29-03-1936.

one article that had no value for this research in which his son J.B Van Heutsz Jr. was referred to in an article that discussed the fight against leprosy in the Dutch East-Indies.<sup>134</sup>

In the newspaper *De Telegraaf* the concept *Indonesië* featured in similar articles. Many of those articles memorised Van Heutsz in relation to the Dutch East-Indies. These commemorations were usually related to the erection and unveiling of the Van Heutsz monuments. *De Telegraaf* presented Van Heutsz as the symbolic representation of the unity between the Netherlands and the Indies. The monument in Amsterdam reflected this symbolic interpretation of Van Heutsz role, representing the unity of the Empire and the authority of the Dutch in the Indies. *De Telegraaf* claimed that the Dutch were therefore in debt to Van Heutsz. The actions of Van Heutsz were presented as serving the interest of the Dutch East-Indies. *De Telegraaf* also published a response to the expressed criticism on Van Heutsz. The expressed criticism on Van Heutsz was refuted by the publication of letters written by Van Heutsz. These letters, argues the author Zentgraaf, were supposed to show that the blame and criticism were undeserved. Zentgraaf added that he countered these criticisms in name of the Netherlands and the Dutch East-Indies. *De Telegraaf* actively countered the criticism on Van Heutsz and those who contested the erection of the Van Heutsz monument. *De Telegraaf* argued that there was a shortage of memorial monuments (primarily in the Indies). Instead of calling the monument a personality cult or the glorification of a contested general inspiring revolt, *De Telegraaf* claims that monuments such as the Van Heutsz monument served the interest of the Empire by strengthening the ties between the Dutch and the Indonesians. *De Telegraaf* claims that the Van Heutsz monument would serve as a powerful reminder of the good intentions of the Dutch and their devotion to the Indonesian people.<sup>135</sup>

The concept *Indonesië* also featured in debates about the political reorganisation of the Dutch East-Indies. The successful expansion of Dutch authority in the East under Van Heutsz had created a shortage in government officials. The newly conquered areas needed new officials to rule in name of the Dutch government. During the expansion of the Van Heutsz period, these new areas were assigned to military officials to rule as government officials. However, these military personnel were not trained for this specific assignment. Van Heutsz, claimed *De Telegraaf*, was well aware of this problem and suggested several solutions to counter this problem. This led the Dutch to reconsider their colonial organisational structures,

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<sup>134</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Tijd* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>135</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Telegraaf* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

which started in 1914 with the introduction of a specially designed training programme for government officials. The restructuring on the organisation of Dutch government in the East took the views of Van Heutsz as point of departure.

The next concept that I propose to discuss for this period is the concept *werk*. The concept *werk* featured on the concept maps of *Het Volksdagblad*, *De Tijd* and *De Telegraaf*. I have chosen to use *Het Volksdagblad* because this newspaper was more clearly associated with the communists. The concept *werk* in *Het Volksdagblad* encompassed only two uses. The first use referred to the work of Jan Romein. Romein had written a book about the history of Dutch Imperialism, which was reviewed by *Het Volksdagblad*. The second use may be found in an article that reflected on the atrocities committed by Van Dalen and Van Heutsz. *Het Volksdagblad* discussed in great detail how Van Heutsz supposedly worked, what went on, the conditions of war and the position of the local population.<sup>136</sup> *Het volksdagblad* wrote about the methods of Van Heutsz:

‘[...] zijn ziel van ethische woorden zo leeg, als een omgekeerde aspot [...] Gehele kampongcomplexen werden aan de vlammen prijsgegeven. Men achtte een goed beheerste terreur in zake gemeenschap met de vijand, het beste pacificatiemiddel. Dat wil zeggen, dat overigens vreedzame kampongbewoners, die van verstandhouding met opstandigen werden verdacht (want wettelijk bewijs was onder de gegeven omstandigheden niet wel mogelijk), mannen zowel als vrouwen, eenvoudig werden neergeschoten. Of wel gehele kampongs en districten werden gestraft met boetes van 10.000den guldens of het omhakken van vruchtbomen en het neerbranden van de woningen.’<sup>137</sup>

*Het Volksdagblad* adds that Van Heutsz made use of questionable methods. It wrote that Van Heutsz employed horrific and dishonourable methods to achieve his goals. Van Heutsz was illustrated by the following quote:

#### Gruwelijke oorlogsmethoden

Er is een boekje opgedaan over deze oorlogsmethoden in brieven van een christelijk kapitein aan het parlementslid De Savornin Lohman. Daarin lezen we dat Atjehse

<sup>136</sup> *Het Volksdagblad* 07-08-1936.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Dertig jaar vrijheidsstrijd in Atjeh Van Heutsz – de Janus met twee gezichten’ in: *Het volksdagblad* 09-04-1940.

vrijheidsstrijders in hinderlaag worden opgewacht, als zij de lijken van hun gesneuvelde makers komen weghalen; dat huizen zonder sommatie worden doorschoten; dat gevangenen zonder meer worden doodgeschoten, vooral als het vervoer lastig is; dat dumdums worden gebruikt; dat de gevangenen in barbaarse kooien met prikkeldraad worden opgesloten; dat hongerkuren en zweepslagen worden gebruikt om berichten te krijgen; dat men dwangarbeiders eenvoudig langs de weg laat sterven; dat opruimingen worden gehouden van Atjehers, met inbegrip van vrouwen en kinderen. Vluchtelingen, die zich met vrouw en kind ver van ieder strijdtoneel in de bergen hebben teruggetrokken worden beschouwd als in gewapend verzet zijnde en worden zoveel mogelijk opgeruimd en hun ellendige hutten en schrale oogst vernietigd. Een geraffineerd stelsel moet het economische leven ontwrichten: zware heffingen, boetes en waarborgsommen, interneringen en verbanningen, gijzeling van de vrouw voor haar man, de bruid voor haar bruidegom, enz.<sup>138</sup>

The communists concluded that, due to such horrific practices, the Indonesians would eventually prevail eventually in their quest for independence. They were after all fighting for their common human rights of freedom and freedom of terror.

Whereas *Het Volksdagblad* was primarily concerned with demonizing Van Heutsz, *De Tijd* on the other hand was not. In *De Tijd* the concept *werk* was mostly employed to refer to the Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam or Coevorden. *De Tijd* used the concept *werk* to either describe the construction and unveiling of the monument (*werk* in this instance referred directly to the monument) or to write about the actions of Van Heutsz. *De Tijd* for instance, at the unveiling of the monument in Amsterdam reflected on the life and work of Van Heutsz, emphasising the value and meaning of the actions of Van Heutsz. These actions of Van Heutsz, in contrast to *Het Volksdagblad*, were presented as just, humane and to the common benefit of the Dutch and Indonesian people. According to *De Tijd* the goal of the monument was not to glorify Van Heutsz as a person, but to honour his life's work. A couple of years later, *De Tijd* published a memorial speech held at the ten-year anniversary of Van Heutsz's death. In this speech, the unification of the Dutch East-Indies was called an 'enormous task' (*ontzettend werk*) and ascribed to Van Heutsz. There was only one instance in which *werk* was not directly related to Van Heutsz but instead referred to the *Van Heutsz fonds*; asking for

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<sup>138</sup> 'Dertig jaar vrijheidsstrijd in Atjeh Van Heutsz – de Janus met twee gezichten' in: *Het volksdagblad* 09-04-1940.

donations to continue their great work (supporting children whose fathers had died in military service in the Dutch East-Indies).<sup>139</sup>

In *De Telegraaf*, the concept *werk* referred to more diverse subjects than was the case in *De Tijd*. The first use of the concept *werk* may be found in an article that wrote about a memorial of the ten-year anniversary of the death of Van Heutsz. Military representatives who felt the need to honour ‘this great man and general’ attended this memorial. *De Telegraaf* wrote:

‘Velen hebben in het begin dezer eeuw hun bloed en leven veil gehad, zoo zeide hij voordat verschillende deelen van Indië aan ons gezag waren onderworpen en voordat rust, orde en veiligheid daar heerschten. Spr. herinnerde er aan, dat het groote werk van J. P. Coen, den grondlegger van ons gezag, eerst drie eeuwen later geheel werd voltooid. De man, die dit deed, was generaal Van Heutsz, gesteund in zijn werk door officieren, minderen en ambtenaren. Met moed en zelfvertrouwen wist hij de vele moeilijkheden te overwinnen. Zijn oudsoldaten hebben thans de behoefte gevoeld bij de laatste rustplaats nogmaals een soldatengroet te brengen. De meesten van ons hebben kort of lang onder hem gediend. Generaal Van Heutsz had een onverzettelijken wil en doorzettingsvermogen. Hij was een streng en rechtvaardig, tevens human chef. “Gij generaal Van Heutsz hebt ons” aldus spreker, “menigmaal ten strijde gevoerd. Thans rust gij hier. Weldra zullen de laatsten van uw oudsoldaten ter ruste worden gelegd. Maar nu nog willen zij uw nagedachtenis eeren door deze kranslegging”.<sup>140</sup>

This quote paints an entirely different picture than the quote of *Het Volksdagblad*. In *De Telegraaf* the work of Van Heutsz was met with admiration. It was presented as serving the interests of the Dutch East-Indies. *De Telegraaf* mentions, for instance, that ‘*De Jubilaris sprak om over Indië en zeide, dat, wanneer hij denkt aan Indische belangen, zijn gedachten gaan naar het werk van Van Heutsz en de mannen, die achter dien gouverneur-generaal stonden, zooals de tegenwoordige minister-president.*’<sup>141</sup> *De Telegraaf* explains that these interests were for instance Van Heutsz’ policy introducing primary education for the Indonesians. Like *De Tijd*, *De Telegraaf* uses the concept *werk* primarily to refer to the work of Van Heutsz (mostly in Aceh) or to refer to the (construction of) the Van Heutsz monument.

<sup>139</sup> All articles containing the concept *Werk* for the *De Tijd* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>140</sup> ‘Nagedachtenis van generaal van Heutsz geeerd’ in: *De Telegraaf* 10-07-1936.

<sup>141</sup> ‘Dankwoord’ in: *De Telegraaf* 21-06-1938.

The one but last concept that I intend to discuss is the concept *volk*. This concept is only found on the concept-map of *De Arbeiderspers*. The first use of the concept *volk* can be found in an article evaluating the radio broadcast about the unveiling of the Van Heutsz monument in Batavia. In this article it was said that Van Heutsz was far removed from the Dutch at the time. But even though Van Heutsz was at a large distance, he was also considered to be standing close. He was the person responsible for the new politics that aimed for prosperity of land and people (*volk*). The second use of the concept *volk* may be found in an article that reflects on an article in the *Indische Gids*. This article writes, among other things, about Van Heutsz's governance policy. This article claims that during the period of Van Heutsz, governance and justice were improved, tax collection was organized, improvement to infrastructure were made as well as investments in education. The article in the *Indische Gids* claims that, if the Dutch wanted to impose political unity in the East, the cultural development of the different ethnic groups (*volkeren*) living in the Dutch East-Indies should be pushed in a single direction. This cultural unification could only be reached if a single authority directed it; the grand work of Van Heutsz created this possibility. *De Arbeiderspers* contests these claims of *De Indische Gids* and *De Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*. Instead they argue that both were incapable of seeing the true results of the work of Van Heutsz, the suppression of the working classes and the imposing of capitalism. The third use of the concept *volk* discussed how the Indonesian press interpreted and presented the Van Heutsz monument in Batavia to the Indonesian people. The Indonesian press claimed that the Indonesian people should view this monument as the embodiment of injustice and that the people should have faith in eventual victory. Of course, *De Arbeiderspers* supported these claims. The fourth use of the concept may be found in an article that resists the proposal to commemorate the Aceh War. *De Arbeiderspers* claims that recent developments in the Far East led to a strengthening of the national consciousness of the Indonesians. It would therefore be tactless to ignore these developments and celebrate the violent submission of the Acehnese. The last use of the concept *volk* can be found in an article that argues that most of the retired military personal lived in poverty. The lower ranks of the army had suffered under Van Heutsz during the Aceh war and instead of giving these soldiers a reasonable pension, were forced to become beggars. These soldiers were forced to fight in a hopeless and meaningless war against a foreign people (*volk*) that defended their own land and liberties. After the soldiers had suffered in this 'idiotic war' that defended the interests of the colonial

classes, they were unable to reap the benefits of their military labour. Instead, only the propertied classes enjoyed the benefits of the colonial war and the imperial system.<sup>142</sup>

The last concept I will discuss is the concept *Atjeh*. *Atjeh* is a concept that, like the other concepts, may be found on several concept maps. *Atjeh* can be found on the concept map of *Het volksdagblad* 1930-40, 40-45 and *De Waarheid* 1980-90, *De Telegraaf* 1940-45, 1980-90 and on the concept map of the newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* 1940-45. For the concept map of *Het Volksdagblad* 1930-40, two uses can be found. The first mentions the appointment of Van Heutsz, which signals the start of the ruthless campaign of extermination. The second use may be found in an article that positions Van Daalen in relation to Van Heutsz, an article that was discussed in detail during the close reading of the concept *werk*.<sup>143</sup>

Another concept I wanted to look at was the concept *grote*. Unfortunately, however, after some close reading I have to conclude that this concept has no value for the period 1930-40.

Now that we have discussed the concepts for this period, I will look at the concept maps for this period, and determine if and how they are different from the previous period.

In the first place, one subject stands out in comparison with the previous period. Topical events of the 1930s, most importantly the economic crisis, dominated the debate about the future of the colonies. Faced by the challenges of the crisis, rising Indonesian nationalism and newly rising fascist states, the Dutch felt the need to reconsider their colonial politics. These reconsiderations on colonial politics occupied a larger part of the debates about Van Heutsz and the Van Heutsz monuments than in the previous period. Whereas in the previous period the burial and erection of the monument occupied a more central place in the debate, as well as contesting or defending the claims that it was solely a personality cult, in this period the policies of Van Heutsz and the Van Heutsz monuments were discussed in light of the question whether the circumstances in the colonies were served by them or not. This is not to say that debates that revolved around the Van Heutsz monument and the question of it being a personality cult would disappear entirely or that they resurfaced in a completely

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<sup>142</sup> All articles containing the concept *Volk* for the *Ons Volk* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>143</sup> All articles containing the concept *Atjeh* for the *Het Volksdagblad* 1930-1940 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

different form. Quite on the contrary. The monument remained an important trigger for the encountered responses. Likewise, although the debates on the monument remained a prominent subject, their focus and argumentation shifted to the contemporary concern with the future of the Dutch East-Indies. As in the previous period, the political left remained largely negative about the imperial system. Focussing on the atrocities of the Aceh war and general Van Heutsz, and the conditions of the Indonesians and the working classes, the political left intended to show the repulsiveness of the colonial system. Van Heutsz was used as a forceful illustration of the consequences of military imperial endeavours, while the left denounced his epic as imperial propaganda. Both the socialists and the communists tried to show that the current system only benefited a very select group and that the rising nationalism in the colonies was a just and irreversible phenomenon. These newspapers representing the political left formulated arguments that were in complete opposition to the newspapers that supported colonial politics and the erection of the Van Heutsz monuments. Whereas the left argued that the monument would be a symbol of colonial oppression, inspiring revolts and fostering nationalistic sentiments in the colonies, those who supported the Van Heutsz monument reversed these arguments saying that the monument would improve the relationship between the Dutch metropolis and the East. The Communists appear to have been motivated primarily by literature written about the colonial past in support of their claims (hence the concept book on the concept-map). The social democrats also responded to literature written about the colonies, but to a lesser extent.

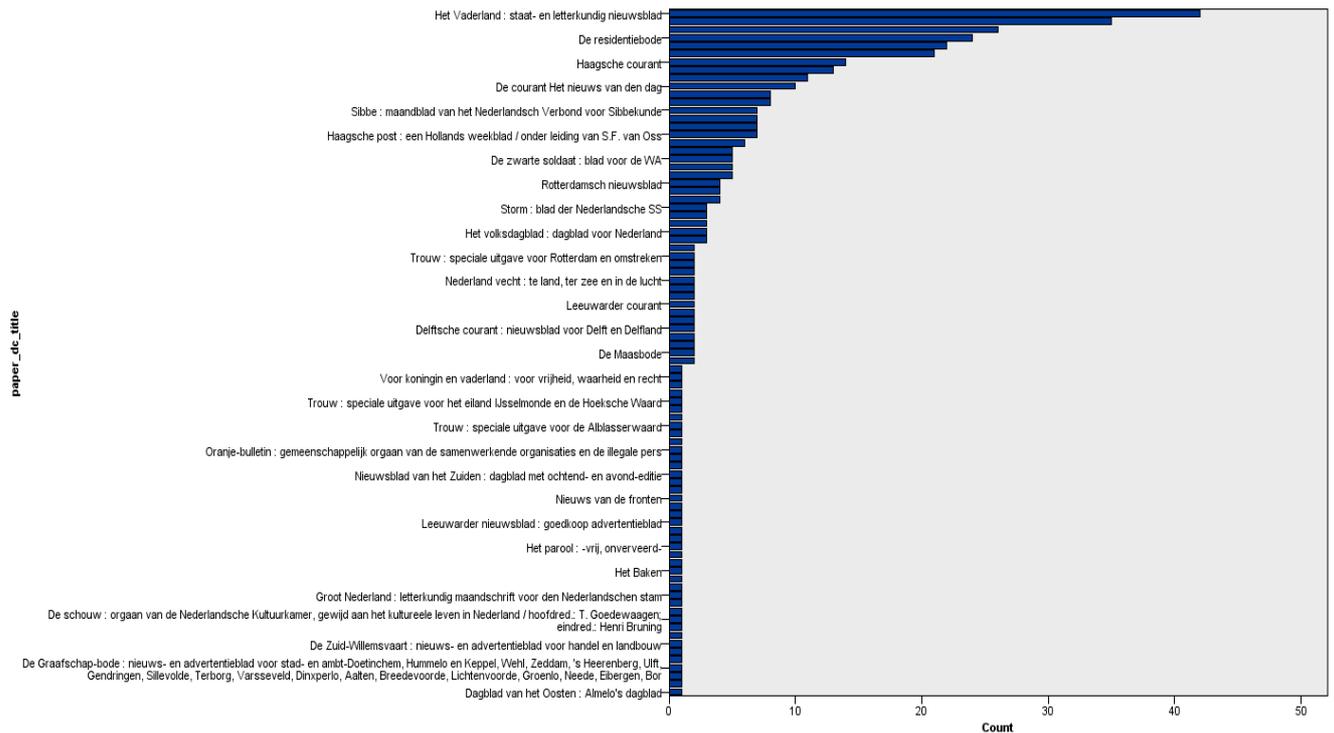
*De Telegraaf* and *De Tijd* on the other hand reflected on the policies of Van Heutsz to show that the Dutch acted with the best intentions. The monument was not just to honour Van Heutsz, but also to honour his policies. These policies were presented as proof for the good intentions of the Dutch colonizers. The Van Heutsz-monuments symbolized these good intentions and represented (and even aided) the current needs of the Dutch Empire: a greater degree of unity between the mother state and the Dutch East-Indies. Of the two newspapers siding with the supporters of the colonial policies, the Catholic newspaper *De Tijd* seemed to be most affected by the change of view. The grassroots of *De Tijd* seemed to be troubled by the criticism of the colonial policies and the acclaimed actions of Van Heutsz. *De Tijd*, however, remained convinced that Van Heutsz acted in the best interests of the Indonesians and the Dutch, and that the monument was just and deserved.

As a direct result of the challenging circumstances of the period, a large number of articles may be found that solely addressed the past and future course of colonial policies. A large number of articles reflected on colonial officials and their policies for the colonies. Apparently the Dutch felt threatened (or aided, depending on their political ideology) by the changing circumstances. The supporters of Imperialism feared for the future of the Dutch East-Indies, which led to articles that discussed past policies in order to safeguard and improve future policies. These articles did not address the Van Heutsz monument -which, indeed, was part of this larger debate- but primarily focussed on central figures in Dutch colonial politics, including Colijn, Idenburg, De Jonge and Van Heutsz.

### **Chapter 18 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1940-45**

The period 1940-45 may well be called a period of notable exception. The events of WWII affected the press bodies of the Dutch, which can be seen when we look at the distribution of newspapers. Most of the popular newspapers of the 1920s and 30s were replaced by newspapers that were (more) in line with Nazi ideology. Those who did not align with Nazi ideology or refused to accept Nazi policies had two choices: go underground or disappear. If we look at the newspapers selected for this research, what can be seen is that, in relation to the previous periods, their representation has dwindled.

#### **Newspaper distribution 1940-45 N=386**



Indeed if we look at the distribution of newspapers for the period 1940-45, most of our researched newspapers had lost their prominent position with the notable exception of *De Tijd* (which occupies the second position on the graph). As a direct result, fewer concepts may be discussed. Although *De Tijd* becomes quite prominent during this period SPSS is incapable of extracting it from the corpus. The other newspapers have other problems, for example the concept-map of *Het Volksdagblad* displays only one shared concept: *Atjeh*. For the concept map of *De Arbeiderspers*, only two shared concepts may be found; *Atjeh* and *grote*. *De Telegraaf* only includes 21 articles but still features 5 shared concepts on the concept map: *Atjeh*, *grote*, *Nederland*, *Indonesië* and *groot*. Because the distribution of newspapers is completely different from the previous periods, I included one newspaper that aligned with Nazi ideology: *Het Vaderland*. The last notable change in this period is that during WWII the name of *Het Volksdagblad* was changed to *De Waarheid*. Unfortunately, the only uses of the name Van Heutsz in the newly founded clandestine newspaper *De Waarheid* are related to ship movements. This concept map is therefore completely useless and only features place names. I have therefore excluded *De Waarheid* for this period, only aiming at the earlier publications of *Het Volksdagblad*.



