



# Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

Dustin M. A. Djodikromo

A Critical Analysis of the Netherlands East Indies Army's Conduct of the War Against  
Acehnese Civilians During the Aceh War of 1873-1914

The Bachelor's Thesis  
Course: Onderzoeksseminar III and Bachelor eindwerkstuk  
Course Instructor: Erik Swart  
Student: Dustin M. A. Djodikromo  
Student Number: 4037626  
Word Count: 9601

## Index

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>1. Genocide: Definitions and Context</b> .....	<b>6</b>
1.1 Definitions .....	6
<i>1.1.1 Legal Debates</i> .....	7
<i>1.1.2 Historiographical Debates</i> .....	8
<i>1.1.3 Social Science Debates</i> .....	8
1.2 Raphael Lemkin.....	9
<i>1.2.1 Background and Conditions</i> .....	10
<i>1.2.2 Propaganda</i> .....	10
<i>1.2.3 Methods and Techniques</i> .....	12
<i>1.2.4 Aftermath</i> .....	12
1.3 Conclusion.....	12
<b>2. The Aceh War (1873-1914)</b> .....	<b>14</b>
2.1 The Early Years of the War (1873-1884).....	14
2.2 The Concentrated Line and the ‘Scheepvaartregeling’ (1884-1898) .....	16
2.3 The Dutch Consolidation of Power (1898-1914).....	18
2.4 Conclusion.....	20
<b>3. Historiographical Debate: Genocidal Practices in Aceh?</b> .....	<b>21</b>
3.1 Background and Conditions .....	21
3.2 Propaganda .....	23
3.3 Methods and Techniques.....	24
3.4 Aftermath.....	25
3.5 Conclusion.....	27
<b>4. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<b>List of References</b> .....	<b>30</b>

## Introduction

Writing history is a political activity. It is told from the perspective of the author and often reflects a certain national historical framework. In the case of Dutch colonial historiography, which shall be discussed here, a similar pattern is to be seen. In the years following decolonization, the aftermath of Dutch military defeat in 1945-1949 and the loss of colonial prestige set a motion in progress which ultimately led to a certain marginalisation of the Dutch East Indies' historical significance within Dutch historiography. The ties between the Netherlands and its former colonies became severely strained, and, as a result, the Dutch no longer regarded the latter as an integral part of its national destiny and history.<sup>1</sup>

According to a number of scholars, the Aceh War of 1873-1914 is a prime example of how politics has influenced Dutch colonial historiography. Certain aspects of the war, they argue, have been wilfully neglected in order to suit the Dutch national historical framework.<sup>2</sup> During the war, which was fought between the Netherlands and the Sultanate of Aceh, the NIL regularly conducted military tactics that today would be regarded as inhumane. The absence of a clear distinction between native combatants and native civilians led to Dutch assaults on the population itself. Some scholars suggest that these events had strong genocidal overtones.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the case, the events contradict traditional views on Dutch colonial history, which is generally regarded as rather peaceful when compared to that of other European colonial histories.<sup>4</sup> This raises the following questions. What is a civilian and what is a combatant? To what extent can the NIL's conduct of the war against Acehnese civilians be regarded as acts of genocide? If acts of genocide did indeed take place, why have these events been largely ignored in Dutch colonial historiography? And how should the war be properly remembered? This research seeks to examine if the Netherlands East Indies Army

---

<sup>1</sup> Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben (red.), *Beyond Empire and Nation. Decolonizing Societies in Africa and Asia, 1930s-1970s* (Leiden 2012) 7.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory. Photographs of Colonial Atrocity in Dutch Cultural Remembrance* (Amsterdam 2015) 223-228. Emmanuel Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs? Dutch Nineteenth Century Colonial Warfare in Aceh, Sumatra', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012) 3-4, 297-315, there 297-298, 304-308. Chris Lorenz, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering en de universele mensenrechten. De casus 'Rawagede'', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 128 (2015) 1, 109-130, there 109-112, 126-130. Remco Raben, 'A New Dutch Imperial History? Perambulations in a Prospective Field', *BMGN* 128 (2013) 1, 5-30, there 5.

<sup>3</sup> Remco Raben, 'Epilogue. On Genocide and Mass Violence in Colonial Indonesia', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012) 3-4, 485-502, there 485. Henk L. Wesseling, 'Colonial Wars. An Introduction', in: Jaap A. de Moor and Henk L. Wesseling (ed.), *Imperialism and War. Essays on Colonial Wars in Asia and Africa* (Leiden 1989) 1-11, there 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 223-228. Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 297-298, 304-308. Lorenz, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering en de universele mensenrechten', 109-112, 126-130. Raben, 'A New Dutch Imperial History?', 5.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

(NIL) conducted acts of genocide against Acehnese civilians during the war. In the following chapters, I shall discuss the definition of genocide, the NIL's actions in Aceh and whether or not those actions can be regarded as acts of genocide. For this research, I have chosen the timeframe 1873-1914, which has proven to be vital in identifying and understanding the dynamics and evolution of the NIL's conduct of the war in Aceh. It took the Dutch forty years to conquer Aceh, hence the chosen timeframe.<sup>5</sup> Following this examination, I will conclude by making recommendations on the remembrance of the war.

What is genocide? In the first chapter, I shall discuss the international legal and different scholarly definitions of genocide. I shall also motivate the reasons behind my choice of definition, which shall serve as a conceptual framework through which the events in Aceh will be analysed. In 1948, the international legal definition of genocide was defined by the United Nations (UN) and came into effect in 1951. This definition, however, has been criticized ever since, proving that there has never been an overall consensus regarding the exact definition of genocide. A great number of scholars argue that the current definition, which is based on the destruction of a group of people on the basis of nation, ethnicity, race and/or religion, is too general and/or incomplete.<sup>6</sup> After providing the reader a general overview of the most important debates within genocide studies, I shall discuss Raphael Lemkin's theory on genocide, which I find most useful for the purpose of this research, as it offers a conceptual framework through which acts of genocide can be identified.

In the following chapter, I shall discuss the NIL's conduct of the war against Acehnese civilians in 1873-1914. Dutch colonial rule in the Netherlands East Indies is generally regarded as having been extremely violent towards natives, and most notably civilians, as it was based on violence or the threat thereof.<sup>7</sup> As mentioned earlier, the absence of a clear distinction between native combatants and native civilians led to Dutch assaults on the population itself.<sup>8</sup> As this chapter shows, that was clearly the case during the war in Aceh. I shall start off with a short description of the background of the war, after which the war itself is discussed. The latter is divided into three parts, specifically the early years of the war (1873-1884), the period in which the concentration line took place (1884-1898) and the period in which the Dutch consolidation of power in Aceh was finally realized (1898-1914). This

---

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Reid, *The Blood of the People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra* (New York 1979) 7.

<sup>6</sup> Adam Jones, *Genocide. A Comprehensive Introduction* (New York 2011) 9.

<sup>7</sup> Petra Groen, 'Colonial Warfare and Military Ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012) 3-4, 277-296, there 292-294. Raben, 'Epilogue', 486.

<sup>8</sup> Wesseling, 'Colonial Wars', 4.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

chapter is based on Dutch eyewitness accounts and scholarly studies of the war; its aim is to provide the reader with an overview of the NIL's conduct of the war, as well as insights into the dynamics and evolution of those acts.

To what extent can the NIL's conduct of the war against Acehnese civilians be regarded as acts of genocide? This is the central question that guides the analytical direction of the third chapter. After discussing the conceptual framework in the first chapter, I shall here analyse the events discussed in chapter two. As can be seen in the latter, much has been written about the war in Aceh. In the case of the eyewitness accounts, although they do not specifically discuss the subject of genocide, they do offer valuable insights into the NIL's political and moral environment, its intentions with regards to Acehnese civilians and its conduct of the war itself. Focusing on the years 1873-1914 creates a broader perspective, as it provides the opportunity to analyse the events over a longer period of time. It is here that specific issues can be observed, for example such as the sudden changes in the NIL's conduct of the war and in the way in which the war is remembered.