Since we have briefly discussed the concept maps of the full sub-corpus. I propose to start with the analysis of the most shared concept in this time period: *Atjeh*. *Atjeh* featured on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf*, *De Arbeiderspers* and *Het Volksdagblad*. A seemingly comparable concept may be found on the concept-map of *Het Vaderland*, the concept *Atjeher* (inhabitant of Aceh). I propose to discuss this concept first and compare it with the usage of the concept *Atjeh*.

In most cases the concept *Atjeher* referred to *Atjeh*. I am therefore left clueless as to why the concept map indicates the concept *Atjeher* rather than *Atjeh*. Anyway, articles in which *Atjeh* was found, memorized the ‘glorious history of the Marechaussee on Aceh’. These articles reflected on the role and influence of Van Heutsz, his burial, and they paid tribute to the members of the Marechaussee. These articles, presented as a patriotic monograph of cultural history, wrote with great bravado the history of these men. The writers of the articles contested the claims of those who criticised the actions of Van Heutsz and argued instead that his methods were extremely effective and possibly the only way. The conquest of the outskirts of *Indië* was not a matter of choice, but a necessity and matter of national prestige. These articles focussed primarily on the military and military personnel that served under Van Heutsz.<sup>145</sup> They included detailed personal accounts by military officers that participated in the Aceh war. If the concept *Atjeher* was employed, it was used in a context that showed that the Dutch knew their – military- business. For example:

‘Allereerst moesten de vijandelijke benden en vooral de leiders van het verzet onschadelijk worden gemaakt. Maar om dit met succes te kunnen doen moest eerst het vertrouwen van de bevolking worden gewonnen, teneinde berichten omtrent hun verblijfplaatsen los te krijgen. Met eindeloos geduld, veel tact, een goed begrip van de psyche van den Atjeher, streng doch rechtvaardig optreden, moest de bevolking er toe worden gebracht in den militairen bestuurder den man te zien die eenerzijds het goede wilde, wiens streven was een weldadig bestuur te voeren en het land tot bloei en welvaart te brengen, mede door vernietiging der de bevolking terroriseerende benden, anderzijds voldoende krachtig was om zijn wil onder alle omstandigheden door te zetten.’<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> *Het Vaderland* 03-11-1942.

<sup>146</sup> ‘vijftig jaar marechaussee op Atjeh bewerkers van de pacificatie’ in: *Het Vaderland* 23-03-1940.

A less prominent use of the concept *Atjeh* and *Atjeher* discussed the economic and political situation and development of Aceh. For example, the amount of farm land, the construction of a tramline etc.<sup>147</sup>

For *De Telegraaf* the first use of the concept *Atjeh* may be found in an article that discussed the tactics of Van Heutsz for the conquest of Aceh. One of such tactics was the encouragement of the development of the town Shebang and the destruction of the harbour town Penang. This tactics was part of Van Heutsz' economic warfare policies. The second use also touched upon economic developments of Aceh and especially the role of Shebang. In this article, Van Heutsz mentioned as the person who paved the way for the economic development of the area.<sup>148</sup>

The concept *Atjeh* on the concept map of the newspapers published by *De Arbeiderspers* was found in three articles. The first two reflected on a speech given by M.H. du Croo at the colonial institute. In this speech Du Croo elaborated on the meaning and importance of the work of Van Heutsz and related this to his role as officer in Aceh. The third article reflected on the life of Colijn after he died; Colijn was mentioned in connection with Van Heutsz and the pacification of Aceh.<sup>149</sup> The use of *Atjeh* in the newspaper *Het Volksdagblad* is identical with the results found for *De Arbeiderspers* in the period 1930-40.

A second concept on the concept map of *De Arbeiderspers* that comes in for further investigation is the concept *grote*. The concept *grote* features in four articles, two of which are identical to the articles in which the concept *Atjeh* was found. *Grote* in this instance was used in a sentence that stated that the officers in Aceh shared a great responsibility. The third article in which the concept *grote* features refers to the son of Van Heutsz and is therefore irrelevant. The last use of the concept *grote* may be found in an article that discusses the need for and function of statues in cities. The Van Heutsz monument was here mentioned as an

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<sup>147</sup> All articles containing the concept *Atjeher* for the *Het Vaderland* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>148</sup> All articles containing the concept *Atjeh* for the *De Telegraaf* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>149</sup> All articles containing the concept *Atjeh* for the *Het Volk* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

example. The Dutch statues were compared to foreign statues that honoured ‘great men’ *grote mannen*.<sup>150</sup>

The third concept that needs further enquiry is *Indonesië*. This concept may be found on the concept-map of *Het Vaderland* and *De Telegraaf* and includes seven articles for *De Telegraaf*. However not all of them are useful. Rather than *Indonesië*, *De Telegraaf* uses *Indië* or *Nederlands-Indië* to indicate Indonesia. The most prominent hit with the concept *Indonesië* (*Indië*) discussed the history of Dutch colonialism. The reflection on colonial history may be found in two articles. The first article discussed the history from J.P Coen to Van Heutsz; elaborating on the multiple trajectories of the Dutch Empire and their educational, ethical and cultural goals. The second article that reflected on the history of colonialism was based on a lecture by Colijn entitled ‘the Netherlands overseas’. The third article in which the concept *Indonesië* was employed is identical to the second use of the concept *Atjeh* discussed for this newspaper. This article commented on the economic development of Sabang. The concept *Indonesië* may also be found in an article that discussed the possibility of introducing better secondary education in the East. In this article Van Heutsz was mentioned in relation to his educational policies: creating the first opportunity for the Indonesians to enjoy primary education. *Indonesië* also featured in an article detailing the current economic situation of the East. Van Heutsz was here mentioned in connection with Coen, both of whom were presented not having any influence on the present situation; these days we can no longer rely on Coen or Van Heutsz.<sup>151</sup>

The concept *Indonesië* in *Het Vaderland* can be found in sixteen articles. Like *De Telegraaf*, *Het Vaderland* used the words *Indië* and *Nederlands-Indië* rather than *Indonesië* to refer to the Indonesian archipelago. The first usage of the concept *Indonesië* may be found in the same articles that I described for the concept *Atjeh*. They reflected on the Aceh war and glorified the Marechaussee and Van Heutsz. The second usage of the concept *Indonesië* that is found in articles memorising colonial officials who served with or under Van Heutsz in the Dutch East-Indies. Most of these colonial officials were recognized as influential individuals all of whom had died; some had passed away recently and others a longer time ago. These articles were written as a powerful reminder that great men can accomplish great things, to the

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<sup>150</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *Het Volk* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>151</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *Het Volksdagblad* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

benefit of all Dutch. The third use of *Indonesië* can be found in articles that discussed the book *Nêerland's ondergang of behoud?* Written by J.B. van Heutsz jr. This book discussed the future of the Dutch East-Indies. The fourth usage of *Indonesië* is comparable and dealt with the present and future of the colonies. These articles expressed the fear that, where in the past relations between the Netherlands and the Dutch East-Indies had been strengthened (thanks to Van Heutsz), this valuable relationship was now being threatened by current developments. The fact that the mother state and the Dutch East-Indies were separated during WWII, each living their own history, did nothing to enhance the bonds between the two. Rather, the isolation increased the actual distance. The last use discussed the economic development of the East and the possible future trajectory.<sup>152</sup>

The fourth concept that needs a closer look is the concept *Nederland*. The concept *Nederland* may be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* in the period 1940-45, 1950-60, 1960-70, 1980-90, *De Waarheid* 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-90 and *De Arbeiderspers* 1970-80 and 1980-90. For this period *De Telegraaf* is the only newspaper in which the concept *Nederland* may be found on the concept map. The first article that features the concept *Nederland* is the same article in *De Telegraaf* that also featured the concepts *Indonesië* and *Atjeh*, and which discussed Sabang. The second use of the concept *Nederland* can be discarded as irrelevant. Pleading for a statue for Dr. Antonius Matthijsen, the inventor of plaster cast. In this article, the monument of Van Heutsz is used to describe the emotional value of a statue. The third article in which the concept *Nederland* was found, discussed how a large industry, business or a great national cause was established. They argued that it was never a commission; instead it was always the work and initiative of great men. The fourth article discussed a lecture by Colijn, the same lecture discussed earlier for the concept *Indonesië*. The last article commemorated a colonial official, jhr. Hugo Loudon.<sup>153</sup>

The next three concepts I propose to discuss only feature during this period on the concept map of *Het Vaderland*. These are the concepts *plaats*, *goed* and *werk*. The concept *plaats* was found in thirteen articles. The first article that referred to the concept *plaats* is identical to the article of *Het Vaderland* that featured the concepts *Atjeher* and *Indonesië*. It thus memorized the ‘great work of the Marechaussee’ and reflected on the burial of Van

<sup>152</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *Het Vaderland* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>153</sup> All articles containing the concept *Nederland* for the *De Telegraaf* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

Heutsz. *Plaats* in this instance is used to describe that the burial was accompanied by previously unseen military tributes. Like the first use of the concept *Atjeh*, the concept *plaats* featured in more than just one article. The second article that was also found earlier for the concepts *Atjeher* and *Indonesië* presented its reflection on Dutch colonialism as a monograph on patriotic cultural history. In this article two uses of the concept *plaats* may be found, the first is to illustrate what took place in areas not firmly in control of the Dutch. The second use was to sum up the hierarchy of priorities of the government after the conquest of Aceh. *Het Vaderland* argued that in the first place the government should focus on improving the economic and social conditions of the local population. The third use of the concept *plaats* discussed the view and structure of Indonesian cities and the erection of monuments in these cities. *Plaats* in this context either referred to the place a monument was assigned or geographical places in Indonesia, *Indonesische plaatsen*. The second use of the concept *plaats* can be found in articles that memorized colonial officials who served with or under Van Heutsz. *Plaats* here was employed to position the subject; *nam een voorname plaats in, een plaatsing van een half jaar in het battalion* etc. A third use discussed the economic future and policies of the Indies. This question of economic cooperation (as it was called) was investigated by the commission Rutgers. The article claims that due to the conclusions of this commission, there was no room for a different opinion; *geen plaats voor een ander geluid*. The fourth use of *plaats* was used to describe where certain events of the Aceh war took place. The last use was in a review of the book by J.B. van Heutsz Jr. and is therefore irrelevant for this research.<sup>154</sup>

The concept *werk* was used in articles that reflected on the feats of the Dutch Marechaussee, Van Heutsz or colonial officials. Most of the articles are the same articles described under *Atjeher*, *Indonesië* and *plaats*. These articles approach the work of such men from a positive angle, honouring and glorifying their ‘great work’. In some cases the concept *werk* was used to describe collaborations between military regiments or battalions etc. Most stories about work were about the military.<sup>155</sup>

The last concept I wish to discuss for this period is the concept *goed*. Like the other concepts discussed for *Het Vaderland*, *goed* may also be found in articles that reflected on the

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<sup>154</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *Het Vaderland* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz..

<sup>155</sup> All articles containing the concept *werk* for the *Het Vaderland* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

monograph on patriotic cultural history, the book of Van Heutsz jr., economic developments and technological investments, etc. It thus featured in the same articles as described before. The concept *goed* was used to describe several things. For instance; the Dutch knew all too well that introducing ethical politics would be accompanied by several problems ‘*wisten maar al te goed*’, or, a passive stance would not benefit the prestige of the Dutch ‘*Onze al te passieve houding in deze was aan ons prestige niet ten goede gekomen*’.<sup>156</sup> Most instances of *goed* highlighted the good intentions and skills of the Dutch; *goed begrip, het goede wilde, met goede kans op success, in de goede richting te komen* and *op het goede spoor*. There is one striking inclusion of a word in the concept *goed*. Strikingly, SPSS includes the word *behoorlijk* (meaning duly) under the concept *goed*. *Behoorlijk* was used in a sentence that something was well organised; *behoorlijk was geregeld*. Looking at the concept *goed*, it was usually employed to emphasise something that *Het Vaderland* saw as positive.<sup>157</sup>

If we reflect on this period and compare the results found with the previous periods the following may be concluded. In general, most articles that discussed Van Heutsz were mostly concerned with the future of the colonies or discussed the colonial past. When the colonial past was discussed, it seems that nostalgia was the leading sentiment for most newspapers discussed (of course the leftish newspapers remained resentful towards colonial practices just as in the previous periods). Significantly, the total number of articles about Van Heutsz decreased drastically between the two periods. The total number went from 1607 articles in the period 1930-40 to 386 articles in the period 1940-45. The decrease in articles may be explained by the limited supply of information about the colonies during this period. However it seems likely that due to the clandestine nature of the Dutch press during WWII, many newspapers were lost for this period and consequently were not digitized. A second explanation for this drop in articles might well be the most plausible. On the whole, the Dutch press was more concerned with events caused by WWII on the European continent than events taking place at the other end of the globe. However, such an explanation remains open for debate.

On the basis of the analysis of this period, Foray’s claims that the debate about the future of the colonies was taking on a more prominent position in the press during WWII may

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<sup>156</sup> *Het Vaderland* 22-05-1942.

<sup>157</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the *Het Vaderland* 1940-1945 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

be viewed in a different perspective. Foray argues: the press and the Dutch slowly started to realise that the Empire might well be in danger, leading to intensive debates about the future of the Dutch Empire. If, however, we look at the total number of articles written about Van Heutsz, a serious drop of attention can be seen. This, ofcourse, could easily be explained by so called 'news values'; Van Heutsz was long dead, making him less topical than the larger debate about the future of the Empire. Nevertheless, Foray also claims that the debate about the future of the colonies was largely absent in the previous period. This, however, can be questioned if we look at which context Van Heutsz was usually discussed. In both the periods 1930-40 and 1940-45 such concerns surfaced and took hold of the public debate. In such reflections, Van Heutsz was either an example of good colonial policy making, or he was mentioned in connection to the atrocities of colonial wars and practices. Allowing it being part of this debate of which Foray speaks. Taking into consideration both the context in which Van Heutsz was discussed and the number of articles about Van Heutsz in both periods, the claims of Foray concerning the popularity of the debate about the future of the Dutch Empire in these two specific periods needs to be reviewed.

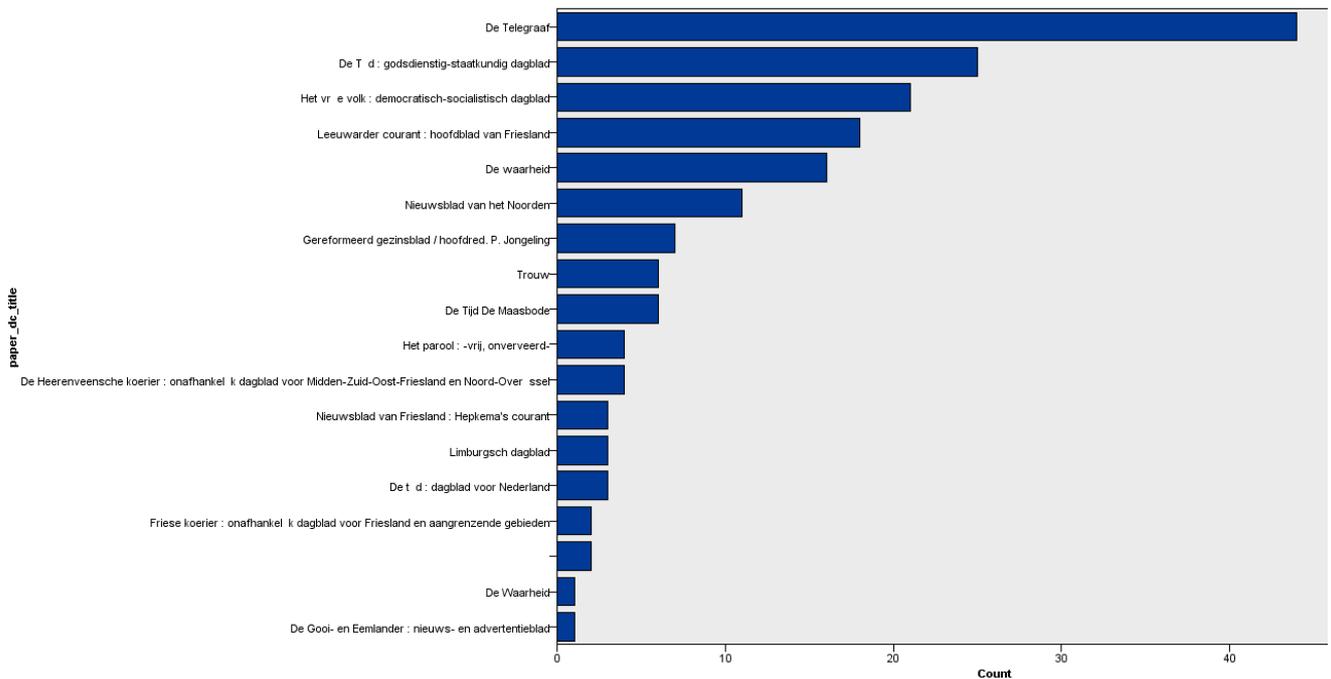
What is also clear is that the 'legal' newspaper *Het Vaderland* was more concerned with the military, both of the past and the present, than the other newspapers that have been studied. The limited number of newspaper articles complicates drawing any further conclusions. As far it is possible to draw any conclusions, the studied newspapers seem to approach Van Heutsz and the colonies in the same way as in the previous studied period 1930-40. The same concerns were ventilated and Van Heutsz received the same type of support and criticisms by the studied newspapers as before. Thus the most notable change is the drop in attention for Van Heutsz in this period, not so much a change in approach.

Before I move onto the next period, let me first explain why 1945-49 has been excluded from my analysis. In the first place, during this period only 55 articles featured the name Van Heutsz. When I tried to generate a concept map for this period, SPSS indicated; 'No map has been created for 'Heutsz' because no links'. Due to the very small sample of articles and the impossibility for SPSS to generate any concept maps, I decided to skip this entire period. If I look at the name Van Heutsz and investigate which articles are included under this concept, only one can be found. This article informed its readers that pirates held the ship H.M. Van Heutsz captive. It is thus safe to say that Van Heutsz did not play any part in the Dutch press during this period.

## Chapter 19 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1950-60

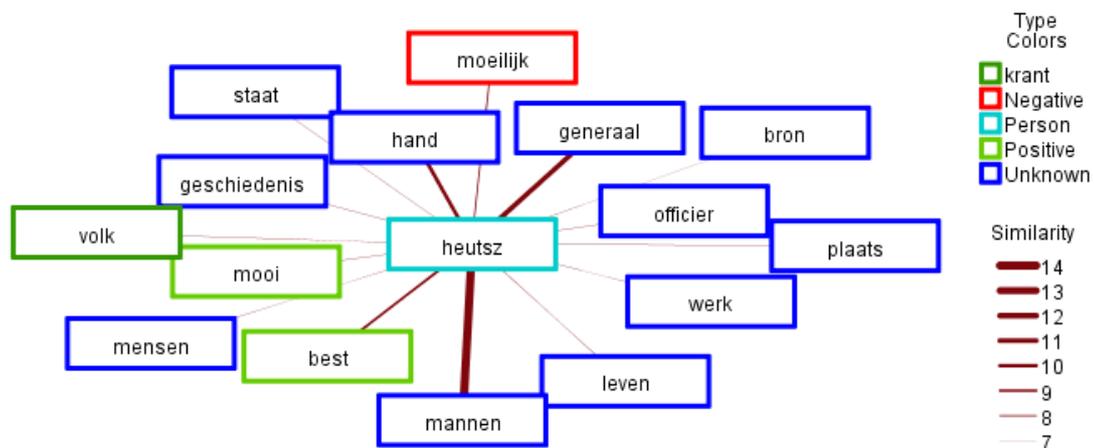
If we look at the distribution of newspapers in the period 1950-60 and compare this with the distribution of 1940-45, what stands out is that our selected newspapers have returned to its former pre-war positions in this period.

### Distribution of newspapers with the search term Van Heutsz 1950-60 N=1029



What also struck me is that, firstly, the number of articles increased again to 1,029 articles, however I was left with 175 articles after removing all articles that ‘polluted’ this corpus and, secondly, that the newspapers that I have selected for this research represent the top five of the newspapers in this corpus. Whereas in the previous period the selected newspapers featured relatively low on the graph, in this period they are in the absolute top. What this might mean is that the newspapers selected for this research have a larger influence on the concept-map of the full sub-corpus than previously encountered. This might well mean that the possible outcomes of the analysis of the full sub-corpus are close to the results of the analysis of the selected newspapers. I propose to focus on the concept map of the full sub-corpus first.

### Concept map of the full sub-corpus for the term Heutsz in the period 1950-60



The above concept map features several concepts that have been discussed in the previous periods; *volk*, *leven*, *werk*, *plaats* and *staat*. Thus whereas in the previous periods the concept-map of the full sub-corpus seemed somewhat detached from the other concept maps, now it seems that it features concepts that might fit in with a larger picture. It should be noted that the strength of the links between the concepts Heutsz and *volk*, *leven*, *werk*, *plaats* and *staat* are weak.

If we focus on the concept *plaats*, what stands out is that instead of our research subject J.B Van Heutsz, the regiment Van Heutsz is most central in these articles. The most diverse and sometimes astounding reports about the regiment Van Heutsz may be found under the concept *plaats*. An example of a surprising article is an article that discusses the moustaches of the regiment Van Heutsz. Most of the articles mentioned the regiment Van Heutsz because of some unfortunate accidents taking place during training or because they participated in the Korean War. Other subjects that featured the concept *plaats* were: the disbandment of the KNIL; former members of the KNIL memorized the KNIL and mourned at the Van Heutsz monument (*'vond plaats bij'*), the destruction of the Van Heutsz monument in Jakarta (formerly Batavia) because it symbolised colonialism and its replacement by a new national monument; the change of street names in Jakarta; Van Heutsz Boulevard was changed to refer to Toeko Umar (one of the enemies of Van Heutsz during the Aceh war), etc. There was only one article that wrote about Van Heutsz. This article reflected on the life and career of Van Heutsz. This reflection aimed primarily at illustrating the conditions of the Dutch colonisers at the arrival of Van Heutsz in Aceh and how Van Heutsz proposed to bring

Aceh under Dutch control. In this article Van Heutsz was ranked among one of the greatest Dutch people of all time. *Plaats* was here used in a context that describes the Acehnese guerrillas. These fighters were able to determine in complete freedom where and when to strike, thus to illustrating the difficult situation of the Dutch.<sup>158</sup>

If we take a closer look at the concept *leven* what can be concluded again is that stories about J.B. Van Heutsz dwindled. The only article that discussed Van Heutsz is identical to the one described for the concept *plaats*. If we focus on the concept *leven* all sorts of stories may be found. For instance the concept *leven* includes stories about the mutilation of a soldier of the Van Heutsz regiment in Korea (*‘voor het leven verminkt’*), discontinuation of the KNIL, a story about how people experienced the first encounters with Ambonese (the first encounter was described in detail and took place at the burial of Van Heutsz); the presentation of a banner to the regiment Van Heutsz by the queen, etc.<sup>159</sup> If we focus on this last event for instance, what stands out is that the military colonial past was still accompanied by pomp and circumstance, as the following quote shows:

‘Koningin Juliana heeft hedenmorgen in tegenwoordigheid van Prins Bernhard een vaandel uitgereikt aan het regiment Van Heutsz. [...] Alvorens het vaandel werd uitgereikt, sprak H. M. een korte rede uit waarin zei o.a. zei: Uw huidige taak van opleiding tot bewakingsdiensten en van het opleiden van dienstplichtigen, die op vrijwillige basis naar Suriname worden uitgezonden staat tussen een zeer bewogen verleden en een onbekende toekomst. Wat het verleden betreft zijt gij de erfgenamen van de beste geestelijke erfenis die zowel zij, die deel uitmaakten van het voormalige KNIL, alsook zij, die in Korea streden, ons hebben nagelaten. Groot was veelal hun moed en bewonderenswaardig de betrachting van hun plicht tot veil hebben van eigen leven toe in de gegeven historische omstandigheden en bij de daarin geldende opvattingen.’<sup>160</sup>

Some articles that featured the concept *leven* related to former soldiers of the KNIL. These articles gave a detailed distribution of the lives of these former KNIL soldiers; in these articles Van Heutsz was merely mentioned as a commanding officer.

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<sup>158</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the full sub-corpus 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>159</sup> All articles containing the concept *leven* for the full sub-corpus 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>160</sup> ‘Koningin rijkt vaandel uit aan regiment Van Heutsz’ in: *De Tijd* 24-02-1955.

Since we have already determined that during this period the regiment Van Heutsz and the KNIL attract the most attention, I propose that I only review the articles in which general Van Heutsz is discussed. For the concept *staat* there is one article that discusses Van Heutsz. This article reflects upon his ‘brilliant governmental policies’. This article credits Van Heutsz with furthering the democratization of the economy. *Staat* in this instance referred to the state. All the other articles involved the regiment Van Heutsz or the development of the decolonisation of Indonesia.<sup>161</sup>

If we look at the concept *werk* the same article about Van Heutsz was found as described for the concept *staat*. *Werk* in this instance referred to the great work of Van Heutsz. Van Heutsz was also discussed in an article that reflected on the history of the KNIL. Here the KNIL and Van Heutsz were discussed in the context of military personnel doing ‘excellent work’. They were able to achieve great things with a minimum of equipment and they were presented to be fighting for the cause of the Indonesians and the Dutch. They were able to ban horrible and barbarous practices, improving health conditions and fight corruption.<sup>162</sup>

The concept *volk* is one of the few concepts that can also be found outside the concept map of the full sub-corpus during this period, namely on the concept map of *De Tijd*. Looking at this concept in the concept map of the full sub-corpus, what we encounter is that the first article about Van Heutsz is identical to the one described under *plaats* for the full sub-corpus. The concept *volk* was found in the following context:

‘Toen hij in 1904 geroepen werd tot de hoogste post te Buitenzorg, had Van Heutsz het bewijs geleverd, dat de taak van het militaire bestuur inderdaad was, zoals hij die zelf eens had geformuleerd: Op Strijd tegen onverstand ons rust de dure plicht om het Atjehse volk, dat zozeer van de oorlog heeft geleden, te doen beseffen, dat het ons enig doel, ons streven is om rust, orde, veiligheid, welvaart te scheppen en te handhaven; om hoofden en bevolking te doen gevoelen, dat het kalme vredige’<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the full sub-corpus 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>162</sup> All articles containing the concept *werk* for the full sub-corpus 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>163</sup> ‘Inzet van langdurige kabinetscrisis in 1926’ in: *De Tijd* 04-11-1957.

The second article containing the concept *volk* discusses a book. This book gives a detailed description of the conduct of Colijn and Idenburg. Van Heutsz was here discussed as the predecessor of Idenburg and the commanding officer of Colijn. Van Heutsz was characterized in a letter of Colijn to Idenburg as: unable to cope with the power of the Indian bureaucracy and easily enthusiastic about misguided ideas. But, Colijn also noted that Van Heutsz would be hard to replace, being the right man in the right place at the right time. The concept *volk* in this instance was related to the convictions of Colijn. Colijn believed that the Sarekat-Islam movement was an organization that set out to promote economic development of land and people. *Volk* may also be found in other articles. These articles reflected on the colonial past of the Dutch.<sup>164</sup> For example, in one article a new book about Busken Huet was discussed. Here Van Heutsz was presented as a ruthless colonial. In relation to the concept *volk* and these ruthless colonials such as Van Heutsz, this article states that:

‘het is de moeite waard, bittere bladzijden uit het verleden te herlezen, om er van te leren, dat zij, die tot de ondergang staan opgeschreven, hun nederlagen uitsluitend te wijten hebben aan de wijze waarop zij de belangen van het volk hebben vergeten en den nationale eer, de nationale beschaving hebben versmeten als een ding, dat hun niet aanging.’<sup>165</sup>

The last encounter with Van Heutsz, or in this case the Van Heutsz monument, and the concept *volk* may be found in an article that discusses the position of a Marxist artist. As the subject already suggests, this article is most likely to be published in *De Waarheid*. The article is written as if the words of the artist are taken down verbatim. This artist refuses to design a monument for Van Heutsz because he argues: suppressors and murderers do not deserve a monument. *Volk* in this context was used as: what are the responsibilities of an artist to his people.<sup>166</sup>

After discussing the concept map of the full sub-corpus, the following careful conclusions may already be drawn. Firstly, based on the extensive analysis of the full sub-corpus, the period 1950-60 does not seem to be particularly relevant. First of all, the Van Heutsz regiment drew considerably more attention, while general Van Heutsz was rarely discussed. Secondly, if we turn our attention to the concept maps of the selected newspapers,

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All articles containing the concept *volk* for the full sub-corpus 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>165</sup> ‘Bittere bladzijden uit het verleden’ in: *De Waarheid* 14-04-1951.

<sup>166</sup> All articles containing the concept *volk* for the full sub-corpus 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

what we see is that the selected concepts for analysis are largely absent from the concept maps.

If we focus on the concept-map of *De Waarheid*, the two concepts with the strongest links are *Indonesië* and *Atjeh*. If we look at the concept *Indonesië*, only three articles were found that used the concept *Indonesië* (yes indeed, Indonesia was used rather than the Dutch East-Indies). Of these three articles none particularly focused on Van Heutsz, the first discussed migration policies for the former colonials, the second article primarily protested against colonial practices and the fact that the Dutch would stay in control of New Guinea and the last article is not relevant.<sup>167</sup>

Just as the concept *Indonesia*, the concept *Atjeh* may only be found in three articles. The first discussed the actions of the Dutch in Korea. *De Waarheid* criticized the Dutch soldiers and wrote: ‘long live the war of conquerors, long live the war of Aceh, and long live the extermination of the Acehnese! Excuse us: the people of Korea. And those in Washington and The Hague pretend to send soldiers to protect Western liberty’. Thus this article responded directly to the cold-war politics of the 50s. The second article discussed the book of Domela Nieuwenhuis ‘*veldtocht tegen het kapitalisme*’. In this book the colonial practices were criticized and narrated from the perspective of the impoverished classes who were ‘forced’ to fight in Aceh. Van Heutsz was merely mentioned to mark a certain period in time. The third article is irrelevant.<sup>168</sup>

If we look at the concept map of *De Waarheid* and the two concepts *Indonesië* and *Atjeh*, we might conclude the following. The concept map seems to suggest that Van Heutsz was still discussed in relation to his past and the events in Indonesia and the Aceh War. This interpretation, however, is misleading. After close reading it is clear that general Van Heutsz was not central or extensively discussed in relation to Indonesia or the Aceh war. He was merely mentioned in connection with Aceh or Indonesia in articles that discussed highly varied subjects. What this shows is that at first sight the concept-map of *De Waarheid* during this period is quite valuable; after some close reading, however, it seems more misleading than helpful.

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<sup>167</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Waarheid* 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>168</sup> All articles containing the concept *Atjeh* for the *De Waarheid* 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

If we move from the concept map of *De Waarheid* to its ideological sister *Het Vrije Volk*, published by *De Arbeiderspers*, a couple of things stand out. The first being that Djakarta features on the concept map, a name that would not have surfaced before the events of 1949. Secondly, we can find the concepts *Russen* and *oorlog*. Judging from the analysis of the full sub-corpus, it is quite likely that these two concepts refer to the Korean War.<sup>169</sup>

If we focus on the most common concepts, there are two concepts on this concept-map that will be analysed. The concept *Indonesië* and the concept *grote*. The concept *Indonesië* features in four articles, none of which are relevant for this research. For instance, the first article discusses the changes that take place in Jakarta, and sets these off against the colonial past. The second reviews the political organisational developments of Indonesia and discusses its representatives. The concept *grote*, on the other hand, at first sight seems more relevant. The first encounter with the concept *grote* was to endorse the greatness of Van Heutsz. Van Heutsz was referred to a farewell speech for the Van Heutsz Regiment when it left for Korea. In this speech General Van Heutsz was referred to as '*onze grote pacificator overzee*'. Unfortunately, all other usages of *grote* were irrelevant.<sup>170</sup>

Since the analysis of the full sub-corpus already indicated a lack of usable data and the analysis of the concept maps of the selected newspapers seems to support this conclusion, I propose to leave the 50s for what they are and move on to the 60s after a short summary of the 50s. During this period, the Van Heutsz Company attracted the most attention. This military company was drawn into debates that debated the need for conscription, criticized conscription and focused on the Korean War. It could well be argued that, since this company was so dominant in newspapers and commonly related to topical events concerning military policies, the name of Van Heutsz became more connected with militarism. However, such a claim lacks evidence. The second subject that surfaced on the forefront was the KNIL. The KNIL was dissolved, which led former and current KNIL personnel to reflect on the history of the KNIL. If we do find articles that discussed Van Heutsz in this period they responded to the very limited amount of literature that was written during this period about the imperial past of the Dutch. However, such articles were the exception and they were largely found in

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<sup>169</sup> All articles containing the concepts *Russen* and *oorlog* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

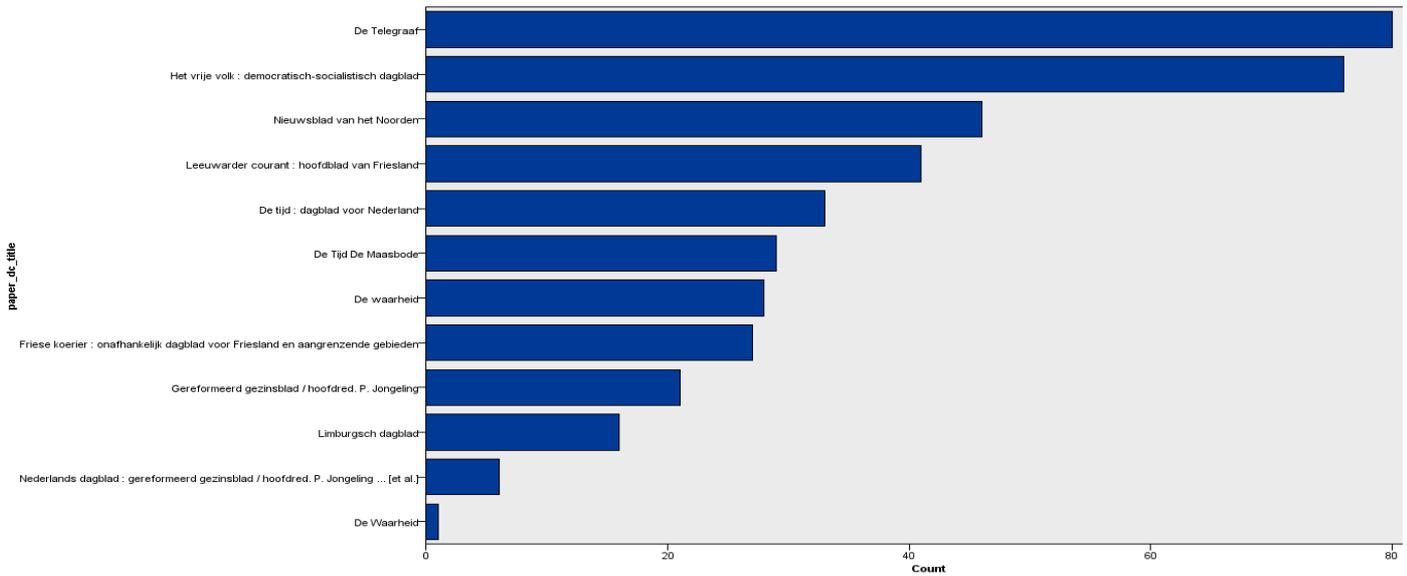
<sup>170</sup> All articles containing the concepts *Indonesië* and *grote* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1950-1960 found by the key search Van Heutsz .

*De Waarheid*. On the basis of close reading, one careful conclusion may be drawn. In the period 1950-60 reflections on the colonial past seem to be largely absent. As it seems, current affairs involving the Van Heutsz Company were the dominant subject. It may well be argued that the decolonisation discouraged the Dutch from looking back on their Imperial past. The events surrounding the military demanded a greater degree of attention and, as it happens, during this period the former Empire was a non-topical, non-attractive and maybe even a difficult or taboo subject. The absence of focus on Imperial history in this period might be related to the recent events that led to the decolonisation of the Indonesian archipelago. It could also be argued, based on the number of articles about Van Heutsz, that during this period there was some form of colonial trauma. The negative reading of Van Heutsz f by newspapers of the left was foremost employed in debates about topical events. It was used as an illustrating device for criticising contemporary news.

## Chapter 20 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1960-70

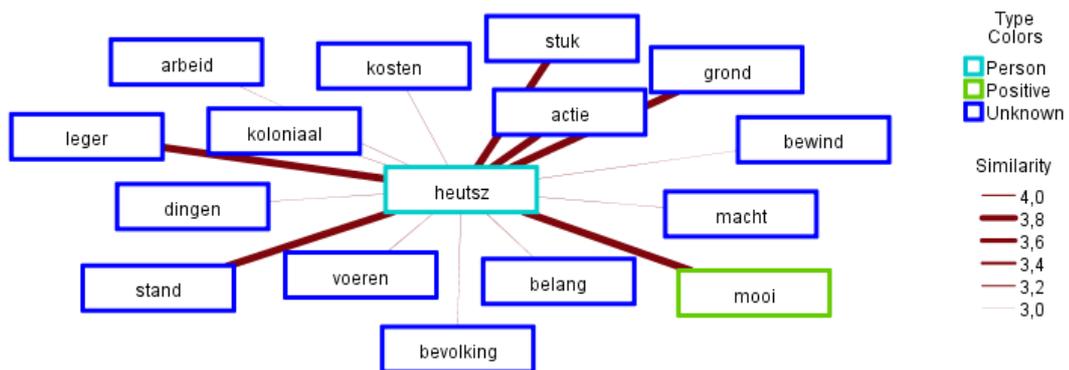
If we look at the distribution of the newspapers in this period a couple of things draw our attention. In the first place, two newspapers have a double representation on the graph, *De Tijd* (and *De Tijd Maasbode*) and *De Waarheid*. The second thing is that the newspapers selected for this research lost some of their prominence in comparison to the previous period. A third thing that stands out is that the number of newspaper titles has decreased again considerably compared to the previous period.

**Distribution of newspapers in the period 1960-70 based on the key search Van Heutsz  
N= 404**



If I focus on the concept map of the full sub-corpus, again I find that none of the concepts selected for analysis feature on the concept-map. As one can see, in this period, the strongest links with the name of Van Heutsz are with the concepts *stand*, *leger*, *stuk*, *actie*, *grond* and *mooi*.

### Concept-map of the full sub-corpus 1960-70



If we look at the concept *actie*, this concept was primarily used in articles that discuss anti-militarist and anti-colonial protests and actions that were aimed at the Van Heutsz monument in Coevorden and Amsterdam. These actions were primarily organised by the new (leftish) youth movement (Provo). In some cases the concept *actie* was used to refer to one of the

actions of the Van Heutsz regiment (in a re-enactment of the Dutch revolt against the Spanish for instance).<sup>171</sup>

The concept *grond* may be found in a wide range of articles. The first article discusses a book written by Paul van 't Veer about the Aceh war. *Grond* in this instance was used to describe on what grounds the Dutch started the Aceh war '*hoogstens op grond van kunstig geprovoceerde redenen*'<sup>172</sup>. The second use can be found in a review of an article published in *Vrij Nederland* about Soekarno. The third article debates the righteousness of the military actions of the Dutch in Indonesia after WWII and the meaning of the national monument at De Dam and the Van Heutsz monument. *Grond*, in this context, was used to illustrate that disease; bullets and liquor were destroying the poor soldiers who served during the Aceh war. The fourth article discusses the trajectory of Shell in Indonesia. There is one reference to one of the actions of the Provo movement (two police officers were beaten to the ground).<sup>173</sup> A very clear and singular dominant subject in whom this concept was used can thus not be found.

If we look at the one but last concept *leger*, the following summary may be given: it primarily includes articles focussing on the Van Heutsz regiment. There are some exceptions such as an article that reflects on the life of former KNIL soldiers. The last concept, the concept *mooi* includes several words, for instance: *aantrekkelijk*, *mooiste*, *prima* and *mooi*. Since there is no single use of the concept, nor a single subject in the articles in which the concept may be found (in fact none of the 16 articles touches upon a single subject), I decided to exclude this concept from my analysis.

It is clear that finding a central subject or subjects on the basis of the analysis of the full sub-corpus for this period is not as simple. Certainly, the actions of the Provo movement attracted a lot of attention, but other than that a conclusion is hard to draw. Instead let us focus on the recurring concepts in this period: *Indonesië*, *Nederland*, *goed*, *grote*, *staat* and *leven*.

The concept *Indonesië* can be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf*, *De Arbeiderspers* and *De Waarheid*. In *De Waarheid* the concept *Indonesië* explicitly referred to

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<sup>171</sup> All articles containing the concept *actie* for the full sub-corpus 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz .

<sup>172</sup> 'Boeken Nederlands langste oorlog: Atjeh' in: *Leeuwarder Courant* 24-11-1969.