## 1. Genocide: Definitions and Context

What is genocide? As mentioned in the introduction, there has never been an overall consensus concerning the exact definition of genocide. The international legal definition of genocide, which was adopted at the United Nations Convention of 1948, has been debated ever since it was framed. Before we analyse the NIL's conduct of the war with regard to acts of genocide, it is of great importance to gain a deeper understanding of the various debates concerning the definition of genocide. In this chapter, I shall, therefore, discuss the international legal definition of genocide, as well as the various scholarly definitions of genocide. After doing so, I shall then turn to Raphael Lemkin's theory on genocide, which belongs to the scholarly definitions and shall serve as a conceptual framework for this research. The subject of this research may raise some eyebrows among scholars, as the NIL's conduct of the war does not fit the definition of genocide as adopted by the UN. In response to that critique, however, some scholars argue that certain characteristics of genocidal violence were present during the Aceh War of 1873-1914.<sup>9</sup> By analysing the NIL's actions through the lens of Lemkin's framework, genocidal mechanisms such as the 'murderous intent and effect of warfare' and the 'deployment of excessive violence' can be identified if they are indeed present.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.1 Definitions

In 1941, Lemkin coined the term 'genocide', which was based on both the Greek word 'genos', meaning 'race', and the Latin word 'cida', the root form of 'caedere', 'to kill'.<sup>11</sup> At the United Nations Convention of 1948, the international legal definition of genocide was further defined in the second and third articles:

*Article 2: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:*

- (a) Killing members of the group;*
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*

---

<sup>9</sup> Raben, 'Epilogue', 498.

<sup>10</sup> Dirk Moses, *Empire, Colony, Genocide. Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (Oxford 2009) 26.

<sup>11</sup> Oxford Dictionaries, 'Genocide', <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/genocide> (December 25, 2015). Prevent Genocide International, 'Chapter IX: "Genocide"', <http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/AxisRule1944-1.htm> (May 15, 2016).

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

- (c) *Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;*
- (d) *Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;*
- (e) *Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*

*Article 3: The following acts shall be punishable:*

- (a) *Genocide;*
- (b) *Conspiracy to commit genocide;*
- (c) *Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;*
- (d) *Attempt to commit genocide;*
- (e) *Complicity in genocide.*<sup>12</sup>

This definition of genocide has been debated ever since. As is common in the field of Genocide Studies, the debates are categorized into three parts, notably the legal debates, the historiographical debates and the social science debates.

### 1.1.1 Legal Debates

A great number of political scientists argue that the current definition of genocide is in need of adaptation, as it does not offer the international community adequate ways to protect certain groups of people from genocidal violence. There is no consensus on how that should be done, however, as some argue that the definition is too incomplete, whereas others argue that it is too broad. The former generally regard the current definition as excessively based on the Armenian Genocide, which, they argue, cannot serve as a proper example for all forms of genocide.<sup>13</sup> Also, because the definition is limited to the destruction of groups based on nation, ethnicity, race and/or religion, other forms of intentional excessive violence that they regard as genocidal cannot be prevented. The latter, however, argue that the current definition is rather too broad and that multiple, more accurate definitions of genocide should be adopted, each based on a certain specific form of genocidal violence. The most notable examples are ‘classicide’, ‘democide’, ‘ecocide’, ‘eliticide’, ‘etnocide’, ‘femicide/feminicide’, ‘fratricide’, ‘gendercide’, ‘judeocide’, ‘linguicide’, ‘memoricide’, ‘omnicide’, ‘politicide’, ‘poorcide’ and ‘urbicide’.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Prevent Genocide International, ‘Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’, <http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm#II> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Jones, *Genocide*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, 13-15, 20-29.

### 1.1.2 Historiographical Debates

A similar response can be observed among a great number of historians, as they, too, argue that the current definition of genocide is too limited. Although the term ‘genocide’ is relatively new, they argue that the practice of genocide is of all ages and, thus, emphasize that it is not merely a twentieth century phenomenon, as has often been suggested. Some even argue that a new definition of genocide should be adopted in order to include and regard certain historical events as genocidal. One such example is the Atlantic slave trade in the seventeenth to nineteenth century, which some historians consider a form of genocide, as millions of slaves were stripped of their personal freedom and social identity. Another such example is that of the Great Purge that took place in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, where groups of people were killed, often based on political ideology. Under the current definition of genocide, the destruction of groups of people based on political ideology is not regarded as genocide, with the reason being that the current definition was born out of compromise between the United States and the Soviet Union in an era when both parties committed that particular form of violence. As a result, some historians argue that the current definition is too based on ‘out-dated’ Cold War politics.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.1.3 Social Science Debates

In the third and final category of debates, there is a growing consensus among scholars that the current definition is too limited and that further elaboration is needed. While more research on genocide is needed, the inclusion of new insights gained through previous research is vital in order to gain a greater understanding of what actually leads to genocide. These scholars agree that prior to the outbreak of genocide, certain mechanisms can be observed that are part of a ‘genocidal process’. During this process, acts of genocide take place in which a group of people are identified as dangerous, systematically targeted and eventually killed.<sup>16</sup> The current definition of genocide, they argue, does not take all these different social, political and cultural dynamics into account.<sup>17</sup> One should note, however, that within the social science debates, two different approaches with regard to the genocidal process can be observed, notably the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach. The

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, 30, 39-41, 106, 216-217.

<sup>16</sup> Gregory Stanton, ‘The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton’ (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015). Ton Zwaan, ‘On Genocide. An Introduction’, <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> Helen Fein, ‘Genocide: A Sociological Perspective’, in: Alexander Hinton (ed.), *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader* (Oxford 2002) 75.



first approach, generally supported by scholars in the fields of social and political sciences, emphasizes that genocide is the result of a long political process, often preceded by a political crisis and deliberately led and planned by elite perpetrators.<sup>18</sup> Scholars in the fields of social psychology and cultural anthropology, on the other hand, generally support the bottom-up approach, which emphasizes that genocide is the result of a process that is not by definition 'controlled' by any agent(s). According to these scholars, individuals at a local level take part in acts of genocide as well, for example because of peer pressure and/or survival.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.2 Raphael Lemkin

In the first part of this chapter, I aimed to provide the reader a general overview of the most important debates concerning the international legal definition of genocide. Having done so, I shall now discuss Lemkin's theory on genocide, which I find most useful for the purpose of this research. As mentioned earlier, the current definition of genocide is debated: by political scientists for being too limited, as it merely focuses on groups of people based on nation, ethnicity, race and/or religion; by historians for having too much disregard for other forms of intentional excessive violence that have taken place throughout history; and by social scientists for its incapacity in creating a greater understanding of the conditions that lead to genocide. With these critiques in mind, I opted to analyse the conflict of Aceh not through the lens of genocide as defined by the current definition of genocide, but, instead, through that of Lemkin's conceptual framework. First of all, Lemkin's theory is not strictly bound to the four groups of people just mentioned. As a matter of fact, he regarded genocide to be an intrinsically colonial phenomenon, which makes his framework suitable for the conflict in Aceh.<sup>20</sup> Also, there is evidence that he advocated a more comprehensive definition of genocide, but that the UN eventually adopted a narrower definition for the purpose of international legislation.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, his theory discusses five stages of genocide, notably: background; conditions; methods and techniques; propaganda; and aftermath.<sup>22</sup> It also discusses a whole range of mechanisms that can lead to genocide, varying in political, social, economic, cultural, biological, physical, religious and moral nature.<sup>23</sup> In other words,

---

<sup>18</sup> Ton Zwaan, 'On Genocide. An Introduction', <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> Ervin Staub, 'Preventing Violence and Generating Humane Values: Healing and Reconciliation in Rwanda', *International Review of the Red Cross*, December 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide* (New York 2007) VI-VIII.

<sup>21</sup> Dirk Moses, 'Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide', in: David Bloxham and Dirk Moses (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocidal Studies* (Oxford 2010) 19-41, there 38.

<sup>22</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.

<sup>23</sup> Moses, 'Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide', 19-41.