<sup>173</sup> All articles containing the concept *grond* for the full sub-corpus 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

the word *Indonesië* and not to *Nederlands-Indië* or *Indië*. *Indonesië* may be found in articles that reflected on the colonial history of the Netherlands. In these articles expressions are found that formulated opinions like: ‘in this history names and events have been immortalized that symbolise terror and exploitation’. Aceh in these articles was portrayed as a gruesome war and the emblem of unadulterated colonialism. These reflections were triggered by the book of Paul van ‘t Veer about the Aceh war. Van ‘t Veer pays considerable attention to the gruesomeness of the Aceh war. He tried to contextualize the Aceh war and the gruesome events during this war hoping to create a deeper understanding. *De Waarheid* contests the claim of Van ‘t Veer that criticism of colonialism had been largely absent. Instead they argued that, they, the communists, had a long tradition of refuting and resisting recent colonialism and Imperialism. The second use of Indonesia may be found in an article discussing the recent death of Soekarno while the third use was in an article reflecting on the current Dutch-Indonesian relationship.<sup>174</sup>

The concept *Indonesië* in *Het Vrije Volk* published by *De Arbeiderspers* covered nine articles during this period. These articles may be split into three groups, articles that reflected on the colonial history of the Dutch, articles that discussed the actions aimed at the Van Heutsz monument and articles that reported or discussed the responses to these actions. I will start with reviewing the first group of articles: reflections on the colonial past. These articles discussed Van Heutsz in a historical context and aimed at filling in the historical picture.<sup>175</sup> For instance:

‘Nationalisten waren er in Van Heutsz dagen nauwelijks geweest. Het probleem bestond voor hem nog niet. Het was dus volstrekt onzinnig hem ten voorbeeld te stellen aan zijn opvolgers. Maar de koloniale reactie, in Nederland vertegenwoordigd door mensen als Colijn (die als jong officier adjudant van Van Heutsz was geweest), en Welter zocht naar symbolen van stoerheid. J. P. Coen was goed, maar zeer oud. Van Heutsz werd het symbool, van verzet tegen een politiek van 'slapheid' jegens de Indonesiërs, tegen de koloniale programma's van de linkse liberalen en socialisten in Nederland en alles wat maar enig begrip toonde voor het, feit dat 1930 geen 1900 meer was. Aan het eind van de jaren twintig en begin dertig werd de mythe van Van Heutsz geschapen, vooral nadat in 1926 en 1929 opstanden op Java en

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<sup>174</sup> All articles containing the concepts *Indonesië* for the *De Waarheid* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>175</sup> *Het Vrije Volk* 31-10-1969.

Sumatra: (Atjeh!) waren uitgebroken. Er werd een gouverneur-generaal benoemd, jhr. mr. B. C. de Jonge, die aan alle onzin een einde zou maken. En er werd reclame gemaakt voor Van Heutsz-monumenten die de herleving van de nationale geest zouden belichamen. Want ze kwamen er: in 1932 te Batavia; in 1933, te Coevorden en in 1935 te Amsterdam. De onthulling was steeds een demonstratie. Met anno 1900 hadden ze weinig te maken. Des te meer met de politiek van de jaren dertig toen de reactie In Nederland en Indië, aan de macht was.<sup>176</sup>

Although we might disagree on the validity of such claims, the value of an article like this is that it sets Van Heutsz in a wider context. It positions Van Heutsz in a symbolic position and tries to explain the value of Van Heutsz and his monuments in the course of Dutch colonialism. This article was written by Paul van 't Veer claiming that the criticisms on Van Heutsz and the monuments were simply an emotional revival of the sentiments of the 30s.

In the same way that the communists responded to the new book by Paul van 't Veer, *Het Vrije Volk* was also inspired to re-evaluate Dutch colonial history. In response to the book, *Het Vrije Volk* remarks that:

‘Vanzelfsprekend besteedt Paul van 't Veer veel aandacht aan de nu zo omstrede figuur Van Heutsz. Opmerkelijk is, dat in zijn ogen de figuur Van Heutsz er in het begin van zijn carrière als Gouverneur-Generaal veel beter af komt dan ik had verwacht. Van Heutsz was de man, die bijvoorbeeld vrijwel onmiddellijk de gehate 'Hormat' afschafte, het kruiperige eerbetoon van de Indonesiërs jegens Nederlandse bestuursambtenaren. Toch is en blijft hij verantwoordelijk voor de tien bloedigste jaren van Atjeh. Tijdens zijn gouverneurschap sneuvelden er 21.865 Atjehers! Het Nederlandse dodental bedroeg 508.’<sup>177</sup>

The book by Paul van 't Veer and the photo book by E. Breton de Nijs inspired *De Arbeiderspers* to discuss in great detail the policies, politics and lifestyle of the Dutch in Indonesia from 1910 until the end of WWII.

Whereas these articles reflected on the Dutch colonial past, the second group of articles responded to events involving the Van Heutsz monument. *De Arbeiderspers* reports that: the Van Heutsz monument the centre of attention three times. In the Netherlands both the

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<sup>176</sup> ‘Van Heutsz was de kwaaieste niet; Zijn naam symbool in jaren dertig voor ‘flinke’ politiek’ in: *Het Vrije Volk* 11-09-1965.

<sup>177</sup> ‘Van Heutsz’ in: *Het Vrije Volk* 31-10-1969.

monuments of Coevorden and Amsterdam were targeted by the youth. After the decolonization in 1949, writes *De Arbeiderspers*, the Van Heutsz monument in Batavia/Jakarta was the first (and one of the few) Dutch monuments who was destroyed. Van Heutsz and the Van Heutsz monument became the symbols for Dutch colonialism to the Indonesians. Because; on the former colony the Van Heutsz monument was destroyed immediately after independence, the Provos intended to do the same for the Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam during the 60s. In this decade Van Heutsz was primarily known for his role as governor of Aceh. The actions of the Provos in Amsterdam led to the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument, damaging the lions in front of the monument. In Coevorden, anti-militarist and anti-colonial phrases and banners surrounded the monument. One-liners accusing Van Heutsz of murder and rape and a banner that said: ‘*Het Coevorder lieverdje*’ (the softy of Coevorden). The daughter of Van Heutsz called these accusations offensive and sued the protesters for libel. The protesters appeared in court and were defended by Dutch professor W.H. Nagel. This caused a schism in the Dutch intellectual community. The defendants, Allard J. van Lenthe and Relus L. ter Beek (who was to be Minister of Defence in 1989), were eventually found guilty and charged with a 50-guilder fine or 10 days probation.<sup>178</sup>

In *De Tijd De Maasbode* the concept *Indonesië* only covers two articles. Although the selection of articles is limited, there is a remarkable use of the concept. Instead of referring to the current name in use for the territory known as *Indonesië* (Indonesia), *De Tijd De Maasbode* keeps using the colonial name *Indië*. *De Tijd De Maasbode* would only use the modern name Indonesia when the article would refer to the period after decolonization. If *De Tijd* spoke about ‘Indonesia’ before 1949, *Indië* would be used rather than *Indonesië*. Neither of the two articles discussed Van Heutsz; the first discussed Chales J.L.M. Weiter and the second article discussed military personnel who received a military knighthood. Thus the only tentative conclusion to be drawn from this is that the newspaper *De Tijd De Maasbode* seems partly reactionary.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1964-1969 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>179</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Tijd De Maasbode* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz

Since we have discussed the concept *Indonesië*, I propose to shift our focus to the concept *Nederland*. *Nederland* as a concept may be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* and *De Waarheid*. For *De Waarheid* the concept *Nederland* may be found in six articles. The first article discussed conscription on the Dutch Antilles and Surinam. The second discussed the development of Shell and its interests in Indonesia. *De Waarheid* pointed to the Aceh war, led by Van Heutsz, as the origin for the involvement of Shell in Indonesia. Shell received military support during these early days of expansion and was able to force a monopoly on the oil trade in Indonesia. *Nederland* in this instance referred to *Nederlander* and *Nederlandse olie maatschappij*.<sup>180</sup> Another article seems to be written in direct line with the article about Shell and discusses the intentions of a ‘so called charity’ for Nigeria on Dutch television. In this article *De Waarheid* attacked such intentions and approached the multinationals as the new Imperialists. Whereas these multinationals were once aided in their colonial goals by nation states, in modern times, since they had secured their position, they were able to continue their colonial practices.<sup>181</sup>

The third article discusses the Dutch colonial past, most notably the Aceh war. This article was written as a response to the book by Paul van ‘t Veer. *De Waarheid* was sceptical about Van ‘t Veer’s book. Van ‘t Veer tried to contextualise the actions of Van Heutsz creating a more nuanced and balanced image of the man. *De Waarheid* clearly did not agree and wrote:

‘De Atjeh-oorlog, dat is Van Heutsz de generaal, die (overigens alleen volgens de legende) een eind maakte aan de grootscheepse opstand en voor wiens nagedachtenis het koloniale kapitaal in 1927 een staatsherbegraving op touw zette en een monument oprichtte. Van Heutsz speelde (met Colijn) zijn rol in de jaren van de overgang van het oude naar het nieuwe Imperialisme en Van 't Veer tracht de lezers te doen geloven, dat hij niet alleen maar de klewang zwaaiende bullebak zou zijn geweest, maar een gecompliceerder figuur dan algemeen wordt verondersteld. Met enkele losse uitspraken uit brieven en nota's moet dat dan worden waar gemaakt, maar als ergens geldt: let niet op mijn woorden, maar op mijn daden, dan is dat in koloniale zaken.’<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> All articles containing the concept *Nederland* for the *De Waarheid* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>181</sup> ‘De Barrels van Biafra’ in: *De Waarheid* 23-01-1970.

<sup>182</sup> ‘Van Heutsz’ in: *De Waarheid* 13-12-1969.

The last article that featured the concept *Nederland* discussed the course of western Imperialism after the dissolution of the Empires. *De Waarheid* called the modern form of international politics neo-colonialism. It called into question what the decolonization of Indonesia meant, arguing that the modern form of colonialism was as bad as the previous one.<sup>183</sup>

Whereas articles in *De Waarheid* featuring the concept *Nederland* were primarily occupied with decolonization and the ideological fight against (modern, neo) colonialism and Imperialism, *De Telegraaf* was not as concerned with these processes but was rather more interested in the actions directed against the Van Heutsz monument. *De Telegraaf* called the attacks on the Van Heutsz-monument in Amsterdam on the Olympiaplein vile misdeeds and acts of terror against the freedoms of the Dutch. Professor Nagel, who took it upon himself to defend the attackers of the Van Heutsz monument, was called in *De Telegraaf*: ‘*Nagel is een van de vreselijkste elementen van onze maatschappij*’.<sup>184</sup> Just as *De Waarheid* felt the need to attack colonialism, *De Telegraaf* felt the urgency to attack those who attacked the colonial past of the Dutch. They wrote that: all early days of colonialism are marked with aggression and are cruel but at the end of colonialism, the system benefits the people. The intentions and course of Dutch colonialism was debated because of the new developments that surrounded New Guinea. The intentions of New Guinea to become independent were dismissed by *De Telegraaf* as:

‘2 eeuwen lang heeft Nederland in de Oost koloniën gehad, aanvankelijk weliswaar behandeld als stiefkinderen, doch sedert Van Heutsz is dit toch wel grondig veranderd en heeft Nederland die gebieden toch wel als dierbare kinderen behandeld. Die eer laten wij ons niet ontnemen ongeacht progressieve geschiedvervalsing. Ieder koloniaal regime begint wreed, eindigt veelal ten bate der koloniën te fungeren. Tot 1945 stelde Nederland er een eer in koloniale mogendheid te zijn; plotsklaps schaamde het zich ervoor als voor onwettige kinderen, die het dan ook daarna rap te vondeling heeft gegoooid, een radicale doch oneervolle wijze om zich van onwettig gebroed af te maken. Waarbij een typisch oud-koloniaal trekje zich deed kennen. [...] Immers, men bekreunde zich niet om rechten en belangen der bewoners dier koloniën, doch uitsluitend om voor eigen belang zo goed mogelijk van de

<sup>183</sup> All articles containing the concept *Nederland* for the *De Waarheid* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Zwart wit’ in: *De Telegraaf* 09-10-1965.

liquidatie af te komen. Gravenhage, MR. L. VAN HEIJNINGEN. Namens de dwazen van rechts en misschien ook wel van links.<sup>185</sup>

What may be concluded on the basis of the concepts *Indonesië* and *Nederland* is that *De Telegraaf* clearly sided with the former colonials. Criticism on the Dutch past as well as the current (colonial) position in the east was shunned. Those who actively participated in actions against militarism and colonialism received extensive coverage in *De Telegraaf*. Not because they received ideological backing from *De Telegraaf* but because of the methods these activists employed. From a sensationalist point of view these actions provided ideal ‘ammunition’. The actions (or happenings, to speak in the vocabulary of the Provo movement) were executed with a lot of bravura and demanded a strong response from those who disagreed with their goals and perceptions.

I propose to shift our focus to the recurring concept *grote*, appearing on the concept map of *De Telegraaf* and *De Waarheid*. Judging by the content of the articles found for the concept *grote*, the following stands out. The concept *grote* in *De Telegraaf* included twelve articles. Many of these were centred on the actions against the Van Heutsz monument. The rising criticism that was expressed by movements like the Provos triggered a fierce response in *De Telegraaf*. *De Telegraaf* expressed disbelief at prof. Nagel defending these youngsters. The young, argued *De Telegraaf*, were not aware of the career and circumstances of Van Heutsz. *De Telegraaf* wrote:

‘In Amsterdam hebben enkele jongeren, die zich Provos noemen, het Van Heutsz-monument beklad. Dat kon natuurlijk niet anders. Nadat in Zwolle tijdens de behandeling voor de politierechter de bedrivers van een overeenkomstige daad grote publiciteit hadden gekregen doordat een hoogleraar in het strafrecht te Leiden als getuigedeskundige hun handelingen trachtte goed te praten, wilde men in Amsterdam uiteraard niet achterblijven. De jongeren, die dit doen, weten zeer waarschijnlijk niets van de geschiedenis. Zij zijn uit op een rel en die krijgen ze dan ook.’<sup>186</sup>

In response to Nagel, *De Telegraaf* wrote that; it is unacceptable and incomprehensible that a professor expressed such an opinion. It shows great disregard for the life and career of Van Heutsz. He is obsessed by the wrongs of Van Heutsz, mistakes that were not systematically

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<sup>185</sup> ‘Wat andere er van denken; wrok? In: *De Telegraaf* 13-08-1969.

<sup>186</sup> ‘Bekladders’ in: *De Telegraaf* 14-09-1965.

executed and that may always be encountered in times of war. Nor does Nagel show any regard for the great work the Dutch did in their colonies. The abuse of ones own past is a practice that does not deserve any respect or support. The professor is therefore, rightfully, only supported by some rioting youth. These youngsters kept on protesting against anything that involved the Van Heutsz monument and *De Telegraaf* kept paying attention to these conflicts. For instance, *De Telegraaf* wrote about these youngsters again when they disturbed a wreath laying ceremony at the Van Heutsz monument organized by *De Boerenpartij* (a right-wing political party). The youngsters disrupted the ceremony by throwing smoke bombs, rioting with the police, donating a wreath commemorating all the killed Acehnese and painting a swastika on the monument and the cenotaph of Van Heutsz. The demonstrations against Van Heutsz and against the Van Heutsz monument were organized along several political lines: it was used as a protest against militarism, colonialism, Vietnam and the atomic bomb. The actions of the Provos attracted the most attention in connection with the concept *grote*. Of the twelve articles, seven talked about the happenings of the Provo movement (who were approached as terrorists and a threat to democracy and freedom).<sup>187</sup> These Provo members ironically used the same vocabulary that was against them to attack and vilify Van Heutsz. Other articles that featured the concept *grote* either reflected on the life of a former KNIL soldiers (who claimed that; those who argue against Van Heutsz are wrong. I have history on my side to prove them wrong) the last governor-general B.C De Jonge (who professed that he disliked the unveiling of the Van Heutsz-monument in Batavia because Van Heutsz was the personification of Dutch domination), New Guinea or the commemoration of war victims (the 4<sup>th</sup> of May).<sup>188</sup>

If we look at the concept *grote* in the communist newspaper *De Waarheid*, what stands out is that none of the articles even mentions the actions of the Provos. Whereas the Provos claimed to be anarchists, inspired by and defending the ideals of the radical left, *De Waarheid* ignores the actions of the Provos completely. It seems strange that *De Telegraaf*, a newspaper that has no ideological ties with the political left, did pay a considerable amount of attention to the Provo movement and *De Waarheid* did not. If we look at the content of the articles that featured the concept *grote*, it seems that they were more concerned with the multinationals

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<sup>187</sup> *De Telegraaf* 13-03-1967, 14-09-1965, 13-08-1969, 02-09-1965.

<sup>188</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *De Telegraaf* 1964-1969 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

such as Shell and the anti-communist policies in western countries (most notably directed against the Soviet Union). The number of newspaper articles was limited and the content of the articles is comparable (if not identical) to those under the concept *Indonesië*.<sup>189</sup> Given its limited use and questionable usability for this research, I will skip the review of the concept *grote* for *De Waarheid*.

As was the case for the concept *grote* - useless for the analysis of the portrayal of Van Heutsz in *De Waarheid*, - the same can be said for the concept *goed*. This has to do with the fact that only 28 articles make up the complete sub-corpus for *De Waarheid*. Thus, as a consequence of such a small selection, articles found for one concept quite often also feature an other concept. If we look at the content of the articles that include the concept *goed*, we may conclude that the articles that feature *goed* are comparable, if not identical, to those described for the concept *grote* and *Indonesië*.

The concept *goed* in newspaper *De Tijd De Maasbode* may also be regarded as irrelevant. It only featured in three articles, none of which discussed the Van Heutsz monument or Van Heutsz.<sup>190</sup>

The concept *goed* for *De Arbeiderspers* featured thirteen articles. These thirteen articles can roughly be split up in two groups: those discussing the actions of the Provos and those discussing the Van Heutsz regiment. The largest group discussed the Van Heutsz regiment and shall therefore not be discussed in this research. Only two articles discuss Van Heutsz and colonialism directly. The first article has already been discussed in connection with the concept *Indonesië*. This article started out by saying that in Van Heutsz's days there were hardly any Indonesian nationalists. This article also states that Van Heutsz became a political symbol for resisting a policy of 'weakness' vis-à-vis the Indonesians. He became the symbol of the resistance against the colonial programs of the leftish-liberals and socialists in the Netherlands as well as against any claims that the 1930s' were not the 1900s'. The Van Heutsz monument was meant to symbolize the newly forged national unity in spirit. The other article discussed the downfall of colonialism. It blamed the colonialist for all the sorrow and claimed that the Dutch were long past the idea of owning colonies. This article claimed that

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<sup>189</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *De Waarheid* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>190</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *De Tijd De Maasbode* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

the days of J.P. Coen and Van Heutsz were over. The near future would show that, along democratic lines, colonialism and fascism would be condemned without any hesitation. The concept *goed* in this article was used to express that ‘*De Tijden van J.P. Coen, Van Heutsz, Van Colijn en van Welter zijn voorgoed voorbij*’.<sup>191</sup> The last article that had any connection with Van Heutsz was an article that discussed the legal course of action of the Provo activists who tried to blow up the Van Heutsz monument. The article outlined the possible indictments and claimed that two experts were to be appointed to investigate the case.<sup>192</sup>

The next concept I propose to discuss is the concept *staat*. This concept may be found on the concept maps of *De Telegraaf* and *De Arbeiderspers*. For *De Telegraaf* only one relevant article featured the concept *staat*. This article discussed the legal proceedings against the Provo activists who had tried to blow up the Van Heutsz monument. It used the concept *staat* to define the maximum punishment for their actions: 15 years in prison.<sup>193</sup>

The concept *staat* in *De Arbeiderspers* featured a considerably larger selection. The concept *staat* featured in 12 articles. Of these articles only four discussed Van Heutsz or the Van Heutsz monument. The articles that discussed Van Heutsz were a reaction to the book written by Paul van ‘t Veer. Because Van ‘t Veer approached Van Heutsz historically, trying to position him in a historical context without echoing the opinion of the day, the readers of the socialist newspapers responded strongly. Van ‘t Veer argued in his book that Van Heutsz was not as bad as he was made out to be. Van ‘t Veer claimed that Van Heutsz acted with the best intentions using the best methods at his disposal. The readers responded in the following vein.

‘Hoe kan een krant zich socialistisch noemen als zij artikelen plaatst als dat over Van Heutsz, die de kwaaieste niet zou zijn? Afgezien van het feit dat maar weinig mensen wel de kwaaieste zijn [...] gaat het artikel ervan uit dat het kolonialisme zedelijk en moreel aanvaardbaar is, getuige o.a. de terminologie ‘rebellen’, ‘zorgenlijke Nederlandse hand’, ‘pacificatie’; uitdrukkingen die je in Elsevier zou verwachten. De suggestie dat de onfluisteraars van- Van Heutsz (prof; -Nagel o.a.) niet genoeg van de situatie in Atjeh afweten, is een dooddoener en

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<sup>191</sup> ‘Meneer de Redacteur’ in: *Het Vrije Volk* 09-08-1962.

<sup>192</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>193</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the *De Telegraaf* 1960-1970 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

bovendien onjuist.<sup>194</sup>

While the first response emphasises the traditional socialist's view, reminding the newspaper of its ideological roots, the second reader wrote:

‘Mij trof dezer dagen het stuk van Paul van 't Veer over Van Heutsz. Hij schrijft: generaal Van Heutsz was de kwaadste niet, en men moet eerst meer van Atjeh afweten, zelfs prof. Nagel. Wij weten dus nu bij wie we in de leer moeten gaan om onze kennis van de geschiedenis te verbeteren. Wat mij betreft moet dat misschien wel, ik ben al 60 jaar van school af. De aanleiding voor het artikel was de veroordeling van 2 studenten in Drente, die bij het standbeeld van Van Heutsz een bord hadden geplaatst en in Assen tot 50 gulden veroordeeld werden, dit na aangifte door een dochter van Van Heutsz.’<sup>195</sup>

These readers resisted the prosecution of the protesters against the Van Heutsz monument. They ironically promised that they would not place signs in Hoorn to condemn the actions of J.P. Coen. ‘A fine does not appeal and I might face public humiliation for criticizing our own history’. While the writings of Van 't Veer were a thorn in the eye of the readers and the prosecution of the protesters was strongly rejected by the readers, the journalists writing for *De Arbeiderspers* were less outspoken about the prosecution. The article that mentioned the prosecution of the protesters called the verdict, a fine of 50 guilders, down to earth. The journalist remarked that the lawsuit was more interesting than the actions of these two youngsters. They made such a claim because of the statements of prof. W.H. Nagel. The journalist agreed with the statements of Nagel and questioned the legitimacy of certain monuments and statues. The article acknowledged that:

‘Wat de jongelui in Coevorden hebben gedaan is fout: Onheutsz gedrag. Minzaam wees prof. Nagel erop dat er blijkbaar verschil is tussen over Van Heutsz schrijven en op Van Heutsz schrijven. Het eerste staat zelfs een bekroning niet in de weg, zoals hij uit ervaring kon meedelen. De rechter vond het geklad op het monument toch smaadschrift. Als wij de hartstochten van de vorige eeuw gaan ophalen, blijven er weinig standbeelden in Nederland onbeschreven. Er plegen geen monumenten te worden opgericht voor hen, wier leven geen

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<sup>194</sup> ‘Kwaadste niet’ in: *Het Vrije Volk* 23-09-1965.

<sup>195</sup> ‘Kwaadste Niet’ in: *Het Vrije Volk* 17-09-1965.

tegenspraak heeft gewekt.<sup>196</sup>

*De Arbeiderspers* portrayed the Provo youth as victims and published articles that described in great detail the lives, actions and the prosecution of members of the Provo movement; Nico van Apeldoorn and Rob Stolk. In the *Arbeiderspers* the Provos found a sounding board for their ideological struggle against authority. They were given a platform to explain their views on society and were given the chance to explain to the readers what they understood by anarchism. I have selected a selection of an article that expressed their support for the Provo movement.

‘De ontwikkeling van deze zomer, het optreden van de Provos, heeft mij zeer verrast. Ik kende Roel van Duyn, [...]: Provos zijn een groep die helemaal binnen de anarchistische tradities valt. Het zijn niet direct mijn opvattingen, maar ik erken dat zij volledig het recht hebben zich anarchisten te noemen.[...] Er zijn hele typische parallellen. Toen het eerste nummer van Provo was uitgekomen, heb ik nog eens oude nummers van De Moker bekeken, een jongerenblad uit de jaren '20, en ook Alarm, het blad van Constandse. Daarin kom je precies dezelfde woorden tegen. Dat was ook een groep die zich richtte tot de niet-gevestigden, tot de principiële ' non-conformissten, in de hoop dat die de zaak in beweging zouden kunnen brengen. Dat doen de Provos ook heel bewust, die richten zich tot de nozems. Het verschil met de mensen van De Moker is, dat die wel een enorm geloof hadden in het proletariaat. Dat hebben deze jongens niet. Aan de andere kant sluiten de Provos aan bij een heel andere anarchistische traditie, die van de groepjes, - die onderling al proberen iets van hun idealen te verwezenlijken. [...] Wat deze jongens enorm dwars zit, dat is: het onrecht dat er gebeurt. De maatschappij die zich niet aan zijn eigen rechtsnormen houdt. De politie, die maar invallen doet op nauwelijks bestaande rechtsgronden. Veroordelingen op heel vage artikelen. [...]Die happening! bij het Lieverdje zeggen mij overigens niets, ik doe er niet aan mee. Maar die actie tegen Van Heutsz vind ik weer wel zinvol’<sup>197</sup>

*Staat* in these articles was used in a political context. What might be called striking is that the social democrats chose to defend the perspectives of the Provos, and even connecting them with the history of the political left by comparing them with *De Moker*, whereas the more

<sup>196</sup> ‘Onbeschreven’ in: *Het Vrije Volk* 03-09-1965.

<sup>197</sup> ‘Rudolf De Jong: Provos zijn wel degelijk anarchisten’ in: *Het Vrij Volk* 13-10-1965.

radical communist newspaper *De Waarheid* kept its distance. An explanation for the neglect of *De Waarheid* for the Provo movement might well be that the Provos were just as radical as themselves. Since the communists already faced popular opposition due to cold war politics, this extreme stance of the Provos might well be seen as the reason for *De Waarheid* to keep their distance. However, this interpretation remains to be proven.

The last concept I propose to discuss is the concept *leven*. The concept *leven* featured in eight articles, of which only two are relevant for this research. These two articles both discuss the legal prosecution of two Provos; Allard J. van L. and the 21-year old student Relus ter Beek, the future Defence minister. These two Provos faced the charges of libel as discussed earlier. *Leven* in this instance was used in a sentence that expressed that there should be no monuments erected for people whose lives were controversial.<sup>198</sup>

Now that we have discussed most of the recurrent concepts for this period we are able to contextualise the concept maps of the different newspapers. From the close reading analysis of these different concepts the following conclusion may be drawn: *De Telegraaf* and *De Arbeiderspers* paid a considerable larger amount of attention to the actions of de Provos than the communist newspaper *De Waarheid* or the catholic newspaper *De Tijd De Maasbode*. If we look at the concept-map of *De Telegraaf* such a conclusion might be supported by concepts such as *jongelui*, *Olympiaplein* and *Nagel*. The same may be argued for *De Arbeiderspers*, where the concepts *Provo* and *monument* seem to confirm that this newspaper was more concerned with the actions than their ideological companion *De Waarheid* where no such concepts may be found on the concept map. The difference in approach can also be seen between *De Telegraaf* (using *jongelui*) and *De Arbeiderspers* (using *Provo*). *De Telegraaf* kept a larger distance by calling the activists '*jongelui*' and even terrorist than *De Arbeiderspers* using *Provo*.

*De Waarheid* seems to be primarily concerned with capitalist forces such as Shell, which they defined as the new frontline of their ideological war against inequality. Their arguments to counter the international capitalist system were set in a new discourse that tried to show continuity in colonial practices. Drawing on their earlier arguments that opposed Imperialism and colonialism, the communists would present those modern capitalists as neo-colonials. *De Tijd De Maasbode* on the other hand was not concerned with either of these subjects and may be regarded as reactionary. At the same time, it kept aloof from debates about the reinterpretation and repositioning of Van Heutsz.

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<sup>198</sup> All articles containing the concept *leven* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1964-1969 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

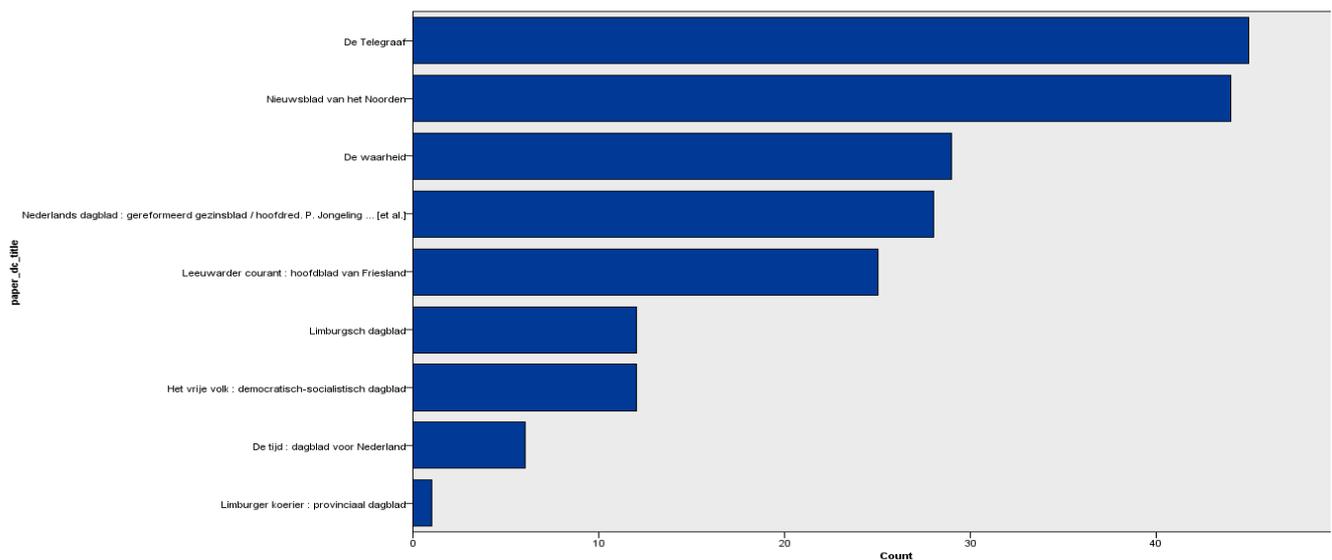
## Chapter 21 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1970-80

If we look at the distribution of newspapers in this period what stands out is that the number of newspaper titles again decreased in comparison to the previous period. It is by now very clear that there is a trend of a constant decline in attention paid to Van Heutsz.

Simultaneously, there is a trend of decline in the number of newspaper titles. Whereas in the previous period twelve newspapers may be found, in this period we are left with only nine. Also, the number of newspapers has been reduced by 50%.

### Newspaper distribution containing the search term Van Heutsz in the period 1970-80

N=202



If we look at our selected newspapers, what can be seen is that *De Telegraaf* is best represented and *De Tijd* the worst. *De Waarheid* has improved its position in comparison to the previous period and catches up with *Het Vrije Volk* (*De Arbeiderspers*).

### Concept-map Van Heutsz generated for the full sub-corpus of the period 1970-80



*Heutsz er goed af kwam*<sup>200</sup> or ‘*Charles had niet goed rondgekeken, want het monument staat er levensgroot*’.<sup>201</sup>

The concept *leven* featured in 36 articles in the full sub-corpus. Like the concept *goed*, the concept *leven* was found in a considerable number of articles that focussed on Van Heutsz. The reason why we find even more articles about Van Heutsz than we did at the concept *goed* may be explained by publication of the book by J.C. Witte entitled ‘*J.B. Van Heutsz Leven en legende*’. Since the title of the book includes the concept *leven* many articles in turn were centred on this book. From the 36 articles, nine would discuss the book by Witte, five articles dealt with Van Heutsz directly, two articles wrote about the policies of the Dutch in the Dutch East-Indies (economic and political) and one reflected on the history of the Aceh war. Thus, seventeen articles that featured the concept *leven* discussed Van Heutsz in detail and only three articles dealt with the Van Heutsz regiment. Of the remaining sixteen articles, two discussed the naming of military lecture halls after Van Heutsz; the remaining fourteen either presented the radio or television schedule or were lists of recently published books.<sup>202</sup> Thus, judging by the content of the two most prominent concepts of the concept map of the full sub-corpus, this period seems to pay a considerable amount of attention to the biography and myth of Van Heutsz, especially when compared to the previous post-war periods.

If we look at the concept *staat*, articles that featured this concept discussed more diverse subjects than the concepts discussed earlier. Still articles reflecting on Van Heutsz are better represented than in earlier post-war periods. *Staat* in these articles discuss the Van Heutsz monuments in Coevorden and Amsterdam, the book by J.C. Witte, the book by Paul van ‘t Veer, Van Heutsz’ military career and his character. *Staat*, for instance, was used to discuss how Van Heutsz guaranteed humane and magnanimous leadership after the unconditional surrender of Aceh. But *staat* was also used in a more literal sense: to describe the completion of the Dutch colonial state. Other uses of the concept *staat* discussed for example, the international relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands, the

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<sup>200</sup> ‘Leven en legende van generaal Van Heutsz’ in: *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* 02-02-1977; ‘Leven en legende van generaal Van Heutsz’ in: *Leeuwarder Courant* 31-12-1976.

<sup>201</sup> ‘Leven en legende van generaal Van Heutsz’ in: *Limburgsch Dagblad* 26-03-1977.

<sup>202</sup> All articles containing the concept *leven* for the full sub-corpus 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

regiment/company Van Heutsz, former KNIL soldiers, the commemoration of Waterloo (160 years' anniversary) etc.<sup>203</sup>

The weakest link on the concept-map of the full sub-corpus is with the concept *plaats*. The concept *plaats* primarily discussed the van Heutsz regiment and subjects directly related to the military. Other uses discussed the place of Van Heutsz in history and the position (both literally and figuratively) of the Van Heutsz monuments.<sup>204</sup>

The analysis of the concept map of the full sub-corpus showed that this period is promising for the study. During this period, the life and career of Van Heutsz were discussed in great depth, inspired by new historical studies and a renewed scholarly interest in the colonial past. The military regiment/Company Van Heutsz was less dominant in this period in comparison with the previous post-war periods even though the total number of newspapers that addressed Van Heutsz was half that of the previous period. Thus, although less was written about Van Heutsz in absolute figures, relatively speaking Van Heutsz was discussed more frequently.

Now that we have determined the usability of this period, I propose to turn our attention to the selected newspapers for this period. I will start with the analysis of the concepts *leven* and *goed*. Both concepts may be found on the concept map of *De Waarheid*. SPSS indicates that the concept *leven* includes six articles. But, after close reading it is clear that the concept only concerns two articles. SPSS mistakenly claimed to identify more articles because it identified subheadings as separate articles. If we look at the content of the concept *leven*, what can be said is that it primarily discusses the book by J.C. Witte. This article discussed Van Heutsz critically and discussed the creation of his popular image. The review argues that:

‘Colijn was al direct actief om de vanuit Nederland geuite beschuldigingen over moordpartijen en wreedheden onder tafel te werken en de conclusies van een commissie van onderzoek te verdraaien. Colijn populariseerde Van Heutsz en merkwaardig genoeg deed dat aanvankelijk ook Van Kol, die in 1897 voor de SDAP lid van de Tweede Kamer was geworden. In 1902 maakte Van Kol op eigen kosten een rondreis door Indonesië en liet zich

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<sup>203</sup> All articles containing the concept *staat* for the full sub-corpus 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>204</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the full sub-corpus 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

in Atjeh door Van Heutsz en Colijn voorlichten. Hij schreef dat 'de marechaussee voortreffelijk werk had gedaan' en de 'humane wijze' van optreden van Van Heutsz er borg voor staat, dat 'na de onvoorwaardelijke onderwerping het edelmoedige optreden komt.' Na kritiek vanuit zijn eigen partij zei Van Kol, dat hij bij de neus was genomen, maar hij had toen al aan de beeld(-mis)vorming van Van Heutsz bijgedragen. Naarmate de jaren verstreken groeide de rechtse hysterie rond de generaal, die ook anti-parlementaire stemmingen en fascistoïde activiteiten moest aanwakkeren. Het boek: 'Van Heutsz was al tijdens zijn leven een legendarische figuur, maar na zijn dood werd rond zijn persoon een mythe van orde, gezag en vastberadenheid en wat daar zoal bijhoort gewezen.'<sup>205</sup>

As the article suggests, the image of Van Heutsz was consciously created. This conscious effort to create an imperial myth has always been a point of disagreement for the communists. *De Waarheid* reminds its readers of this political stance and discusses in detail how the communists have always refuted the myth and mythicisation of Van Heutsz. Because of this political ideological stance, *De Waarheid* approaches the book by Witte on a critical note. They claim that Witte could have been more critical: approaching Van Heutsz with a larger focus on his crimes. Instead, *De Waarheid* claims that Witte is careful not to approach colonialism too negatively. He is more concerned with revealing new details about the life of Van Heutsz than with deconstructing his myth. *De Waarheid* claims that Witte contributes to his myth because he fails to avoid contributing to the creation of Van Heutsz's legend. As a result, *De Waarheid* claims that Witte draws incomplete conclusions. The second article that contained the concept *leven* discussed the economic policies and developments (in short the economic history) of the Dutch East-Indies. Apart from *De Waarheid* speaking condescendingly about 'the capitalist companies', the article focuses primarily on Colijn rather than Van Heutsz. The article argues against the practices of 'neo-colonialism' and claims that the days of Van Heutsz might be over, but capitalism and Empires are still hunting the people of the 'third world'. This last article does not discuss Van Heutsz in detail, merely mentioning him as an afterthought and is therefore not relevant for this study.<sup>206</sup>

The concept *goed* may be found in five articles in *De Waarheid*. Three out of the five articles discussed neo-colonialism. These articles argued that colonialism might be a thing of

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<sup>205</sup> 'Generaal van Heutsz en Colijn zijn rechter hand' in: *De Waarheid* 29-07-1976.

<sup>206</sup> All articles containing the concept *leven* for the *De Waarheid* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

the past but that the forces of colonialism, aided by capitalist incentives and multinationals, were still at play but in a different disguise. *De Waarheid* claimed that the media, multinationals and politics misguided the Dutch. *De Waarheid* wrote:

‘De explosies van weë liefdadigheid en onder televisielampen gaar gesmoorde medemenselijkheid zijn verflauwd tot ruitentikkertjes op de beeldbuis. En dat alles binnen veertien dagen. Er valt een merkwaardige stilte rond de kwestie-Biafra. Hier en daar hikt een actualiteiten-programma nog wat na en boert een weekblad wat restanten bewogenheid op. Daarmee is de kous dan wel af. [...] De afgang van een fors en gewetenloos ingezette campagne van jaren is een feit. Zelden is er sprake geweest van een weerzinwekkender exploitatie van anti-koloniale gevoelens van gewone, oprechte mensen voor koloniale doeleinden. Wie de moeite neemt om z’n ervaringen van de laatste tijd te registreren, nog eens naloop hoe er met al het nieuws uit en rond Nigeria gemanipuleerd is, kan er nu doorheen kijken. Het was allemaal net te heftig, net teveel opgelegd pandoer, zoals de erfgenamen van Van Heutsz en Jan Pieterszoon Coen zich te buiten gingen aan bewieroking van Biafraanse vrijheidsstrijd. Notabene met de PSP in de engelenbak en met de PvdA op de eerste propaganda-rij! [...] De nazaten van dit kolonialisme, verschanst in de moderne vestingen van Shell, Philips en Unilever, weenden dikke publiciteitstranen over wat zich in Nigeria, inclusief Biafra, afspeelde. Pro Memorie: zij waren de bedrivers en niet de bekeerlingen van twee koloniale oorlogen in Indonesië, jongens van Jan de Wit, Beel en Drees, zij waren de ondersteuners van de Amerikaanse napalmoorlog in Vietnam en niet de bestrijders daarvan. Dat gaf en geeft tot op de dag van vandaag te denken.’<sup>207</sup>

If we look at this article, there is a remarkable parallel to be drawn between their argumentation for (resisting) neo-colonialism and the arguments against colonialism and Imperial practices raised in the 1920s and 30s. Claims such as the use of propaganda and the conscious misguidance of the public in favour of colonial practices are revived. The difference is that, instead of nation states aiding the forces of capitalism, now multinationals were the force behind the colonial endeavours. Consequently, the multinationals now formed the target of communist attacks.

The other article containing the concept *goed* discussed the passing of Soekarno and the political choices of Indonesia. This article tried to show that the Indonesian people were still

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<sup>207</sup> ‘De Barrels van Biafra’ in: *De Waarheid* 23-01-1970.

oppressed and that democracy was only an illusion in Indonesia. *De Waarheid* reproached the West for supporting the Indonesian government. They argued that the people in the West (and including the Dutch) were all descendants of colonials and that they were trapped in the cycles of colonial thinking. Indeed, even though colonialism and the norms and values attached to colonialism had changed, and perceptions on good and evil had shifted, this had not resulted in the abandonment of colonialism. Instead, new norms and values resulted in neo-colonialism and this new practice was also in need of reconsideration. *De Waarheid* writes:

‘Grondwet of geen grondwet, wettig of niet: behoort de Hollandse bourgeoisie niet tot de nazaten van Jan Pieterszoon Coen en Van Heutsz, die toch ook geen wet opstelden voor zij dorp of stad gingen platbranden en een strafexpeditie uitvoerden om hun koffie- en suikerwerkhuizen (de inlander) tot de orde te roepen? [...] Het is de solidariteit van hen, die plechtstatig gruwen van lokaalvredebreuk binnen hun eigen gevestigde orde, maar die zo blijmoedig toezien hoe de vrede in dessoehs en kampongs door opperste wreedheid wordt verstoord. De regering De Jong zou nu beter hebben kunnen zwijgen: helemaal. Het gerinkel van het geld, waarmee het staatsgreepregiem in Djakarta ook vanuit Nederland in stand gehouden wordt, spreekt de enige échte taal. Van de doden niets dan goeds. [...] Zeker, dat past nu in een tijd van grote vrijmoedigheid. Zeg niet: grof. Zeg niet: smerig. Zeg niet: doortrapt. Nee, gewoon: vrijmoedig, zonder een blad voor de mond te nemen, frank en vrij dan is ook dat weer keurig gerangschikt in het fatsoen van de hedendaagse propaganda. En voor de rest.... Niets dan goeds, met hier en daar wat kwaad. Om de eerste beschouwingen wat te kruiden, en aan te passen aan de behoefte van het neo-koloniale tijdperk. De norm van goed en kwaad is opmerkelijk.’<sup>208</sup>

While such articles use the concept *goed* to question the morality of the post-colonial world, the other two articles used the concept *goed* to evaluate Dutch colonial history. *De Waarheid* tried to alter the perceptions of the colonial past by debunking ‘the colonial myth’ created by ‘colonial propaganda’. The first article that did this reflected on the book by H.J. de Graaf. *De Waarheid* claimed that this book romanticized the colonial past, contributing to the conscious

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<sup>208</sup> ‘De Aasgieren’ in: *De Waarheid* 24-06-1970.

created colonial myth about the Moluccan colonial. The second article reflected on and criticised the Dutch economic policies for the Dutch East-Indies.<sup>209</sup>

The strongest links on the concept map of *De Waarheid* are with the concepts *Nederland* and *Indonesië*. The concept *Nederland* can also be found on the concept map of *De Arbeiderspers*, while *Indonesië* is found on the concept map of *De Telegraaf*. On these concept maps, however, the links are one of the weakest. The concept *Nederland* in *De Waarheid* includes thirteen references. What should be noted is that the concept *Nederland* is very general and common, which explains the strong link between Van Heutsz and *Nederland*. As a direct consequence, the articles cover a wide range of subjects. The first five of these references occur in the same article reviewing the book by J.C. Witte discussed for the concept *leven*. *Nederland* in this article was used to indicate the country but also to ascribe an identity to certain historical processes (such as *Nederlandse kolonialisme*). There are two more articles that reflect on the colonial politics of the Netherlands, these articles criticize the history of Dutch colonialism. For instance, claims are to be found that argue; ‘*Er is als geheel niet slechts een vertekening van de doelstellingen, van de intenties van de Nederlandse aanwezigheid in de Archipel, maar ook van de uitleg van concrete gebeurtenissen.*’<sup>210</sup> The second group of articles found containing the concept *Nederland* is identical to articles that are discussed at the concept *goed*. These articles discussed neo-colonialism and the financial incentives for this new type of colonialism. The third group of articles containing the concept *Nederland* discussed the need for, the conditions of and practices of conscription; in these articles the Van Heutsz regiment/Company was central rather than the person Van Heutsz. The last article that featured the concept *Nederland* memorized the 100-year anniversary of the Bos-Atlas<sup>211</sup>

If we look at the concept *Nederland* for the concept-map of *De Arbeiderspers*, a slightly different conclusion might be drawn. The concept *Nederland* included four references to articles that discussed conscription. Since Van Heutsz is not central in these articles

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<sup>209</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the *De Waarheid* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>210</sup> ‘Modern Imperialisme’ in: *De Waarheid* 01-04-1978.