Lemkin's theory offers a comprehensive analytical tool through which the conflict in Aceh can be analysed. Before further elaborating on the different stages of genocide, I should note that both Gregory Stanton's and Ton Zwaan's theories on genocide share similar structures with that of Lemkin's, and shall, therefore, be referred to in short. Stanton discusses ten stages of genocide, notably: classification (of the victimized group); symbolization; discrimination; dehumanization; organization; polarization; preparation; persecution; extermination; and denial.<sup>24</sup> Zwaan discusses six stages, notably: identification of the victimized group; segregation and isolation; removal of property; concentration; destruction; and 'forgetting'.<sup>25</sup>

### 1.2.1 Background and Conditions

The first two stages that Lemkin discusses in his theory are 'background' and 'conditions'. Concerning the former, he argues that certain historical factors can lead to a social environment in which genocidal violence is tolerated. The case of Aceh is relevant in this aspect, as the NIL was already engaged in colonial warfare. Concerning the latter, he refers to the following conditions: religious and racial fanaticism; irredentism (or, in other words, national aspirations); social or political crisis and change; economic exploitation (e.g. slavery); colonial expansion or military conquests; accessibility of victim group; and evolution of genocidal values in genocidal group (contempt for the alien, factors weakening the victim group).<sup>26</sup>

### 1.2.2 Propaganda

The third stage that Lemkin discusses is 'methods and techniques'. I have opted, however, to first discuss his fourth stage 'propaganda' due to the fact that this not only takes place during the outbreak of genocide but also prior to that. During this stage, Lemkin argues that would-be perpetrators of genocide engage in the following acts of genocide: rationalisation of crime; appeal to popular beliefs and intolerance (the sowing of discord through divide and rule); misrepresentation and deceit; and intimidation.<sup>27</sup> Zwaan shares Lemkin's view when he discusses his step 'identification of the victimised group'. The same can be said about Stanton

---

<sup>24</sup> Gregory Stanton, 'The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton' (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> Ton Zwaan, 'On Genocide. An Introduction', <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>26</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

when he discusses the following phases: classification; symbolisation; discrimination; dehumanisation; organisation; polarisation; and preparation.<sup>28</sup>

Within Conflict Studies, the following conceptual frameworks are regarded as essential in understanding the dynamics of propaganda with regard to the outbreak of extreme violence, for example in the form of genocide, and shall, therefore, be discussed here. These frameworks are ‘boundary rules’, ‘primordialism’ and ‘social constructivism’. Concerning ‘boundary rules’, identification is something that all humans do in order to know who is who. This basic cognitive mechanism leads to a categorisation of people, which then leads to a sense of ‘groupness’ from one individual towards another when the latter is perceived as sharing a similar identity.<sup>29</sup> In doing so, the act of ‘othering’, too, takes place. This can be defined as the identification of a group of people as being different than oneself or one’s own group.<sup>30</sup> This then results in the creation of ‘boundary rules’, in which the boundary between one’s own group and that of the ‘other’ is defined and socially maintained.<sup>31</sup> The second framework, ‘primordialism’, can be defined as the belief that group identities are natural and that each group has its own set of unique characteristics.<sup>32</sup> In the case of Aceh, in an era when Social Darwinist thinking was deeply embedded in Western thinking, similar beliefs can be observed, as Acehnese civilians were regarded as inherently different and rather barbaric when compared to the Dutch.<sup>33</sup> The third framework, ‘social constructivism’, offers us an analytical tool through which social groups can be observed. There is a general consensus among scholars that group identities are part of human existence, or, in other words, constructed through social interactions, and not a given by nature.<sup>34</sup> With these frameworks in mind, the analysing of primary sources concerning the war in Aceh can take place.

---

<sup>28</sup> Gregory Stanton, ‘The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton’ (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015). Ton Zwaan, ‘On Genocide. An Introduction’, <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>29</sup> Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (New York 2014) 2, 6, 9, 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Bhatia, ‘Fighting Words: Naming Terrorists, Bandits, Rebels and Other Violent Actors’, *Third World Quarterly* 26 (2005) 1, 5-22, there 8-12. Jolle Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict* (London 2012) 21-22, 25. Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior’s Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (London 1998) 51. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York 2003) 1-28.

<sup>31</sup> Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle. Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities* (London 1999) 59. Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict*, 21-22.

<sup>32</sup> Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict*, 24. James Fearon and David Laitin, ‘Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity’, *International Organization* 54 (2000) 4, 848-849. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 8, 10.

<sup>33</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Fearon and Laitin, 2000, ‘Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity’, 846.

### 1.2.3 Methods and Techniques

What follows next is the outbreak of genocide. These are: physical (massacre and mutilation; deprivation of livelihood (for example starvation and exposure, often by deportation)); biological (separation of families; sterilisation; destruction of foetus); and cultural (desecration and destruction of cultural symbols (books, objects of art, religious relics, etc.)); looting; destruction of cultural leadership; destruction of cultural centres (cities; churches; monasteries; schools; libraries); prohibition of cultural activities or codes of behaviour; forceful conversion; and demoralization.<sup>35</sup> Zwaan's following steps are in line with Lemkin's findings: segregation and isolation; removal and property; concentration; and destruction. The same can be seen in Stanton's following phases: persecution; and extermination.<sup>36</sup>

### 1.2.4 Aftermath

Perpetrators of genocide can also engage in acts of genocide even after genocide has taken place. Lemkin gives the following losses with regards to the victim group: cultural losses; population changes; economic dislocations; material and moral deterioration; and political consequences.<sup>37</sup> Both Zwaan and Stanton share this view, which the former calls the step of 'forgetting', while the latter calls it the phase of 'denial', all done by the perpetrator(s) of genocide.<sup>38</sup> In doing so, Lemkin argues, those perpetrators aim to rid their social environment of traces of the victim group.

## 1.3 Conclusion

For the purpose of this research, I have chosen Raphael Lemkin's theory on genocide as the central conceptual framework that guides the analytical direction through which the NIL's conduct of the war with regard to Acehese civilians will be examined. In order to clarify my choice of conceptual framework, I found it necessary to elaborate on the debates concerning the definition of genocide. The international legal definition of genocide has been debated ever since it was first adopted by the UN in 1948. These critiques have come from a whole range of disciplines, varying from the legal to the historiographical and the social sciences.

---

<sup>35</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.

<sup>36</sup> Gregory Stanton, 'The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton' (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015). Ton Zwaan, 'On Genocide. An Introduction', <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>37</sup> A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide* (New York 2007) 66-70.

<sup>38</sup> Gregory Stanton, 'The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton' (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015). Ton Zwaan, 'On Genocide. An Introduction', <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

Subsequently, I discussed Lemkin's theory, which I find most fitting for the topic of this research. His definition of genocide is broad, open and, thus, relevant and useful for analysing colonial warfare. More specifically, unlike the international legal definition of genocide, his theory is not strictly bound to the four groups of people previously mentioned. As a matter of fact, he regarded genocide to be an intrinsically colonial phenomenon, which makes his framework suitable for the conflict in Aceh. His theory also offers us an extensive framework through which the conflict can step-by-step be analysed, and, because of its inclusive nature, it can be combined with contemporary scholarly studies from the field of Conflict Studies which, in my opinion, can lead to a greater understanding of the social dynamics prior, during and after the outbreak of extreme violence in Aceh. Moreover, I would like to emphasize that it is not my aim to prove that the NIL has engaged in genocidal violence in Aceh, but simply to research if and to what extent that was the case.

## 2. The Aceh War (1873-1914)

The Netherlands and Indonesia have a long history of violence between them. From the late sixteenth century to Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945, the Dutch have committed excessive violence against natives in the former Netherlands East Indies, against whom warfare was common and which led to the death of around 600,000 to one million natives.<sup>39</sup> These acts of violence were not alien to the Acehnese, who, some scholars argue, have suffered acts of genocide against them between 1873 and 1914. In this chapter, I shall discuss the NIL's acts of violence against Acehnese civilians based on both primary and secondary sources, the former being a whole range of eyewitness accounts of the war and the latter being the work of scholars. Both have proven useful in gaining insights into the dynamics of the war and the possible genocidal intentions of so-called 'perpetrators of genocide'.<sup>40</sup>

### 2.1 The Early Years of the War (1873-1884)

Prior to the outbreak of the war between the Netherlands and the Sultanate of Aceh in 1873, the Netherlands found itself in dire circumstances with regard to its colonies in the Netherlands East Indies. The NIL could not cope with the numerous logistical, tactical and bureaucratic problems and was forced to retreat in many areas.<sup>41</sup> As Dutch confidence with regard to the protection of their colonial possessions dwindled, fuelled by the rising fear of rival European colonial powers in the area, Dutch politicians called for action and pleaded for the pacification of Aceh. As of 2016, there seems to be a general consensus among Dutch scholars that practical and imperial motives lay at the heart of Dutch decision-making in declaring war.<sup>42</sup> Deeply embedded in Dutch colonial ambitions was racism. In an era when Social Darwinist thinking thrived, racism towards the natives in Aceh became justified on

---

<sup>39</sup> Raben, 'Epilogue', 487.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, 497-498.

<sup>41</sup> Jaap de Moor, 'Warmakers in the Archipelago: Dutch Expeditions in Nineteenth Century Indonesia', in: Jaap de Moor and Henk Wesseling (ed.), *Imperialism and War. Essays on Colonial Wars in Asia and Africa* (Leiden 1989) 50-72.