<sup>211</sup> All articles containing the concept *Nederland* for the *De Waarheid* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

(instead the Van Heutsz regiment was discussed) and the link between the concept *Nederland* and Heutsz is weak, I propose to exclude this concept from this concept-map.<sup>212</sup>

Whereas the concept *Nederland* included a wide range of articles in *De Waarheid*, if we look at the concept *Indonesië*, a single subject is discussed. The concept *Indonesië* featured eleven references. Of these eleven references, eight articles discussed Dutch colonialism, one the process of decolonisation that took shape at the end of WWII and two articles neo-colonialism (as discussed at the concept *goed*). The first three references are in the same article that discussed the book by J.C. Witte.<sup>213</sup> The fourth reference may be found in an article entitled; ‘*Onder Kuyper en Colijn; De Standaard stonk naar olie*’. In short, what this article discussed had a direct connection with their contemporary argumentation about neo-colonialism. Colonialism had always been a project of the large business companies. These colonial projects of multinationals were aided by politicians and the multinationals were able to influence and possibly control the media in their favour.<sup>214</sup>

*De Waarheid*, in great detail, discussed a wide range of articles on the history of Dutch colonialism. They did this with a critical and denouncing approach. For instance: the fifth reference of the concept *Indonesië* may be found in an article that discussed a new publication of historical sources that touched upon economic policies in the Dutch East-Indies during the heyday of Dutch colonialism. The title; ‘*Bronnenpublikatie over het Economisch beleid in Nederlands-Indië; Koloniale overheersing en feodale uitbuiting*’ immediately indicates this critical stance towards the colonial history of the Dutch.<sup>215</sup> *De Waarheid* writes reproachfully:

‘Door de eeuwen heen is het Indonesische eilandenrijk een wingewest voor het Nederlandse Imperialisme geweest en het is het nu, ondanks veranderde staatkundige verhoudingen, nog. De geschiedenis van het kolonialisme in Indonesië wordt gekenmerkt door terreur en wrede onderdrukking, van het platbranden van Jakarta (J. P. Coen in de zeventiende eeuw), via de Atjehexpedities (Van Heutsz in de negentiende eeuw), naar de koloniale oorlogen van Beeldrees. Het Nederlandse Imperialisme koloniseerde een van de rijkste gebieden van de wereld

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<sup>212</sup> All articles containing the concept *Nederland* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>213</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Waarheid* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>214</sup> ‘Onder Kuyper en Colijn; De Standaard stonk naar olie’ in: *De Waarheid* 12-05-1972.

<sup>215</sup> ‘Bronnenpublikatie over het Economisch beleid in Nederlands-Indië; Altijd het “kapitaal arme” Indonesië’ in: *De Waarheid* 16-02-1972.

en de vormen, waarin de economische overheersing plaatsvond, werden aangepast aan de loop der tijden, aan de maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen. Welke methoden er achtereenvolgens echter werden toegepast, de uitbuiting van het Indonesische volk verscherpte zich en steeds grotere winsten stroomden naar de Nederlandse en andere buitenlandse overheersers. Over die methoden van economische exploitatie rezen soms echter fel de discussies binnen de Nederlandse bourgeoisie, zoals bijvoorbeeld het geval is geweest omstreeks de eeuwwisseling. Er had toen de overgang plaats naar de imperialistische fase van het kapitalisme, die gepaard ging met een verscherpte jacht op koloniën en op de beheersing van grondstoffenbronnen en afzetmarkten in de wereld. Op Java had de periode van het cultuurstelsel met zijn dwang verbouw van gewassen (1830;1870) zichzelf overleefd en de koloniale machthebbers breidden niet alleen hun invloed uit naar de buitengewesten, maar onder invloed van de industriële revolutie in Europa, zocht de opkomende industriële bourgeoisie zijn weg in Indonesië naar de grootlandbouw en de exploitatie van minerale rijkdommen (olie en tin).<sup>216</sup>

Not only was *De Waarheid* critical towards the Dutch colonial past, the paper also criticized the process of decolonization at the end of WWII. They claimed that the politics of decolonization were shaped by hard-line politics, whereby the Dutch military leadership resorted to brutal and reprehensible methods that were comparable to the methods used by Van Heutsz. In line with their views that the colonial system was being replaced by a neo-colonial system, criticizing colonialism and the postcolonial world, they argued that the process of decolonization should be approached as:

‘De militaire top speelde een eigen rol en dreef de regering in Den Haag, die even afkerig van de Indonesische Republiek was, als deze militaire top, steeds verder op. Tekenend is bijvoorbeeld, dat Helfrich zich op 2 december 1945 met een particuliere brief richtte tot de minister van marine De Booy. De brief was één scheldpartij tegen de 'inlanders' en zo werd gezegd: 'Het staat daarom voor mij vast, dat orde en rust, en een Nederlandsch gezag in den ware zin des woords nooit hersteld kunnen worden zonder grondige afrekening met deze groep. Bij deze afrekening moeten begrepen zijn alle leiders en alle verantwoordelijke 'regeeringspersonen' die van de terreur, door deze groep uitgeoefend, gebruik maakten om hun doeleinden te bereiken.' En aan het slot van deze brief liet Helfrich geen enkel misverstand over zijn bedoelingen: 'Zooals ik reeds zei, zal alleen hard slaan redding kunnen

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<sup>216</sup> ‘Bronnenpublicatie over het Economisch beleid in Nederlands-Indië; Koloniale overheersing en feodale uitbuiting’ in: *De Waarheid* 11-01-1975.

brengen, maar dan moeten de huidige fluweelen handen vervangen worden door de ijzeren vuist van een Jan Pieterszoon Coen, Van Heutsz of Daendels. De leiding mag niet meer berusten bij hyper-ethische of half roode elementen, die een klik vormen, die de vroegere ethische politiek willen voortzetten, niet bedenkende, dat dit land in vier jaar tijds gedaald is van een modern beschaafd land tot een Wild-West niveau, dat doet denken aan de eerste exploraties in Alaska.<sup>217</sup>

Such reflections on colonialism and the process of decolonization fitted in with the newly formulated stance that argued against the new practices of neo-colonialism. Not only were the communists critical of the history of colonialism, they also intended to show that the process of decolonization had never had the intention to hand over authority. This approach of the process of decolonization fitted in with the view of the communists who recognized the shift from a colonial world to a neo-colonial world rather than to a post-colonial world. In short: the communists tried to re-interpret history in order to formulate an alternative historical narrative that fitted their modern convictions.

The conviction that the modern world had not yet abandoned colonialism was supported by multiple protest-groups that argued that Indonesia had turned into a military dictatorship. The Van Heutsz monument was used in protests against the ‘generals-dictatorship’ in Indonesia. *De Waarheid* writes for instance about such protests at the Van Heutsz monument:

‘Demonstratieve actie bij het Van Heutszmonument Vrouwen van de Nederlandse Vrouwenbeweging (NVB) hebben gisteren op de Internationale Vrouwendag het Van Heutszmonument in Amsterdam aan het oog onttrokken door een wit omhulsel met de woorden Gerwani. De Gerwani is de democratische vrouwenbeweging in Indonesië, die door het generaalsregiem van Suharto is verboden. Van Heutsz maakte omstreeks 1900 op een bloedige wijze een einde maakte aan de Atjehoorlog en was daarna een tijd gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië. [...] De Nederlandse Vrouwenbeweging wijst er, in een brief aan het gemeentebestuur van Amsterdam, op dat de regering jaarlijks miljoenen guldens steun geeft aan het Suharto-regiem. Zij vindt dit ontoelaatbaar. Daarom eist de NVB op deze 8e maart, de Internationale Vrouwendag: vrijlating van de Indonesische politieke gevangenen;

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<sup>217</sup> ‘Tweede deel publicatie archiefstukken toont aan; Legertop pressiegroep in Indonesië-conflict’ In: *De Waarheid* 23-11-1972

herstel van de democratie in Indonesië; stopzetting van de Nederlandse steun aan het Suharto-regiem.<sup>218</sup>

These protest movements used Van Heutsz as a symbol for military dictatorship and the emblem of oppression. This symbolic use of the monument fitted in seamlessly with the traditional views of the communists on Van Heutsz.

If we look at the concept *Indonesië* for the concept-map of *De Telegraaf* a different conclusion might be drawn. Whereas the concept *Indonesië* for *De Waarheid* featured many articles that discussed Van Heutsz, colonialism, decolonization and neo-colonialism, in *De Telegraaf* no such articles are found. Instead we find articles that discussed the naming of military lecture halls (one named after Van Heutsz), an anecdote about Australian soldiers visiting the Netherlands and an article about military marching music (referring to the Van Heutsz march).<sup>219</sup> Since the link between the concept *Indonesië* and Heutsz is weak, and the articles are not relevant for this research, I propose to exclude this concept.

The next concept that I propose to discuss is the concept *grote*. This concept may be found on the concept maps of *De Arbeiderspers* and *De Waarheid*. The link between the concept *grote* and Heutsz is slightly stronger for *De Arbeiderspers* than for *De Waarheid*, although the difference is marginal. If we focus on the content of concept *grote* for *De Waarheid* we find twelve references. These twelve references touch upon a very wide range of subjects, each of which have been discussed at the previous concepts: Colijn and *De Standaard*, Neo-colonialism, conscription, critical reflections on Dutch colonial history, the demonstration by the feminist movement, the Bos-Atlas, the passing of Soekarno and the creation of a military dictatorship in Indonesia. It is therefore very hard to point to a singular use of the concept *grote* or to attach much value to this concept for this research.<sup>220</sup> If we turn our attention to the concept *grote* for *De Arbeiderspers* we can point out a single subject; conscription (and the conditions of military service). In these articles, the Van Heutsz regiment/Company is central. The concept *grote* contains six references to articles, all of which discuss the conditions of conscription. Claims are to be found that argue, for instance,

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<sup>218</sup> ‘NVB op internationale vrouwendag: Geen steun voor Soeharto’ in: *De Waarheid* 09-03-1978.

<sup>219</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Telegraaf* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>220</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *De Waarheid* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

that the risks for mental health are larger for the Van Heutsz company than for any other military regiment. On the basis of some close reading I conclude that this concept is of no use for this research since all these articles discuss the Van Heutsz regiment/Company. Most of the articles that discussed the Van Heutsz Company wrote in particular about the *Van Heutsz bewakingscompagny* (one of the most discussed regiments in the military). This regiment was exposed to severe mental stress due to the fact that they were responsible for guarding a nuclear arms depot (stationed in Havelte).<sup>221</sup>

Again I have to conclude that discussing the concept *grote* for *De Arbeiderspers* is not relevant for this research. Apparently, *De Arbeiderspers* paid most of its attention to debates about the conditions of military service in the Netherlands rather than reinterpretations of Dutch colonial history. Indeed if we focus on the entire concept-map of *De Arbeiderspers* such an interpretation is supported by the use of a number of concepts: *Defensie*, *jongens*, *jong* and *Havelte*.

Leaving the concept *grote* for what it is, I will turn to the concept *staat*. The concept *staat* may be found on the concept maps of *De Waarheid* and *De Telegraaf*. The link between the concept *staat* and Heutsz is stronger for *De Telegraaf* than *De Waarheid*. If we look at the references of the concept *staat* for *De Waarheid*, two types of articles may be recognized: articles that discussed the book by J.C. Witte and articles that discussed neo-colonialism. If we turn to the concept-map of *De Telegraaf*, four references to three different articles may be found. The first two references discussed the naming of two lecture halls, the third reference discussed or commemorated the 160<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, while the last reference may be found in an article that discussed Arie Groenevelt (the last (and only?) revolutionary of the Netherlands according to *De Telegraaf*). Since Van Heutsz was not central in any of these articles I conclude that the concept has no value for this research.

If I look at the concept-map of *De Telegraaf* it seems that it discusses topics that are of interest. However, the concepts are misleading. For instance the concept *held*, (hero) - although seemingly promising- is used quite often in an article that discussed the battle of Waterloo and thus does not refer to debates about the (re) interpretation of the Van Heutsz

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<sup>221</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

personality cult or his monument. *De Telegraaf* was far more concerned with contemporary political developments (they claimed that Dutch politics applied indirect censorship, using the naming of two lecture halls to illustrate their argument) and debates about conscription. This interpretation seems to be confirmed when we turn our attention to the concept *brief* and *hand*, one of the concepts with the strongest link on this concept-map. The concept *brief* included nine references that either discussed the conditions of conscription or contemporary politics. If we look at the concept *hand*, two references referred to the article about Arie Groenevelt, one reference may be found in an article that discussed the battle of Waterloo and only one article discussed Van Heutsz; this article discussed a famous photo of Van Heutsz and used this to discuss contemporary events (the Angola war). The concept *huis* includes references to articles that discussed military marching music, Arie Groenevelt and one article that discussed the career of Colijn. Thus, based upon the close reading of the three strongest concept-links, it seems that *De Telegraaf* had different priorities.<sup>222</sup>

The last concept I propose to discuss for this period is the concept *plaats*. The concept *plaats* has a weak link with Van Heutsz and featured on the concept map of *De Waarheid*. The references found at this concept may be summarised in three subjects: neo-colonialism, the book of Witte and the conditions of conscription. *Plaats* in the articles that discussed neo-colonialism and the book of Witte was used to express where the events took place.<sup>223</sup>

Because of problems with the extraction of the newspaper *De Tijd* (it only featured 6 articles during this period), this newspaper will not be discussed for this period.

If we summarize the period 1970-80, the following conclusion might be drawn. During this period the communist newspaper *De Waarheid* was most dominant in their reflections on Van Heutsz and the Van Heutsz monument. It seems that *De Waarheid* responded primarily to scholarly work about the Dutch colonial past and discussed and reviewed this history as part of their ideological stance. *De Waarheid* tried to convince its readers of the reprehensible practices of neo-colonialism. Such practices were set in a historical narrative that tried to show a historical course that resulted in this new form of capitalist neo-colonialism. In such a narrative Van Heutsz was used as the epitome of the

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<sup>222</sup> All articles containing the concepts *held*, *brief* and *hand* for the *De Telegraaf* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

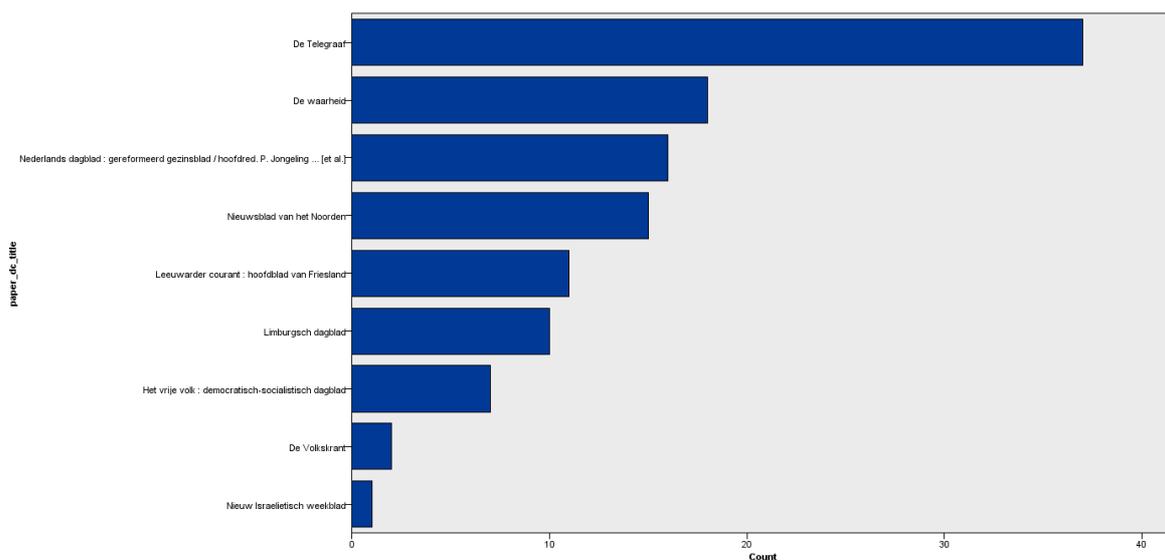
<sup>223</sup> All articles containing the concept *plaats* for the *De Waarheid* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

excesses of colonialism and seen as part of a larger historical development that led to these new practices. The other studied newspapers in this period, on the other hand, seem to ignore such interpretations and did not respond on such reinterpretations of Dutch colonial history. Instead, the name of Van Heutsz was primarily connected with the military regiment/Company named after him.

## Chapter 22 Van Heutsz in concept maps 1980-90

The last period studied for this research is the period 1980-90. As for the previous periods, I will start with the analysis of the distribution of the newspapers in this period. After we have gained some knowledge about the distribution of newspapers we will be able to contextualise and analyse the concept-map of the full sub-corpus. Following the analysis of the concept-map of the full sub-corpus the focus will shift towards the concept maps of the selected newspapers.

### Distribution of newspaper articles containing the name Van Heutsz for the period 1980-90 N=117

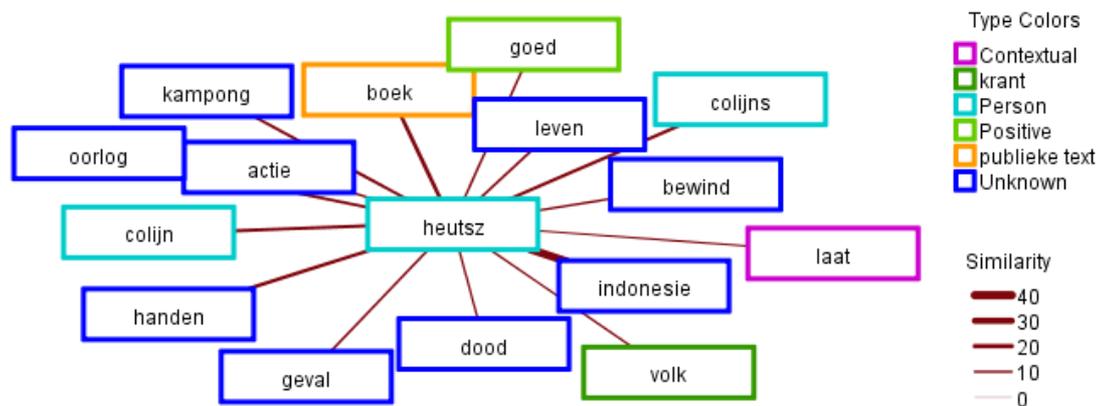


If we look at the distribution of the newspapers for this period, two things stand out. In the first place the number of newspaper titles has again decreased in comparison with the

previous period. The second point of interest is that the newspaper *De Tijd* is not included since it becomes a weekly during this period and therefore will not be discussed.

Looking at the concept-map of the entire sub-corpus what stands out is that there is a very strong link between Heutsz and the concept *Indonesië* and that three other concepts may be found that have a weaker link: *leven*, *volk* and *goed*.