<sup>42</sup> Hendrik Bakker, 'Het economisch belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjeh-Oorlog, 1873-1910', in: A.H.P. Clemens and J.Th. Lindblad (ed.), *Het belang van de buitengewesten. Economische expansie en koloniale staatsvorming in de buitengewesten van Nederlands-Indië 1870-1942* (Amsterdam 1989) 41-67, there 60-62. Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, 'Het imperialisme van een kleine mogendheid. De overzeese expansie van Nederland 1870-1914', in: Niek van Sas (ed.), *De kracht van Nederland. Internationale positie en buitenlandse beleid* (Bloemendaal 1991) 42-71, there 42. Jaap de Moor, "'A Very Unpleasant Relationship". Trade and Strategy in the Eastern Seas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Nineteenth Century from a Colonial Perspective', in: G.J.A. Raven and Nicholas Rodger (ed.), *Navies and Armies: The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace 1688-1988* (Edinburgh 1990) 49-70.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

both a biological and scientific basis. In doing so, 'othering' took place. By placing the Acehnese lower in an imagined social order, economic exploitation and excessive violence through the destruction of native lands became justified. As mentioned earlier, Lemkin argues that genocide consists of several elements, both physical and non-physical. The intent to destroy a certain group of people was linked with the latter and, in his view, an act of genocide. According to some scholars, prior to the war, the intent to use extreme forms of violence against natives was an inherent part of Dutch colonial ambitions and deeply embedded in their discursive preparation for colonial warfare.<sup>43</sup>

In March 1873, the NIL's invasion in Aceh became a failure. It was the second expedition that led to success, as it led to the capture of the Kraton. This would not mean the end of warfare, however, as the Kraton proved to have no strategic or political importance in the Aceh War. What was first regarded as a defining victory would soon prove to be merely the beginning of a decades-long war.<sup>44</sup> As violence continued and victory remained elusive, Dutch prestige suffered and could only be restored by unprecedented war measures in the form of excessive violence towards the Acehnese. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the distinction between Acehnese combatants and Acehnese civilians was hard to find, and, as a result, the NIL justified their use of excessive violence on all natives that seemed a threat. In an attempt to eliminate Acehnese resistance, the NIL embarked on scorched-earth tactics; the burning of villages, crops and food stores, as well as the destruction of trees that bore fruit and the systematic raiding for livestock, had disastrous results for the Acehnese.<sup>45</sup> These events have sparked an interesting debate among scholars, as some argue that these acts of violence should be regarded as acts of genocide. The current international legal definition of genocide, however, does not regard the mentioned acts as genocide but, with the exception of the burning of villages, as environmental warfare. This definition is debated, as Dutch historian Emmanuel Kreike argues that its aim was not to merely destroy nature but to force natives to surrender through famine and the resulting epidemics. He even suggests that the NIL aimed to destruct the whole Aceh nation. By 1878, five years after the start of the war, thousands of Acehnese had lost their lives and many more had fled their homes. The absence of accessible environmental resources, scholars argue, led to a great number of native deaths and population displacement, and should, therefore, be regarded as a form of genocide, albeit

---

<sup>43</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 2-7.

<sup>44</sup> Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 300-304. Reid, *The Blood of the People*, 4-5.

<sup>45</sup> Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 300-308.

indirect.<sup>46</sup> The question arises, however, how the NIL was able to take part in those acts of violence, as efforts were already being made to bring Dutch military ethics in line with the international laws of war, albeit on paper. The answer to this question lies in the fact that achieving military victory was essential for Dutch prestige, and, if needed, extreme measures were perceived as necessary.<sup>47</sup>

Existing military journals and memoirs by eyewitness accounts of the early years of the war affirm that the NIL did indeed engage in the acts just mentioned, specifically in creating a discourse in which Acehese civilians were regarded as being inferior to the Dutch and the ensuing acts of violence in the form of scorched-earth tactics. They give unique insights into how the Acehese were perceived and into the acts of violence that the NIL engaged in. With regard to the discourse, they warn their readers about the dangers of the Acehese, who were perceived to be ‘fanatical Muslims’, ‘ferocious’, ‘bloodthirsty’, ‘untrustworthy’ and ‘corrupt’.<sup>48</sup> What is interesting here is the uniformity in their view of the Acehese, as this suggests that it was common among those serving in the NIL. By regarding the Acehese as uncivilized and barbarian, this may have created a certain social atmosphere in which genocidal values were tolerated and genocidal violence was subsequently justified, extreme acts of violence that they would otherwise not easily embark upon.

### **2.2 The Concentrated Line and the ‘Scheepvaartregeling’ (1884-1898)**

In 1881, fuelled by war weariness and financial crisis, the Dutch aimed to save financial and military resources by restoring law and order in Aceh through dialogue with the Acehese and, more importantly, by replacing military rule with that of a civilian government. These efforts would not lead to the desired results, however, as violence towards the Dutch increased and casualties rose. By 1883, military rule was re-established.<sup>49</sup> The Dutch desire for a new approach remained, which led to a new defensive strategy in the form of the concentrated line. In accordance to this, a great number of the NIL’s soldiers were called back from the outer areas to Kota Radja, where the concentrated line was built to protect the city and its inhabitants. To create the concentrated line, space was needed for new infrastructure in the form of roads and railways, and, as a result, the area surrounding Kota Rodja was

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, 297-298.

<sup>47</sup> Groen, ‘Colonial Warfare and Military Ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941’, 292-294.

<sup>48</sup> John Banck, *Atchin’s verheffing en val* (Rotterdam 1873) 7. George Borel, *Onze vestiging in Atjeh* (‘s Gravenhage 1878) 10, 281. Egbert Kielstra, *Beschrijving van den Atjeh-oorlog* (‘s Gravenhage 1885) 355.

<sup>49</sup> Martin Bossenbroek, ‘Joannes Benedictus van Heutsz en de leer van het functionele geweld’, in: Herman Beliën, Martin Bossenbroek and Gert Jan van Setten (ed.), *In de vaart der volken: Nederlanders rond 1900* (Amsterdam 1998) 87-96. Kreike, ‘Genocide in the Kampongs?’, 308-310.



destroyed. As was the case with the scorched-earth campaigns, the Acehnese's natural habitat was radically transformed; many starved and/or fled to other areas and became even more resentful towards the Dutch, which, in turn, led to further hostility. Oftentimes Acehnese homes, buildings, artefacts, vegetation and, in some cases, villages, too, were destroyed, as they were regarded as able to provide cover for enemy combatants. To make matters even worse, military rule also led to the limitation of Acehnese rights. With these events in mind, and despite their declared good intentions, the NIL's newly adopted defensive approach was in reality not as 'defensive' as the word suggests and no less harmful with regard to Acehnese civilians, as the subsequent creation of the concentrated line had a disastrous effect on their very existence.<sup>50</sup>

The NIL not only took a new approach by land but also at sea, where it took on a less defensive approach in the form of the so-called 'Scheepvaartregeling'. By blockading most Acehnese coastal cities from trading with the outside world and by monitoring what they did in other coastal cities, the NIL aimed to prevent both food and weapons from entering Acehnese hands. By preventing the latter, the NIL hoped to tire Acehnese combatants out in the long run, while with the former, it hoped to use hunger as a means to force Acehnese to subjugate to Dutch rule. Eyewitness accounts seem to affirm this, as the 'Scheepvaartregeling' is regularly referred to.<sup>51</sup> Their opinion on whether it can be regarded as a success is varied. Whereas some find it necessary in order to achieve military victory, others regard it as inhumane, by which they refer to the East Indian Navy creating hunger among the Acehnese and the Dutch navy's bombarding of coastal cities by ships, thereby killing a great number of women and children.<sup>52</sup>

What I find most interesting in this time period's primary sources is the uniformity in how the writers describe and elaborate on what actually constitutes a 'real' Acehnese, specifically on how unique they are in terms of non-physical characteristics. A great number of pages is devoted in doing so, and, while a slightly similar trend can be seen as in earlier literature, for example such as a focus on certain negative traits, it seemed as if the writers were much more informed, which seems probable considering the number of years in which the Aceh War and the Acehnese were already part of the Dutch national discourse. In sum, and for the purpose of this research, one should note that the following negative traits were

---

<sup>50</sup> Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 308-310.

<sup>51</sup> Bakker, 'Het economisch belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjeh-Oorlog, 1873-1910', 60-62. E. Kempe, *De Atjeh-blokkade mislukt* ('s Gravenhage 1893) 3. Abraham Pruijs van der Hoeven, *Mijne ervaring van Atjeh* ('s Gravenhage 1886) 85-87. P. ten Bosch, *De sluiting der Atjehsche kust* ('s Gravenhage 1892) 8, 11-12.