### Concept map based on full sub-corpus for the period 1980-90



I will first discuss my close reading of the strongest concept-relationship: *Indonesië*. The concept includes 45 references to articles and these references may be grouped into the following subjects: ten of these articles discussed the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument by the protest group Koetoh Reh, nineteen of these references referred to articles that reflected on (scholarly works about) the Dutch colonial history, three reviewed a documentary about Colijn, three discussed the life of Colijn, one article reflected on earlier protests against the Van Heutsz monument, three articles discussed the history of the *Militaire Willemsorde* and the remaining articles are not of interest to this research.<sup>224</sup> What is remarkable is that, in comparison to the earlier periods, we see an increase in literature (reviews) that discussed Dutch colonial history. This finding is not only based on the close reading of the concept *Indonesië*, it is also ventilated in one of the newspapers, the *Nederlands Dagblad*:

<sup>224</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the full sub-corpus 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

‘Nederlandsch-Indië werd in 1949 voltooid verleden tijd. Dat was voor de meeste Nederlanders een pijnlijke ervaring. Gedurende twintig jaar wenste men niet aan dat verleden herinnerd te worden. Langzamerhand kwam er daarna een kentering en op het ogenblik is de belangstelling voor dit koloniale verleden bijzonder groot. Een belangstelling die zich in de boekwinkels gemakkelijk laat aflezen aan de groeiende rij boeken die zich op dit terrein presenteren.’<sup>225</sup>

This finding seems to be supported when we turn our attention to the concept *goed*. The concept *goed* entails 24 references. Eight discuss the literature about Dutch colonial history, five refer to the actions of Koetoh Reh, one article discusses the history of the *militaire willemsorde*, one article reflected on the decolonization of Indonesia, one discussed Colijn, one the current situation of Indonesia (revolts on the Molucca Islands) and the remaining five articles are irrelevant to this research. A similar conclusion can be drawn for the concept *leven* and *volk*. Indeed, if we look at the other concepts of the concept-map of the full sub-corpus the concepts; *boek*, *Colijn*, *Colijns*, *actie*, *bewind* and *kampong* seem to confirm my analysis for this concept-map.<sup>226</sup>

Now that I have determined the content of the full sub-corpus, I propose to turn our attention to the selected newspapers for this period. Looking at the concept maps of this period, what stands out is that the concept-map of *De Arbeiderspers* seems to discuss just one or two subjects. If we turn our attention to the distribution of the newspapers in this period, indeed we find that just a few newspaper articles are included for *Het Vrije Volk*. I thus propose to start with discussing the concept-map of *De Arbeiderspers*, in particular the concepts *grote*, *Nederland* and *Indonesië*.

To start with the concept *grote*. The concept *grote* contains three references to articles, two of which discussed the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument in Amsterdam by the protest group Koetoh Reh. *Grote* in this case was used to describe the strength of the explosion. Koetoh Reh was supposedly a *kampong* (Indonesian settlement) that was completely eradicated under the command of Van Heutsz. The protest group claimed to have bombed the monument in protest against the newly signed co-operation treaty between the

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<sup>225</sup> ‘Koloniaal leven in soorten historisch nieuws door Dr. G.J. Schutte’ in: *Nederlands Dagblad* 08-07-1980.

<sup>226</sup> All articles containing the concept *goed* for the full sub-corpus 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

Dutch and the Indonesian government. Koetoh Reh claims that the Dutch government supported the military dictatorship by signing the treaty. Koetoh Reh also argues that the protest was aimed against the undemocratic prosecution of foreigners and political refugees in Indonesia. The monument was bombed using dynamite and a child was hurt by the explosion. The person responsible (Rene R.) was charged with acts of terror and the Dutch prosecutor demanded a punishment of 15 years imprisonment. The protester, Rene R called himself a revolutionary and the group Koetoh Reh claimed to have proven that there was a necessity for the use of revolutionary force. The criminal proceedings attracted a great deal of attention; the number of visitors wishing to attend the trial was too numerous. Many had to witness the trial from the pavement in front of the courthouse. The last article discussed the military status and readiness of the Dutch army just before the Second World War.<sup>227</sup>

The concept *Indonesië* has the strongest link with Van Heutsz. If we look at the concept *Indonesië* three references are found; one about the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument by Koetoh Reh, one about a documentary about Colijn (that discussed inter alia the mutiny on the HNLMS *De Zeven Provinciën*) and one about the military conditions of the Dutch army just before WWII. The concept *Nederland* contains two references, one referring to the documentary about Colijn and the other about the conditions of the Dutch Army before the start of WWII. With this knowledge, the concept map of *De Arbeiderspers* is quite obvious, the concepts *wereldoorlog*, *provincien* and *muitterij* fit tally with the above analysis.<sup>228</sup>

The three concepts discussed for the concept-map of *De Arbeiderspers* may also be found on the concept maps of *De Waarheid*. For *De Telegraaf* two of these concepts, *Nederland* and *grote*, are also to be found on the concept map. The concept *Atjeh* may also be found on both concept maps. I propose to start with the analysis of the three concepts previously discussed for *De Arbeiderspers* and end with the analysis of the concept *Atjeh* for *De Waarheid*. *De Telegraaf* will be discussed after that.

To start with the analysis of the concept *grote* for *De Waarheid*. The concept contains five references, four of these discussed (the literature about) Dutch colonial history and one

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<sup>227</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>228</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *Het Vrije Volk* 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

discussed the history of the communist party in China and Indonesia. Two of these four articles discussing the Dutch colonial history reviewed a saga written by Pramoudya Ananta Tour. These books were written about the awakening of Indonesian nationalism. *De Waarheid* wrote:

‘De eeuwwisseling was voor Indonesië een roerige tijd. De kolonialisten waren bezig hun heerschappij te verstevigen. Zo moest het gehele eiland Sumatra niet alleen vanwege de tabaks en rubbercultuur, maar vooral om zijn rijke oliebronnen onder hun beheer worden gebracht. Zij stuitte daarbij vooral op tegenstand in Atjeh en de beruchte generaal Van Heutsz werd aangewezen om die tegenstand te onderdrukken. Van Heutsz gebruikte twee belangrijke wapens: het kanongebulder, dat Atjeh teisterde en de Islamoloog Prof. dr. Snoeck Hurgronje, die moest pogen de plaatselijke Islamgeleerden te winnen, want de Islam was een belangrijke haard voor verzet. [...] Dit militair geweld kon het nationaal ontwaken niet onderdrukken en op Java groeide, met de opkomst van Indonesische intellectuelen en het ontstaan van een arbeidersklasse, het anti-koloniale bewustzijn. Pramoedya laat zien, dat daarbij goede contacten ontstonden met democratisch gezinde Nederlanders, voorstanders van een ethische politiek en socialisten. Men merkt duidelijk, dat enkele Indonesiërs, die door de geschiedenis vergeten waren geraakt, maar die in die tijd voorlopers zijn geweest, in romanfiguren hun juiste plaats wordt gegeven. Tot hen behoort Tirta Adhi Soerjo (1880-1918), de grondlegger van de Sarekat-Islambeweging, een beweging die een grote politieke rol ging spelen en in haar beginperiode socialistische ideeën bekendheid gaf.’<sup>229</sup>

The saga about Indonesian nationalism was recognized as a (worthy) subject of fiction while also being very close to historical reality. The writer often used historical figures such as Van Heutsz or referred to historical actors using pseudonyms. *De Waarheid* repeatedly tries to show how the political movements of the left were actively involved with (and maybe even the cause of) Indonesian claims to independence. They claimed that they were one of the political ideologies that aided the awakening of Indonesian nationalists and that they (rightfully) supported the suppressed colonials. Furthermore, they intended to show that in Indonesian literature the nationalists, who were drawn from the public eye, finally received the proper recognition. Apart from arguing that the political left supported the cause of the Indonesian nationalists, *De Waarheid* also challenges the popular interpretation of colonial

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<sup>229</sup> ‘Stappen voorwaarts in ‘nationaal ontwaken’ in: *De Waarheid* 27-11-1985.

history and especially the Dutch colonial epochs. *De Waarheid* not only contests the position of Van Heutsz, but also refutes the popular interpretation of other colonial heroes, in particular J.P. Coen. *De Waarheid* wrote:

‘Atjehstraat, Sumatrastraat en Javastraat, we lopen er dagelijks doorheen. Elke stad heeft wel een Indische buurt, Nederland heeft een koloniaal verleden. Dat verleden, met zwarte en bloedrode bladzijden, mogen we niet vergeten. In de Utrechtse wijk Lombok zijn straten vernoemd naar Jan Pieterszoon Coen en Van Heutsz, als eerbewijs. Jan Pieterszoon Coen, nu 400 jaar geleden geboren, is echter evenals Van Heutsz een omstreden figuur. Langzaam wordt duidelijk dat zijn koloniale politiek wordt gekenmerkt door massale slachtingen ter vergroting van de macht van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, ter meerdere eer en glorie van het vaderland.’<sup>230</sup>

This article makes use of identical claims to characterise Coen and Van Heutsz. It argued that the monument of Coen in Batavia was rapidly taken down from its pedestal after the Indonesian independence. As was the monument of Van Heutsz in Batavia, which underwent the same fate. The article claims that:

‘Kort na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, toen de Indonesische vrijheidsstrijd tot grote ontplooiing was gekomen, werd in Jakarta het standbeeld van Jan Pieterszoon van zijn voetstuk gehaald en ergens op een plek achteraf aan de vergetelheid prijsgegeven. De Indonesische vrijheidsstrijders vernietigden daarmee een beeld dat als symbool had gegolden van de koloniale overheersing over het eilandenrijk in de archipel.’<sup>231</sup>

In the same way that Coen was held responsible for laying the foundations of the Dutch Empire, Van Heutsz was held responsible for its completion. Both figures, however, faced the same critique and were repositioned on the basis of the same arguments and set in a comparable narrative; they were fanatics, murderers, criminals, terrorists, etc. In these articles, *grote* was used to illustrate the grand revelation of Indonesian nationalism. The last reference to the literature on the Dutch colonial history is a review of the book by Vincent Kuitenbrouwer. *De Waarheid* for a large part agreed with the analysis of Kuitenbrouwer and used this analysis to support their claims about modern Imperialism and neo-colonialism. *De Waarheid* argues:

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<sup>230</sup> ‘In Indiën connen wy nyet bestaan sonder autoriteyt ende macht’ in: *De Waarheid* 17-01-1987.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibidem*.

‘Kuitenbrouwer gaat er daarbij terecht van uit dat dit streven niet beperkt was (en is) tot industrieel onontwikkelde rijke grondstoffengebieden (koloniën), maar in feite ook tussen industriële staten onderling. Er is dan ook sprake van onderlinge rivaliteit en concurrentie; imperialistische tegenstellingen zoals zij door marxisten worden genoemd. Zij zijn er tot op de dag van vandaag, nu geconcentreerd in drie centra; Japan, de Verenigde Staten en West-Europa, dat overigens onderling verdeeld is. Het bereik van het Imperialisme is als gevolg van de opkomst van antikoloniale bewegingen, en het ontstaan van jonge, onafhankelijke staten ingeëngd. [...] In de studie is veel aandacht voor de gruwelijke verovering van Atjeh (1880-1904). Kuitenbrouwer schrijft het gevecht om koloniën mede toe aan heersend nationalisme. Ten onrechte, tenzij men ervan uitgaat dat hij het begrip nationalisme onvoldoende definieert. Zelf geeft hij bovendien aan, dat economische factoren een belangrijke rol spelen en het is jammer, dat bijvoorbeeld Herman Gorter, die daarover als theoreticus in de Hollandse Marxistische School veel behartenswaardigs heeft geschreven in de geraadpleegde bronnen ontbreekt.’<sup>232</sup>

The communists used such scholarly literature to give their claims a theoretical framework. They were mostly critical of newspapers that discussed such studies. However, for the reason mentioned above, they were, at the same time, interested in such works.<sup>233</sup>

If we look at the concept *Indonesia* for *De Waarheid*, we find eight references. Four of these have been discussed at the concept *grote*. What may be added to the analysis of the articles that have been discussed earlier is that *De Waarheid* not only used *Indonesië* but also adopted the old colonial names of *Nederlandsch-Indië* and *Indië* when they discussed the former colony. The use of these colonial names by the communist newspaper was not encountered in the earlier periods. It seems that *De Waarheid* copied these names from the articles or books they discussed. If we look at the other four references, one reference concerns a different article that also discussed the saga about Indonesian Nationalism written by Toer. This article seems to focus especially on the characters in the book ‘that represented real Indonesians’. *De Waarheid* writes with amazement that:

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<sup>232</sup> ‘De opkomst van het moderne Nederlandse imperialisme’ in: *De Waarheid* 20-12-1986.

<sup>233</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *De Waarheid* 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

‘Tirto, zo weet P. A. Toer met overtuiging aan te tonen, was betrokken bij vrijwel alle eerste aanzetten tot een moderne nationalistische beweging in Nederlands-Indië, vaak zelfs als initiator. Zijn moderne idolen waren: Multatuli, de held van iedereen die het goed met den inlander meende, van bevoogdende ethicus tot radicaal-socialist, en, wellicht verrassend, Van Heutsz. Van Heutsz, die met zijn Korte Verklaring goedschiks danwel kwaadschiks (Atjeh) de hele archipel onder het Nederlandse bestuur had gebracht bewonderde hij omdat hij een klap had uitgebracht tegen het feodalisme in Indonesië en een eenheid van de archipel gesmeed had. Ook ethici als Van Deventer en Van Kol juichten, ondanks hun afkeer van de oorlogsgruwelen, deze ontwikkeling toe. Bovendien voerde Van Heutsz als Gouverneur Generaal een liberale politiek; hij verving de preventieve perscensuur door een censuur achteraf, hetgeen een krantenman als Tirto goed uitkwam.’<sup>234</sup>

*De Waarheid* contextualised this interpretation about Van Heutsz (which did not fit in with the communist exclusively negative portrayal of Van Heutsz) by showing that it was reasonable for Titro to adopt such a view and that socialist politicians such as Van Kol also recognized these developments as positive. The second article discussed the process of decolonization. The military and political choices made in the period 1945-1950 are described and discussed. *De Waarheid* writes that the actions of the Dutch could well be interpreted as ‘war crimes’ and that this interpretation was gaining increasing support. The – often heard-objection to this, that extreme violence was committed by both side was explained away by De Wit, claiming that the Indonesians had no other choice. As the Dutch colonial past, especially the actions of Van Heutsz had demonstrated.<sup>235</sup>

The last article that reflected on the colonial history of the Netherlands focused primarily on Idenburg. This article intends to show how Idenburg consciously repressed political movements in Indonesia. Since Idenburg is central in this article (Van Heutsz is nothing more than a side track) I propose to skip the analysis of this article. The last article is concerned with contemporary politics (the intent to refuse entry to Indonesian nationals wishing to participate in Dutch politics as representatives for the communist party) and compares the current situation with a similar event in history (the appointment of an Indonesian in the communist party in the 1930s). This article, however, has no value for this research and will not be discussed.

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<sup>234</sup> ‘Tirto Adhisoerjo, een overgangsfiguur’ in: *De Waarheid* 04-03-1989

<sup>235</sup> ‘Nederland kon de republiek militair en politiek niet uitschakelen’ in: *De Waarheid* 30-04-1988.

The concept *Nederland* includes six references. Four of these have been discussed earlier (Idenburg, contemporary politics, Kuitenbrouwer and the article about Coen). One of the two articles that has not yet been discussed, dealt with the planned stationing of cruise missiles in the Netherlands (this was a result of an agreement with the US). This debate is not of any use for this research and will thus not be discussed in further detail. In this article, however, there is one element that is of interest: the Van Heutsz monument was used in a protest against the militarization of Dutch society. Van Heutsz was used as a symbol of continuing militarization; the action was attributed to *totaalweigeraars* (conscientious objectors) who were imprisoned. The second article reflected on the life and career of Colijn, and thus is also of no use for this research. The concept *Atjeh* will not be discussed for *De Waarheid*. This concept included four references (the books by Toer, and books on Colijn and the history of Communism in Asia), all of which have already been discussed at the previous concepts. It is of course obvious that *Atjeh* referred to the Aceh War. Surprisingly, no references are found concerning the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument. Again it seems that the communists refrained from discussing protests against the Van Heutsz monument and instead seem to discuss Van Heutsz and colonialism only on a theoretical level (based on literature), echoing their earlier convictions about Van Heutsz and colonialism. The communists claimed to be the only ones who recognize a new form of Imperialism/neo-colonialism and tried to convince their readers of this interpretation. As in the early days (the communists opposed colonialism and the practices of Imperialism, adopting a discourse and an approach that would later be echoed in the post-colonial era by other political representatives), the communists resisted contemporary forms of, what they believed was a continuation (in a new and disguised form) of Imperialism.<sup>236</sup> It remains to be proven if the communists are again adopting an ‘avant la lettre’ interpretation of ‘modern-day Imperialism’.

The concept *Atjeh* for *De Telegraaf* includes four passages to articles. The first two references address the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument by Koetoh Reh. The difference in reporting this event with *De Arbeiderspers* is that *De Telegraaf* would refer to the monument of Van Heutsz as ‘*het monument van de legendarische generaal Van Heutsz*’<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> All articles containing the concept *Nederland* for the *De Waarheid* 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>237</sup> ‘Vier jongentjes aan de dood ontsnapt’ in: *De Telegraaf* 19-08-1984.

whereas *Het Vrije Volk* would never refer to Van Heutsz using the word legendary. A second difference is that *De Telegraaf* claims that Van Heutsz was not involved in the actions against the *kampong Koetoh Reh* but that this event happened under the responsibility of general Van Daalen. *Het Vrije Volk* did not distance Van Heutsz from this event at all. The third article discussed the life and career of Colijn, Van Heutsz merely being a sidetrack and is therefore of no use for this research. The last article discussed claims by Bolkestein. Again Van Heutsz is merely a small reference and thus this article has no value for this research.<sup>238</sup>

The second concept, the concept *grote*, has the strongest link with Heutsz in *De Telegraaf*. This concept includes seven references to articles. Of these seven references none are useful for this research (it discusses military nicknames, Bolkestein, The grandfather of Mies Bouwmans (who wrote the Van Heutsz march) in a program about military marching music, the consequences of all of the actions of Koetoh Reh and Colijn). There is one reference that seems valuable. This is an article that discusses the consequences of the protest actions by Koetoh Reh (the bombing of the Van Heutsz monument was one of them). However this article only discusses the consequences of the actions for the protesters and thus does not pay any attention to the intentions to bomb the Van Heutsz monument. This article is therefore of no use for this research. Likewise, if we look at the articles that are referenced for the concept *Nederland*, none of these seem to be valuable. There are three references; one referred to an article about Bolkestein and two about Colijn.<sup>239</sup>

In evaluating the analysis of the concept maps for this period, the following conclusion might be drawn. The socialist newspaper *Het Vrije Volk* paid the most attention to the actions of the protest group Koetoh Reh. They used this protest group and others in order to reposition their earlier claims about Van Heutsz in a modern context. *De Waarheid* on the other hand did not respond to such events but rather responded to recently published literature. They did this in order to show their readers that; firstly, they had been right all along, we ‘the communists’ have argued this since the start of colonialism and secondly, that such practices were still taking place, opting for an ideological war against what they perceived as ‘neo-colonialism’. *De Telegraaf* refrained from taking part in a debate that tried to popularize a reinterpretation of colonial history that was foregrounded by the press of the

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<sup>238</sup> All articles containing the concept *Indonesië* for the *De Telegraaf* 1980-1990 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

<sup>239</sup> All articles containing the concept *grote* for the *De Telegraaf* 1970-1980 found by the key search Van Heutsz.

political left. Whereas *De Telegraaf* had responded fiercely to such claims in the previous periods, in this period they did not. Leaving the debate to be dominated solely by the political left. The idioms adopted by *De Telegraaf*, however, seem to suggest that they remained positive about the epic of Van Heutsz.

## Conclusion

The first part of the conclusion aims to reflect on the tools used for this research; the N-gram viewer, word clouds and concept maps. I will primarily elaborate on the use of concept maps and evaluate the strategies employed in this research. The second part of this conclusion will address the research question ‘how was Van Heutsz framed in newspapers’ and answer the question as to whether and to what extent concept maps added new approaches or understandings to the narrative of Van Heutsz. This conclusion will end with an overview that intends to assert the overall value of the digital humanities approach that was chosen for this research and hopefully add to new or better strategies and so contribute to a ‘guide’ for future use.

The tools in this research have served different purposes depending on the type of tool that has been used. The first tool that was used, the N-gram viewer, helps the researcher to determine quickly which periods are likely to be relevant for his or her research. Indeed, as the N-gram already indicated: Van Heutsz was in the limelight during his active life. The number of post-mortem articles about Van Heutsz however declined over time. This tool helped me determine that the proposed research was feasible in the intended periods. Apart from facilitating the exploration of subject intensity during certain periods, the N-gram is unable to provide the context needed for interpretation. The researcher should therefore add such contextual information in order to prevent the N-gram viewer from operating in a void.

The second tool (word clouds) deepened the exploration of the researched subject. Whereas the N-gram viewer might have suggested that articles could be found about Van Heutsz in the period following his death, the word clouds indicated that not all periods were equally useful without first filtering out disrupting sources or what I would like to call ‘background noise’. Hinting upon different subjects in which the name of Van Heutsz was used, the word clouds showed that the researcher should be aware of certain (mis) representations caused by this multi-usage of the name of Van Heutsz. Of course, such

exploration remains subject to flaws, both hand-made and by the computer. For this research, however, the word cloud was not very misleading. The periods highlighted by the word count, namely the periods 1945-49 and 1950-60, deviated from the other periods. However, such word counts can only be interpreted with the help of subject knowledge either gained from scholarly literature or in-depth knowledge of source.