<sup>52</sup> Kempe, *De Atjeh-blokkade mislukt*, 26-27, 41.

regularly assigned to the Acehnese: ‘vain’; ‘too emotional’; ‘treacherous’; ‘greedy’; ‘deserters’; and ‘violent’.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.3 The Dutch Consolidation of Power (1898-1914)

There is a general consensus among scholars that the entire war between the Netherlands and Aceh witnessed some use of excessive violence by the NIL. However, it is the final years of the war that are generally regarded as most deadly when it comes to Acehnese civilians. In the 1890s, a new offensive spirit was born; the NIL’s previous system of concentration was replaced by a more aggressive military approach.<sup>54</sup> Numerous studies have been written with regard to these latter years, often with different explanations of why the dynamics had changed. Some argue that the Lombok Affair of 1894, in which one hundred NIL officers and men lost their lives at the hands of ‘inferior natives’, led to such a public outrage in the Netherlands that it lay at the root of the unprecedented wave of nationalism that swept throughout the country. The feeling of humiliation, they argue, led to a call for the use of excessive military action in the Netherlands East Indies.<sup>55</sup> Another similar event was when the Acehnese leader Teukoe Oemar deserted the NIL along with his group of men and switched allegiance to the Acehnese resistance in 1896. Note that not all Acehnese natives supported the Acehnese resistance against the Dutch.<sup>56</sup> Some argue that economic exploitation of the Dutch colonies lay at the root of the new offensive campaign, by which they refer to the growing belief among the Dutch that a pacified Aceh would lead to great economic rewards.<sup>57</sup> Some argue that the greatest factor that caused the new dynamics was of military origin, citing new military tactics and officers that were more willing to engage in warfare.<sup>58</sup> One final factor that may have been decisive is the Dutch ‘Ethical Policy’ at the start of the twentieth century. The Dutch government declared its good intentions with regard to its colonies, citing the spreading of civilization and economic growth among other things. To do so, however, violent measures were first needed in order to bring about law and order. This, they argued, would eventually lead to the benefit of all natives.<sup>59</sup> In sum, both political and

---

<sup>53</sup> Pruijs van der Hoeven, *Mijne ervaring van Atjeh* (1886) 12-14.

<sup>54</sup> De Moor, ‘Warmakers in the Archipelago: Dutch Expeditions in Nineteenth Century Indonesia’, 50-72.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>56</sup> Maurice Henri du Croo, *Marechaussee in Atjeh. Herinneringen en ervaringen van den eersten luitenant en kapitein van het Korps Marechaussee van Atjeh en Onderhoorigheden* (Maastricht 1943) 22-23.

<sup>57</sup> Bakker, ‘Het economisch belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjeh-Oorlog, 1873-1910’, 60-62.

<sup>58</sup> De Moor, ‘Warmakers in the Archipelago: Dutch Expeditions in Nineteenth Century Indonesia’, 50-72.

<sup>59</sup> Eduard Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia, 1920-1931* (Leiden 1977) 5-13.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

military factors were present at the start of the new offensive spirit within the Netherlands and the NIL.

The Netherlands East Indies has often been referred to as having a ‘regime of fear’ in which the threat and use of excessive violence were an inherent part of creating law and order.<sup>60</sup> As was the case in the last years of the war, the NIL embarked on a tireless pursuit of enemy Acehese combatants.<sup>61</sup> As mentioned earlier, there was no clear distinction between Acehese civilians and Acehese combatants, which resulted in an all-out assault on the population itself.<sup>62</sup> At the head of that campaign was Joannes Benedictus van Heutsz, who in 1898 became military governor of Aceh. It was during his command that the extermination of individual kampongs took place.<sup>63</sup> It is often argued that the use of this violence was deliberately done to instil fear in the minds of the Acehese natives. At the core of these actions lay the notion that fear would deter would-be enemies of the Dutch from conducting acts of violence. The use of these violent measures was justified as a means of creating law and order, which, as mentioned earlier, would also be best for the sake of the natives themselves.<sup>64</sup>

One interesting case with regard to the excessive use of violence is that of former Dutch officer Van Voorschot, who, in 1907, anonymously accused the Dutch government of ‘volkerenmoord’, which can be defined as the murder of a people, an act that today would be regarded as genocide. In an attempt to prove his point, Van Voorschot cited a NIL textbook that was mandatory for all officers. In the book, they were encouraged to live off the Acehese lands and to deny the Acehese access to food. Also, any Acehese man, woman or child that resisted the NIL’s orders was to be killed. As a result of this, Van Voorschot argued, a great depopulation of Aceh had occurred.<sup>65</sup> The question arises how ordinary young men serving in the NIL were able to commit such acts of extreme violence. As of 1898, the war was already twenty-five years on-going and very much part of the Dutch national discourse. In an effort to support the Dutch cause in defeating the Acehese combatants, both the NIL’s soldiers and the newly set-up ‘Korps Marechaussee te voet’ were encouraged through the use of media. A notable example is the composing of songs for both on and off the battlefield. In these songs, derogatory statements were made, for example such as that the

---

<sup>60</sup> Raben, ‘Epilogue’, 485-502.

<sup>61</sup> Reid, *The Blood of the People*, 4-5.

<sup>62</sup> Wesseling, ‘Colonial Wars’, 1-11.

<sup>63</sup> Kreike, ‘Genocide in the Kampongs?’, 308-310.

<sup>64</sup> Groen, ‘Colonial Warfare and Military Ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941’, 292-294.

<sup>65</sup> Kreike, ‘Genocide in the Kampongs?’, 298-300.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

Acehnese were ‘evil’, ‘not to be trusted’, ‘treacherous’ (by which they often referred to Teukoe Oemar’s desertion), ‘niggers’, ‘inhumane’ and ‘uncivilized’.<sup>66</sup> The songs were generally nationalistic in nature, with a cry to destroy and humiliate the Acehnese altogether. One should note, however, that these derogatory statements were aimed only at the Acehnese, and not towards all natives in the Netherlands East Indies, as many, too, fought against the Acehnese resistance. For example, more than half of the NIL’s soldiers were of Javanese and Ambonese descent, while nearly all of the ‘Korps Marechaussee te voet’ consisted of the same groups, with Dutch officers leading the way. By 1914, after forty years of war, the NIL finally conquered Aceh.<sup>67</sup> The Acehnese paid a heavy price, for according to Dutch official reports, as much as twenty-two thousand Acehnese lost their lives in the years 1899-1909, which is almost four percent of the population. For the whole course of the NIL’s military campaign, it is even argued that as many as one hundred thousand Acehnese have lost their lives in the years 1873-1914.<sup>68</sup>

### 2.4 Conclusion

As described in this chapter, the war between the Netherlands and Aceh is a whole subject in itself. For that reason, I have chosen to extensively discuss the most important events with regards to the topic of this study. By analysing the conflict and, more specifically, the NIL’s conduct of the war, it becomes clear that the use of excessive violence was present. Also, by chronologically analysing the Aceh War, several different dynamics can be seen, such as the creation of discourses in which the Acehnese were regarded as inferior to the Dutch and their use to justify those acts of violence. In sum, this chapter offered an extensive look into both the social dynamics of the war, as well as the forms of violence that were conducted. In the following chapter, we shall analyse whether they can be regarded as acts of genocide.

---

<sup>66</sup> Bert Paasman, “‘Wij gaan naar Atchin toe’”. *De Atjeh-oorlog in liedjes verbeeld*, in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh. De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog* (Amsterdam 2001) 46-63, there 49, 54-55, 58.

<sup>67</sup> Reid, *The Blood of the People*, 7.

<sup>68</sup> Kreike, ‘Genocide in the Kampongs?’, 298-300.

### 3. Historiographical Debate: Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

As mentioned earlier, Moses and Stone argue that genocidal violence in colonial contexts is a prime example of how the writing of history is a political activity. Western scholars generally neglect those historical events for fear of implications for their own nations' histories.<sup>69</sup> Bijl, Kreike, Lorenz, Raben and Wesseling argue that the case of Aceh is such an example.<sup>70</sup> In order to answer the question whether the NIL conducted acts of genocide against Acehnese civilians during the Aceh War of 1873-1914, I first discussed Lemkin's theory on genocide, which, in this chapter, shall serve as the conceptual framework through which the events in Aceh are analysed. He argues that genocidal violence does not simply come into being. Rather, it is the final result of a number of events, which he refers to as acts of genocide. As mentioned in the first chapter, his framework discusses five stages of genocide, notably: background; conditions; methods and techniques; propaganda; and aftermath.<sup>71</sup> In the following chapter, I then discussed the war itself by analysing a great number of eyewitness accounts and scholarly studies of the war. The former, in the form of memoirs and commemorative volumes, offer valuable insights into the NIL's political and moral environment, its intentions with regard to Acehnese civilians and its conduct of the war itself. By focusing on the years 1873-1914, a broader perspective is created in which the events can be analysed over a longer period of time. In doing so, sudden changes in both the social dynamics of the war and the forms of violence can be identified. In this final chapter, I aim to answer the question whether acts of genocide were committed by analysing those events through Lemkin's framework on a step-by-step basis.

#### 3.1 Background and Conditions

Concerning the definition of 'background' as provided by Lemkin, he argues that certain historical factors can lead to a social environment in which genocidal violence is tolerated. Concerning 'conditions', he then refers to the following aspects that encourage such hatred and violence: religious and racial fanaticism; irredentism (or, in other words, national aspirations); social or political crisis and change; economic exploitation (e.g. slavery); colonial expansion or military conquests; accessibility of victim group; and evolution of

---

<sup>69</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, vii, ix.

<sup>70</sup> Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 223-228. Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 297-298, 304-308. Lorenz, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering en de universele mensenrechten', 109-112, 126-130. Raben, 'A New Dutch Imperial History?', 5. Raben, 'Epilogue', 485. Wesseling, 'Colonial Wars', 4.

<sup>71</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.

genocidal values in genocidal group (contempt for the alien, factors weakening the victim group).<sup>72</sup> In the previous chapter, I discussed a number of events that can be regarded as ideal for genocidal values to flourish. Prior to the outbreak of the war in 1873, the Netherlands found itself in dire circumstances with regard to its colonial possessions in the Netherlands East Indies. Numerous logistical, tactical and bureaucratic problems led to the NIL's retreat in many areas. Also, the rising fear of rival European colonial powers in the area led to a Dutch call for the pacification of Aceh.<sup>73</sup> These events are clear examples of Dutch national aspirations, fuelled by a political crisis and a call for colonial expansion and military conquest. Other examples during the early years of the war are the presence of Social Darwinist thinking, which, as can be seen in a number of memoirs, led to a certain presence of racial fanaticism, and the Dutch denial of the international laws of war, as extreme violence was deemed necessary for Dutch prestige.<sup>74</sup>

The presence of certain historical events that may have facilitated genocidal values is not only present during the early years of the war, however, as similar events can be seen throughout the war, all of which may have led to the sustainment of those values. In 1883, Dutch social and political crises in the form of war weariness, a financial crisis and the ineffectiveness of civilian government led to the re-establishment of Dutch military rule in Aceh. The new defensive strategy in the form of the concentrated line further led to a great number of civilian deaths, albeit indirectly.<sup>75</sup> Also, and perhaps more notably, during the latter years of the war in 1898-1914, a number of events led the NIL to adopt a more aggressive military approach.<sup>76</sup> The Lombok Affair of 1894 and Teukoe Oemar's desertion in 1896 led to Dutch public outrage towards the natives in the Netherlands East Indies, most notably the Acehnese. A wave of unprecedented nationalism swept throughout the country, calling for the use of excessive military action.<sup>77</sup> Other explanations for the new offensive spirit that may have encouraged genocidal values are the belief that pacification would lead to economic rewards and the presence of both new military tactics and officers who were more willing to engage in acts of genocidal violence. Also, despite its good intentions, the Dutch

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>73</sup> Bakker, 'Het economisch belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjeh-Oorlog, 1873-1910', 60-62. De Moor, "'A Very Unpleasant Relationship'", 49-70. De Moor, 'Warmakers in the Archipelago', 50-72. Kuitenbrouwer, 'Het imperialisme van een kleine mogendheid', there 42.

<sup>74</sup> Groen, 'Colonial Warfare and Military Ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941', 292-294. Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 2-7.

<sup>75</sup> Bossenbroek, 'Joannes Benedictus van Heutz en de leer van het functionele geweld', 87-96. Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 308-310.

<sup>76</sup> De Moor, 'Warmakers in the Archipelago', 50-72.

<sup>77</sup> De Moor, 'Warmakers in the Archipelago', 50-72. Henri du Croo, *Marechaussee in Atjeh*, 22-23.

‘Ethical Policy’, too, might have encouraged genocidal values, albeit indirectly. In order to bring about law and order in Aceh, pacification of the Acehnese was first needed. This, however, could only be realised by use of force and, if it was perceived as necessary, acts of extreme violence.<sup>78</sup>

### 3.2 Propaganda

During this stage, Lemkin argues that would-be perpetrators of genocide engage in the following acts of genocide: rationalisation of crime; appeal to popular beliefs and intolerance (the sowing of discord through divide and rule); misrepresentation and deceit; and intimidation.<sup>79</sup> As discussed in the first chapter, the inclusiveness of Lemkin’s theory with regard to other theories offers us the ability to include other similar analytical frameworks in our research. I mentioned Zwaan’s and Stanton’s theories, in which the former shares Lemkin’s view of propaganda when he discusses his step ‘identification of the victimised group’, while the same can be said about the latter when he discusses the phases classification, symbolisation, discrimination, dehumanisation, organisation, polarisation and preparation.<sup>80</sup> In addition, the concepts ‘boundary rules’, ‘primordialism’ and ‘social constructivism’ further offer us analytical tools with which we can identify and analyse certain social mechanisms prior to the outbreak of genocide at an even more extensive level.<sup>81</sup> In the case of Aceh, in an era when Social Darwinist thinking was deeply embedded in Western thinking, a number of these acts can be observed, as Acehnese civilians were regarded as inherently different and rather barbaric when compared to the Dutch.<sup>82</sup> The act of ‘othering’ was common, as the Dutch placed the Acehnese lower than themselves in an imagined social hierarchy. As a result, economic exploitation and the use of excessive violence through the destruction of native lands became justified. The intent to use extreme forms of violence against natives was an inherent part of Dutch colonial ambitions and deeply

---

<sup>78</sup> Bakker, ‘Het economisch belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjeh-Oorlog, 1873-1910’, 60-62. De Moor, ‘Warmakers in the Archipelago’, 50-72. Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia, 1920-1931*, 5-13.

<sup>79</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.

<sup>80</sup> Gregory Stanton, ‘The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton’ (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015). Ton Zwaan, ‘On Genocide. An Introduction’, <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>81</sup> Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 2, 6, 8-10, 13-14. Bhatia, ‘Fighting Words’, 8-12. Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict*, 21-22, 25. Ignatieff, *The Warrior’s Honor*, 51. Said, *Orientalism*, 1-28. Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle*, 59. Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict*, 21-22, 24. Fearon and Laitin, ‘Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity’, 846, 848-849.

<sup>82</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 2.

embedded in their discursive preparation for colonial warfare.<sup>83</sup> This is a clear example of what Lemkin describes as: the rationalisation of (a genocidal) crime; acting according to popular beliefs and intolerance; and misrepresentation and deceit. In addition, nearly all of the military journals and memoirs discussed in the second chapter affirm that these acts of genocide were common, as the Acehnese were uniformly referred to in derogatory terms. I should note, however, that despite the abundance of events in which these dynamics were present throughout the war, I could find no evidence during my analysis of the primary sources that the NIL explicitly ordered such acts of genocide, by which I refer to the systematic dehumanisation of the Acehnese through propagandist means. The reasons for this most probably lie in the fact that the writers regarded it as irrelevant to mention, as Social Darwinist thinking was already deeply embedded in Dutch colonial thinking and, thus, not in need of emphasizing, and/or that they chose to neglect certain pre-genocidal discursive aspects of the war for fear of implications for both their nation's history and their own legacies. In the case of the latter, this is a clear example of how the writing of history is a political activity, as mentioned earlier.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, with regard to the research question whether the NIL conducted acts of genocide through propagandist means, this cannot be affirmed. In sum, although scholars generally argue that the NIL did engage in certain discursive preparation and sustainment of genocidal violence, I could find no such evidence in the primary sources that I have used here.