SPSS Modeler 15.01 faces more challenges than the other two tools. On the one hand, SPSS is a highly complicated tool with many options to create transparency in large selections of sources, which affords the researcher some latitude. On the other hand, the complexity and level of detail that SPSS generates can be as helpful as it can be obstructing. In the first place because it requires some investment in order to be able to use the program. Even though the learning curve of the program can be high given proper guidance, fully understanding SPSS remains a challenge. In the second place, the level of detail provided by SPSS demands that the researcher is highly aware of the subject he is studying and requires a high level of literature and/or source knowledge.

These caveats have a direct relationship with the challenges that I faced with the use of concept maps. Where to start? Of course, before you can start you need to make sure that all OCR flaws are deleted. However, as soon as the ‘cleaning up’ of your concept list is finished, the real questions arise. How do I determine when a concept map is relevant or complete? More importantly, what to do with my concept list? Which leads me to the first catch 22 of this research. How do you determine, out of 5,000 or less concepts, which are valuable and which are not? Which concept to delete, fuse or keep? There are two feasible methods one could employ. 1. Take the scholarly literature as point of departure and create concepts that correspond to the literature or 2. Depart from in-depth source knowledge.

The first strategy to select and create concepts, based on existing interpretations from scholarly literature, may be problematic because it could prevent discovering new interpretations. Needless to say, each generation of historians comes up with different interpretations and explanations for historical events. Thus, relying on existing interpretations as it were blot out interpretations that may have been overlooked by others. This strategy might therefore be in danger of becoming teleological and could even create a hermeneutical circle. I will illustrate this argument in part 2 of this conclusion.

The second strategy for selecting and creating concepts, taking the sources as point of departure, therefore would seem most logical and viable. This method, however, becomes more problematic when the number of sources increases. The more comprehensive the researched subject, the harder it is to make a representative selection of sources for close reading. Of course, one could choose to perform a close reading of all the sources, but would defeat the purpose of Digital Humanities. Depending on the research intended, the researcher should make a choice. If a research project is limited enough in scope to read all the relevant sources, the research can be based entirely on close reading and make use of distant reading merely to ‘test’ the interpretations of the close reading analysis. However, the concept map would then become a tool that merely configures what we already knew. It would only serve to narrate the same story in a different manner. It does therefore not enable the researcher to tell or research entirely ‘new’ narratives and misses the point of Digital Humanities. Thus, such an approach may add some graphics in support of a research project, but does not allow the researcher to investigate larger selections of sources.

If the researcher intends to use distant reading in order to analyse larger selections of sources, a different approach should be considered. A strategy should be developed that allows the researcher to do a close reading analysis without requiring him to read all the sources. A small selection of sources should suffice. This approach best fits in with the objectives of Digital Humanities and should therefore be preferred. Faced with this challenge, I developed a strategy that allowed me to use concept maps without having to read all the sources. I decided to base my close reading analysis on concepts found on the concept maps. For the purpose of objectivity, I did not want to rely solely on the interpretations suggested by other scholars, making this strategy useless for selecting concepts for close reading. Although I was confronted by many of the sources during the structuring, I did not focus consciously enough on individual words in order to isolate concepts with a larger significance. My focus was at that time primarily on structuring the concept list. Thus I chose not to make use of hermeneutics in order to select seemingly relevant concepts for close reading.

The computational method I employed to select the concepts for close reading seemed to me the most objective method. It allowed me to select concepts that were chosen only because they were found most frequently on concept maps. The selected concepts were used for close reading. The close reading of these concepts was supposed to give me the tools to

investigate how Van Heutsz was framed. The idea behind this was that SPSS generated a concept map that allowed me to research how certain ideas or frames were most commonly linked with Van Heutsz. Thus the concept maps generated on the basis of a 'clean' concept list were to give me guidance in order to close read a selection of sources. This in turn should have provided me with answers. Did this method allow me to make a valuable analysis on the basis of concept maps? The short answer to this question is: slightly. Let me begin with outlining the advantages of using concept maps.

The close reading of the articles that were clustered around each concept allowed me to extract an image of Van Heutsz. More importantly, it allowed me to understand why Van Heutsz remained to be a relevant object for protests during certain periods. Especially from the 50s onwards the concept maps made me aware that the name of Van Heutsz featured in contemporary news items, Van Heutsz having been dead for almost thirty year then. Apparently, he fitted in with the debates dominating the 1950s and 60s. Although it could be a mere coincidence, the name of Van Heutsz could be brought in relation to debates that touched upon militarism, the nuclear arms race, conscription, military dictatorships, (neo) colonialism, suppression and war crimes.

Although some of these protests have long been part of the debates that surrounded the personality cult of Van Heutsz in his day, such as resisting colonialism and militarisms, the explanation why he remained such a usable butt for protests in later decades might be more complicated than it would seem at first sight. One of the more obvious reasons why Van Heutsz would be framed as an icon to be used for protests against colonialism in later periods may lie in the perceived role Van Heutsz played in the history of Dutch Imperialism. Other frames used for protests, such as the continuing connection between militarism and Van Heutsz, however, might have a more complicated explanation.

Of course Van Heutsz having a strong relation with the military, he had also been used as an icon to oppose militarism in the 20s and 30s. However, Van Heutsz remained a byword for militarism even after WWII. This leads to a central question: to what extent were the protesters from the 60s onwards aware of the debates going on in the 20s and 30s? Of course, these protests could be an inheritance of the counter narrative of the political left of the 20s and 30s. However, this explanation fails to explain why Van Heutsz would remain a forceful icon to resist. A possible reason for adopting this counter narrative for the post-WWII protest

movements was that it served as a method of rebelling against a previous generation. Van Heutsz was in this instance a symbol of authority of the previous (colonial) generation.

True as this maybe, the, concept maps suggested a new link between the name of Van Heutsz and militarism that was not directly related to the debates of the 20s and 30s. Instead, a link was made visible that connected contemporary military debates with the name of Van Heutsz. Even though the link between these debates and militarism remains unproven, it has suggested a possible new interpretation. It might be called convenient that the Van Heutsz regiment/company was involved in conscription and nuclear arms debates. These debates fitted in effortlessly with the protest culture of the anti-war, anti-militarism and pacifist movements that came to the fore from the mid 50s onwards, in turn inspired by the anarchist, anti-militarist protest group ‘De Moker’ of the 1920s. The Provo movement for instance, viewed in the same light as ‘De Moker’ by *Het Vrije Volk*, might well be considered to be part of these pacifist groups. This link between Van Heutsz, the military regiment/company named after him and these debates could have made Van Heutsz a reusable and even a topical target for protest movements that fitted this anti-militarist, pacifist identity during the later periods. Such a link that has not yet been recognized in the studied literature. However, even though the analysis of the selected concepts made me aware of the connection between these events and the name Van Heutsz, hard or conclusive evidence for this theory could not be provided. The concept maps directed me to this new approach, allowing me to develop this idea; they did not, however, pride me with the necessary evidence in support of this claim. Thus, aware of the lack of evidence, I tend to conclude that such contemporary debates that featured the name Van Heutsz might not have facilitated the continues link between Van Heutsz and militarism. However, neither did it break the connotations of the name of Van Heutsz with militarism.

Thus, what were the benefits of using concepts as the basis for the selection of sources used for close reading? Concepts selected from concept maps generated on a ‘filtered’ concept list without any further extensive adjustments, confronted me with large selections of articles that featured the name Van Heutsz. Consequently, I encountered the name Van Heutsz in newspaper articles that covered a very wide spectrum of subjects. Instead of doing a research based solely on articles that seem directly relevant for the intended research, now the researcher is confronted with a broader view of the researched subject. This allowed me to

make interesting new links and come up with some creative interpretations. Instead of only focussing on articles about the person J.B. Van Heutsz, this research was able to determine how the name of Van Heutsz was adapted in the news without any bias in selecting sources. It showed that the name of Van Heutsz was related to more debates than those concerning his person or his monument. Since the name of Van Heutsz featured in more than just articles written about J.B. Van Heutsz or his monument, the researcher might now be able to draw a more sophisticated conclusion. The question - how was Van Heutsz framed in the Dutch press 1924-1990? - might now be answered differently. For example: it is quite possible that researchers forgot or were unable to investigate fully how the name of Van Heutsz was used in the press and how such images affected the way the Dutch thought about Van Heutsz. It could well be argued that the wide usage of the name of Van Heutsz in the Dutch press had profound consequences for the popular image of Van Heutsz. A contemporary reader would have been confronted by a wide variety of news items in which the name of Van Heutsz featured. The approach to these news items and the subjects it discussed could well have direct consequences for the connotations the name Van Heutsz would carry. It is safe to say that the name of 'Van Heutsz,' whether it denoted the person or something else, was used to symbolise much more than just 'the great general'. Thus, the use of concept maps as basis for close reading made me aware of links between the name of Van Heutsz and contemporary debates that were found in news items.

What the digital research methodology also did was point out that each newspaper had its own reasons to discuss Van Heutsz. Other than just concluding that indeed, the press from the political left was most critical about anything related to colonialism and Imperialism, now I was also able to conclude that even within the political left there were different reasons to discuss Van Heutsz. How are we to explain these differences?

The communists primarily used newly published sources or literature to discuss the repositioning of Van Heutsz. The communists, facing cold war politics in the wake of WWII and thus a hostile political climate, felt the need to position their arguments in a broader, scholarly context. It might be argued that they chose such an approach to strengthen their claims, knowing that their claims would face popular opposition. The social democrats, on the other hand, found themselves in a more accepted political position, allowing them to make statements solely on topical events. A trend that may be recognized in the entire studied period with the notable exception of the earliest period.

Although the close reading of the selected concepts or concept maps did not provide this thesis with radically new results, the close reading analysis did provide me with the tools to conclude that the reversal of the colonial narrative after the 60s argued by Van Galen and Kuitenbrouwer may be confirmed. I would like to argue that the counter narrative of the history of Dutch Imperialism voiced by the political left found a larger base of support. However, the newspapers associated with the political left did not all voice this counter narrative the same way. The communists tried to introduce a new narrative that postulated a continuation of Dutch colonial politics in a new garb after the fall of the Dutch empire. However, this new narrative found limited support in Dutch society. On a critical note, it could be argued that there we cannot speak of a complete reversal of the Imperial narrative. The traditional supporters of Imperialism remained critical towards these attempts at a narrative reversal in the 60s, although they were less outspoken than during the imperial period. *De Telegraaf*, for instance, called the Provos terrorist and kept calling Van Heutsz ‘the legendary general’ and ‘the great general’ up until the late 80s. However, the critical claims of the political left, voiced even during the age of imperialism, might have found a larger base of support after the 60s. Aided by the second-generation colonial migrants and a regained interest in Dutch Imperial history, such perceptions found increasing support in larger sections of Dutch society. It seems that the arguments of the political left became more dominant and, also possibly, more accepted, leading to a careful shift in the popular narrative. This is not to say that the traditional narratives, especially the Imperial epics, lost popular appeal or traditional support. The fact that *De Telegraaf* and *De Tijd* would remain outspoken against the attacks on Van Heutsz, even in the post-war period, might show that we cannot speak of a complete reversal of the narrative. Rather we should speak of a popularisation of the interpretation of the political left instead. These traditionally supportive newspapers largely refrained from contributing to the repositioning of these imperial heroes, leaving it solely to the political left to do so from the 70s onwards. The second-generation colonial migrants who strengthened such a voice in the 80s aided the popularisation of the views of the political left. Whereas such critical reflections on the imperial past found a larger sounding board, the supporters of the ‘great men’ of the age of imperialism largely withdrew from this debate. Because of the lack of such a counter-voice in the press, scholars tend to conclude that there was a complete reversal of the colonial narrative. I would like to point out, however, that such a conclusion might be –mistakenly- based on the sole fact that the political left continued there efforts to reposition the Imperial narrative, while the traditional supporters of

such epics kept silent. This silence could be explained by the fact that the traditional supporters had a silent majority. It is very clear that the press traditionally belonging to the supporters of such epics did not contest and surely did not contribute to such reconsiderations after the post-war period. Thus, the extent to which we can speak of a complete reversal of the Imperial narrative is open for question and calls for more research on this subject.

Although the concept map approach used in this thesis seemed at first able to provide answers, the use of concept maps turned out to be useless for a more complicated analysis. What the approach did do, as I pointed out above, was make me aware of possible new links between the subjects of news items, the framing of the name of Van Heutsz and the image that circulated about him. I asked myself the question whether I had gained this insight because of the concepts used for close reading. The answer is no.

The concepts that were selected faced multiple challenges. In the first place, it has proven to be very difficult to determine what each and every concept represents. Not only were the concepts in some cases multi interpretable - making it hard and in some cases even impossible to determine the larger meaning of the concept- some concepts proved to be entirely useless. It was very hard to keep a clear overview of what exactly I was analysing and to put concepts in a larger perspective. After all, many concepts I selected did not present a larger picture but instead were rather ambiguous. The close reading of the selected concepts only allowed me to interpret the concept maps as a whole, enabling me to recognize and contextualise the more meaningful concepts such as *Havelte*, *onderzoek*, *Nagel*, *defensie* or *jongens*. The concept *jongens*, for instance, could be interpreted to represent articles that discussed the Van Heutsz regiment, often referred to as *onze jongens* (our boys). Thus *jongens* could represent a larger debate that may fit in with a bigger picture.

Although the selected concepts featured most frequently on the concept maps, my theory that these concepts were selected by SPSS because they represented the most central ideas that existed about Van Heutsz was wrong. Some of the concepts were simply selected by SPSS because they often featured in articles discussing Van Heutsz. The question why these concepts appeared often in articles that discussed Van Heutsz may be answered along two lines. Some of the concepts appeared often because they touched upon subjects and debates that were often associated with the name of Van Heutsz, such as Indonesia and Aceh. Other concepts were found more often than others because these concepts were more

versatile. This made them appear more often than concepts that did not have this versatility. An example of such a concept is *staat*.

Based on my personal experience of this research project, and so with the benefits of hindsight, I would argue for a different strategy. In order to use concept maps for analysis, close reading of small selections of sources is the best method for making use of a concept map. The researcher, independent of the work of others, can base his concept map on sources rather than literature. In my view, sources should always be the point of departure for historical research. They should be our guide to developing logical lines of reasoning and the primary starting point for interpretations. During close reading, the researcher should carefully consider which concepts can be used for distant reading.

Recognising, isolating and creating meaningful concepts, however, remains difficult. SPSS generates a concept map based on concepts that have the strongest relation to the researched concept. It is extremely hard to grasp in advance which concepts are likely to be selected by SPSS, thus making it a challenge to determine the value of each individual concept. The creation of this reliable concept list in SPSS is a necessary but labour-intensive task to be performed if one is to create concept maps that tell a 'bigger story'. Since my thesis faced a deadline, I was unable to successfully complete this task. Consequently, my concept maps were 'incomplete' because they required a larger investment in my dictionary. Without this investment one could end up with concepts on concept maps that are hard to interpret. This particular problem can be seen when you look at the concept maps of this research. Here I must add, however, that a larger investment in the concept list does not necessarily result in a better concept map. Not only is there the risk of not being able to get rid of all of the 'useless' concepts - since there could be many- one should also be careful not to exclude too many concepts. This might create a problem of a different order. Given too few concepts, SPSS might no longer be able to create concept maps because it fails to make connections between the few concepts that are left. Producing a usable concept list is therefore a very delicate task indeed. There are other options to consider for a research with SPSS that might enhance the analysis. Such suggestions for further research will be made at the end of this conclusion.

This dilemma over concept lists and concept maps brings me back to the earlier notion of meaningful concepts. The close reading of the selected concepts allowed me to determine

which concepts could be used to support a larger analysis. Thus, the in-depth source knowledge I gained from my close reading analysis allowed me to determine which concepts represented a larger debate, a bigger idea or touched upon a valuable subject. This led me to conclude that close reading is vital to creating a concept map. This requires a different approach to the sources, however, and demands that the researcher, during the close reading of the sources, is constantly aware of the need to identify and select (possible) relevant concepts. This also enables the researcher to determine which concepts that feature on the concept map fit into a bigger story. This method enables concepts that are initially included by SPSS to be in the concept map to be deleted once it turns out that they are not relevant. For instance, the concepts *zoals*, *kat* and *vat* could have been removed from the concept list prior to this research.

So how then are concept maps able to assist a researcher in researching larger selections of sources? As I also have suggested earlier, the close reading analysis can be done on a smaller scale and in turn augmented by isolating meaningful concepts. The researcher is then able to adjust his concept list in such a way that each and every concept represents something more. One can indicate for instance what each concept represents by defining types that touch upon this larger debate or idea. This approach allows the researcher to use the close reading analysis to isolate characteristic words or concepts, in turn enabling the user to approach or maybe even ‘analyse’ sources on a larger scale by bringing the concepts in line with the analysis of the close reading and apply these to a larger corpus. The concept map consequently shows the strength of the relationship between the selected concepts (which represent a large debate or idea) and the researched subject. This in turn allows the researcher to investigate how ideas are interrelated with the researched subject in a larger corpus. Applying this method enables the researcher to both reproduce and in turn test his theories in a larger corpus and to present his arguments differently. Concept maps may then be used in two ways. Firstly, they assist the researcher in his analysis, and secondly, they can be used to present and interpret arguments differently, adding an extra dimension to the analysis.

However, as I have noted earlier, concepts might not be the most suitable method to perform such an analysis, primarily because concepts in SPSS are more a representation of words than of ideas. Of course some words may be seen or approached as a representation of a larger debate or idea, but the use of concepts merely allows the researcher to have single words or words that are clustered based on the same meaning. Based on these concepts,

concept maps may be created. However, in order to have a more sophisticated distant reading approach I would propose to use categories to create a category map.

The use of categories allows the researcher to select concepts or parts of phrases and save them to a folder. The advantage of the use of categories arranged in folders over isolated concepts is that the researcher may discover patterns and ideas that have a direct bearing on the researched subject. Thus it allows the user to create folders based on characteristics of ideas. For instance, during my exploration of SPSS, I started to select concepts and expressions that touched upon larger ideas and associations with Van Heutsz. This allowed me to map words that I associated with militarism, imperialism, debates about Aceh and expressions that demonized or glorified Van Heutsz. Since the creation of categories also relies on a concept list, structure is again paramount. Thus both concept maps and categories face the same rather obvious demands. Unfortunately, I was unable to make reliable categories for all periods. This was due to a lack of time but also to the fact that the creation of categories requires a more sophisticated justification that includes a debate on hermeneutics and the selection of concepts. Making my categories without them being fully complete would have made them even less usable and reliable than just a concept map. I therefore decided that for this thesis, concept maps were the easiest option, and most likely reliable, and accurate method and thus the most scientifically responsible choice. Nonetheless, using categories allows the user to create a category map that shows how ideas, based on characteristics rather than single words, evolve and interrelate in a larger corpus. This in turn creates the possibility to make a more sophisticated distant reading approach that might even come closer to something that might be called an ‘analysis’ than with concept maps alone.

This method also tackled a second problem that I faced. During the writing of this thesis I struggled with the fact that narrating a coherent historical narrative based on concept maps was difficult. This problem was a direct consequence of my approach and the nature of concept maps. The computational approach of the concept map did not allow me to tell a bigger story derived from the concept maps. This strategy was of course a result of not having experience with concept maps to begin with and with finding and identifying valuable concepts based on a different source approach. This made it difficult to select concepts that fit in with a bigger picture, making it impossible to use the tools to narrate or show that the name Van Heutsz was associated with certain debates and ideas. Other than with concepts maps that

can only represent single words, categories can represent ideas. This allows category maps to become part of an appealing historical narrative. The computational method and lacking the right approach to the sources meant that it was hard to keep an overview and tell the larger story using concept maps. Thus, the computational method is not a suitable method for selecting concepts in order to narrate or analyse historical narratives, events or historical figures.

I will conclude by answering the questions: were the concept maps used for this research relevant? The answer to that question is: no, they were not. And, secondly, was the strategy employed to approach the concept maps relevant in order to answer the intended question? With the current strategy that was employed the answer should, again, be no. The concept maps generated by SPSS featured concepts that are not always relevant. Generating concept maps based on a concept list that had only been modified as to exclude OCR flaws are not necessarily valuable. Although they may contain some valuable concepts, recognizing these concepts instantly without the aid of close reading has proven to be difficult. Thirdly, can concept maps be relevant for the analysis of the research question: how was Van Heutsz framed in Dutch newspapers 1924-1990? Yes, I think that they can be. Taking account of the suggestions I have made for future use, I think that concept maps could contribute significantly to both the analysis and to answering the research question I looked at for this thesis, as well as other research questions. Even though this attempt was not very successful, concept maps can make a valuable contribution to providing insights into how ideas evolve and how they are interrelated in a larger corpus. Using categories may even allow distant reading to become part of a more sophisticated analysis. However a debate on hermeneutics, the isolating of concepts and a sound argumentation why certain concepts or words are characteristic for certain ideas or debates are preconditions for allowing such approaches to be used. Especially when taking into account that words might alter in meaning over longer periods of time and that certain words or concepts may be used in different debates by different groups of people or individuals to illustrate arguments of an oppositional nature. An example of such a word is 'terrorist': a word of which the use may show how certain groups are positioned in a debate, but also a word that could be used differently by each participating group or agent. This makes it increasingly difficult to isolate and select concepts and assign such concepts to a specific vocabulary. Although such challenges exist, I would like to argue that new theories on how to approach sources can be and should be developed. To conclude,

then, I would call for a renewed debate on hermeneutics and the selection and isolation of concepts.

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