### 3.3 Methods and Techniques

During this process, Lemkin discusses the following acts which he regards as genocide: physical (massacre and mutilation; deprivation of livelihood (for example starvation and exposure, often by deportation)); biological (separation of families; sterilisation; destruction of foetuses); and cultural (desecration and destruction of cultural symbols (books, objects of art, religious relics, etc.)); loot; destruction of cultural leadership; destruction of cultural centres (cities; churches; monasteries; schools; libraries); prohibition of cultural activities or codes of behaviour; forceful conversion; and demoralization.<sup>85</sup> As mentioned earlier, throughout the war, the distinction between Acehnese combatants and Acehnese civilians was hard to make, and, as a result, the NIL justified its use of excessive violence on all natives that seemed a threat. During the early years of the war, Kreike argues, this resulted in the so-called

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, 2-7.

<sup>84</sup> Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 223-228. Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, vii, ix.

<sup>85</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.



scorched-earth tactics, in which environmental genocide took place, as the destruction of the Acehnese's living conditions was most probably aimed at destroying the whole nation of Aceh.<sup>86</sup>

A similar event occurred during and after the building of the concentrated line in the area surrounding Kota Rodja, as the Acehnese's natural habitat was radically transformed, which resulted in the starving and fleeing of Acehnese civilians to other areas.<sup>87</sup> The same can also be said of the 'Scheepvaartregeling', in which hunger among the Acehnese was enforced in order for pacification to be achieved.<sup>88</sup> A fourth example that I discussed is Van Voorschot's claim that the Dutch government engaged in 'volkerenmoord', in which the NIL's officers were instructed to live off Acehnese lands, deny the Acehnese access to food and to kill any Acehnese man, woman or child that resisted their orders.<sup>89</sup> This is a clear example of the NIL engaging in acts of genocide. I should note, however, that in the case of the primary sources that I consulted, I found no proof of the NIL explicitly ordering its soldiers to engage in those acts. As was also the case in the previously mentioned process of propaganda, the answer probably lies in the fact that the writers purposely chose to neglect certain aspects of the war for fear of implications for both their nation's history and their own legacies.<sup>90</sup> These four events, all examples from different phases of the war, affirm that the NIL has indeed taken part in genocidal methods and techniques, or, more specifically: physical, in the form of the deprivation of the Acehnese's livelihood; biological, by separating families as a result of population displacement; looting; the destruction of cultural centres, for example in the case of certain kampongs; and the ensuing demoralization of the Acehnese. Furthermore, the events also align with Zwaan's and Stanton's definition of acts of genocide, notably the former's process of segregation, isolation and concentration of the victim group, and the latter's process of persecution and extermination.

### 3.4 Aftermath

Perpetrators of genocide can also engage in continued acts of genocide even after the actual violence has taken place. Lemkin thereby discusses the following acts of genocide with regard to the victim group: cultural losses; population changes; economic dislocations; material and

---

<sup>86</sup> Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 297-298.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, 308-310.

<sup>88</sup> Kempe, *De Atjeh-blokkade mislukt*, 26-27, 41.

<sup>89</sup> Kreike, 'Genocide in the Kampongs?', 298-300.

<sup>90</sup> Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 223-228. Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, vii, ix.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

moral deterioration; and political consequences.<sup>91</sup> Both Zwaan and Stanton share his view, which the former calls the step of ‘forgetting’, while the latter calls it the phase of ‘denial’, all done with clear intentions by the perpetrator(s) of genocide.<sup>92</sup> In doing so, Lemkin argues, those perpetrators aim to rid targeted social environments of traces of the victim group. With regard to the Aceh War, Kreike argues that by 1878, thousands of Acehnese had fled their homes. The absence of accessible environmental resources led to a great number of Acehnese deaths and population displacement.<sup>93</sup> Similar effects can be seen as a result of the concentrated line and the ‘Scheepvaartregeling’. These events are clear examples of what Lemkin regards as the victim group’s cultural losses, population changes, economic dislocations, and material and moral deterioration. During the latter stages of the war, the NIL embarked on a tireless pursuit of enemy Aceh combatants.<sup>94</sup> Because there was no clear distinction between Acehnese combatants and Acehnese civilians, an all out attack on the population took place.<sup>95</sup> The destruction of kampongs and the use of violence took place to instil fear in the minds of the Acehnese natives, which, Groen argues, was done in order to demoralize the Acehnese and prevent them from engaging in prolonged warfare against the Dutch.<sup>96</sup> These events are clear examples of what Lemkin describes as material and moral deterioration of the victim group. In the years after the war, Zwaan’s process of ‘forgetting’ and Stanton’s stage of ‘denial’ both took place, as the Acehnese’s place in Dutch historiography, or, more specifically, Dutch acts of genocidal violence, was largely ignored.<sup>97</sup> One should note, however, that this was not part of the NIL’s efforts to do so. Rather, it is the aftermath of Dutch military defeat in 1945-1949 and the loss of colonial prestige that set a motion in progress that ultimately led to a certain marginalisation of the Netherlands East Indies’ historical significance within Dutch historiography.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide*, 66-70.

<sup>92</sup> Gregory Stanton, ‘The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton’ (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015). Ton Zwaan, ‘On Genocide. An Introduction’, <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).

<sup>93</sup> Kreike, ‘Genocide in the Kampongs?’, 297-298.

<sup>94</sup> Reid, *The Blood of the People*, 4-5.

<sup>95</sup> Wesseling, ‘Colonial Wars’, 1-11.

<sup>96</sup> Groen, ‘Colonial Warfare and Military Ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941’, 292-294. Kreike, ‘Genocide in the Kampongs?’, 308-310.

<sup>97</sup> Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 223-228.

<sup>98</sup> Bogaerts and Raben (red.), *Beyond Empire and Nation*, 7.

### 3.5 Conclusion

To what extent has the NIL engaged in acts of genocide against Acehnese civilians during the Aceh War of 1873-1914? In the case of Lemkin's first two stages of background and conditions, there is evidence that certain historical circumstances were present that very likely created a social environment in which genocidal values were harboured. However, these were not explicit actions undertaken by the NIL. Concerning Lemkin's stage of propaganda, this chapter shows that present-day scholars of the war argue that the NIL has indeed engaged in acts of genocide, as described by Lemkin, against Acehnese civilians. However, with regard to the primary sources analysed for this research, I could find no evidence that the NIL explicitly propagated to engage in those acts. The reason for this most probably lies in the fact that the writers regarded it as rather too irrelevant to mention, as the use of extreme violence was already quite common and, thus, not in need of emphasizing, and/or that they chose to purposely neglect certain aspects of the war for fear of implications for both their nation's history and/or their own legacies. In the case of the latter, this is not unusual, as the writing of history is, as mentioned earlier, a political activity. In the case of Lemkin's stage of methods and techniques, nearly all sources, both primary and secondary, affirm that the NIL indeed conducted similar acts of genocide against the Acehnese civilians. However, during my analysis of the primary sources, a similar trend is observed as in the previously mentioned stage of propaganda, notably that the writers do not give evidence that the NIL explicitly ordered its officers and soldiers to engage in those acts. The reasons for this most probably are the same. With regards to the latter stage of aftermath, there, too, is evidence that the NIL has done so, as portrayed in the events in which popular displacement occurred. However, Zwaan's process of 'forgetting' and Stanton's stage of 'denial', both of which took place when it comes to the Aceh War's place in Dutch historiography, is not the result of the NIL's actions. Rather, it is the aftermath of Dutch military defeat in 1945-1949 and the loss of colonial prestige that set a motion in progress that ultimately led to the marginalisation of its historical significance within Dutch historiography.

## 4. Conclusion

This research has examined whether the NIL conducted acts of genocide against Acehese civilians during the Aceh War of 1873-1914. In order to do this, the analysis of this research was divided into three sections, each discussed within its assigned chapter. In the first chapter, the international legal and different scholarly definitions of genocide were discussed, most notably that of Lemkin, which served as the central conceptual framework that guided the analytical direction of this research. In the second chapter, the reader is provided with an overview of the NIL's conduct of the war with regard to Acehese civilians. In the third chapter, the events discussed in chapter two were then analysed through the lens of Lemkin's framework.

What is genocide? The international legal definition of genocide has been debated ever since it was framed at the United Nations Convention of 1948. These critiques have come from a whole range of disciplines, varying from the legal to the historiographical and the social sciences. For the purpose of this research, I have chosen Lemkin's theory on genocide as the central conceptual framework through which the events in Aceh were examined. His definition of genocide is broad, open and, thus, relevant and useful for analysing colonial warfare. More specifically, unlike the international legal definition of genocide, his theory is not strictly bound to groups of people based on nation, ethnicity, race and/or religion. As a matter of fact, he regarded genocide to be an intrinsically colonial phenomenon, which made his framework suitable for the conflict in Aceh. Moreover, his theory offered us an extensive framework through which the conflict can step-by-step be analysed.

In the second chapter, I discussed the NIL's conduct of the war against Acehese civilians. The analysis of the war was divided into three sections, specifically the early years of the war (1873-1884), the period in which the concentration line and the 'Scheepvaartregeling' took place (1884-1898) and the period in which the Dutch consolidation of power in Aceh was realized (1898-1914). The findings are based on both primary and secondary sources, notably eyewitness accounts and scholarly studies of the war. These sources affirm the use of excessive violence towards civilians. By analysing the NIL's conduct of the war on a chronological basis, several different dynamics can be observed, such as the creation of discourses in which the Acehese were regarded as fundamentally inferior to the Dutch and their use to justify acts of extreme violence.

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

The third chapter was dedicated to answering the research question, or, more specifically, whether the NIL conducted acts of genocide against Acehese civilians during the Aceh War of 1873-1914. Lemkin's theory discusses five stages of genocide, notably 'background', 'conditions', 'propaganda', 'methods and techniques' and 'aftermath'. With regards to the first two stages, there is evidence that the Dutch harboured genocidal values towards the Acehese. However, these were not the result of explicit actions undertaken by the NIL, but rather that of certain historical factors. Concerning Lemkin's stage of propaganda, this research shows that there is a general consensus among present-day scholars of the war that the NIL engaged in this form of genocide. However, I could find no such evidence in the primary sources. The reason for this most probably lies in the fact that the writers regarded it as rather too irrelevant to mention, as the use of extreme violence was already quite common and, thus, not in need of emphasizing, and/or that they chose to purposely neglect certain aspects of the war for fear of implications for both their nation's history and/or their own legacies. When it comes to the stage of methods and techniques, nearly all sources, both primary and secondary, affirm that the NIL conducted similar acts of genocide against Acehese civilians. However, a similar trend can be observed as in the previous stage, notably that the primary sources do not give evidence that the NIL explicitly ordered its officers and soldiers to engage in those acts. With regards to the final stage of aftermath, there, too, is evidence that the NIL has done so, as portrayed in the events in which popular displacement occurred.

In conclusion, this research offers its readers an extensive look into the genocidal aspect of colonial warfare, exemplified in the case of the Aceh War. This line of investigation offers future researchers insights into existing concepts in which certain social and material dynamics prior to, during and after genocidal violence can be observed. In terms of research possibilities, each (sub)chapter discussed here is worthy of a research in itself. By drawing on both the primary and secondary sources discussed here, as well as on Lemkin's and other social science theories, it offers future researchers a head start in conducting a similar research on the Aceh War. As a result, a further re-evaluation of both the war and its place in Dutch historiography is possible, which, many scholars argue, is highly needed.

## List of References

- Bakker, Hendrik, 'Het economisch belang van Noord-Sumatra tijdens de Atjeh-Oorlog, 1873-1910', in: A.H.P. Clemens and J.Th. Lindblad (ed.), *Het belang van de buitengewesten. Economische expansie en koloniale staatsvorming in de buitengewesten van Nederlands-Indië 1870-1942* (Amsterdam 1989) 41-67.
- Banck, John, *Atchin's verheffing en val* (Rotterdam 1873).
- Baumann, Gerd, *The Multicultural Riddle. Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities* (London 1999).
- Bhatia, Michael, 'Fighting Words: Naming Terrorists, Bandits, Rebels and Other Violent Actors', *Third World Quarterly* 26 (2005) 1, 5-22.
- Bijl, Paul, *Emerging Memory. Photographs of Colonial Atrocity in Dutch Cultural Remembrance* (Amsterdam 2015).
- Bogaerts, Els and Remco Raben (red.), *Beyond Empire and Nation. Decolonizing Societies in Africa and Asia, 1930s-1970s* (Leiden 2012).
- Borel, George, *Onze vestiging in Atjeh* ('s Gravenhage 1878).
- Bosch, P. ten, *De sluiting der Atjehsche kust* ('s Gravenhage 1892).
- Bossenbroek, Martin, 'Joannes Benedictus van Heutsz en de leer van het functionele geweld', in: Herman Beliën, Martin Bossenbroek and Gert Jan van Setten (ed.), *In de vaart der volken: Nederlanders rond 1900* (Amsterdam 1998).
- Croo, Maurice Henri du, *Marechaussee in Atjeh. Herinneringen en ervaringen van den eersten luitenant en kapitein van het Korps Marechaussee van Atjeh en Onderhoorigheden* (Maastricht 1943).
- Demmers, Jolle, *Theories of Violent Conflict* (London 2012).
- Fearon, James and David Laitin, 'Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity', *International Organization* 54 (2000) 4.
- Fein, Helen, 'Genocide: A Sociological Perspective', in: Alexander Hinton (ed.), *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader* (Oxford 2002).
- Groen, Petra, 'Colonial Warfare and Military Ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012) 3-4, 277-296.
- Hoeven, Abraham Pruijs van der, *Mijne ervaring van Atjeh* ('s Gravenhage 1886).
- Ignatieff, Michael, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (London 1998).

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

Jenkins, Richard, *Social Identity* (New York 2014).

Jones, Adam, *Genocide. A Comprehensive Introduction* (New York 2011).

Kempe, E., *De Atjeh-blokkade mislukt* ('s Gravenhage 1893).

Kielstra, Egbert, *Beschrijving van den Atjeh-oorlog* ('s Gravenhage 1885).

Kreike, Emmanuel, 'Genocide in the Kampongs? Dutch Nineteenth Century Colonial Warfare in Aceh, Sumatra', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012) 3-4, 297-315.

Kuitenbrouwer, Maarten, 'Het imperialisme van een kleine mogendheid. De overzeese expansie van Nederland 1870-1914', in: Niek van Sas (ed.), *De kracht van Nederland. Internationale positie en buitenlands beleid* (Bloemendaal 1991) 42-71.

Lorenz, Chris, 'De Nederlandse koloniale herinnering en de universele mensenrechten. De casus 'Rawagede'', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 128 (2015) 1, 109-130.

Moor, Jaap de, "'A Very Unpleasant Relationship". Trade and Strategy in the Eastern Seas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Nineteenth Century from a Colonial Perspective', in: G.J.A. Raven and Nicholas Rodger (ed.), *Navies and Armies: The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace 1688-1988* (Edinburgh 1990) 49-70.

Moor, Jaap de, 'Warmakers in the Archipelago: Dutch Expeditions in Nineteenth Century Indonesia', in: Jaap de Moor and Henk Wesseling (ed.), *Imperialism and War. Essays on Colonial Wars in Asia and Africa* (Leiden 1989) 50-72.

Moses, Dirk, *Empire, Colony, Genocide. Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (Oxford 2009).

Moses, Dirk, 'Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide', in: David Bloxham and Dirk Moses (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocidal Studies* (Oxford 2010) 19-41.

Moses, Dirk and Dan Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide* (New York 2007).

Oxford Dictionaries, 'Genocide', <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/genocide> (December 25, 2015).

Paasman, Bert, "'Wij gaan naar Atchin toe". De Atjeh-oorlog in liedjes verbeeld', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh. De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog* (Amsterdam 2001) 46-63.

Prevent Genocide International, 'Chapter IX: "Genocide"', <http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/AxisRule1944-1.htm> (May 15, 2016).

Prevent Genocide International, 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide', <http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm#II> (December 25, 2015).

## Genocidal Practices in Aceh?

Raben, Remco, 'A New Dutch Imperial History? Perambulations in a Prospective Field', *BMGN* 128 (2013) 1, 5-30.

Raben, Remco, 'Epilogue. On Genocide and Mass Violence in Colonial Indonesia', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012) 3-4, 485-502.

Reid, Anthony, *The Blood of the People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra* (New York 1979).

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York 2003).

Schmutzer, Eduard, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia, 1920-1931* (Leiden 1977).

Stanton, Gregory, 'The Ten Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton' (version 2013), <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html> (December 25, 2015).

Staub, Ervin, 'Preventing Violence and Generating Humane Values: Healing and Reconciliation in Rwanda', *International Review of the Red Cross*, December 2003.

Wesseling, Henk L., 'Colonial Wars. An Introduction', in: Jaap A. de Moor and Henk L. Wesseling (ed.), *Imperialism and War. Essays on Colonial Wars in Asia and Africa* (Leiden 1989) 1-11.

Zwaan, Ton, 'On Genocide. An Introduction', <http://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Introduction%20on%20Genocide.pdf> (December 25, 2015).